“People Lived There a Long Time Ago”: Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Traditional Use of the Miskweyaabiziibee (Bloodvein River) in Northwestern Ontario

by

Jill S. Taylor-Hollings

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the archaeology of the *Miskweyaabiziibee* (Bloodvein River) within the Woodland Caribou Signature Site (WCSS) in northwestern Ontario, focusing on the Late Woodland through Postcontact Periods. The project was enhanced by the unusual availability of complementary Anishinaabe traditional knowledge, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric information to address two research questions: (1) What evidence is there of cultural and technological changes along the Bloodvein River in Ontario through time?; and (2) What evidence exists for the regional expression of the Late Woodland Selkirk Composite archaeological culture and how does that fit within the context of northwestern Ontario and the larger extent? The western range of this archaeological entity in other provinces was well understood but the eastern variations were not.

To address these research problems, fieldwork in the form of site discovery, surface collection, and test excavations was completed. Ten brief community archaeological survey projects were undertaken along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS working within ongoing partnerships between Ontario Parks and Pikangikum, Lac Seul, and Little Grand Rapids Ojibwe First Nations in their traditional territories in that park.

Significant new information resulted from the finding of 80 archaeological sites and 24 rarely identified quartz quarry locales along the Bloodvein River in Ontario. Results from fieldwork were combined with reanalyzed assemblages from the only other survey of the middle section of the river in the 1970s. This evidence indicated several newly identified occupations spanning the entirety of the precontact time frame including Early Period, Middle Period, Middle Woodland Laurel Configuration, Late Woodland Bird Lake Complex, as well as Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type. These results demonstrated that the Bloodvein River was inhabited much longer than previously thought. Additional examples of Late Woodland Blackduck Composite, Selkirk Composite, and Postcontact Period archaeological diagnostics were also discovered. Three types of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite were identified from sites along the Bloodvein River but the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type was the most common, indicating that

the existing Clearwater Lake Complex should be extended southward. An updated geographical overview was compiled for existing complexes and the eastern extent for the Selkirk Composite was determined, indicating that evidence for this archaeological culture has been found as far as northern Ontario, Quebec and Michigan.

The Bloodvein River region also represented an opportunity to examine the ethnohistoric records and work together with specific Anishinaabe families who have longstanding ties there, to interpret an informed view of the more recent cultural and technological changes in this region. Archaeology, combined with ethnohistoric information such as maps, and traditional knowledge, resulted in the finding of one Fur Trade Period site, established the occupational time frame of another, and determined the location at modern Knox Lake of the enigmatic “Bad Lake” from Hudson Bay Company records. Precontact sites were often found to coincide with more recent traditional use locales. Even though the Bloodvein River region is known to have many pictographs, as a result of working with community members, three undocumented ones and a lichenoglyph were recorded. By combining the different epistemologies of WCSS staff, Anishinaabe community members, and archaeologists, a more holistic view of the ancient and recent Indigenous peoples who lived along the Bloodvein River in Ontario was discerned.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Jill Taylor-Hollings. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Arts, Science & Law Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Archaeological Fieldwork on the Bloodvein River and Subsequent Reporting”, File No. 1499, on June 8, 2007 (with subsequent renewals).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, thank you to my supervisor Dr. Raymond Le Blanc, who patiently helped me through thick and thin during some ‘interesting’ times with this degree - literally deaths, floods, fires, health issues, and other challenges. His knowledge of the Subarctic is inspiring and he has helped all of his students understand that viewpoint. Also, kind regards to my core committee members Drs. Sandra Garvie-Lok and Jack Ives who also went the extra mile for me. Drs. Ruth Gruhn, Pamela Willoughby, and Gregory Forth (chair) all provided much assistance for my defence. Thank you to the external reviewer, Dr. Lisa Rankin, for her thoughtful comments and improvements to the document. Regards to Gail Mathew, Dr. Andie Palmer, Dr. Marko Zivkovic, Heather Cook, Dr. Gerhard Ens, Dr. Owen Beattie, Brenda Carrier, the FGSR, and other University of Alberta employees who also helped me along the way.

WCSS Park Superintendent Doug Gilmore (a.k.a. *Iskodens*/Matchstick) in Red Lake was the catalyst for these surveys and having so many great people working together. He obtained much of the funding through Ontario Parks programs. Doug also helped me with meeting people in the communities and provided the impetus, organization, and other assistance during field trips, meetings, and various related events. Mostly, thanks for your enduring enthusiasm for archaeology. Regards to him and Lesley Barnes for letting me stay at their house in Red Lake many times! The same is true for Assistant Park Superintendent Claire Quewezence, her husband Ray, and Starr. Both Doug and Claire often shared archaeological information with me, often about places that I had not visited in other parts of the park; Lee Gerrish and Dan Bartol of the OMNR also told me about a few sites. Thanks to Shannon Walshe, Janene Shearer, Mike Sanders, Michelle Schlag, Candace Newman, Christine Hague, Anna McKee, and Sheldon McDonald who helped out so much on park trips where archaeology was completed (so that they were drawn to the cultural side). Regards to Doug for reading an earlier draft too.

I would like to especially acknowledge my Grandparents, the *Kete Anishinaabeg,* and Elders who have worked with us on these archaeological projects but have now gone home in the Anishinaabe meaning: the late Fred Moar and Nathaniel Duck from Little Grand Rapids; Oliver Hill and Norman Quill of Pikangikum; Mary Beecham, Joe “Kotas” Keesic, Daisy Kejick, Julie Kejick, Albert King, and Sam Southwind of Lac Seul. In addition, I was lucky to meet with the late Mary Black Rogers (an anthropological Elder) several times in Edmonton, where she shared some information about the Bloodvein River from her and Ed’s lifelong work. They are all missed greatly and I feel fortunate to have known them all.

Regards to Pikangikum, Lac Seul, and Little Grand Rapids First Nations, who provided approvals for working in their territories and shared invaluable information with me. Although I am not from these communities, and am a Western trained archaeologist, I do have Indigenous ancestry. They helped to educate me more about ancient Anishinaabe ways (and I am still learning):

Lac Seul: Joe Paishk; Josephine King; Jennie Angeconeb; Christina Keesic; Liz Kejick; Fred Thomas; Chief Clifford Bull; Chris Angeconeb; and Robert Binguis.

Little Grand Rapids: Augustine Keeper; Helen, Derek, Colleen and Jason Moar; Ray and Naomi Keeper; and Richard, Paul, and David Duck.

Pikangikum: Peter Paishk and Jean Keesic; Alex and Paddy Peters; Billie Joe Strang, Buster Kurahara and families; Charles Pascal; Randolph Suggashie; and Alfred Wesley. Thanks especially to Jean for reading over Chapter 5 for me and providing feedback (remember the turtle!).

I would like to thank these funding agencies for their support: Ontario Parks; Federal and Provincial Species at Risk programs; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for a Doctoral Fellowship; University of Alberta (two Queen Elizabeth II Scholarships, one President’s Doctoral Prize of Distinction, and two Provost Doctoral Entrance Scholarships); Canadian Circumpolar Institute C/BAR grants (3) to aid in funding these trips; and Dept. of Anthropology graduate research and teaching assistantships (one each). Also, Dr. Scott Hamilton of the Dept. of Anthropology, Lakehead University was the P.I. on a SSHRC Northern Research grant (#851-2003-0010) with Dr. Iain Davidson-Hunt (U. of Manitoba, co-applicant), Dr. Jennifer Brown (U. of Winnipeg, co-applicant), Pikangikum and Ontario Parks (partner organizations), Bill Ross (collaborator), and myself (collaborator) that provided some funding for the first Knox/Paishk Lake project in 2004 (before this work but some data were used). In 2012, Lakehead University awarded an Aboriginal Partnership Research Award to Scott Hamilton, Pikangikum, Lac Seul, Doug Gilmore/Ontario Parks, and myself. Pikangikum, Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, Doug Gilmore/Ontario Parks, and I also received the Canadian Heritage River Systems National River Conservation Award in 2016.

Thanks to everyone in the Dept. of Anthropology at LU for friendship and helping me while being a student at the U. of A. Regards to Drs. Scott Hamilton, Matt Boyd, Tamara Varney, Carney Matheson, and Mrs. Cindy Lamontagne for equipment loans, storage space for artifacts, lending me an office, and general assistance. Thanks to Matt for sharing information about the Late Woodland examples of residue studies and funding an AMS date. Clarence Surette provided residue analysis of the few options found in this region and great friendship throughout everything.

Regards to my friends who encouraged me to finish but in particular my long time buddy Tomasin Playford who helped me so much - including some editing! Brad Hyslop shared his research and enthusiasm about our study area and helped me think about big picture ideas. Thanks to my Anishinaabe sisters and brothers who also supported me: the late Leo Ishabid and Linda Keesick; also Cindy Crowe, Cynthia Coons, Ron Indian-Mandamin, Kaaren Dannenmann, Dianne Tookenay, and the Grey Wolf team. Thanks to Denise Ens, Jo-Ann Marvin, Angela Younie, and Tanya Roberts for helping me while in Edmonton.

Cheers to Bill Ross for sharing info. and the late Paddy Reid for making the West Patricia Archeological Study happen. It provided the only other archaeological survey information foundation material for this study along with other work in the WCSS. These findings were helpful for where to begin.

Also each helping on one or two trips: Hidehiro Otake and Kyoko Inokuchi, Hide also shared some of his amazing photographs; undergraduate Anthropology students from Lakehead University Pam Behun, Chris Hamilton, Debbie Babcock, Terry Breed, Lesley Kingsmill, Karen Mackenzie and Sean Higgins helped with cataloguing the Knox/Paishk Lakes first trip; and Marielle Vernooij of Holland (Musclow Lake trip volunteer).

Thanks to Dr. David Meyer (U. of SK) for sharing information. Similarly, regards to Kevin Brownlee at the Manitoba Museum for providing details about the new Sipiwesk Lake Complex. David Denton helped me understand better the Woodland Period in Quebec and shared information. Regards to Andrew Chapeskie, Dr. Michael O'Flaherty, Dave Finch, and Dr. David Peerla for helping with pertinent references. Andrew also helped me with meetings and contacts in Pikangikum.

Cheers to Paige Campbell of the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport for being such a star at helping find things in the office/lab. Rob von Bitter of the same ministry also put together Ontario archaeological site information for me. Thanks to Heather Docking from Manitoba Historic Resources Branch for doing the same and granting permission to publish some information about those sites. Regards to the Archives of Ontario employees who helped with that information. Thanks to Trudy Russo, of the Lakehead University Library, who aided with borrowing books there.

Thanks to the camp owners Diane and Evelyn Manning at Canadian Fly-in Fishing for helping us to stay very comfortably at Knox, Paishk, Thicketwood, and Murdock Lakes! Dave and Michelle Beaushene of Nestor Falls Fly-in Outposts and John and Donna Williams of Sabourin Lake Lodge also aided with our stays at Larus and Sabourin Lakes.

Regards to the Taylor/Armstrong clan, the Hollings, and the Paishk/Keesics for helping me through this process even when times were challenging. My parents Don and Patricia Taylor, sister Tracey Reid, brother Jay Taylor, aunt Colleen Armstrong, and other family members all assisted.

Foremost, I would like to thank my husband Pete. He supported me throughout this degree and helped in so many ways, including dealing with me being in Edmonton or out in the bush and minding the wiener pack. Thanks to him for help with teaching me how to use Adobe InDesign, some editing, aiding with the geological section, and some 'smashing' figures. I apologize to anyone whom I have overlooked in these acknowledgements regarding the very large cooperative of people who worked on these projects. *Ziibee (Atik ndoodem)* - '*Chi miigwetch*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aboriginal - Some Anishinaabeg in Ontario do not like this term because it was created by the federal government to characterize Indigenous peoples into categories; they also feel that "Aboriginal" sounds similar to abnormal and other words beginning with the "ab" prefix. McGuire 2010:119 explains the term further: "Aboriginal is specified in Section 35(2) of the Canadian Constitution as Indians, Métis, and Inuit. In federal legislation such as the Indian Act 91(24), First Nations are legally referred to as Indians and lands reserved for Indians. The terms, indigenous or First Peoples often refer to similar peoples in international context(s)". There is also a fourth 'category' of Non-status ("non-treaty" in the 1876 Indian Act) Indigenous people used by the Canadian federal government.

Anishinaabe(g) - This term translates to several things including first peoples, human beings, and people who fell to the earth (relating to creation stories); autonym used by many Ojibwe, since that word likely came from other people (Saulteaux ethnonym came from the French also). Some people also use this word in a broader context of meaning as Loew (2001:136) explains: "The Ojibwe and Odawa refer to the three tribes [including the Potawatomi] as the Anishinaabe or Anishinaabeg Alliance". In this dissertation, I am using the term to mean an Anishinaabemowin or Ojibwe speaker (after finding out from the community members whom I work with how they refer to themselves) unless otherwise specified.

Anishinaabekwe - Ojibwe woman

Anishinaabemowin - term used for Anishinaabe/Ojibwe language by those who speak it

Anishininiimowin - term used for Oji-Cree/Severn Ojibwe language by those who speak it

Anishininiwa(g) - autonym used by Oji-Cree/Severn Ojibwe people

Cree - This word is a name derived from the French word Kiristinon, used to describe several groups of Indigenous people in southern James Bay area in the 1600s. French missionaries and traders moved inland and encountered people who spoke a similar language. English speakers then shortened the word to "Cree" (Lytwyn 2002).

CWOI - This acronym stands for cord wrapped object impressions. It is a form of decoration on pottery whereby a fibre cord is wrapped around a thin object (a stick perhaps) and impressed into clay repeatedly. On Late Period pottery, it was used in vertical, horizontal, and oblique (diagonal) directions, often applied in many rows.

Dentate - This pottery decoration is often found on Laurel Ware; it looks like the impressions made by the tines of a fork (often square in outline) and occurs in various patterns and directions. Dentates were likely made by shaping a bone or wooden tool.

Fabric-impressed and textile impressed - Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (MacNeish 1958) was the original name for amorphous, twined weaves which were part of a supportive bag used to make pottery now included in the Selkirk Composite. This surface finish is diagnostic of the Late Woodland Period wares. Many central Canadian archaeologists use the term 'textile' impressed since that implies a looser weave than a fabric (i.e., cloth). Sprang woven bags that made this surface finish tend to be described as textile impressed but the terms are also used interchangeably by some researchers. In this thesis, I will use the term fabric-impressed to mean the amorphous, twined forms used in Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Selkirk Composite) and Bird Lake wares (e.g., with the larger knots resembling a golf ball texture) and textile impressed to mean the type variously known as sprang, parallel vertical textile impressed, or 'cord marked' forms seen most often on Blackduck, Sandy Lake, and Duck Bay wares.

HBC - Hudson Bay Company

Indian - This word was a misnomer used by early Europeans, to describe Indigenous peoples from the Americas, because they believed they had discovered the country India. It is also a Canadian Government category of Indigenous people within the Indian Act (Government of Canada 2013). Some Indigenous Canadians consider it to be inappropriate.

Ininimowin - term used for Cree language by themselves

Lac Seul - Lac Seul First Nation

LGRFN or **Little Grand Rapids** - Little Grand Rapids First Nation

Moosoni - autonym used by Moose Cree

Mushkegowuk or ***Nehinawak*** - autonym used by Swampy Cree

NWC - North West Company

Oji-Cree - This name is often used for linguistic and cultural groups of many First Nations in Ontario (Sandy Lake, Deer Lake, Marten Falls, etc.) and near Island Lake, Manitoba (Wolfart 1973). These peoples live to the north of the study area and to the south of Cree speakers. Most researchers treat this as a separate language but linguists usually now describe it as Severn Ojibwe, an Ojibwe dialect with considerable amount of Cree vocabulary and morphology. Hallowell (1955) referred to the Berens River Ojibwe as the Northern Ojibwe but Rogers and Black Rogers (1978) later used that term for the Oji-Cree speakers at Weagamow Lake where they worked for decades, although they also noted that Oji-Cree speakers often refer to themselves as Cree. Rogers (1963) also referred to them as the Cree-Ojibwa.

OMNR - This acronym stands for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, which is currently known as the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry; it was known in the mid twentieth century as Ontario Lands and Forests.

OP - Ontario Parks

Paste - In pottery studies, the paste is the product resulting from the transformed clay body. Characteristics such as quantity, size, and quality of temper, organics present, porosity, and texture (fine, medium, and coarse or hard or laminated) may help indicate manufacturing techniques used while making the pottery. Coil breaks are often preserved along the edges of broken Laurel Ware sherds, which indicates the predominant coil made manufacturing process. Late Woodland pottery is often laminated due to walls being compressed through being made in a fabric bag and perhaps in some cases paddled (paddle and anvil technique).

Pikangikum or PFN - Pikangikum First Nation (formerly spelled Pekangekum)

Plain - Technically, this term means devoid of decoration, which is different from a smooth surface finish (particularly pertinent in Laurel Ware).

Pottery and Ceramics - Technically, pottery is defined as unvitrified, hand-built wares. In a Canadian context, it was made by Indigenous peoples during the Late Precontact Period and more rarely in postcontact times. Alternatively, ceramics are vitrified (fired at higher temperatures), often glazed, usually manufactured on a wheel, and derive from postcontact contexts that were typically sourced in Europe (see Rice 1987).

Pseudo-scallop Shell - This decoration is characteristic of Laurel Ware. It appears to have been created using the wavy edge of a shell (akin to a scallop shell but these are not found in this area - hence pseudo-scallop). It often was placed in multiple lines of horizontal orientation but also occurs in chevrons and other patterns.

Punctate - A punctate is a pottery decoration made as a round tool impression. It is often found on Laurel Ware, Blackduck Ware, and Clearwater Lake Punctate Type of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) define punctates as being deeper than they are wide as opposed to stamps (see below).

Saulteaux - This French term means “people of the rapids” referring to the Ojibwe location in the area of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Later, it was applied to groups of Anishinaabe people living north of Lake Superior and usually east of Lake Winnipeg (although some plains groups also use the term Saulteaux for themselves as well as *Nakawe(-k)* and their form of the Anishinaabe language as *Nakawemowin*). Skinner (1911) used the term Northern Saulteaux for Lac Seul Ojibwe.

Signature Site - The term signature site was used to describe nine established Ontario parks that were expanded during the Ontario’s Living Legacy land use strategy in the late 1990s (OMNR 1999). Typically, this consisted of the original park, park additions, and other types of land use planning units being established to enlarge a dedicated protected area.

Smooth or **Smoothed** - This surface finish on pottery has been made by smoothing the clay with a rock, bone or other tool. It may also be wiped (smoothing marks may be left behind) and some smoothed pots are burnished (shiny) from the clay becoming polished. This surface finish is most typical of Laurel Ware in central Canada. Smoothing almost always occurs on most interior of pots found in the central Canadian boreal forest and northern plains.

Sprang - A type of textile is created by sprang weaving; it is also a surface finish oriented in a vertical direction, formed by the negative impression of the textile, on Late Woodland pottery.

Stamps - Tool impressed decorations that are applied in many different modes on pottery are stamps. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) define them as being wider then they are deep. Many types of stamps appear on Laurel Ware (e.g., rocker stamp, push and pull, oblique, stamp and drag, etc.) and later Rainy River Composite Bird Lake and Duck Bay wares (usually oval, ovate, and round).

Temper - Material added to clay during the manufacturing process of pottery to reduce shrinkage before and after firing is called temper. It also aids with more even distribution of heat through the vessel. Most pots found in the central Canadian boreal forest have grit (weathered or heated rock) temper but crushed shell, sand, grog (broken pottery), and organics were used.

Twining - Another surface finish found on Late Woodland pottery is twining, which is interlinked or an amorphous golf ball like pattern resulting from the knots and cord links. It is also known as fabric impressions on Late Woodland pottery.

WCSS - The Woodland Caribou Signature Site includes the original Woodland Caribou Provincial Park with the inclusion of newer park additions, reserves, and one Enhanced Management Unit. Signature sites were formed to enlarge nine provincial parks during Ontario's Living Legacy land use planning (OMNR 1999). Some people still refer to it by the original park name.

Whitefeather Forest Initiative - The Whitefeather Forest is Pikangikum's traditional area, now outlined in their land use plan (PFN and OMNR 2006), surrounding the federal reserve land. The Whitefeather Forest Initiative (2003, 2004) is a cooperative of the community and outsiders formed to work together on land use planning and research.

A NOTE ABOUT LANGUAGE

No standard orthography exists for the Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) language. Just as there are many different variations for the word Ojibwe (e.g., Ojibwa, Ojibway, Ochipwe, Ojibbeway, etc.), there are diverse spellings for many other Anishinaabemowin words (e.g., Anishinaabe, Anishinabe, Anishnawbe, Anicinape, Nishnawbe, Anishinaubae, and so forth). Many of these differences arise from the unique dialects that have developed across Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Minnesota/Wisconsin (typically known as Chippewa in the USA). Most people who speak Ojibwe use the endonym Anishinaabe (Anishinaabekwe for a woman; Anishinaabeg is plural). I have used the typical style convention of italicizing 'foreign' languages other than English in this dissertation. As McGuire (2010) explains, Anishinaabemowin is not a foreign language in Canada, whereas ironically English is not Indigenous! Since this thesis is written mainly in English and the majority of Canadians are English speakers, I have italicized all other Anishinaabemowin words to avoid confusion, except for those words that are widely used by researchers since they are now in common English usage (e.g., Ojibwe, Anishinaabe(g), Pikangikum).

The people of Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids First Nations speak the Berens River Ojibwe dialect (Ahneesheenahbaymooween in PFN and OMNR 2006) that is different to Northwestern Ojibwe speakers from Red Lake and Lac Seul First Nation (Anishinaabemowin in Ningewance 2004). So, there are variations in pronunciations, spellings, and meanings as one would expect. In the past, they were both considered to be Lake Winnipeg basin Saulteaux (e.g., Steinbring 1981). These similarities between the Berens River Ojibwe dialect from Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, Poplar Hill, Pauingassi, and Berens River were noted and seem to relate to the geographical and familial ties of that river system (see Hallowell 1992). Lac Seul First Nation is located much further south of the Woodland Caribou Signature Site/Bloodvein River, with the Berens River to the north. The spellings offered throughout this dissertation are those recommended by the people of Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum that they feel best represent the way they speak. Exceptions to those spelling variations occur when directly quoting another author, in which case the original spelling that they use is retained for continuity, reflecting the language at that particular place or time.

In this thesis, I have used mostly the spelling referenced by Ningewance (2004), who is from Lac Seul First Nation and is an instructor and translator in the Northwestern Ojibwe. I also consulted with translator and Keesic family member, Christina Keesic from Sioux Lookout and Lac Seul, for a number of spellings. For Anishinaabemowin references related to Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids First Nations contexts, I used the spellings provided by community members, in their land use plans (LGRFN and OMNR 2011; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006), and from documents related to the communities.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> We cherish our culture--our traditions, language, values and principles; our physical, mental and spiritual well-being--and our relationship (*kahsheemeenoweecheetahmahnk*) to our *Ahneesheenahbay ohtahkeem* (ancestral lands) we have occupied since time immemorial.

Pikangikum First Nation and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (2006:3).

Indigenous peoples have occupied the boreal forest of northwestern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba (Figure 1.1) for thousands of years as evident from the available archaeological site data (Meyer and Hamilton 1994) and as exemplified in the preceding quotation from Pikangikum First Nation Elders. However, the most information is available for Late Woodland and later time frames (ca. 1,250 BP to the present). "One of the great strengths of subarctic archaeology has been its potential for drawing on historical sources, early ethnographies, and contemporary native communities for information about the past", as Holly (2002:14) explains. In northwestern Ontario, there is available complementary ethnohistory (e.g., Lytwyn 1981, 1986a, 1986b), ethnography (e.g., Hallowell 1992), and oral history/traditional knowledge. The Anishinaabe (or Ojibwe), Cree, and Oji-Cree speakers have long been the Indigenous caretakers of their ancestral lands in northwestern Ontario and continue traditional cultural pursuits (Figure 1.2).

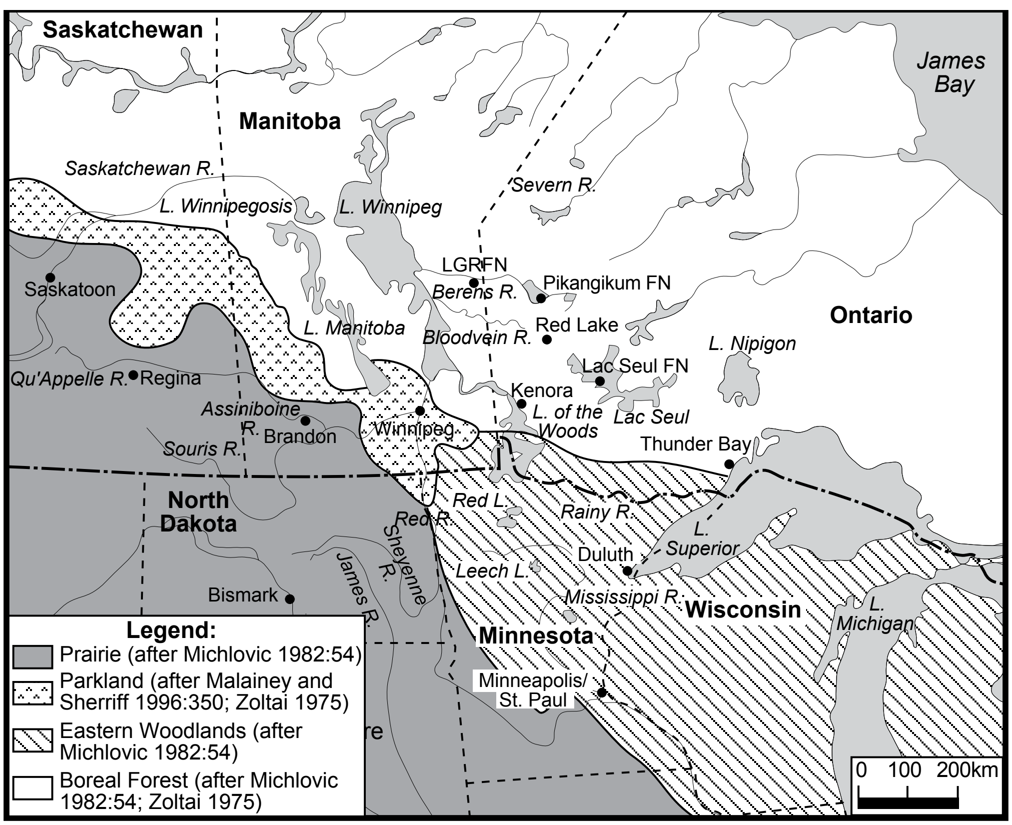

Figure 1.1. The boreal forest and adjacent ecozones pertinent to this dissertation.

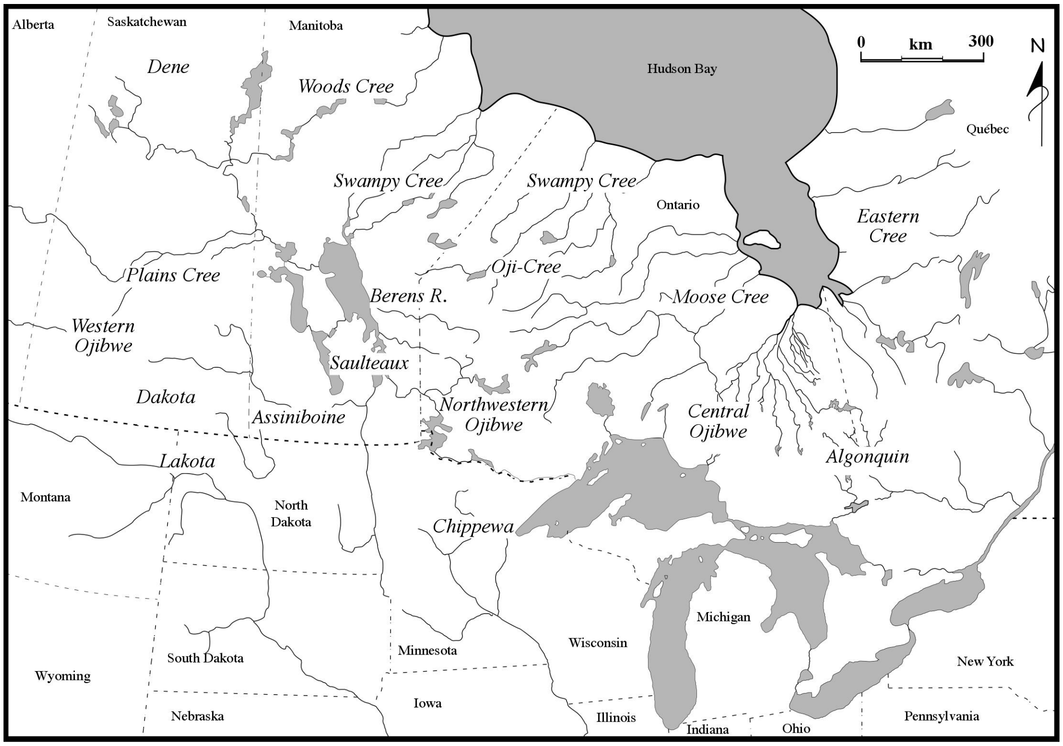

Figure 1.2. Generalized distribution of people speaking Indigenous languages near the study area at present. The Bloodvein River is south of the Berens River, where residents speak a dialect specific for that region.

This study investigates cultural and technological changes of the Indigenous people who lived along the *Miskweyaabiziibi* or Bloodvein River in what is now the Woodland Caribou Signature Site (WCSS), a provincial park in northwestern Ontario (Figures 1.3, 1.4). Archaeology provides the main framework used to investigate these changes but the wealth of available Anishinaabe oral history/traditional knowledge, ethnography, and ethnohistory has also provided secondary avenues for understanding later cultural changes on this river system. In terms of the archaeology, the Late Woodland Period Selkirk Composite (ca. AD 1100-1750 in Meyer and Russell 1987) was chosen as the main focus of this study to help inform a larger regional viewpoint. The Selkirk Composite is the latest known precontact archaeological affiliation found in the Bloodvein River region and it provides the most information from the Late Woodland in northwestern Ontario. The central body of this work derives from 10 archaeological surveys with subsequent reporting, analyses, and feedback from sharing information with research partners. Unbiased survey methods recorded sites of all ages so this study will also update the culture history of the area based on the limited results of the older sites (see Chapters 2, 4, and 7).

The Selkirk "Composite" is an archaeological term used in central Canada to group contemporaneous sites with similar material culture such as pottery, lithics, bone tools, and faunal remains based on Syms' (1977) archaeological taxonomy. It has been identified in a small number of eastern Alberta sites (McCullough 1977; Walde et al. 2006[2010]) and across the boreal forest of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario (Meyer and Russell 1987) (Figure 1.1). In addition, this

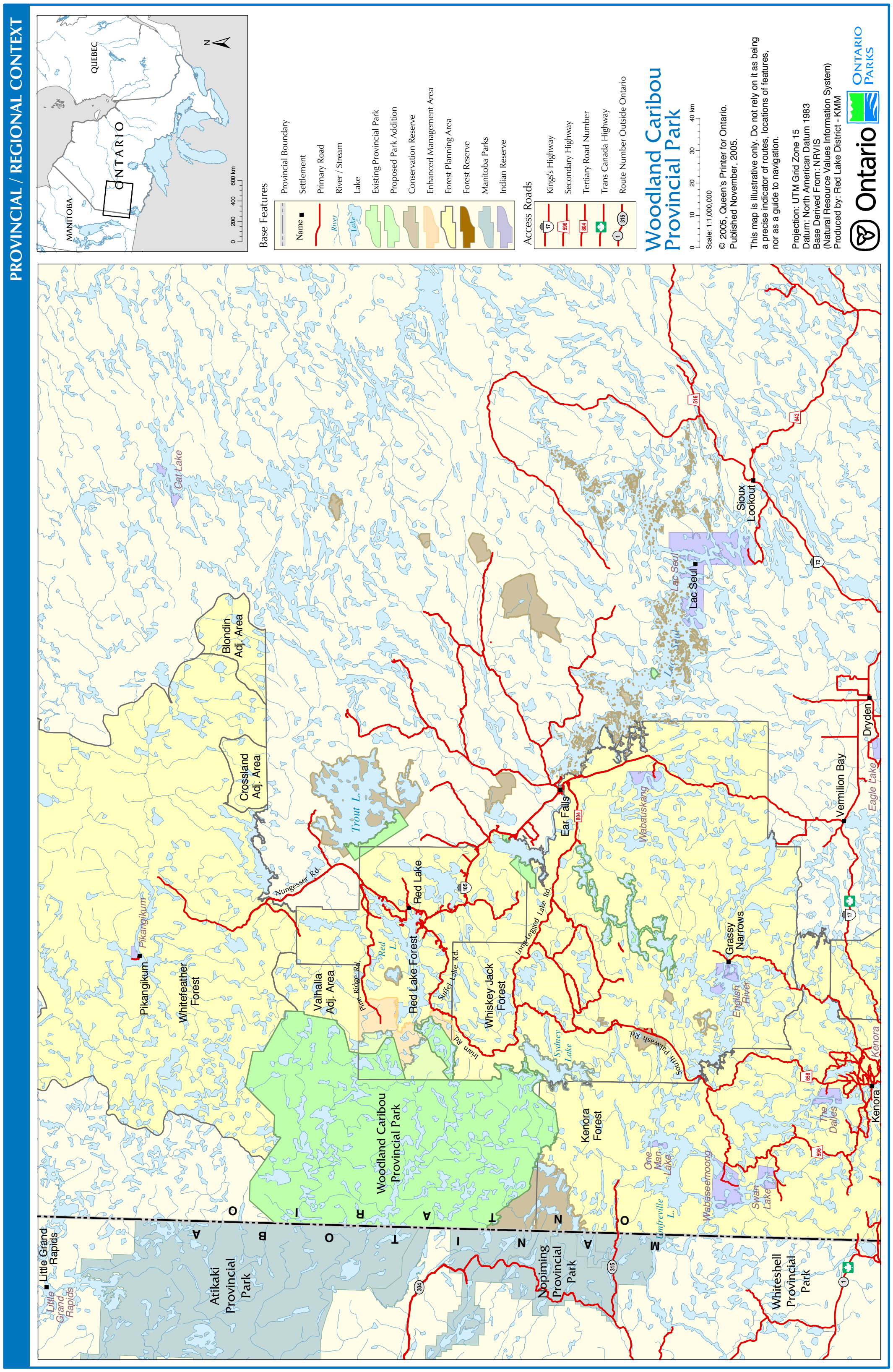

Figure 1.3. Woodland Caribou Provincial Park and additions to comprise the Signature Site and other planning areas in the Red Lake District (courtesy of Doug Gilmore of Ontario Parks and used with permission). The Bloodvein River is the northern most river system in the park.

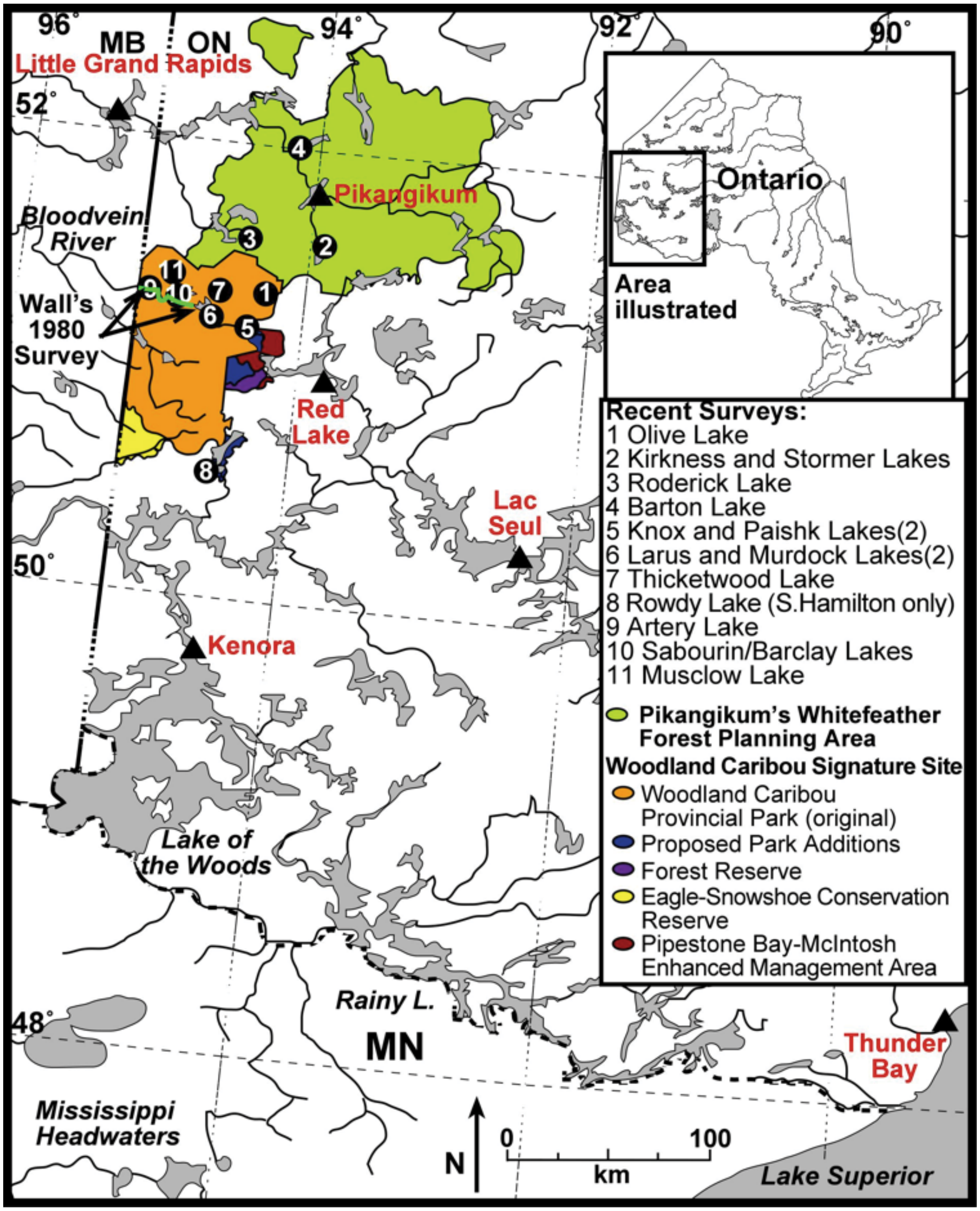

Figure 1.4. The WCSS showing recent archaeological surveys that have taken place there, the area of Wall's (1980) survey, and other surveys complete in Pikangikum's Whitefeather Forest traditional area (map template courtesy of Scott Hamilton).

archaeological culture has also been recognized in a few sites in the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence forest of northern Minnesota (Arzigian 2008; Lugenbeal 1976; Mulholland and Woodward 2001; Richner 2008), although there has been a tendency to identify it as "Late Blackduck" affiliation. The more western archaeological expressions of the Selkirk Composite in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, where it has also been identified in a few sites within the current aspen parkland and plains settings, have been the subject of detailed research, particularly by scholars studying the characteristic Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (e.g., Dickson 1980; Gibson 1998; MacLean 1995; Meyer 1978, 1981, 1984; Meyer and Russell 1987, 2006; Meyer and Smith 2010; Paquin 1999; Saylor 1978a; Young 2006). However, only one person has addressed the northwestern Ontario assemblages in any detail, with that research being completed in the 1980s (Rajnovich 1983). Meyer and Russell (1987) provide a major update of the complexes and all aspects of the Selkirk Composite and Meyer and Hamilton (1994) include a general central Canadian boreal forest overview. Thus, the analysis and reappraisal of Selkirk Composite sites on the Bloodvein River and in northwestern Ontario within this thesis is timely.

The Selkirk Composite likely represents sites left behind by early northern Algonquian peoples (Figure 1.2), most often suggested to be direct ancestors of people who became known as the Cree during the Fur Trade Period (e.g., Hanna 2004; MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Russell 1987). Hlady (1971) even specifies that they were Woodland Cree peoples as opposed to Plains, Swampy, or Moose Cree (Figure 1.2). However, an intriguing problem exists in northwestern Ontario, where it is well known that some groups of Anishinaabe (e.g., Long 1791) and Oji-Cree speakers have lived for hundreds of years and likely longer (Greenberg and Morrison 1982). "It is not, though, unlikely that on the fringe of the Selkirk ecumene some other peoples may have adopted this kind of pottery", is one suggestion made by Meyer and Russell (1987:27) to explain that issue. This idea may elucidate why many Selkirk Composite sites are also found in the traditional lands of people who speak Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe), Northwestern Ojibwe (Ningewance 2004), or Saulteaux and live presently near the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, and Lac Seul (Steinbring 1981). Pikangikum, Poplar Hill, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi, Berens River First Nation, and some groups just to the north of these communities speak the Berens River dialect that is slightly different to the Northwestern Ojibwe dialect (Philips Valentine 1995) (Figure 1.2). Additionally, Selkirk Composite assemblages have been found in Oji-Cree territories (Hamilton and Finch 2010; Pilon 1987), which further complicates the idea that late dating site occupants were exclusively Cree speakers in northwestern Ontario.

One of the most important aspects of this community archaeology project was that it was a catalyst for collaboration between non-traditional partners with three First Nations, provincial government employees, and archaeologists (e.g., Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Within the Bloodvein River region of the WCSS are the traditional territories of three Anishinaabe First Nations: Little Grand Rapids in far eastern Manitoba and northwestern Ontario; Pikangikum in the Whitefeather Forest north of Red Lake; and Lac Seul on the east side of the park in northwestern Ontario (Figures 1.3, 1.5). Many collaborations have taken place between the three First Nations, Park Superintendent WCSS Doug Gilmore (Ontario Parks) and myself. Two projects also included Scott Hamilton and several students from the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Hamilton et al. 2007; Taylor-Hollings 2006c). I chose to

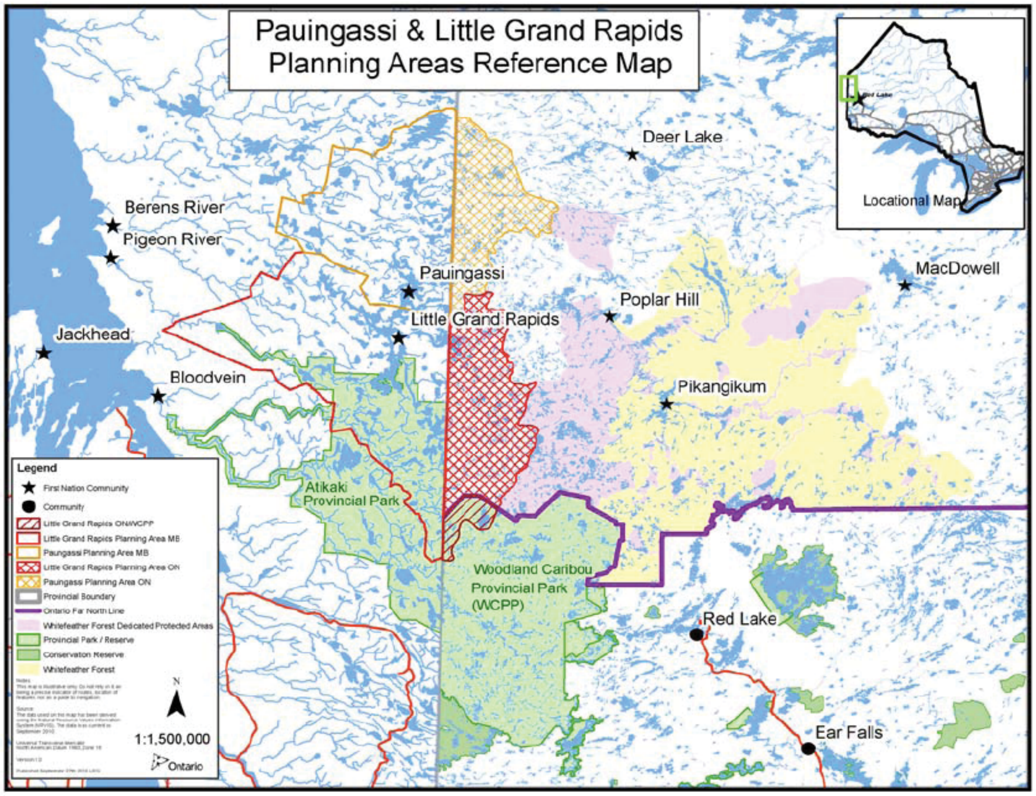

Figure 1.5. Planning areas for Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi and Pikangikum First Nations showing Little Grand Rapids' traditional territory in the WCSS and Atikaki Provincial Park (from LGR and OMNR 2011:12).

work with Gilmore because of his appropriate way of working together with many different groups of people and his wish to ensure shared decision making with the First Nations having traditional territories in the WCSS. Collaborating with individuals from the WCSS and Lakehead University allowed for the exchange of scientific and planning information, whereas working with local Indigenous people provided opportunities to learn more about past and present cultures along with the landscape from an Indigenous and diachronic perspective. These factors are particularly true in northwestern Ontario since Anishinaabeg knowledge of the central Canadian boreal forest is very precise, proving important clues about old sites and traditional use locales in the complex Subarctic environment. Hence, Elders would often say: "people used to live there a long time ago" and refer to a particular place. By working together, the participating groups and individuals benefited from the diverse epistemologies of all involved and the more practical applied outcomes as will be discussed (Gilmore 2010; Taylor-Hollings 2012b; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Working with the Anishinaabeg during this project was also an opportunity to learn about behavioural analogies of those who lived in the same region during late precontact times. While acknowledging that most Indigenous peoples went through tremendous changes during European contact in this region and later times, many of their traditional life ways still remain (see Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012).

Research Problems and Objectives

After reviewing the previous archaeological research specific to the Bloodvein River study area (Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Pelshea 1980; Wall 1980a) and completing a few initial fieldwork projects in the study area (Taylor-Hollings 2006c; Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2007) (Figure 1.4), two research questions were developed to be addressed in this thesis: (1) What evidence is there of cultural and technological changes through time along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS of northwestern Ontario?; and (2) What evidence is there for the regional Selkirk Composite archaeological culture along the Bloodvein River in Ontario and how does that fit within the context of northwestern Ontario and the larger extent?

To address these research problems, four objectives were developed for this project:

Objective 1. To complete an archaeological site inventory along the length of the Bloodvein River system in Ontario in order to provide data to address both research questions;

Objective 2. Regarding the first research question, another goal was to update and amplify the culture history of the Bloodvein River and larger region, from precontact periods through to modern times, using diagnostic artifacts and archaeological survey data combined with the minimal previous research results (Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Wall 1980a). For later time periods, this objective would be achieved by including some evidence of more recent cultural change learned through traditional knowledge, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric information;

Objective 3. Related to the second research question, the third objective was to determine the attributes, variation, and types of Selkirk Composite Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and other pottery found along the Bloodvein River; and

Objective 4. Regarding the second research question, a fourth goal was to decide if the Bloodvein River assemblages fit within the current Clearwater Lake (more northern) or Winnipeg River Complex (southern) (Figure 1.6), given that other researchers have suggested that there is a dividing line near the Bloodvein River and Red Lake area (e.g., Rajnovich and Reid 1978; Smith 1981). Using the Ontario Bloodvein River system as a microcosm of the larger area, this led to determining if there is more than one complex within the eastern Selkirk Composite regarding Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) proposed taxonomic changes and updating the extent of this archaeological entity.

The Study Area

The study area for this project is the Bloodvein River in the WCSS, which is located within the boreal forest of northwestern Ontario (Figure 1.3). This river flows west and northwest for 106 km through the WCSS and then another 200 km through Atikaki Provincial Park in Manitoba (Newman and Gilmore 2007), before eventually terminating in Lake Winnipeg, which is one of the largest freshwater lakes in the world (Figure 1.3). Because the entire river system is over 300 km long (Figure 1.5), this study focused on the Ontario portion where preliminary data had previ-

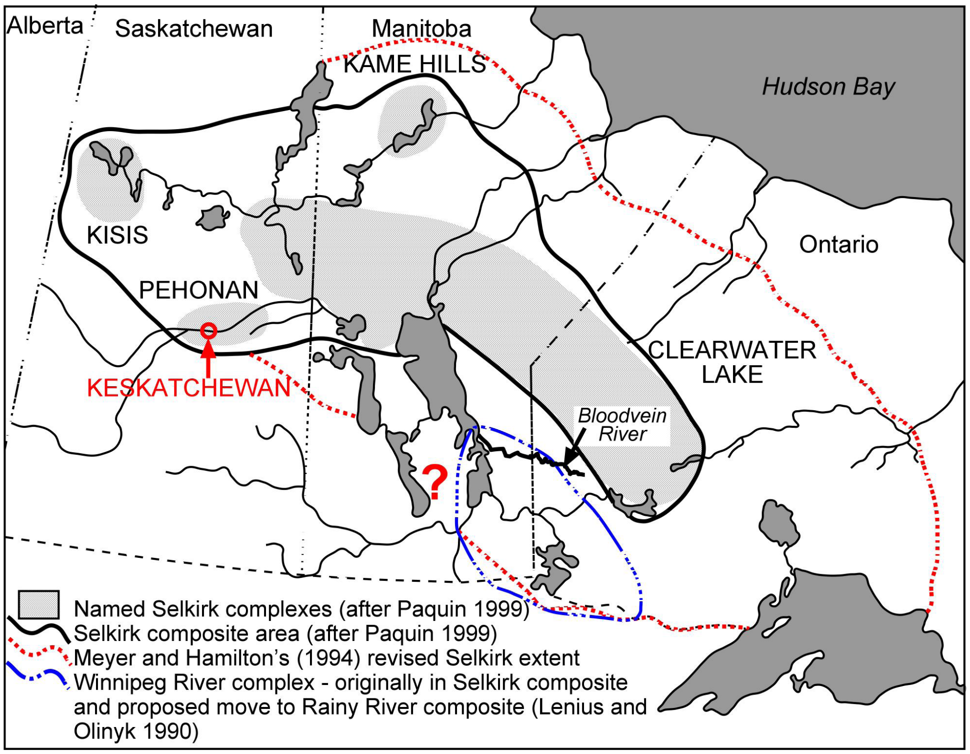

Figure 1.6. Different named complexes of the Selkirk Composite and proposed extent in Ontario prior to this study (modified after Meyer and Hamilton 1994 and Paquin 1999). Keskatchewan Complex extent from Gibson (1998).

ously been gathered (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). In addition, partnerships had already been formed with WCSS Superintendent Gilmore as well as Lac Seul and Pikangikum First Nations, who have traditional territories along the eastern and central part of the river in Ontario (Figure 1.3). Later, Little Grand Rapids First Nation was asked to work with the Park Superintendent and me, since there are particular families with traditional territories and trap lines on the Ontario side of the river (Figure 1.5). These three communities have related cultural and family connections, known for many generations (e.g., Hallowell 1992; Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Dunning 1959), so it was appropriate and logical to work within this part of the river system where postcontact Indigenous sociocultural linkages were also known.

Although the provincial border between Ontario and Manitoba is a recent, artificial political divide, it made sense to limit field surveys to that border area from an Anishinaabe cultural perspective and for practical purposes. The traditional territories of Little Grand Rapids include the middle Bloodvein River, at least in terms of contemporary land use planning, whereas *Miskooseepi* or Bloodvein First Nation's traditional territory is near Lake Winnipeg (Figure 1.1). Little Grand Rapids' traditional areas do extend into both the WCSS in Ontario and Atikaki Provincial Park in Manitoba (Figure 1.5). Thus, many Little Grand Rapids community members are culturally tied to communities in Ontario (e.g., Hallowell 1992) and as evident from their completion of land use plans with the governments of Manitoba (Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba 2012) as well as Ontario (LGRFN and OMNR 2011). Bloodvein First Nation is the only community on the river that is located on the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg and the people there have more cultural connections to that area rather than to Ontario (Figure 1.5). However, that does not suggest that people from that region do not venture up river to the study area, given the large traditional areas of Subarctic peoples. Funding opportunities, mainly due to land use planning activities, also allowed the archaeological surveys to be completed along the Ontario portion of the Bloodvein River. Other authors (Dewdney 1978; Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Kelly 1986; Lindsey 1979; Petch 1991; Steinbring 1987; Steinbring and Elias 1968) have recorded a few archaeological sites, mostly pictographs, found on the Manitoba side of the Bloodvein River that provide some information about the culture history of that river section (for general information see also Hilderman Thomas Frank Cram 2000; Manitoba Conservation 2008). However, overall there is very limited published archaeological research from all along the Bloodvein River including northwestern Ontario and east-central Manitoba (Petch 1991).

The Bloodvein River is located in the expanded WCSS, which consists of the previously established Woodland Caribou Provincial Park (456,575 hectares) along with four park additions, two reserves, and an Enhanced Management Unit totaling nearly 545,000 hectares (Ontario Parks 2007; Figures 1.3, 1.4). A Signature Site is the term used to describe nine established provincial parks that were enlarged during the Ontario's Living Legacy land use strategy in the late 1990s (OMNR 1999). Anishinaabeg of the western Bloodvein, Berens, and Poplar rivers have typically been considered more as East Lake Winnipeg communities by academics (e.g., Gray 1996; Hallowell 1992) (Figures 1.1 and 1.3). However, this study focuses on the eastern and central portions of the Bloodvein River that are culturally and geographically tied to the Red Lake area and First Nations in Ontario such as Pikangikum, Lac Seul, Trout Lake region, and Little Grand Rapids in Manitoba near the border.

Organization of Dissertation

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 presents the rationales for choosing this study area and project, theoretical perspectives used to interpret the data, methods used during all aspects of the project, as well as a discussion of potential limitations to the data and results. Next, Chapter 3 describes the physical environment of the study area and environs to provide other background information for discussing the archaeological sites along with occupations of Anishinaabeg and European Canadians. Chapter 4 includes an overview of previous research for the study area and adjacent regions to present the reader with a context for the state of knowledge before this thesis. An overview of the known culture history of the Bloodvein River, which is mainly based on adjacent regions, is also reviewed.

In order to address the first research question regarding cultural and technological changes evident along the Bloodvein River, aspects of more recent Anishinaabe conditions and traditional knowledge from 1821 (after the amalgamation of the Hudson Bay and North West companies) until present are discussed in Chapter 5. Following Rogers and Smith (1994), I have divided the Postcontact Period in northwestern Ontario into four time frames: the Early Fur Trade (1670-1821); Northern Algonquians and the HBC (1821-1890); Frontiers of the "New Ontario" (1890-1945); and the Modern Period after World War II (1945-present). Chapter 5 covers the three later divisions. Discussions about what happened to the people who left behind the Selkirk Composite in the Protocontact Period pertain to addressing the second research question. First, demographic information about the three First Nations research partners regarding their communities and languages is presented. Some people living in these communities still frequent the Bloodvein River region, just like their ancestors did for generations. Thus, this chapter establishes the modern context for Anishinaabeg who still have ties to the Bloodvein River and have lived there for many generations. Pertinent examples of persons identified in documents that lived along the Bloodvein River and other information about the early events at Red Lake, Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum are also included. People from all these communities inhabited the Bloodvein River during the Postcontact Period and likely earlier, so ethnicities and cultural continuity has been discussed.

Chapter 6 also addresses the first research question and consists of an overview of the important Early Fur Trade Period (1670-1821) occupations of the Bloodvein River using the available archaeology and outlining the key ethnohistoric sources for that region with some individuals described in the documents. It examines information for the post-Selkirk Composite Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg, other Indigenous groups known to have been in this region, and the arrival of Europeans. Next, Chapter 7 covers the archaeological survey data, mainly deriving from the Precontact Period, from the 10 Bloodvein River field projects and the results. This discussion includes an overview of the oldest time frames from sites found along the Bloodvein River to update the culture history of this region. The second research question regarding the Selkirk Composite is addressed within this chapter but information about potential ethnicity and historical analogies are drawn together from the two previous chapters. Chapter 8 combines the different forms of data to provide an overview of cultural change through time on the Bloodvein River: recent cultural changes to the Anishinaabeg through traditional knowledge; ethnohistoric sources available during the Fur Trade Period; and archaeological information including findings about the Selkirk Composite sites from the Bloodvein River, studied as a microcosm of the larger regional situation. This chapter synthesizes the multiple streams of data concerning the study area and includes recommendations for future research endeavours in this region.

CHAPTER 2: RATIONALES, THEORIES, METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

Rationales

This chapter outlines four types of background information about this project in the study area of the Bloodvein River within the WCSS (Figures 1.4, 2.1): (1) rationales for choosing this project and region; (2) different theoretical approaches chosen before the course of this work; (3) methods of archaeological fieldwork and analysis, ethnohistoric document research, some shared traditional knowledge information; and (4) potential limitations of this study.

Beginning with the many rationales for choosing the Bloodvein River study area, it was an opportunity to continue working in the WCSS and that river offered the possibility to trace cultural changes from the earliest inhabitants through to the modern Anishinaabe who live in Red Lake, Lac Seul, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids. The Bloodvein River is also one of the most significant ancient and modern travel corridors in this region of northwestern Ontario. As an indication of contemporary national significance, the Bloodvein system has been designated as a Canadian Heritage River (Jackson 1998; Manitoba Conservation 2008; Newman and Gilmore 2007). As part of the WCSS, it is also located in the *Pimachiowin Aki* proposed UNESCO World Heritage project area (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012), which at the time of writing was being considered. The headwaters are found just outside of the WCSS near Paishk Lake in Ontario and the mouth empties

Figure 2.1. View from a floatplane of the Bloodvein River where it flows into Artery Lake (facing southeast).

into Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba (Figure 1.1). At that point people arrive at a transportation junction with opportunities to move north into the Arctic watershed, southeast to the Red River/aspen parkland and Great Lakes-St. Lawrence forest, or southwest into the northeastern plains (Figure 1.1). This available biotic diversity allowed for varied adaptations and provided many economic options for Indigenous people in the past. For example, Blackduck Composite peoples moved into southern Manitoba from the adjacent boreal forest adapting to a plains oriented, mainly bison hunting economy (Hamilton et al. 2007). People could travel, with relative ease, into most areas of the boreal forest during the winter months since waterways would be frozen. Particularly in the warmer seasons, Subarctic Indigenous sites and land usage have been strongly associated with water-based communication transportation corridors and economic opportunities (e.g., Hamilton 2000) with the Bloodvein River being a prime example. Evidence of long-established usage of this waterway is provided by the distribution of rock art and previous sites found along the river (e.g., Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Wall 1980a). Indigenous and Euro-Canadian people continued to use this river during the Fur Trade Period and modern visitors now travel along the river for subsistence activities as well as recreation (Ontario Parks 2007). There are no permanent residents situated along the Bloodvein River in Ontario because it is now a provincial park and dedicated protected area.

Choosing to work in this region also provided the opportunity to work with three First Nations, including very knowledgeable Elders and community members who wanted to work together with the Park Superintendent and archaeologists in learning more about the culture history and ancient traditional land use of the Bloodvein River system. It was important to respect, work with, and learn from Anishinaabe community members from Lac Seul, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids who possess such complex knowledge about the Bloodvein River region. Their territories correspond with the latest precontact, pottery-making Selkirk Composite peoples who also occupied some of the same sites (Taylor-Hollings 2006a). As Hamilton (2000:49) explains, "It is also clear that archaeologists must seek more comprehensive land use information deriving from the Aboriginal Oral Tradition". This project was an opportunity to learn about that recent traditional land use and compare it to earlier Selkirk Composite site patterns.

Since the Bloodvein River is found within the WCSS, more background information is available than many other areas of northwestern Ontario, including Ontario Parks' research about vegetation, soils, lakes, campsites, and biological inventories. These data assisted with understanding traditional land use and the environmental context. For example, these types of information have aided with understanding ancient and modern site selection: trap line boundaries; vegetation and regionally significant species; fire history; bedrock and surficial geology; woodland caribou and other faunal habitats; biological inventories; and modern camping or visitor usage (Jackson 1998; Ontario Parks 2005, 2007).

Theoretical Approaches

Community Archaeology. Regarding theoretical approaches, Holly (2002:10) explains, "Discourse in subarctic archaeology rarely involves explicit theoretical discussion". Before beginning this research, I had already completed several archaeological surveys from 2003 to 2006 in the study area, the WCSS, and nearby Whitefeather Forest (Pikangikum's traditional territory in Figure 1.4). These projects were undertaken with Pikangikum, Lac Seul, Ontario Parks (Taylor-Hollings 2004a, 2006a, 2006b), and two with Scott Hamilton of Lakehead University (Taylor-Hollings 2006c; Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2007). In doing so, I had developed several theoretical perspectives that would work best with completing this study with the foremost being a community or Indigenous archaeological approach. Elders Peter Paishk (Pikangikum/Lac Seul), Joe Paishk (Red Lake/Lac Seul), and the late Joe Keesic of Red Lake/Lac Seul described these partnerships with the Anishinaabemowin term for partnership, *wijiiwaagan,* meaning a long-lasting friendship based on mutual trust and honesty (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). An early form of this archaeological practice is known as Indigenous archaeology, whereby people and archaeologists work together to discover the past, typically in a community-driven process. Nicholas and Andrews (1997) provide some of the earliest descriptions of Indigenous archaeology (see also Atalay 2006 and Watkins 2000), which is a relatively new theoretical perspective in the discipline. More recently, Nicholas (2010) proposed moving away from Indigenous archaeology themes in hopes that they would actually become more typical in mainstream archaeology. However, with the ever-growing cultural resource management sector of the discipline, community-based, community oriented, and Indigenous archaeology projects are certainly not yet common (but see Connaughton et al. 2014).

Martindale and Lyons (2014:429) describe the causal factors for the delay, despite archaeologists being required to consult and accommodate descent communities (see Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011a):

> The development of long-term, consensus-based relationships between non-native archaeologists and indigenous descent communities is undermined by the structures of power in academics and industry, which valourize short-term projects with rapidly produced and conceptually bounded outputs.

In contrast, Supernant and Warrick (2014) discuss cautionary examples showing the complexities of undertaking such projects in British Columbia and southern Ontario. However, the context of the study area is completely different than those areas, with Anishinaabe people being a large part of the population in Red Lake (the nearest town to the Ontario Bloodvein River) and in the majority along the Berens River (Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids). I did not undertake this research approach lightly but considered that there are no land claims in this part of northwestern Ontario and was careful to find out who would be the correct individuals to speak with and request to work with (i.e., Head Trappers and traditional knowledge holders in each of the three communities).

The community archaeology theoretical view was integral for forming (and building) appropriate working partnerships. Also, it helped determine how to best address the two main research questions integral to this project of: (1) investigating cultural change through time along the Bloodvein River; and (2) exploring the dynamics of the Selkirk Composite in northwestern Ontario. By using community archaeology approaches, I was able to learn much more about archaeological sites from contemporary Anishinaabe Elders and community members and in terms of how the Bloodvein River landscape was occupied, specific toponyms, site patterning, economic opportunities, stories tied to the land, seasonal usage, and so on (see Greer 1990). Nicholas (1997) also emphasizes the importance of working with descendant communities because some aspects of past land use are outside the knowledge of Western (academic) trained individuals.

Atalay (2006), an archaeologist and Anishinaabekwe (Ojibwe woman), discusses how traditional archaeology and other related disciplines need to change from relying only on a Western academic perspective. A few archaeologists believe that archaeology as a social science/science may lose credibility or even data as a result of this type of Indigenous archaeology theory (see McGhee 2008). However, Atalay (2006:295) proposes the more appropriate term "de-center" to describe the ideal situation of bringing back to Indigenous people the power to drive archaeological and other research or at least be involved in it. Pikangikum describes their role literally as 'being in the driver's seat' when explaining decisions about their community (Whitefeather Forest Initiative 2004). Also, the traditional principal investigator (e.g., academic, consultant, developer, or regulator) would be moving away from being the central authority, with everyone coming together in the 'centre'. Meaningful collaborations should become the best practice in archaeology, rather than "destroying one power structure (a Western one) to simply replace it with another, Indigenous-centered one" according to Atalay (2006:296). More recently, Angelback and Grier (2014) use the term 'horizontalism' to describe the same process of research partners striving to work together and on equal footings, rather than a hierarchy of one participant over another. They also stress the importance of collaborations, rather than just consultations, or educational scenarios where archaeologists are completing the project and do not involve others in planning, fieldwork, or other aspects. Atalay's (2006) Indigenous archaeology concept of de-centring (Atalay 2006) has been pivotal in conceiving the archaeological research partnerships between the three First Nations (Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum), the archaeologists (myself and sometimes others), and the WCSS staff where everyone is an equal partner, has input, and benefits from these projects (Taylor-Hollings 2012b, 2015; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Atalay (2006) provides an excellent alternative that the meeting of people with different views in a centred approach will provide the best research model for participants and for generating the best interpretations of the past. It was also very important for the Park Superintendent and myself to work in collaboration with Anishinaabemowin speaking community experts in their traditional territories within the WCSS.

Atalay (2006:296) offers another useful concept from her own background, which is appropriate in discussions about projects such as these that have been completed in traditional Anishinaabe territories:

> There are numerous concepts and areas of traditional Indigenous knowledge that deserve further attention and research as part of Indigenous archaeology and a wider decolonizing archaeological practice. I offer here one example of de-centering that seems critical in an Indigenous archaeology—the Anishinaabe concept of gikinawaabi. Gikinawaabi … describes the passing or reproduction of knowledge, through experience, from elder to younger generations. It relies on the oral tradition and on practice, in daily life.

Gikinawaabi translates literally as "teaches to see" (Ningewance 2004). That concept is relevant for all people willing to learn, particularly from Elders in this reference, including Western science trained archaeologists and WCSS employees. Elders and other community members from Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids have been teaching others to consider their Indigenous viewpoints by sharing some of their knowledge openly (e.g., Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty 2010; LGRFN and OMNR 2011; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006) and recognizing the potential international teaching and learning opportunities of the *Pimachiowin Aki* World Heritage Project (Davidson Hunt et al. 2012; *Pimachiowin Aki* 2012). Because of those teachings, other people have been able to better understand and appreciate some of the different Anishinaabe cultural ways so closely associated with their traditional lands. However, Little Grand Rapids, Lac Seul, and Pikangikum also recognize the knowledge of others by working with researchers. Pikangikum entered into the Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative (Whitefeather Forest Initiative 2004), in which Lakehead University is a partner (and I was working there as a term lecturer, signaling the official beginning of our research partnership). The *gikinawaabi* concept also explains how all people may benefit from an informed archaeology representing many epistemic ways. From my perspective, it is also appropriate to use a critical theory viewpoint where we acknowledge the mistakes or issues of the past and move towards improving a discipline while acknowledging that the colonial past (particularly in Canada) has influenced Indigenous societies, archaeologists, and the discipline.

Landscape Archaeology. This project is based on archaeological and Indigenous information about the Bloodvein River and larger central Canadian boreal forest environment, so this study also uses the basic postprocessual theoretical framework of landscape archaeology (e.g., Knapp and Ashmore 1999). This view is similar to cultural landscape studies originally conceptualized by the geographer Sauer (1925), which have evolved into various forms (e.g., Berkes 2012; Berkes and Davidson-Hunt 2006; Davidson-Hunt 2003; Davidson-Hunt and Berkes 1999; Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012), although it is also similar to early anthropological theories such as cultural ecology (e.g., Steward 1955). Additionally, the agencies UNESCO, Parks Canada, and Ontario Parks all use this concept for describing protected areas (Buggey 1999). As a dedicated protected area, the WCSS itself is a cultural landscape with contemporary borders.

Essentially, with this landscape archaeology viewpoint, there is an inherent attempt to learn more about the Bloodvein River than just archaeological site locations by considering the sacred landscape marked not only by rock art but also toponyms, postcontact and recent Indigenous views, and oral history. The various Indigenous original occupants and current visitors (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) view this landscape in different ways. One example of this concept is that there is no Anishinaabemowin word for park (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2009), since it is a European Canadian concept. Thus, landscape archaeological theory suggests that, "taking a holistic landscape perspective compels us to stress the *interrelationships* among people and such traces, places and features, in space and through time" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:2). For this project, it drove a much more in-depth assessment of all forms of data for this region, in particular having the opportunity to learn as much about the environment from early and contemporary Anishinaabeg and how they adapt to changing conditions. Although somewhat unusual for anthropological projects, natural resource personnel perspectives and information were also considered and incorporated into this study. The Park Superintendent, Assistant Park Superintendent, and biologists all have decades of experience working in the park that provided insights into natural and some cultural values about the WCSS and more specifically the Bloodvein River. They also had much more fieldwork time in the WCSS. This information helped with learning about the specific landscapes in the study area and helped suggest high potential areas where archaeological sites might be present.

Cultural-historical Archaeology. For this study, the cultural-historical theoretical framework was enlisted as part of the necessary state of research regarding the Bloodvein River, northwestern Ontario, and the central Canadian boreal forest in general (Meyer et al. 2008; Reid, ed. 1988). That being said, this study provides a great deal of new cultural-historical information related to all time frames and particular for the Selkirk Composite. Baseline cultural chronological information is still being established for material culture, assemblages, and sites in this very large area, given that minimal research has taken place. Clark (2009:20) explains further about the contrasting views about culture history being outdated yet still necessary:

> Although dominant in the United States until the late 1970s (and still very influential in the most common kind of archaeology practiced here—cultural resource management, or CRM), CH [culture history] is now regarded by many American scholars as a preliminary but necessary step to establish rough approximations of the time/space grids required by HBE [human behavioural ecology]. This is especially true of areas where chronometric assays are impossible or difficult to attain, and/or where they are scarce or absent.

Material culture studies, like this one includes, are fundamental to building that basic cultural-historical information in northwestern Ontario. Specifically, the first research question deals with culture history and the second one, regarding the Selkirk Composite, was addressed by culture history in comparison with existing literature, records, and collections. In the study area, it is difficult to obtain radiocarbon dates due to limited faunal or other organic preservation; thus, few absolute dates are available for refining cultural-historical models of northwestern Ontario (see Chapter 7 for new information).

Methods

The following methods were used to address the research problems and attain all four of the objectives of this project. Some aspects dealt with decision-making and ethical concerns when working in collaboration with many individuals or organizations, while other pertained to more practical concerns such as fieldwork, artifact analytical methods, and oral history methods. Before any projects or fieldwork may take place, Ontario Parks requires that a researcher work with employees or obtain a permit. Since I would always be working with the WCSS Park Superintendent Gilmore or another staff member, he and I then asked for approvals from Pikangikum and Lac Seul (and later Little Grand Rapids) to work together in their traditional territories in order to respect their primacy on the landscape and learn from those who would wish to share knowledge. In 2003, we met with the Whitefeather Forest Elders Steering Group of Pikangikum to discuss possible archaeological work and several short projects ensued (Taylor-Hollings 2004a, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). This group initiated the Whitefeather Forest planning process, worked together with the OMNR in that capacity, and often met with researchers (such as myself) to discuss how the community would benefit from potential research projects. After approvals, the Elders provided guidance about the most appropriate Elders, Head Trappers, and family members with whom to discuss matters. In 2006, after asking specifically to work in the Bloodvein River region with Pikangikum for this project, approval was also granted for continuing work. As spokesperson for the Elders' Steering Committee, the late Elder Oliver Hill (Taylor-Hollings Pikangikum Meeting 2007) replied, "Well, why would we want to stop?". In 2006, Chief and Council at Lac Seul were asked for approval about continuing the working relationship with the Paishk/Keesic extended family members from Red Lake and Lac Seul in the Bloodvein River region and this was obtained. Elders, some of whom we had worked with since 2003, had already given their approvals at other meetings (e.g., Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting in Red Lake 2007). Later in 2007, after a visit to the community (Taylor-Hollings Little Grand Rapids Meeting 2007), a letter about proposed research was sent to the Lands Coordinator in Little Grand Rapids. He and Councilors at Little Grand Rapids provided approval to work in their traditional territory and also to work specifically with Elder Fred Moar and family on his trap line in the far western part of the Bloodvein River on

Artery Lake in the WCSS. Later, we also worked with Duck family members who have a trap line and traditional territory in the far northwest part of the WCSS along the Bloodvein River at Musclow Lake. I returned to each community to share results, ask for feedback, and provide information for land use planning and teaching the youth about archaeology (which had been a suggestion by the Elders in all communities).

As is typical with social science oriented research projects, specific written consent forms were mandated by the University of Alberta and were developed for this study using such guidelines as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Tri-Council) and Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA 2006). However, it turned out that this was not appropriate for the Anishinaabe colleagues whom I work with and wanted to participate in this study. After attempting to use the forms, they/I did not feel comfortable using them. Davidson-Hunt (2003:63) also noted the same experience when developing research protocols with Anishinaabe community members in Shoal Lake First Nation, northwestern Ontario (south of the study area): “elders were not comfortable utilizing the written informed content forms shown in Appendix III-6. They stated that once they agreed to participate in the research, they would participate; otherwise they wouldn’t show up for research activities”. On reflection, this makes sense when viewed within Anishinaabe cultural contexts, where an oral tradition has usually been more important than written language and where one’s verbal agreements are taken very seriously. In addition, some Anishinaabe research colleagues cannot read (English, syllabics, or otherwise), which made using the written consent form insensitive and inappropriate. Although some of the Anishinaabeg involved in these projects speak English, most speak their own language; this is a particularly positive circumstance in indicating the high rate of Indigenous language retention in this area. I have a limited comprehension of *Anishinaabemowin* and we were able to communicate. Translators were available but in the case of a long-standing, oral history based language and culture, it was more appropriate to obtain permissions from people through verbal communication, at first from the larger community (Chief and Council) and then with individuals and those particularly responsible for a location.

In some cases with people from Lac Seul and Pikangikum, the permission form was also not appropriate since trusted, close working and personal relationships have developed between the partners during earlier projects as described by the Anishinaabemowin term *wijiiwaagan* (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Superintendent Gilmore, Scott Hamilton, two Parks employees, and myself were also adopted as per some Anishinaabe customs by the Paishk/Keesic family and given Anishinaabemowin names as an additional honour (e.g., Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). For these reasons, it became obvious that it was more appropriate to ask for verbal approvals about these projects from individuals from Pikangikum, Lac Seul, and Little Grand Rapids communities to record and then possibly share some information in this study.

Over the course of this research, I attended many meetings in Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, Lac Seul, Red Lake, and Thunder Bay between the partners. It is expensive to travel to the fly-in communities of Little Grand Rapids and Pikangikum (typically more costly than travelling to Europe from Thunder Bay) so I was able to travel with the WCSS Park Superintendent Gilmore on planned trips. This cooperation worked well since we were all able to visit the community and meet with key Elders or Head trappers while also sharing information. Initial meetings were held to ask about working together (or continue to work together in the case of Pikangikum and Lac Seul) and then to ask for approval for working in specific areas of their traditional lands. These discussions were also useful to find out who would be the best representatives to meet with about this information.

Research results were verified with individual authorities, in small groups, and in community meeting settings. Frequently, this sharing of information was accomplished through presentations, maps, and figures. Community meetings, phone calls, and other occasions provided members an opportunity to speak about their feelings regarding the research design, projects, or results and make suggestions. Later, during the writing of this thesis, key community representatives (Chief and Council members, Land Use Coordinators, etc.) and the Park Superintendent were given the opportunity to review the draft version. Some representatives provided input and others just wanted to receive the final copy. In addition, when preparing any presentations, posters, or articles (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b), I would seek approval and then feedback. Copies of this research were shared with the communities and individuals that we worked with on a fieldwork project. Oral reports, presentations, reports, some pertinent photographs, and other types of information (such as the most interesting finds) were shared with Gilmore and individuals from the communities. One poster presentation was created through collaborations between Peter Paishk (Pikangikum/Lac Seul), Joe Paishk (Red Lake/Lac Seul), the late Joe Keesic (Red Lake/Lac Seul), Gilmore, Hamilton, and myself and presented together at an academic conference in Thunder Bay (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009); that poster was shared with Pikangikum and Lac Seul. Regular meetings and communications with research partners occurred before each field trip took place, for preliminary presentation of artifact and archaeological results, for feedback and consultation, and for final presentation of results.

Archaeological Methods

To address both research questions and meet the first objective of this study, the main method used was brief, exploratory field reconnaissance surveys and collecting of primary fieldwork data while surveying small lakes (from Paishk to Artery) along the Bloodvein River in Ontario (Figure 1.4). These discoveries would lead to a better understanding about ancient Indigenous inhabitants and traditional land use of this region through time, while also working towards a more complete site inventory and aiding land use planning measures in the WCSS and adjacent areas. Originally, this fieldwork was only to include Pikangikum and Lac Seul's traditional areas from near the headwaters on Paishk Lake westward to Larus Lake (Figure 1.4). However, the opportunity also arose to work with two Little Grand Rapids families in each of their traditional areas at Musclow Lake and Artery Lake near the provincial border (Figure 1.4).

Ten separate surveys were completed during the recent Bloodvein River archaeological studies (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Taylor-Hollings 2006c, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2015; Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2008; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Floatplanes, boats, and foot surveys were the main modes of transportation (Figure 2.2). Trips originated from Red Lake, where there are numerous floatplane businesses that operate in conjunction with outpost camps (Figure 2.3) in different parts of this area in northwestern Ontario. Fourteen to 16 foot aluminum boats, equipped with 15-25 horsepower motors, were used to save time, compared to canoe surveys done previously in the 1970s (e.g., Wall 1980b). Only short trips of typically one week were possible with available funding and personnel restrictions. Due to Ontario Parks' support, the crews usually stayed in outpost camps (Figure 2.3) at the end of the tourist season, thus requiring

Figure 2.2. Floatplanes like this Otter are the usual mode of transportation from Red Lake to the Bloodvein River in the WCSS, although typically smaller planes are used more often. There is no dock on Musclow Lake, so we left from this beach. Behind it is a favourite campsite used by generations of the Duck family from Little Grand Rapids and also a Blackduck Composite site where we found a hearth feature. Note the tannic water of the river.

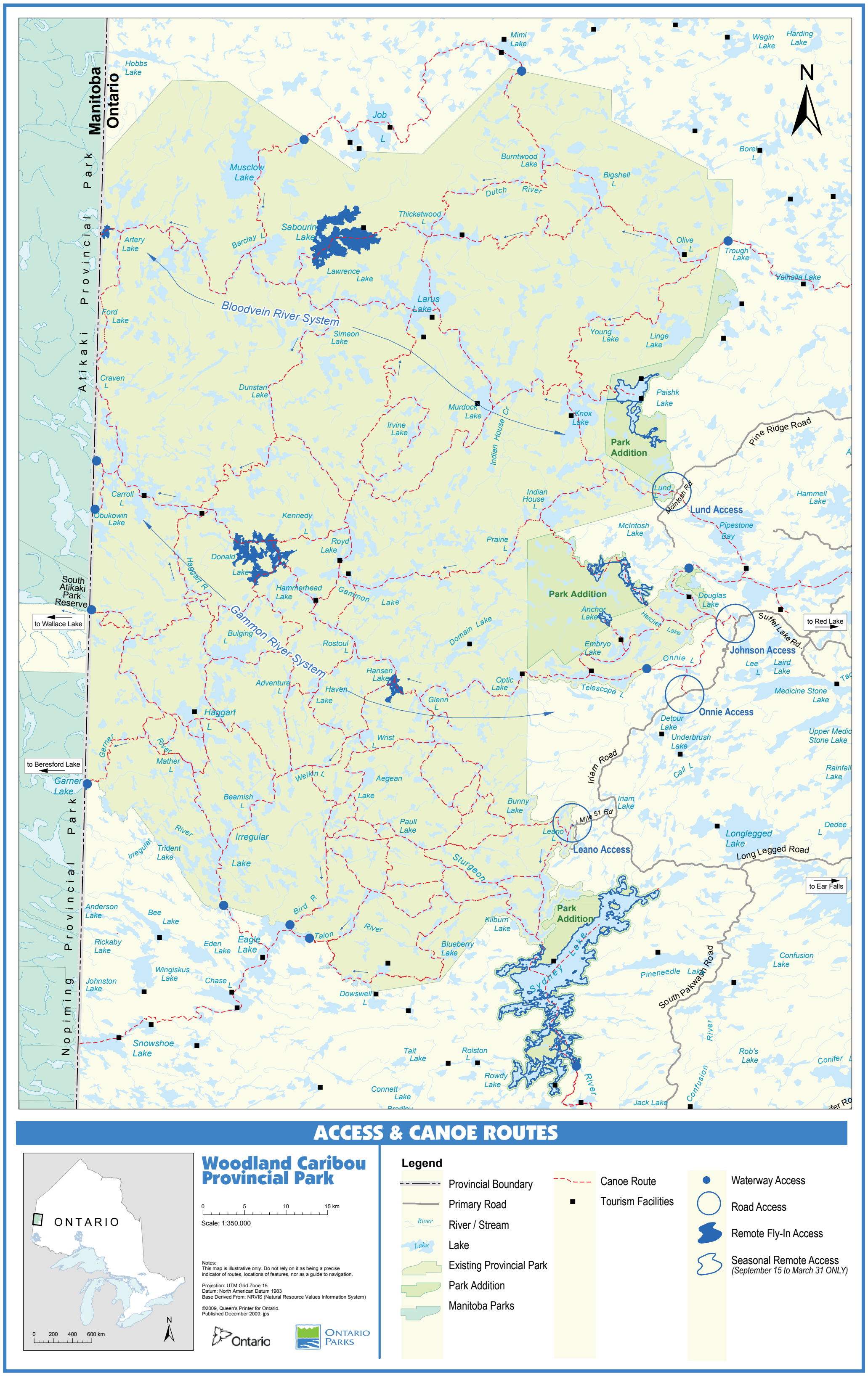

Figure 2.3. Woodland Caribou Signature Site modern access and canoe routes showing the Bloodvein and Gammon rivers; many of these routes, including the portages, represent those used by the Anishinaabe for hundreds of years (courtesy of Park Superintendent Doug Gilmore of Ontario Parks and used with permission).

minimal camp preparation and having an efficient means of completing the survey. During a few trips, we camped at approved Ontario Parks' locations and were able to use their equipment, plus at least one WCSS employee was present to help with the surveys.

Typical archaeological predictive modeling methods for the central Canadian boreal forest were used during the fieldwork (e.g., Gordon 1983; Hamilton 2000; Reid, ed. 1980). It is noteworthy that these projects also had the positive addition of background information from First Nations and WCSS colleagues, who have spent much more time in and are more familiar with this large park than me (see Richner 2007 for a similar study). In order to undertake the surveys, it was necessary to hold an Ontario Professional Archaeological License that was obtained several years previously. Most of the surveys were necessarily completed near the shorelines of the Bloodvein River, due to time constraints; however, First Nations colleagues sometimes led the crews to inland locations (see Hamilton 2000 for a discussion about how many boreal forest surveys occur along waterways and thus bias the findings). Some reconnaissance projects represented the first archaeological work in parts of the study area, so site discovery and documentation were particularly important.

We completed the surveys collecting the following types of information based loosely on the methods used during the previous West Patricia Archaeological Study in Reid (ed. 1980) and bearing in mind the Ontario government guidelines standards and guidelines for consulting archaeologists (OMCTR 1993; Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011b), although these were research projects:

(1) Relying on Elder and community member information of "places where people used to live a long time ago" and spots where people had cabins or frequently used a locale for seasonal meetings or hunting/gathering;

(2) Checking locations that are modern camp sites, shore lunch locations, good boat landing places, or other places recommended by Ontario Parks staff as being high probability;

(3) Recording more recent evidence of human occupation, particularly cabins that might be significant to First Nations peoples or historically important, fire pits, trails, shore lunches, and trapping areas where permission was given;

(4) Noting special natural features that may have been particularly significant (spiritual or otherwise) to ancient occupants and Anishinaabe colleagues;

(5) Visually inspecting ground surfaces of high probability locations for evidence of cultural heritage remains;

(6) Stopping to investigate cliff faces or locations where pictographs might be found and being respectful of those sacred locales;

(7) Checking tree throws and other surface exposures for artifacts and features wherever possible;

(8) Considering soil/sediment drainage, contemporary tree types, and forest clearings to aid

with finding potential archaeological site locations;

(9) Very selectively digging test pits in high probability areas on each project after asking permission from research partners, so that known sacred or sensitive locations would not be disturbed;

(10) Even more selectively choosing 1 m square excavation spots; and

(11) Recording information about other significant aspects of the region that are always noted by Ontario Parks employees such as evidence of caribous being present, sightings of other wildlife, general comments about vegetation and other conditions.

Important background information methods used before the archaeological surveys of the Bloodvein River system included: (1) viewing background maps and landscape information; (2) learning about any previously known archaeological sites from the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport (e.g., 2011) along with the minimal previous research (Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Pelshea 1980; Wall 1980a); and (3) working with local First Nations community members and Ontario Parks' employees for direction about prime locations (whether to go to certain locations and which ones should be avoided for cultural reasons). Avoidance of specific places did not occur often but the community member's wishes would be respected if they did not want to stop at a location where there seemed to be archaeological potential. Since time was limited, there were always other locations to investigate.

In terms of obtaining information about the previous archaeological work for the Bloodvein River in Manitoba, that was requested from Historic Resources Branch of Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Tourism. This query was made to determine the types and numbers of archaeological sites as well as research completed along the Bloodvein River. I did not obtain all the Manitoba reports since the only way to access them was to go to the Winnipeg office and make photocopies. That information was not essential for this project since I had the basic data and there were a few published references for Manitoba sites that I could obtain (e.g., Petch 1991; Steinbring 1987; Steinbring and Elias 1968).

In terms of fieldwork, selective and controlled surface collecting was the most common method (Figure 2.4), due to the goal of finding as many archaeological sites as possible in the limited time frame available for each survey. Hester et al. (1997) explain that surface collecting is the most common method of gathering artifact data in the U.S.A, typically linked with cultural resource management contexts, and also that the information will be skewed due to disturbed contexts. However, surface collecting can provide data on time periods, site conditions, artifact density, site function, and artifact pattern distributions (Hester et al. 1997). The Bloodvein River surveys were also designed to learn more about landscape usage and settlement patterning.

Figure 2.4. Systematic surface survey of a beach using orange flags and GPS to mark finds. Beaches are common in bays of the lakes that connect with the Bloodvein River. Areas behind the beach would also be checked. Surface finds led to completing test pits and units at selected sites.

Places of high potential for finding archaeological sites in the boreal forest include primary, secondary, and tertiary waterways, with this survey focused on the Bloodvein River. In addition, river or creek crossings/narrows, rapids, and sheltered bays of the lakes within the system would likely have cultural heritage materials. Other high probability places in a boreal forest context includes: well drained locales (often indicated by the vegetation types); flat locations with views; elevated spots; trails/portages; features resulting from glaciation (eskers, moraines, beach ridges, and so forth); bedrock for potential vein sourcing; and islands. I used surface exposures such as near shore beaches, tree throws, obvious boat landing locations (that are typically limited depending upon water levels), and locales that have been cleared of vegetation as opportunities to view the often closed boreal forest landscape. The latter were usually seasonal gathering spots often maintained through cultural usage for many decades as told to me by Pikangikum, Lac Seul (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a, 2008b), and Little Grand Rapids community members. Sometimes older archaeological sites were also found at the same locations (Taylor-Hollings 2006a). Similar locales have also been documented in the Saskatchewan boreal forest linked to Cree speakers (Meyer et al. 1992; Meyer and Russell 2006; Meyer and Smith 2010; Meyer and Thistle 1995).

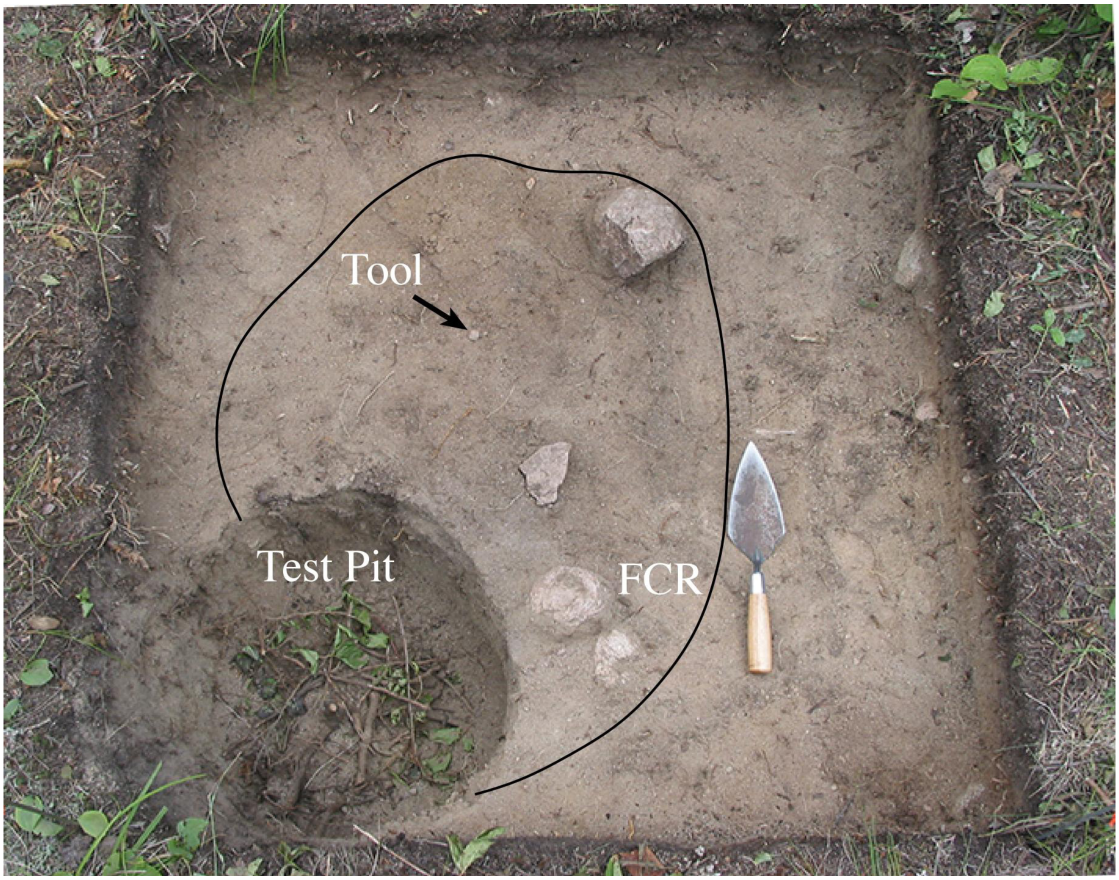

Figure 2.5. At the Knox Lake Portage Site, after finding a hearth in the upper layers of a test pit (stopped early in progress), the area was expanded into a 1 x 1 metre square to learn more about the feature and hopefully find some diagnostics and datable organic remains. The hearth had been pedastalled to document the shape and soil/ash changes with samples of the matrix collected for future analysis. A Laurel body sherd and several lithics (including the quartz scraper in the photograph) were found associated with the hearth.

Another form of sampling, judgmentally placed 50 x 50 cm test pits, was used at the sites deemed to have the most potential information or significance. These holes were larger than the test pits of a single shovel width in diameter as defined in Ministry of Tourism and Culture (2011a) in order to capture a larger sample with the potential to expand that into a 1x1 m square (Figure 2.5). A few metre square units were excavated at the most informative sites to investigate a particular research question (e.g., open more area around a hearth feature or find more pieces of a vessel) when time allowed (Figure 2.5). All matrix was screened through 6 mm mesh sieves. Faunal remains were sometimes recovered in this boreal forest context, although far less frequently than lithics and pottery artifacts. A few faunal samples were collected in aluminum foil for future potential radiocarbon samples. Several hearth features were identified, so soil and feature samples were also taken for future analyses or radiocarbon sample potential. Artifacts were also handled minimally and packaged so to permit potential residue analysis, if it is present.

Given the importance of pictographs found along the Bloodvein River (e.g., Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Lambert 1985, nd; Pelshea 1980; Steinbring and Elias 1968; Wall 1980a), they were visited and a brief amount of time was spent trying to determine if there were any identifiable cultural or natural factors affecting their condition. After obtaining permission from the guiding Elders or community members, several new pictographs were also recorded in an informal way via many digital photographs, some drawings, and descriptions (see Chapter 7). However, the original West Patricia Archaeological Study method (e.g., Pelshea 1980) of using tracing paper was not used since that seems to not be used anymore. It is particularly challenging but developing new harmless, culturally appropriate, and detailed recording methods for pictographs would be useful in this context (see Colson 2007 for a discussion about methods). As Colson (2006:5) explains, "I discovered that information regarding the meaning of these [pictograph] images is a politically sensitive topic" but it appears she was not able to involve local First Nations and had documented offerings at these sacred locales. Of course, archaeologists often face the dilemmas of determining what is culturally appropriate versus potentially losing information (was it meant to be known to others?). Certainly, anthropologists recorded offerings at pictographs in the past (Dewdney and Kidd 1967) but it is now typically not an appropriate method at Canadian sites, without permissions from community members. Thus, although a few offerings were present at some Bloodvein River pictograph sites we visited, they were not disturbed or documented. We also followed the protocols of the Elders or community members in each area of the Bloodvein River regarding leaving offerings.

Since these surveys were conducted in the Canadian Shield terrain where quartz is often found naturally and as it turned out, the most common lithic material, I had to be diligent particularly about determining what was naturally occurring versus debitage/tools (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a). Since quartz may have conchoidal to subconchoidal fracture patterns depending on the form, it can be challenging to determine if a small piece has been culturally modified or not (Korejbo 2011). This factor is particularly true if it has been partially abraded in a beach context, in which this environment typically has archaeological potential along the Bloodvein River and in northwestern Ontario (Figure 2.4). As Korejbo (2011:69) explains for a similar survey completed in the Saskatchewan boreal forest: "Three factors were used to determine if the stone was cultural or natural: (1) specific attributes on lithic debitage which are characteristic of cultural modification; (2) the context where the debitage was found; and (3) the lithic material from which the debitage was manufactured". Other lithic materials were also discovered but they are typically much easier to assess if culturally modified (e.g., Hudson Bay Lowland chert).

Occasionally, only one flake was found in a surface collected context but I still considered this to be an archaeological site, since there are few recorded and time did not allow for testing of all the sites found. For example, in so many central Canadian boreal forest archaeological sites, there are often buried deposits located behind a beach locale. By recording a site, future researchers may be able to further test these sites in order to have a clearer indication of the assemblages present.

Also, this recording would inform Ontario Parks' officials should someone want to build a cabin, have a park campsite located at a location, or some other form of potential disturbance.

To aid in meeting two objectives regarding the study of the Selkirk Composite, determining the complexes and eastern extent of Selkirk Composite sites in Ontario, a list of known archaeological sites was compiled from published and unpublished sources. The Database Coordinator from the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport (2011) provided a list of known sites in the region. Additionally, a list of all Ontario sites listed with "Selkirk", "Clearwater", "Alexander", or "punctate" recorded in the database was provided. I was also interested to determine if Selkirk Composite sites are found in Quebec and in the northern U.S.A., so I contacted other archaeologists and avocationalists as well as looked at collections when possible. The results are presented in Chapter 7.

Since there are a limited number of sites with identifiable Selkirk components in the Bloodvein River study area of Ontario, some previous fieldwork data from nearby locations was consulted (e.g., various surveys in Reid, ed. 1980 and Taylor-Hollings 2004a, 2006a, 2006b). Both excavated and surface finds from older collections from the WCSS and adjacent areas in Ontario were studied to gain a regional perspective and assist with the research question of possible northwestern Ontario complexes of the Selkirk Composite. This list included sites and collections in the WCSS (e.g., Hamilton 2007; Smith 1980), Red Lake (e.g., Pelleck 1983; Smith 1981; Wall 1980b), Lac Seul (e.g., Hamilton 1981; Hyslop 2004; Lambert 1982), Lake of the Woods (e.g., Rajnovich 1983), and Thunder Bay (e.g., Dawson 1987a). Although I had familiarity with the regional culture history and material culture (Taylor-Hollings 1999) before beginning this study, I began collecting Red Lake area archaeological and regional information during the summer of 2003, when I worked for Ontario Parks in Red Lake. Approvals were obtained to examine other artifact collections at Lakehead University (Scott Hamilton, personal communication 2006) and the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Tourism Office in Thunder Bay (Paige Campbell, personal communication 2012).

Direct Historical Approach. The Direct Historical Approach is usually termed a method and as explained by Steward (1942:337):

> involves the elementary logic of working from the known to the unknown. First sites of the historic period are located. These are preferably, but not necessarily, those of identifiable tribes. Second, the cultural complex of the sites are determined. Third, sequences are carried backward in time to protohistoric and prehistoric periods and cultures.

Although Steward's (1942) rendering of the method sounds straight forward, there are complications when trying to use this method in the central Canadian Subarctic (see Hamilton 1988). However, the direct historical approach has been used by previous northwestern Ontario archaeologists (Dawson 1977a; Wright 1965, 1968). It is a means of using information from identified postcontact sites and comparing them to older occupations to seek connections between different groups (cultural continuity) in the same space. In particular, most Late Woodland studies use this method to try to determine the most logical ethnicity of people who left behind material culture in the latest part of the Precontact and Protocontact Periods. Although there are always cautionary caveats for attempting this idea, it has been suggested that the Cree left behind the material culture of the Selkirk Composite since the first identifications (Downes 1938; Fewkes 1937; MacNeish 1958;). Dawson (1977a) and Wright (1965, 1968) used the direct historical approach with Ojibwe postcontact sites and older precontact sites. This method has been used within this study, given the perceived relative success of the Direct Historical Approach in the Subarctic, particularly for regions like the Bloodvein River in Ontario, far inland from the Hudson Bay Lowlands where direct European contact occurred much later (e.g., Hallowell 1992; Rogers and Smith 1994). Although the original examples used with this approach began with a more sedentary village of a known ethnic group in the U.S.A. (Steward 1942), in the central Canadian boreal forest, groups of people were generally small and they travelled to different locations (often at great distances), so using this approach has been criticized (see Hamilton 1988). However, Meyer and Russell (2006:305) provide an analogy in that it has applications for studying the Selkirk Composite and other Late Woodland affinities in Saskatchewan:

> Given the above noted problems, it may appear inappropriate to even attempt to apply ethnographically derived labels to the late archaeological complexes in central Saskatchewan. However, the previous discussion should simply be viewed as identifying the caution with which such interpretations should be approached. There clearly are regional variations in the Late Period archaeological assemblages of central Saskatchewan. The question is, what do these variations reflect in terms of past social structures, organization and cultural dynamics. It may, indeed, be more appropriate to think in terms of "social fields". This is a "social network. It may be thought of as a web of social, economic, and political relations" (Welsch and Terrell 1998:52). It involves the contacts and activities of individuals beyond their home communities and, interestingly, it is sometimes referred to as the "social landscape." In such a scenario, peoples with entirely different languages may interact and share elements of the same material culture.

It is relatively easy to establish the known eastern Bloodvein River postcontact occupants who are and were Anishinaabe since at least the late 1700s and likely earlier (Lytwyn 1986a). The persistence of many local Ojibwe traditions about the Bloodvein River, traditional knowledge, and related ethnographic information (Dunning 1959; Hallowell 1955; Skinner 1911) and then archaeological evidence may be considered to see if there is evidence of cultural continuity. Particularly relevant was that previous fieldwork indicated that current Anishinaabe community members used many of the same sites as Selkirk Composite and other precontact peoples in this region (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; PFN and OMNR 2006; Taylor-Hollings 2006a). These findings suggested the possibility of cultural continuity for later time periods. In determining cultural change along the Bloodvein River system, one of the central issues is, were the people who created the Selkirk Composite assemblages early Anishinaabeg who continued to reside in the region? Or did early Cree speakers leave behind the Selkirk Composite occupations, as is posited for archaeological sites to the west since its identification (Downes 1938; MacNeish 1958), and the Anishinaabe moved into the area later? The direct historical analogy approach will help with determining the best explanation.

Artifact Related Methods

Regarding the artifacts collected during the surveys, a few classes were washed carefully, such as some fire-cracked rock, and the rest were barely dry brushed if necessary. Only appropriate artifacts were cleaned but all were catalogued prior to being stored in the curatorial section of the Department of Anthropology at Lakehead University. Le Blanc (1984:2) described precisely the state of Canadian boreal forest archaeology in regards to artifacts and collections:

> Archaeology in this region is still in an essentially formative stage of development, and the most beneficial type of archaeology that can be done at the present time is an approach that stresses substantive contributions to the field of northern archaeological research. For this reason I have used traditional descriptive categories and comparative studies in my treatment of the artifact assemblages so that the discussion of the collections will be useful for others who are involved in similar types of research, as well as for those who are interested in other “higher order” problems which require a sound data base.

Thus, with the same ideas in mind, the collections derived from this fieldwork were catalogued using traditional artifact descriptive methods and MacADEM software with the Lakehead University taxonomy developed for northwestern Ontario contexts (Gibson 1991). This software has been used for cataloguing different assemblages for several decades and, by choosing the same taxonomy, will allow for comparisons with other collections. Traditional descriptive categories also enabled the comparing of artifact classes across the northwestern Ontario region, while providing a database for future researchers. After cataloguing was completed and photographs were taken of representative and diagnostic artifacts, the required Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport technical reports also were necessary. These documents were used as baseline information for this project and shared with the communities and Park Superintendent Gilmore.

To determine which pottery wares and types were recovered during the Bloodvein River surveys, all sherds were examined macroscopically and diagnostic ones (rim, neck, lip, etc.) were viewed with a microscope. An attribute list (e.g., surface finish, decoration, rim form, etc.) was compiled similar to that used to study Late Woodland Sandy Lake Ware (Taylor-Hollings 1999) with information from previous Selkirk Composite pottery research as guides to create comparative data sets (e.g., Dickson 1980; Gibson 1998; MacLean 1995; MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Russell 1987; Paquin 1999; Rajnovich 1983; Rajnovich and Reid 1978; Saylor 1978a, etc.). Diagnostic sherds were analyzed for these attributes and cultural affiliation was determined, when possible, with each sherd (see Chapters 4 and 7). Vessel counts were also determined for each site.

One of the research questions to be addressed in this project is to study Selkirk Composite Late Precontact/Protocontact archaeological sites along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS. Thus, the forms, variations, and attributes of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware were studied using several methods. All of these studies are based on earlier, established methods of traditional archaeological pottery analysis (e.g., Anfinson 1979; Rice 1987; Shepard 1974) and continuing from previous research projects (e.g., Taylor 1994; Taylor-Hollings 1999). Syms and Dedi (2006) shared an attribute description list from the Manitoba Museum, based on an earlier document by Pettipas (1996a), with many central Canadian archaeologists to try and move towards a standardized terminology of pottery description; this document was consulted to use similar terminology. Vessel reconstructions were attempted, particularly where large samples had been collected from tree throws or in excavations. Attribute lists were created so that vessel counts could be formulated for each site. Photographs were taken of rim sherds and other diagnostic pieces. Then, types were ascertained from this information, as compared to published pertinent references (e.g., Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Meyer and Russell 1987; Rajnovich 1983) and previous experience with identifying types and wares from central Canada (Taylor 1994; Taylor-Hollings 1999).

Although pottery is the most diagnostic artifact class for the Late Period in the central Canadian boreal forest, and that was the focus of the archaeological research, all aspects of the assemblage such as lithic materials, lithics, ground stone tools, and faunal remains were also analyzed (if present) in order to provide the best understanding of Selkirk Composite assemblages. Typical metric and lithological attributes (e.g., Odell 2004) of projectile points and ground stone tools were measured or recorded to try and place these items in cultural-historical context, with many items being surface collected. Lithic materials were all identifiable but many specific sources in northwestern Ontario are still unknown (see Chapter 7). During the surveys, the crew and I looked for potential sources of these materials. Many examples of rare quartz quarry sites were discovered during these surveys (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2014). These places were recorded via photographs and notes. If possible, a loose sample or artifact would be collected for future analyses. However, none of them could be assigned to the Selkirk Composite affiliation or other specific culture or time frame within the Precontact Period, although several were found beside other archaeological sites.

In order to have a broader understanding of the Selkirk Composite in northwestern Ontario from more than just literature reviews, I examined collections that likely contained Selkirk Composite or other Late Woodland assemblages, from several repositories or locales. I have examined all of the collections from Lake of the Woods, now housed at the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport repository in Thunder Bay. In addition, I borrowed some of the artifacts found during Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer's (1978) Bloodvein River survey (as reported by Wall 1980a) and the nearest surveys completed by the West Patricia Archaeological Study focused on Red Lake (Smith 1981: Wall 1980b), Gammon and Oiseau rivers (Smith 1980), Berens River (Pelleck 1980a), and Trout Lake (Pelleck 1980b). I was able to examine collections from Lakehead University, Hyslop's (2012) Lac Seul research collections, and at multiple Lake Superior Basin Workshops where people bring new finds and 'interesting items' to discuss them with other researchers. For adjacent provinces and Minnesota, I have a good familiarity with Manitoba artifacts having completed a study addressing Sandy Lake Ware in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Minnesota (Taylor-Hollings 1999). I had also examined collections of Selkirk Composite assemblages from: the Bodo Site in Alberta (briefly); some in Saskatchewan (where I completed my Masters degree); many from all over Manitoba (where I had opportunity to examine during my undergraduate degree); and northern Minnesota to gain familiarity with all the different complexes. David Denton (archaeologist with the Cree Regional Authority) was consulted about potential Selkirk Composite sites in Quebec and he provided information in addition to the few publications available. Already, the scale of this project was quite large, so the number of collections viewed again recently had to be limited in order to facilitate completion. Essentially, my long-standing interest in the Late Woodland Period (Taylor-Hollings 1994, 1999) has enabled the ongoing study of pottery in central Canada where I have examined many collections to gain familiarity with respective complexes of the Selkirk Composite.

Many postcontact items were found, typically dating from the last half of the twentieth century. Most items were not collected since these artifacts are often associated with current or previous cabin locations and middens nearby (often containing tin cans, bottles, other metal items, rubber footwear, dishes, soda pop cans, etc.). Many represent the refuse from twentieth century and more recent Anishinaabe cabins and camps or Euro-Canadian trappers that have been used periodically. However, a few much earlier Fur Trade Period sites and items were found (see Chapter 6).

Ethnohistoric Methods

In this study, archaeological information from the Bloodvein River is integrated with selected ethnohistoric research and traditional knowledge about Indigenous occupants through different time frames. There have been many cultural changes that occurred with the Anishinaabeg after European contact but attempting to trace those adaptations for the eastern Bloodvein River region is challenging. Essentially, that is due to it being far away from the larger fur trade centres and direct European contact occurring there relatively late in the Fur Trade Period (Hallowell 1992). A few key themes were chosen, as discussed in Chapter 6, using the following methods.

A variety of sources were used in the compilation of ethnohistoric information about the Bloodvein River and nearby regions (see Chapter 6). Primary sources were consulted including documents from the following sources: Ontario Ministry of Northern Mines (and various iterations); Geological Survey of Canada; Census of Canada; Indian Affairs; Sessional Papers of Parliament, Canada (1880-1900); Red Lake Heritage Centre archives; Archives of Ontario; National Archives of Canada; Natural Resources Canada Photo database; Les Cloches de Saint Boniface; Geographicus; and the Historical Atlas of Canada (Online Learning Project). Secondary academic sources were also read and used in some cases (Bishop 1970, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1982; Black Rogers 1986; Brown 1996; Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Hackett 1999, 2002; Hickerson 1956, 1963, 1970, 1988; Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b; Meyer and Thistle 1995; Rogers and Black Rogers 1976, 1978; Wright 1968). Secondary sources were also investigated for references to nearby regions such as the Berens River, Red Lake, Little Grand Rapids, Pikangikum, and Lac Seul communities. As many old maps as available were also examined to look for information about the first mention of the 'Blood River'.

Oral History and Traditional Knowledge Component Methods

While completing these archaeological projects, I was given the rare opportunity to learn about the more recent past of eastern Bloodvein River associated peoples through the partnerships that were formed between Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum First Nations, as well as with the WCSS employees and myself (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). "Enriched insights can arise from juxtaposing oral and written sources with contemporary observation", as Brown (2006:37) so aptly explains. Although there was an inherent emphasis on obtaining new data through archaeological methods for this study, some 'classic' ethnographic information was available from nearby areas where Bloodvein River inhabitants also lived and travelled such as the Bloodvein River west end (Hallowell 1935), Berens River (e.g., Berens and Hallowell 2009; Dunning 1959; Hallowell 1935, 1992, 2010) and Lac Seul (Skinner 1911; Waugh 1919). Oral history and traditional knowledge information was recorded with community members when opportunities were available in the field and at meetings, with permission from individuals. A qualitative ethnographic research approach was used with Elders, Head Trappers, community members, and OMNR employees. These steps included fieldwork, community meetings with Ontario Parks/OMNR government officials, map biographies and annotations, individual meetings, and discourse analysis ("language in use" as identified in Philips Valentine 1995:3).

During fieldwork, I maintained field notebooks including daily activities, stories (also place names and other details) discussed by Anishinaabe colleagues (with permission), and notes about archaeological findings as well as contexts. Many colleagues initiated or allowed the recording of stories and others offered to annotate maps or draw illustrations about certain concepts, stories, events, or places sometimes in map biographies. These discussions took place during the many meetings with community members and Ontario Parks' employees, during the fieldwork trips, on "walking interviews" as coined by Miller (2010:53), in phone calls, and in smaller gatherings. In Pikangikum, communications were aided through the efforts of Paddy Peters and Alex Peters, who often translate Anishinaabemowin and English in order for outsiders and the predominantly Anishinaabemowin speaking members in that community to communicate (e.g., Miller 2010); both have also been Chief of the community. On field trips, the particular Elders and other community members that I worked with spoke mainly English and sometimes younger members facilitated with communications otherwise. Little Grand Rapids and Lac Seul individuals that worked on these projects spoke both Anishinaabemowin and English. Since I moved to northwestern Ontario, I have been learning Anishinaabemowin in order to aid understanding that language, the dialects, different Ojibwe cultures, ceremonies, and written texts.

No formal interviews were conducted specifically for this project, given that the archaeological work was the focus. However, informal ones did take place on several occasions. One of the prime concerns of Elders from Pikangikum (Shearer 2008), Lac Seul, and Little Grand Rapids was to record this information for their children and future generations, since many view their teachings as being quite vulnerable to being lost. In all three communities, it was often stressed how important it is to teach the youth and particularly about the old Anishinaabe traditional lifeways, such as may be learned through archaeology. Many Elders that I have spoken with from all over northwestern Ontario are very concerned about the younger generations not being interested in traditional spiritual or economic pursuits. The families that I work with represent the last generation to actually live in the WCSS before members moved to either Red Lake, Little Grand Rapids, Pikangikum, or the Lac Seul reserve for economic pursuits or other reason; some children were removed to residential schools (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2008). These changes fundamentally altered almost all of the families in this area (Auger 2005).

In addition to wanting archaeological information and oral history recorded, some participants in this project from Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids also saw the value of including archaeological information in their land use plans (LGR and OMNR 2011; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006). All of the participants and partners involved share a desire to know more about the ancient past of the Bloodvein River and about the people who lived there. In addition, it is important to portray how people lived as accurately as possible, since they were highly successful at adapting to changeable situations involving cultural or natural aspects. I also see this as an educational opportunity for the larger Euro-Canadian society.

Some of the more contemporary information derives from community-based land use plans that discuss how individuals and community members describe their own traditional areas at Little Grand Rapids (Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba 2012; LGRFN and OMNR 2011) and Pikangikum (OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006). In addition, I consulted the documents of the nearby Pauingassi (Pauingassi First Nation and the Government of Manitoba 2012), Poplar River (Poplar River First Nation 2011), and Bloodvein First Nations (Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011) to provide information about the Bloodvein River area. Some text analysis of how these communities have planned formally to protect their lands and the language used in these endeavours (which actually includes new metalanguage that communities have created to describe their traditional lands) is also included. I use the spellings employed by the different communities (e.g., Ningewance 2004; PFN and OMNR 2006) and present discourses, as much as possible, in the words of the people "so that they may speak for themselves" (Philips Valentine 1995:4).

This traditional knowledge information includes what was learned about archaeological sites from contemporary Anishinaabeg Elders and community members in terms of how they lived on or occupied the land of the Bloodvein River, specific toponyms, stories associated with particular locales, and economic related information. Only limited information of this type was included in this project since some information was sensitive and there is also an archaeological focus. Nabokov (2006) explains this as exploring how one group of Indigenous people experience their environment (and trying to convey that in Western terminologies; see also Feld and Basso 1996). As an outsider, Hallowell (1992) marveled at the specificity with which the Berens River Anishinaabeg described their landscape, which to him was initially a repetitive wilderness. The traditional and often ancient stories anchor place names in the memories of most Indigenous peoples (Nabokov 2006). For example, Doerfler et al. (2013:xvii-xviii) discuss the importance of Anishinaabeg stories, language, and place, describing three general types of narrative: (1) *Aadizookaanag* that are considered animate, traditional or sacred stories that have values, laws and philosophies important to life; (2) *Dibaajimowinan*, which are considered to be inanimate history and news; as well as (3) a combination of both types (see Berens and Hallowell 2009). The community members still have all three types of these teachings.

In the case of the Lac Seul Elders, several men from Red Lake/Lac Seul, suggested that more information should be requested from the women in their extended family (particularly aunts and cousins in the Paishk/Keesic family). They know a great deal about the east side of the Bloodvein River but were only able to participate in a few of the field trips, although they did attend meetings at Lac Seul (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). The Elders indicated that this would provide more balance to the information by including more of the women's perspectives, given that much of the fieldwork had been completed with male members of the family (given that they are more often the trap line holders and leaders in Anishinaabe societies). However, it should be noted that female members of all communities were present at meetings. More often in informal circumstances (phone calls, visiting, corresponding), I continue to learn from women family members of the Paishk/Keesic family. Since I respect Elders' suggestions and having read Brown (in Hallowell 1992) discussing Hallowell's wish to explore more about the viewpoints and roles of women living on the Berens River (which he was unable to realize), this was a logical step for me to pursue. Thus, I have included select information from Lac Seul women (e.g., Josephine King and Jennie Angeconeb) regarding the archaeology and recent Anishinaabe history of the Bloodvein River. Working with Pikangikum, it was men who were mainly guiding the fieldwork, although women were present at Elders Steering Committee meetings and on the Knox/Paishk lakes and Thicketwood Lake trips (Figure 2.3). Jean Keesic, who lives in Pikangikum but is part of the Paishk/Keesic family, also provided more information about Anishinaabekwe traditional ways. Regarding Little Grand Rapids, it was mostly men whom we were working with (Head Trappers and community members). However, women attended the meetings in the community and Elder Helen Moar and her daughter Colleen also were part of the Artery Lake trips (Figure 2.3).

Experience that prepared me for this project included previous work with First Nations community members, European Canadian communities (urban and rural), and many other research partners as well as having recorded oral history. I completed a graduate class in oral history/linguistic anthropology, learning even more about methods and ethical procedures (e.g., Hart 1995; Cruikshank 1990, 2005; Linde 1993; Ives 1995; Palmer 2005; Tobias 2000). Also, I have extensive knowledge about Indigenous Studies literature (e.g., Atalay 2006; Chapeskie 1990, 2001; McGuire 2010; Rhealt 1999; Thom 2001; Watkins 2010), and from my own background. Before any recording of information took place, I discussed many standard semi-directive questions in determining if permission was granted to record gathered facts and what would happen to that data (e.g., Hart 1995; Ives 1995). In all cases, we discussed what would occur to the resulting materials and it was agreed that I would be able to keep a copy in my office and use the data for this study. There were also many stages of discussions, formal meetings, and review so that research colleagues could change their minds about having information in the final document.

Another consideration of ethical practice is whether research partners would want to be named specifically in this document (Finch 2013). In the past, social scientists would often not name a person involved in their research, instead using a code for reporting data (e.g., Dunning 1959). Typically, this was done to protect the person from any harm but it also gives the researcher authority over the 'subject' in the final document. Regarding Pikangikum, the Elders and community members have been very active educators and promoting research in their territory with the Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative (Whitefeather Forest Initiative 2004) and working with researchers and graduate students (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Didora 2010; Miller 2010; Sanders 2011; Shearer 2008; Taylor-Hollings 2004a, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2010, 2015; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Community members' names are included in these documents, after individuals have given permission, because they know they are the experts in the Whitefeather Forest and have chosen to share some of that knowledge (e.g., PFN and OMNR 2006). Lac Seul Elders working in partnership on these projects also believe this is the case, that they are sharing their knowledge to teach others and preserve that information for future generations. I also agree that this is a way to achieve the "de-centering" process that Atalay (2006) proposed (as discussed earlier in this chapter), in that people working in partnerships should be equally represented as making a contribution to the publication or project (e.g., Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). It respects and acknowledges Indigenous ways of knowing as an authority in their own right, along with the researcher (typically Western trained). Regarding Lac Seul and Little Grand Rapids' colleagues, after explaining the project and receiving approvals, I have given my colleagues the option of remaining anonymous in field notes, other documents, and this study. All have agreed to being named and to have information included in this thesis. Certain sensitive locations were requested to be omitted and I have not discussed these places. I have always asked permission before taking photographs of people as well. Elder Joe Paishk summarized the strong feelings that Lac Seul Elders have about the eastern Bloodvein River area, since it was their home: "We want to help you get the story right" (Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting 2009).

Limitations of the Data

There are several limitations to the data found and used in this project. Many of these potential restrictions pertain to the particular conditions of working in the Subarctic (e.g., Holly 2002; Reid 1988). Although archaeologists typically examine water routes (Figure 2.3) with few inland surveys in the central Canadian boreal forest (Hamilton 2000; Malasiuk 1999), other significant studies have been completed on river based survey projects such as this one (e.g., Korejbo 2011; Pilon 1987; Reid, ed. 1980; Reid and Ross 1981; Ross 1982) and they often have provided the only information for a region. Generally, most sites in the central Canadian boreal forest have been found along waterways since the majority of the archaeological surveys have usually taken place along main water routes with minimal inland exploration. While acknowledging that the site inventory in this Bloodvein River study was biased towards a relatively large river system, this was and remains the major transportation corridor in that region (Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b; Manitoba Conservation 2008; Newman and Gilmore 2008). Some opportunities for exploring inland were available with guidance from Elders and community members during the Bloodvein River surveys. Gordon (1988) provides an exception to the typical model of waterside surveys since she also had the opportunity to work with local Indigenous people. Thus, a few archaeological sites were found away from the Bloodvein River or lake edges. Searching for sites in high potential locations near the water was chosen mainly out of necessity because of the short time available for these surveys.

Since the majority of sites with diagnostic artifacts were from the Late Woodland or Postcontact Period, it may be that fewer early Holocene sites are present since drainage patterns were probably quite different (Hamilton 2000; Malasiuk 2006). All types and ages of sites were recorded as they were found, rather than biasing the research design by just looking for one type and ignoring others. It was most useful to complete the surveys as comprehensive inventories.

Although Indigenous peoples use the waterways during all seasons, it is likely that central Canadian boreal forest archaeological knowledge is biased towards sites occupied during the warmer seasons. As Hanks (1983:351) explains about three different types of seasonal sites in the eastern Subarctic: "1) locations occupied during periods of open water (late spring and early fall); 2) areas where access was practical only when the muskeg was frozen; and 3) locations that were accessible, dry and near resources that could be used year-round, e.g. a dependable fishery". Boreal forest peoples travel along frozen lakes, rivers, and bogs in the winter (Hanks 1983; Marvin 2013), so even if they leave behind material evidence, it would not likely be found. Thus, there was likely a bias towards finding archaeological sites used during warmer season occupations. However, community members and WCSS employees also provided guidance to more unlikely spots, in terms of central Canadian boreal forest archaeological predictive modeling parameters, and sometimes to sensitive sites that would be unknown by outsiders.

Due to the inherent mobility of Indigenous populations from the Bloodvein River region, prior to European contact, no single site will represent the full range of activities carried out by a group (Malasiuk 1999). Also, this factor is well known from ethnographic studies of the Anishinaabeg that many locations were favoured during different seasons, depending upon factors such as weather and nearby food sources. Additionally, as a result of limited preservation conditions of some central Canadian boreal forest sites and small samples sizes in this project, it was more informative to consider archaeology in terms of a landscape rather than as isolated sites. This idea was also more in keeping with the traditional land use practices of Anishinaabe community members. In addition, the small sample sizes from brief trips will not provide all encompassing interpretations of these archaeological sites. However, there is important information to be learned from smaller sites (Pilon 1987). In addition, this research contradicts long held views that there are few archaeological sites, and no large ones, in the central Canadian boreal forest (cf., Wright 1967a).

Short surveys were completed because of the limited resources available for working in the somewhat remote Bloodvein River region. Partly this was due to having only floatplane access, given that there are few roads that allow entrance into the WCSS and none right to the Bloodvein River (Figure 2.3). Canoeing and portaging are options into the park but that mode of travel is less efficient than using motorized boats for research trips. Fly-in access also limits very large samples from being collected due to cargo weight limitations.

These short surveys were necessarily more dependent upon visual surveys rather than subsurface testing, again due to time constraints. This factor introduces a bias in the amount of recoverable data, since subsurface testing usually yields more information about the site, artifacts, context, extent of the site, and the formation processes. Surface surveys are also dependent upon differential visibility and preservation factors even within different weeks of survey due to ice dams, water levels, wind direction, types of vegetation and sediments, or erosional processes (Malasiuk 2006). Smaller, more ephemeral sites may also be less visible than larger, aggregation places that were used repeatedly (Malasiuk 2006).

There were no large archaeological excavations completed at sites along the Bloodvein River, due to time constraints and with the goal being to complete a basic site inventory rather than intensive testing at one or more significant sites. However, only one other brief survey had been completed by Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) as reported by Wall (1980a), so all of the data that were collected represents new information and a rare opportunity to study this remote region. The crews chose the most promising locales to maximize the limited time available. In this study, Indigenous community members provided direction for locations to survey, which in some cases included locales that most archaeologists would not include as highly probable for finding archaeological sites. This knowledge helped to indicate to the archaeologists that the central Canadian boreal forest predictive models (e.g., Hamilton 2000; Malasiuk 2006; Reid, ed. 1980) do require further refinement and may be improved with traditional knowledge input.

Preservation of organic materials such as faunal remains, cloth, wooden items, birch bark, leather, and other items is often limited in this part of the central Canadian boreal forest, due to highly acidic soils deriving from the coniferous forests. It is also important to recognize that present day Algonquian speakers have age-old ceremonies and traditions of putting animal/bird bones and other parts in the water and in trees, rather than leaving these portions at a campsite (e.g., Cooper 1933; Miller 2010; Tanner 1979). This pattern may have influenced why archaeologists do not find faunal remains in great quantities. However, archaeologists need to be mindful that we are missing a large part of ancient Indigenous technologies because of those circumstances (see Le Blanc 2009). This factor was a limitation for the Bloodvein River surveys, since only certain kinds of material evidence remain at archaeological sites. Thus, the majority of artifacts recovered were lithics, pottery, metal items, and some faunal remains. Ethnographic specimens (e.g., Densmore 1979; Osgood 1940; Rogers 1967) and traditional technology still in use, clearly indicate that archaeologists only find a certain amount of artifacts that were used by past peoples. Rock art was one exception, since many of these sites on the Bloodvein River system have ochre painted panels that are preserved quite well (Colson 2006, 2007; Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Pelshea 1980; Wall 1980a).

The literature is replete with many explanations and even complaints about the difficulties of actually working in the Canadian boreal forest ecozone (e.g., numerous insects, dense vegetation causing difficulties of maneuvering in the bush, travel issues, bog and muskegs, cold temperatures, forest fires, and so forth). Clearly, there are safety considerations but local Indigenous residents, both past and present, face these every day. Archaeologists have also often discussed the problems and/or limitations of particular archaeological sites found in this ecozone in Canada (e.g., Hamilton 2000; Holly 2002; Ives 1982; Malasiuk 1999; Pilon 1987; but also see Reid 1988 for a satirical view of these issues). Although all of these factors are considerations, similar conditions are present when working in other parts of Canada such as in the northern plains or aspen parklands (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 1999), although there are generally more accessible locations due to road networks. However, the many positive outcomes of working with Indigenous people who live in the central Canadian boreal forest far outweigh any ‘discomfort’ or less detailed condition of the archaeological record. This wealth of traditional knowledge and the fact that many communities still retain their Anishinaabemowin language (e.g., Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, and Lac Seul) provides opportunities to learn more about the landscape and analogies to the more distant past than typically possible in more southern, road accessible locations.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed four background components of this work: rationales for the Bloodvein River study area in order to provide context for choices made; theories employed during this project; various methods required during all stages; and some potential limitations of the data. Several theoretical approaches were used during this project including community and Indigenous archaeology concepts, landscape archaeology, culture history, and ethnographic analogy/the direct historical approach. A range of archaeological and oral history/traditional knowledge related methods were also elaborated on in this chapter, given the complexities of this collaborative project. The limitations of the data and methods were also reviewed with the idea of acknowledging choices that had to be made before and during this study. The next chapter discusses the physical environment of the study area.

CHAPTER 3: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND SPECIFICS ABOUT THE STUDY AREA

Introduction

This chapter focuses on important physiographic and cultural geographic information about the Ontario Bloodvein River study area (Figure 3.1) that provides contextual background for understanding the boreal forest cultures that lived there in the past and now reside there. The first section of this chapter discusses the physical environment including the bedrock and surficial geology, evidence of glaciation, waterways, climate, present day flora, fire history, and fauna. This detailed overview is designed to produce a holistic overview of the compiled information from First Nations, Ontario Parks, archaeologists, and environmental scientists. It is important that researchers, especially archaeologists, fully understand the ecozone and cultural landscape in which they work (Meyer and Russell 2007), particularly when dealing with areas that are relatively unknown in terms of archaeological data (Pilon 1987). Secondly, as related to the physical and cultural environment, pertinent background planning information for this study area (Figures 1.3, 1.5) is discussed, with regard to the geographical implications of that planning and why the Bloodvein River is of international, national, and regional significance. Current data about the central Canadian boreal forest ecozone and known information about the recent past of the physical environment

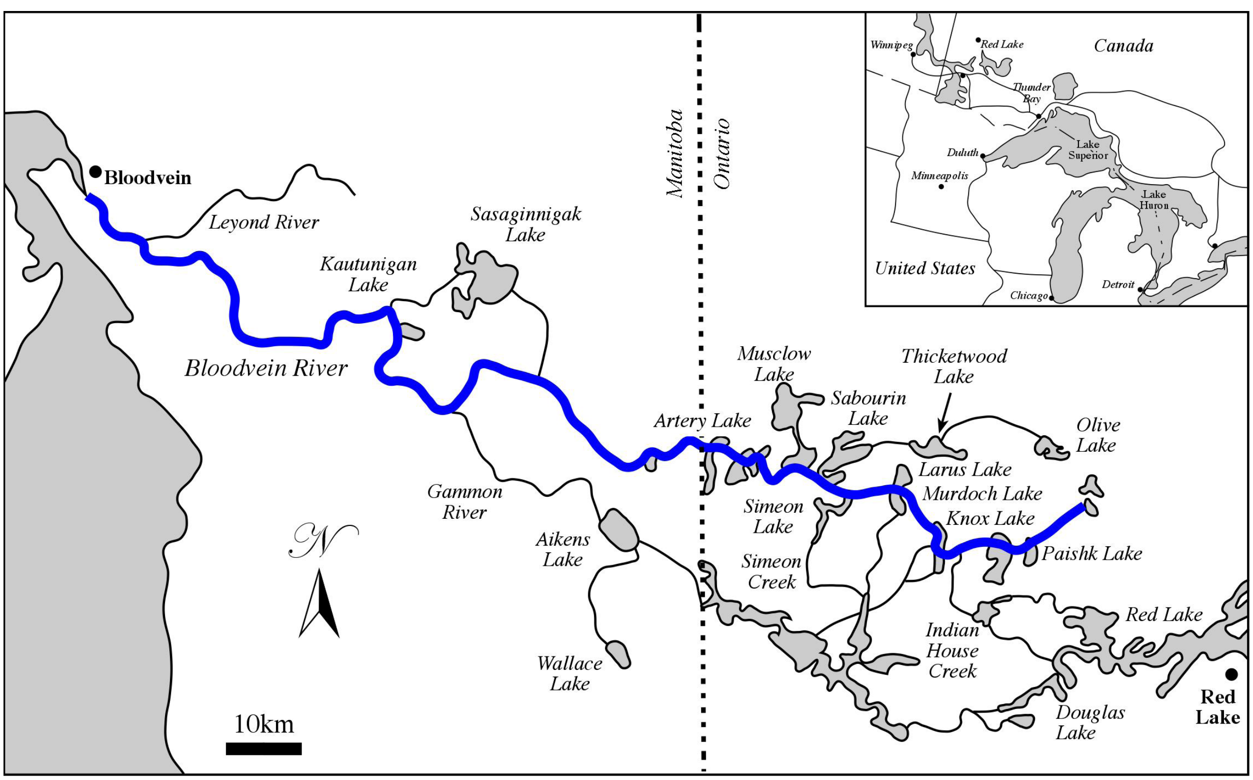

Figure 3.1. Map of the Bloodvein River in Ontario and Manitoba (adapted from Canadian Heritage Rivers http://www.chrs.ca/Rivers/Bloodvein/Bloodvein-M_e.htm).

provide the best analogies for what the region was like in the more distant past. This information is used to infer details about archaeological contexts and some aspects of past human behaviours in this region in later chapters.

Physical Environment of the Study Area

As Helm (1981:1) explains: "Subarctic ethnologists generally recognize that the existence--physical, societal, and cultural--of the hunting peoples of the subarctic expanse has been sharply and immediately keyed to the terrain and its subsistence resources". Therefore, it is crucial to understand the physical environment and subsistence opportunities as much as possible when working with the Anishinaabe and completing research in the central Canadian Subarctic. It is particularly significant that outsiders better understand the complexities of adapting to live in the central Canadian boreal forest ecozone. I believe it has been undervalued, simplified, and overlooked in the past, as Winterhalder (1983:9) explains:

> The boreal forest on first acquaintance can be deceptive. To the passing outsider it is nearly flat, without the vistas that give a landscape an immediate character. Its streams are mostly sluggish, its vegetation diminutive. It feigns monotony over time and space. Yet ecologically it is a habitat vibrant with activity. Although without strong relief, the landscape is strongly differentiated. The populations of plants and animals of the forest interact in a highly dynamic fashion.

The central Canadian boreal forest may be perceived by some people as lacking variability but that is untrue. Many outsiders have missed the opportunity to appreciate the central Canadian boreal forest and cultures who live there. There should be an inherent appreciation for the knowledge development that has occurred over countless generations that allowed very successful adaptations of Indigenous peoples living in this area. As in any environment during the Precontact Period, people had to acquire the knowledge to navigate, subsist, invent or acquire material culture, learn seasonal opportunities, and avoid hazards as part of their adaptive ranges (see Steegmann 1983).

By understanding the central Canadian boreal forest environment, one can discourage incorrect notions about that ecozone that have either been perpetuated in literature written by academics or promoted through a lack of understanding. For example, some researchers suggest that the forest is unable to sustain people or that portions of it were devoid of people (e.g., Dawson 1983a; Wright 1967a). Holly (2002) counters that notion through discussing archaeological and ethnographic examples. Related to this depiction that some central Canadian boreal forest areas had no inhabitants is the practice of describing forests as "natural" and "wild", ignoring the millennia of customary relationships by Indigenous people with their homelands as learned from an intimate understanding of ecological succession patterns (see Chapeskie 2001 for further discussions). Holly (2002) explains that some writers have used this idea to characterize this environment as austere and constraining to peoples, while ignoring the historical, cultural and social evidence that counters that idea. Other researchers portray the Subarctic in Canada and elsewhere with such romanticized descriptors as “vast”, “endless”, and/or as a “pristine wilderness”. Lakehead University Faculty of Natural Resource Management (2010) cautions that: “Although, the boreal forest conjures up images of vast pristine wilderness, an unending expanse of conifers in an area that has been left untouched by human interference and industrial development, it is increasingly threatened by a range of resource extraction and other activities”. This factor is particularly true in northern Ontario, where there is currently an unprecedented amount of development occurring with mineral prospecting, mining, road building, and new forest harvesting areas expanding northwards.

Reid (1988) satirized some of these outdated notions about the Canadian boreal forest, while suggesting ways for archaeologists to change their methods for adapting to these contexts. Another rebuttal to these stereotypes is to talk with Anishinaabe Elders who live in the boreal forest and learn about its intricacies and complexities (e.g., Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006). With the shared knowledge of generations, based primarily on oral histories, clearly people adapted to the boreal forest and sustained themselves for at least 9,000 years. While some people moved out of the boreal forest, perhaps even seasonally or temporarily into present day Manitoba (e.g., Blackduck peoples as in Hamilton et al. 2007), many others chose to stay. Discussions with some details from local Anishinaabe Elders and academic research provided a great deal of information about the study area. In addition, having Woodland Caribou Signature Site/Ontario Parks’ employees as research partners, I had access to a completely different set of environmental (and some cultural) data.

The Ontario Bloodvein River study area is part of the boreal forest ecozone within the Canadian Shield terrain (Wiken 1996). To the southwest is the parkland around Lake of the Woods and the Eastern Woodlands/Great Lakes St. Lawrence forest to the south (Figure 1.1). Researchers have often categorized the Canadian boreal forest into smaller sections using various criteria since it extends from Newfoundland to the Pacific Ocean. In terms of an anthropological viewpoint, the study area is considered to be part of the Subarctic culture area that Wissler (1928) and Kroeber (1939) devised as a concept of broad divisions, mainly for the purpose of organizing museum exhibitions by dividing North American cultures into similar units within a large-scale geographic view. Many researchers believe that the “culture area” concept is outdated; however, these conventional divisions across North America remain useful general organizational devices (Adovosio and Carr 2009). Although some scholars also divide the Subarctic into linguistic divisions between the Algonquians in the east and Athapaskan speakers to the west, Helm (1981) and others refer to the study area as the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands based on physiographic rather than cultural/linguistic terms. Considering the vegetation primarily, Johnson et al. (1995) classify this area as being located within the eastern edge of the present day Western boreal forest ecozone but others classify it differently. For simplicity, I will refer to study area as being within the central Canadian boreal forest. Regardless of the nomenclature used when discussing sections of this ecozone for research purposes, it is most important to recognize the scope of the cultural and environmental variability in the Subarctic and within the study area.

Although the physical environment has changed repeatedly during the millennia of human occupation of the Bloodvein River and nearby regions, present day examples are the best analogies that are available for the Late Woodland and later periods that are the focus of this study. However, as Pilon (1987:22) states, one should use a “diachronic perspective, taking into account cyclical, seasonal and historical changes in resources”. Several other researchers (Dunning 1959; Rogers 1962; Winterhalder 1983) discuss the northwestern Ontario boreal forest physical environment in greater detail, of which much is applicable to this study area.

Bedrock Geology

The Bloodvein River region is part of the Precambrian Canadian Shield that underlies a large section of the central boreal forest of Canada. It outcrops as bedrock visible around the lake and river shores as well as some recently burned forested areas (Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mining 2002). These exposures provide boat landing places and camping spots for people, so therefore are clues for the possibility of archaeological sites. In some cases, there is no soil or sediments covering the outcrops, while in many situations, sediment has accumulated in sufficient amounts to enable forest growth and archaeological site formation. Mapping (Corfu and Stone 1998a, 1998b; Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mining 2002; Rickaby 1923; Stone and Crawford 1993) and other geological research (e.g., Corfu and Stone 1998a, 1998b; Henry et al. 2000; Stevenson et al. 2009; Stone and Crawford 1993) has been somewhat limited in the study area (Figure 3.2). This factor is explained partly by the Bloodvein River being within an Ontario provincial park where environmental protection began in the 1940s (OMNR 2004) and where no staking has been allowed since 1977 (Regional Resident Geologist for Red Lake District Andreas Lichtblau, personal communication 2012). There are currently no claims on record with the Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines for the Bloodvein River and many of their records date back to the 1940s (Andreas Lichtblau, personal communication 2012). Although mineral prospecting near the far eastern side of the Bloodvein River area may have occurred after the Red Lake gold rush in 1926, the underlying granites would not likely have garnered much economic geological interest and for that reason some early writers (e.g., Rogers 1926) discuss not exploring west of Red Lake. The concern for archaeologists is that recent mineral sampling always has to be considered as a possibility when examining potential quarries to determine if they have been modified during the recent or ancient past (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a).

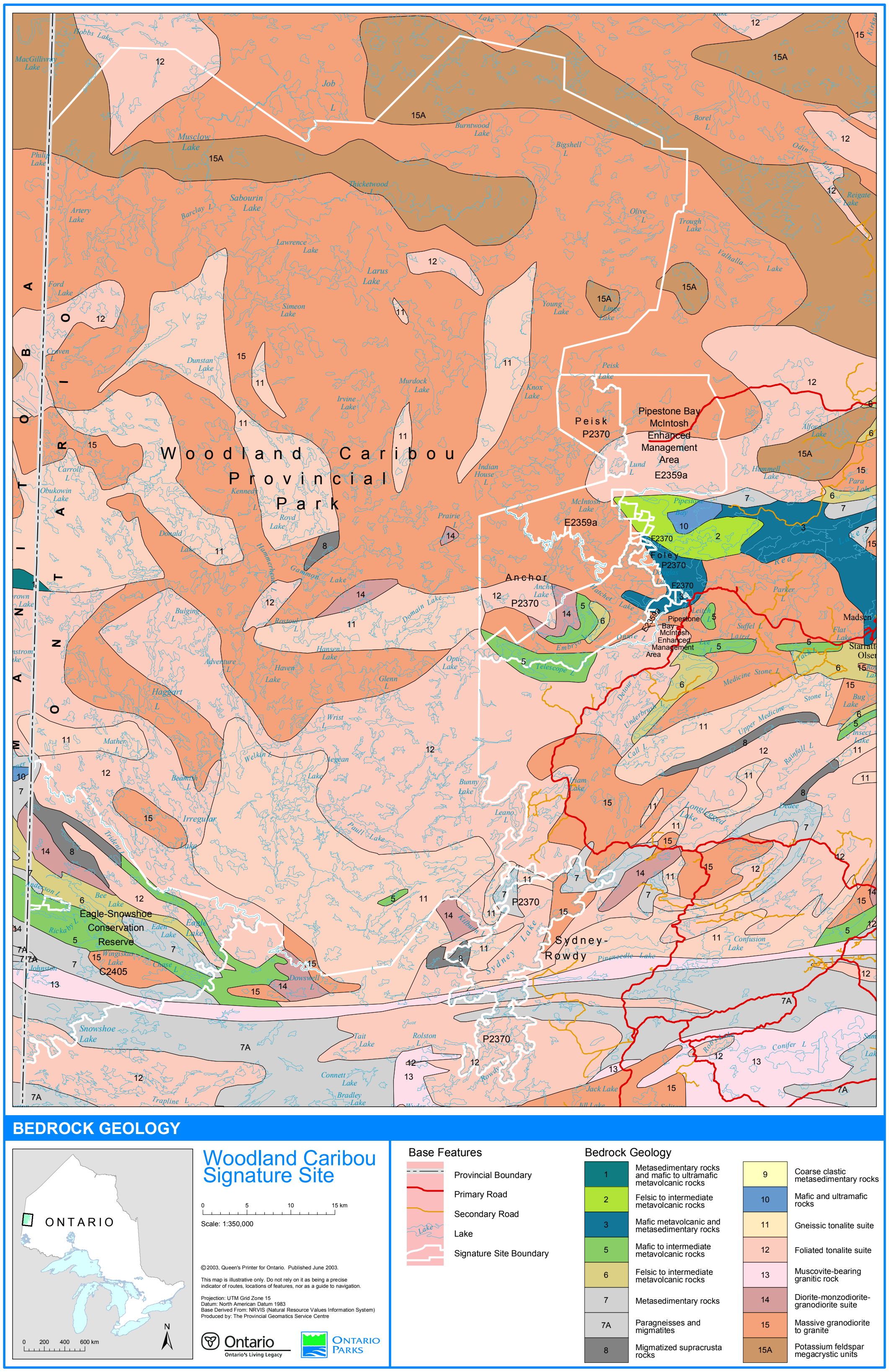

Figure 3.2. Bedrock geology in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site showing variation along the Bloodvein River in Ontario (courtesy of Doug Gilmore of Ontario Parks and used with permission).

As part of the larger Canadian Shield, the Bloodvein River region contains Archean age rocks that formed between 2.5 to 3.0 billion years ago (Burwash 1923; OMNR 1981; Stott et al. 2010). The study area lies within the northern Archean age Superior Province (Corfu and Stone 1998a, 1998b; Stott 1997; Thurston et al. 1991) and within the slightly smaller geological unit of the North Caribou Terrane (Figure 3.3), which is a collage of ~3-2.8 billion year old lithotectonic assemblages. This geological unit has been further subdivided into the North Caribou Terrane and the Berens River Subprovince as defined by Card and Ciesielski (1986) and Stott et al. (2007). The subprovince nomenclature of the Superior Province has recently been revised into a series of domains, terranes, and superterranes (Percival et al. 2006; Stott et al. 2007, 2010) based on recent aeromagnetic surveys, crust formation ages, neodymium (Nd) isotopic signatures and other geochronological evidence (Figure 3.3). By these definitions, the Bloodvein and Berens Rivers lie within the southern part of the North Caribou Terrane in the Berens River "Domain" with the Uchi Subprovince/Domain to the south (Figure 3.3). Most of the bedrock in the region consists of light coloured, coarsely crystalline granitic rocks that host metals such as molybdenum, lithium, tantalum, and uranium (OMNR 1981). The majority of outcrops, of which there are many along the river and lake shorelines, are pink and white granitic rocks that are ubiquitous in this part of the WCSS (Figure 3.2). Underlying most of the Bloodvein River in Ontario is a massive granodiorite to granite unit (hornblende tonalite to granodiorite in Stone and Crawford 1993). Geologists have also recorded a distinctive type of potassium feldspar megacrystic unit along the north end

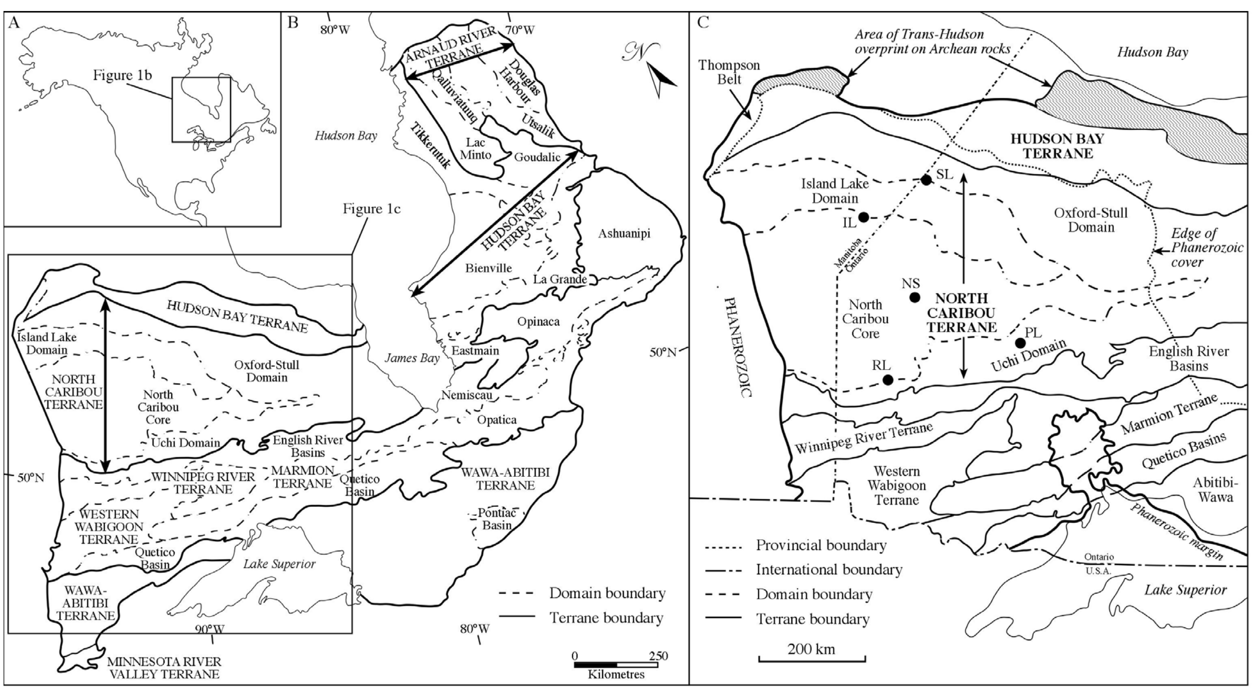

Figure 3.3. Geological terranes of the northwestern Superior Province. This study area is located in the North Caribou Core (southernmost portion is the Berens River Domain) of the North Caribou Terrane, just north of the Uchi Domain. Modified after Rayner and Stott (2005) and Stott et al. (2010). NS=North Spirit Lake, PL=Pickle Lake, RL= Red Lake. Courtesy of Pete Hollings.

of Artery Lake, south end of Musclow Lake, Barclay Lake, Larus Lake, and eastern portion of Thicketwood Lake (Stone and Crawford 1993; see Figure 3.2). Over time, many of the rocks have undergone extensive folding, faulting and metamorphism, as seen in the gneissic tonalite suite found at Knox Lake and Murdock Lake along with the Bloodvein River between Barclay Lake and Sabourin Lake (Figure 3.2). Following periods of uplift, these granitic rocks have been extensively weathered (OMNR 1981). Published data are available for only one set of samples from a biotite tonalite from along the Bloodvein River (Corfu and Stone 1998a:2985, 1998b:1095; Henry et al. 2000; Stevenson et al. 2009). The samples were taken from the south side of the Bloodvein River, south of Sabourin Lake (Figure 3.2) (N5682600/E371400 UTM) (Figure 2.3) and have been $^{207}U/^{235}Pb$ zircon dated to 2705±4 Ma at 2σ (Corfu and Stone 1998b:1094, 1098). Stone and Crawford (1993) also report a gnessic granodiorite to granite area on the east side of Sabourin Lake, which is part of the Bloodvein River system (Figure 3.2). Essentially, these studies were completed for basic mapping of the area, to note anomalies in the granites, and investigate the evolution of the craton; in other words, these were academic studies to determine the genesis of the area rather than researchers looking specifically for economically viable rocks. Given that the study area is within the Canadian Shield, the numerous examples of exposed bedrock offers the possibility of lithic material that is suitable for flintknapping such as quartz, which is also commonly found in the granitic rocks found in this area. This information will be further explored in Chapter 7 in conjunction with the archaeological finds, since there is new data available about lithic material sources and quarries in the region.

Glaciation and Surficial Geology

An important sequence of geomorphological events took place over time that led to cultures being able to inhabit northwestern Ontario. The initial hindering factor was the late Wisconsinan glaciation, particularly the Laurentide ice sheet, with subsequent retreat and readvance episodes (Figure 3.4). Many researchers have studied large-scale changes within this glacial period and the early Holocene epoch in the central Canadian Shield (e.g., Dyke and Prest 1987; Upham 1890) and particularly around the Lake Superior basin (e.g., Boyd et al. 2010; Phillips and Fralick 1994). However, there is only limited published research about the Bloodvein River system regarding this time frame and the geomorphological evidence. Burwash (1923) and Rickaby (1923) discuss some details about the Bloodvein River at the provincial border, along which they completed boundary and geological surveys, indicating that there is abundant evidence of glaciation (Burwash 1923). An early Lake Agassiz researcher provided this description of northwestern Ontario just beyond the Manitoba border, which likely influenced future visitors in suggesting that the area was unpeopled (as previously discussed): “On account of the impracticability of tracing the shores of Lake Agassiz through this wooded and **uninhabited** region, the northeastern limits of the glacial lake,

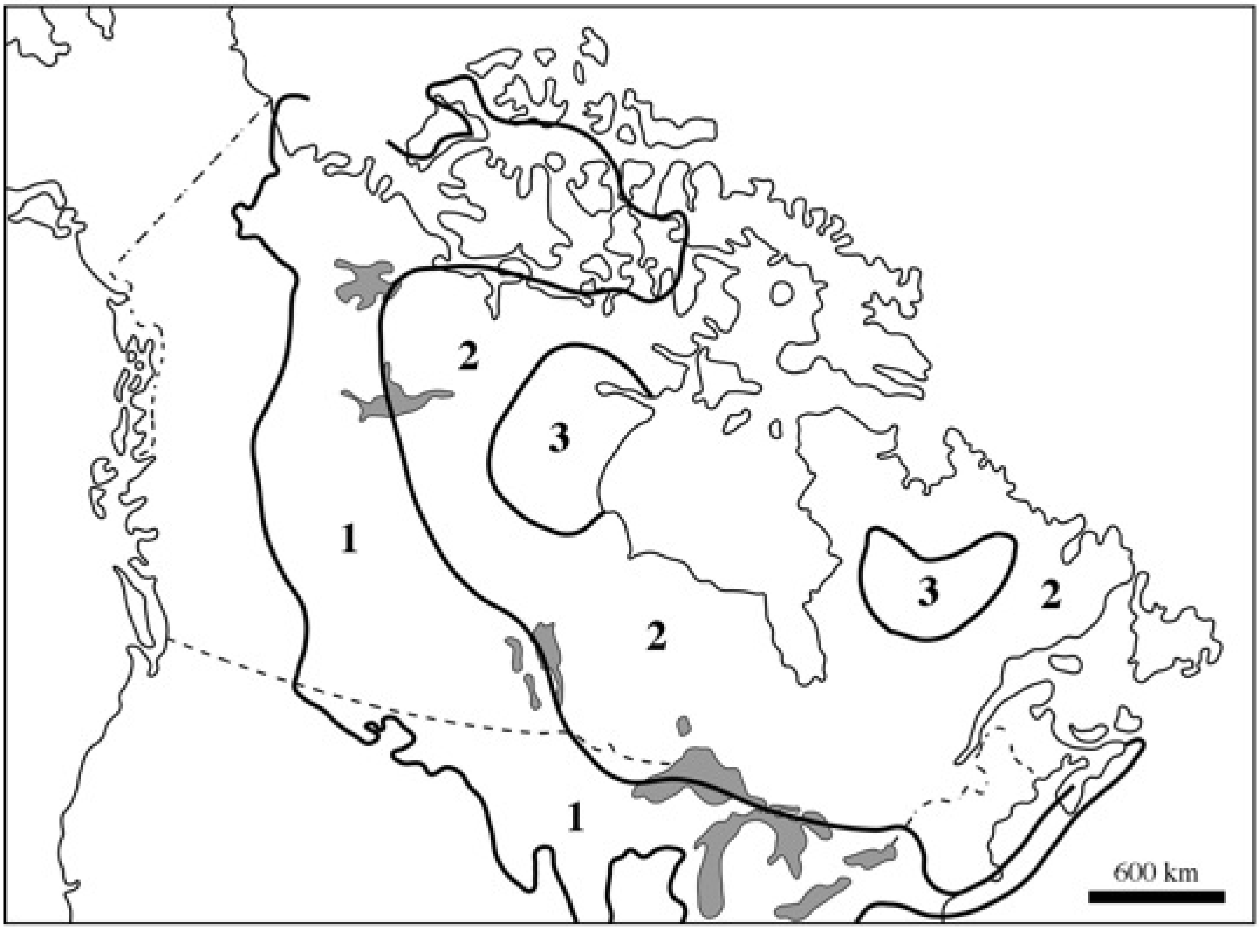

Figure 3.4. Major landscape zones of the Laurentide ice sheet. Zone 2, where the study area is located, has many long eskers and ice flow linear features (redrawn from Dyke and Prest 1987:258).

where the shore in its successive stages passed from the land surface to the barrier of the receding ice-sheet, remain undetermined" (Upham 1890:14; emphasis mine). Of course, it is now evident that the WCSS has been inhabited since relatively soon after the glaciers receded and glacial Lake Agassiz drained to the northwest, eventually becoming Lake Winnipeg and other larger lakes (e.g., Hamilton 2004; McLeod 2004; Pettipas 2011, 2012; Teller and Leverington 2004; Teller et al. 2005; Upham 1890).

Most of northwestern Ontario would have been covered for centuries by proglacial lakes such as Agassiz (Bjorck 1985), Ojibway (Teller and Leverington 2004), and Minong near present day Lake Superior (Boyd et al. 2010; Phillips 1988). Essentially, the slow northeast retreat of the Laurentide ice sheet allowed for a time transgressive occupation from southern to northern parts of Ontario (Figure 3.5). Teller and Leverington's (2004:732) models indicate that the study area was likely free of Lake Agassiz between the Upper Campbell Beach and completely open during the Emerado stages (Figure 3.5). The radiometric dates for each stage indicate the Upper Campbell Beach was deposited at about 9400 years BP with a calendar age range of cal 10,671-10,578 BP (1σ) and 8800 years BP with a calendar age range of 10,620 BP and 9908-9775 BP (1σ) with an

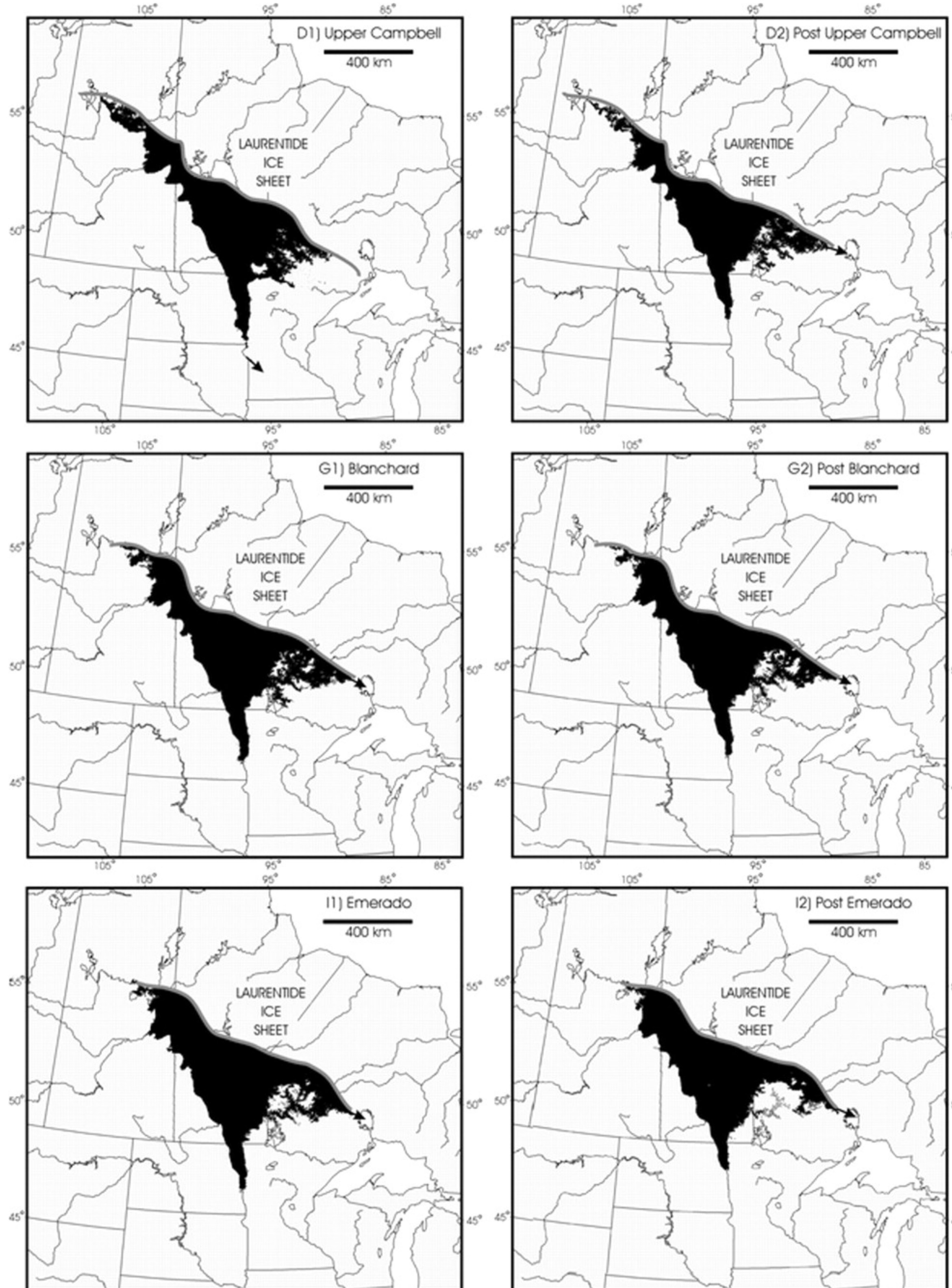

Figure 3.5. Different phases of Lake Agassiz through time showing transgressive maximums (mapped beaches) and then minimums (in pairs) and eastern outlets through Lake Nipigon. The study area would have been inundated until after Upper Campbell Beach (D1) and likely after the Emerado stage (from Teller and Leverington 2004:736).

average of 9840 BP for the Emerado stage (Teller and Leverington 2004:732).

Bjorck (1985) also discusses in detail the deglaciation chronology, stages of Lake Agassiz, and vegetation changes at the southeast end of the study area. Pettipas (2011, 2012) provides an extensive overview of the Lake Agassiz basin with more focus on Manitoba. Essentially, it is most important to note that the southeastern part of the WCSS, where the Early Period Black Bear Site (EdKo-13) at Rowdy Lake was found by McLeod (2004), would have likely been free of Lake Agassiz waters before other areas in the park, including the Bloodvein River in Ontario. Since Lake Agassiz retreated towards what became Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba while expanding northwards (Pettipas 2012), the Bloodvein River corridor in Ontario would have been open earlier (and thus available for human habitation) than the Manitoba side of the river and those areas close to Lake Winnipeg (Figure 3.5). After the ice eventually disappeared in the far north of Ontario, the Tyrrell Sea flooded a substantial area inland from the Hudson Bay coast, thus rendering that area and adjacent northern Manitoba uninhabitable until that drained (Pettipas 2012).

Much of the larger WCSS also contains geomorphological evidence in the form of deposits from glacial Lake Agassiz (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) that flooded the region, as well as parts of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, thousands of years ago when the Laurentide continental ice sheet started to melt and retreat to the northeast (Pettipas 2011, 2012; Teller and Leverington 2004; Teller and Thoreleifson 1983; Teller et al. 2005). Although people would have been able to inhabit the areas around its margins, the glacial lake would have limited migration into the Bloodvein River area for many hundreds of years. The high incidence of clays and silts in the northern WCSS and Whitefeather Forest directly resulted from glacial Lake Agassiz deposits after it drained towards Lake Winnipeg (Upham 1890). More recently, alluvial clay, silt, sand, and gravel have also been deposited along river valleys (OMNR 1981). Many coarser-grained, sandy beaches have developed in places on all of the lakes along the Bloodvein River; these provide excellent camping sites and usually have archaeological evidence of past Indigenous inhabitants. Peat deposits also exist in areas where poorly drained depressions have allowed organic matter to accumulate (Johnson et al. 1995).

The Bloodvein River system contains evidence of late Pleistocene and early Holocene epoch glacial modifications (Burwash 1923) that have altered much of northwestern Ontario and specifically the Bloodvein River system. This advance and retreat of the Laurentide ice sheet represents the last major erosional phase to have affected the Canadian Shield and resulted in the low relief seen across the study area. Large areas of till deposits are present at Knox Lake, Murdock Lake, and Larus Lake (Figure 3.6). Many of the numerous lakes, rivers and intermittent water bodies were also formed by these glacial modifications (Hamilton et al. 2003). When the glaciers retreated during the early Holocene epoch, depositional features such as erratics, eskers, and moraines (deposits of sand, gravel, and stone) were formed (Bjorck 1985; Sharpe and Cowan 1990). In particu-

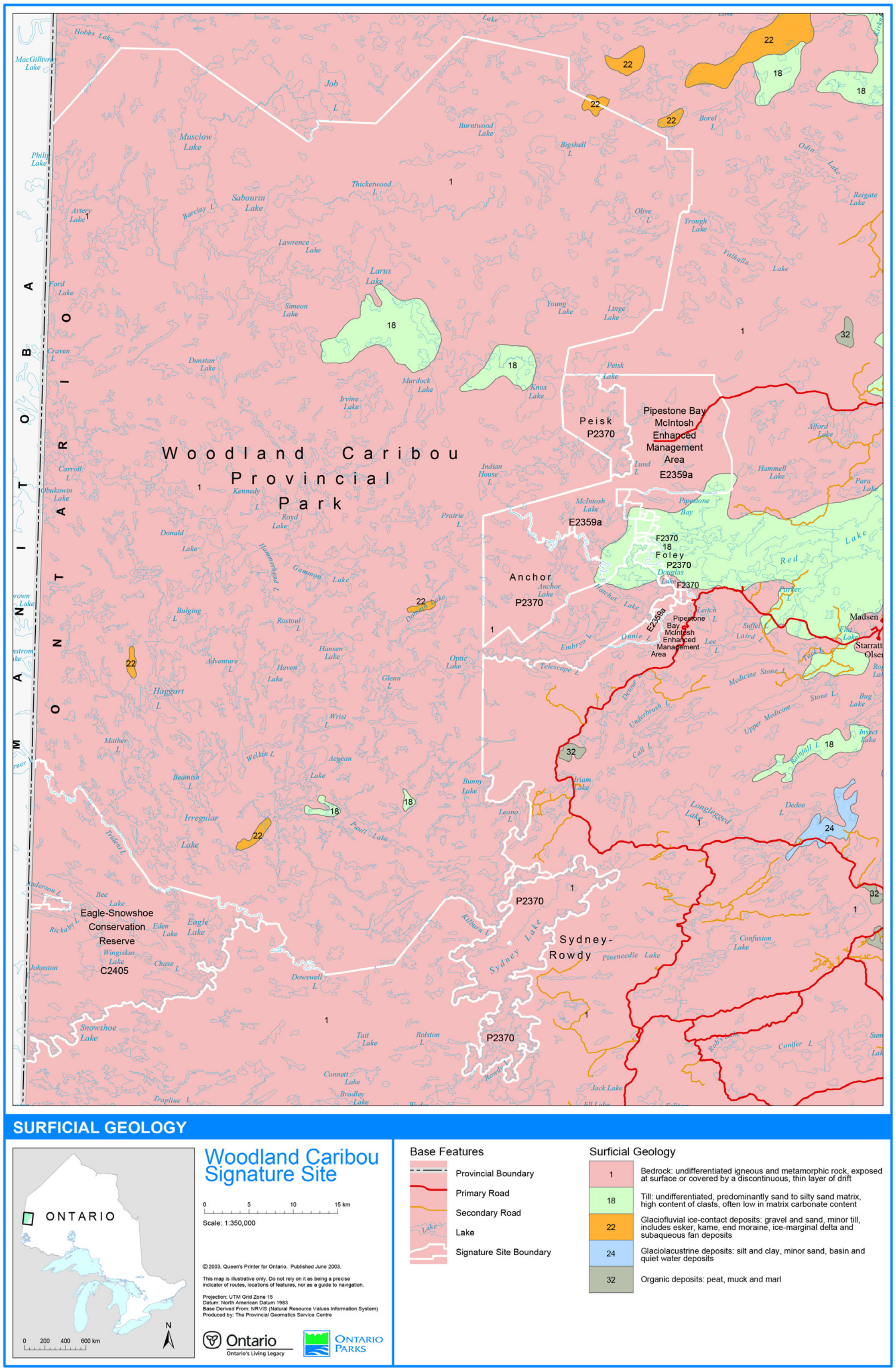

Figure 3.6. Surficial geology map of the Woodland Caribou Signature Site showing the study area to the north and two large areas of till deposits near Larus Lake and Murdock Lake along the Bloodvein River (courtesy of Doug Gilmore and Ontario Parks and used with permission).

lar the Eagle-Finlayson, Lac Seul, and Hartman Moraines (Bjorck 1985; Sharpe and Cowan 1990) are closest to the eastern end of the Bloodvein River (Knox and Paishk lakes). Pikangikum First Nation (and other Anishinaabe) Elders recognize the importance of these ancient features, which were used as landmarks and some are identified as Thunderbird nests (*binesi* or *animikii wazasonan* in Ningewance 2004:331, 352) (see Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; PFN and OMNR 2006). These nests are important spiritual places where the Thunderbird *manitoog* or spirits live (Pomedli 2014).

Due to the ancient weathered rocks of the Canadian Shield and subsequent alteration of the landscape by glaciers during the Pleistocene and early Holocene epochs, the Bloodvein River region is relatively flat. Elevations range from about 340-390 m above mean sea level across the entire system. When compared with the surrounding area, there is a general trend of higher elevations to the east and lower ones to the west, reflecting the trend of drainage patterns toward Lake Winnipeg. There are some cliff faces located around sections of most lakes, typically rising 20-30 m above lake level. Some of these places have pictographs and are very significant spiritual locales (Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Pelshea 1980; Taylor-Hollings 2012).

As is typical of many central Canadian boreal forest regions, soils in the WCSS tend to be thinly developed, acidic podzols and are sometimes sparsely developed. However, the Bloodvein River is noted as being one of the most sediment rich areas in the park with some of the deepest clay and silt deposits known thus far (Ontario Parks 2007). Those conditions provide more opportunity for soil development providing good drainage for vegetation and creating more suitable places for human habitation. Teller and Leverington (2004) note that the Bloodvein River and larger region was an eastern outlet of glacial Lake Agassiz, which may explain the deeper deposits found along the river system. Although coniferous forests thrive in these conditions of acidic podzols, it can be problematic from an archaeological viewpoint. For example, stratified deposits, if present, are often thinly spaced and sometimes mixed from bioturbation making some site interpretations difficult.

Waterways

The headwaters for the Bloodvein River are found just outside the eastern side of the WCSS, east of Paishk Lake (Figures 1.3, 2.3, 3.1). They begin as a series of small streams that eventually coalesce in several unnamed lakes to the east of Paishk Lake (Jackson 1998). This river flows west and northwest for about 106 km through the park and then another 200 km through Atikaki Provincial Park in Manitoba (Newman and Gilmore 2007) to Lake Winnipeg (Figure 1.5). The WCSS is entirely within the waterways of the Nelson River system that ultimately drains into Hudson Bay (Ontario Parks 2007).

There are major variations in the Bloodvein River along its length through Ontario. Several series of rapids occur across the Ontario section of the river but there are more sets of rapids and waterfalls in the Manitoba section (Manitoba Conservation 2008). Along the length of the Bloodvein River, it varies from a small, narrow stream to a very wide, turbulent river in open portions.

As is typical of many Canadian boreal forest river systems, the Bloodvein River is an interconnected network of lakes that may be considered as separate environmental and culturally important units within the transportation corridor (Figures 2.3, 3.1). Many smaller streams flow into that river system in Ontario, some of which were included in this study. In the early twentieth century, Gilbert (1928) notes that the Gammon River was known formerly as the southern branch of the Bloodvein River. It makes sense from Anishinaabe usage to now characterize this as a different travel corridor, since different but perhaps related families may have used each river. Thus, it is important to consider the Bloodvein River from a hydrological viewpoint but also as a complicated and dynamic travel system with cultural implications for the past and present (Figure 2.3), rather than merely just a river, since local Indigenous people currently think of the Bloodvein River in this way (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2008). Most people use a specific lake as a reference (e.g., Knox Lake), rather than just the Bloodvein River. This mindset was also important for predictive modeling of archaeological sites in the region and trying to understand the ancient and modern cultural landscape.

Fluctuating lake levels are important to archaeological predictive modeling in northwestern Ontario, as is indicated by the finding of many Early Period/Palaeo Period archaeological sites on higher elevations above the present Lake Superior levels (e.g., Hamilton 1996). As Colson (2006) notes in association with pictographs being visible or not, water levels and changing shapes of water bodies needs to be noted and investigated by archaeologists. One survey trip in 2010 to Artery Lake along the Bloodvein River and near the provincial border brought that idea into focus, since most of the contemporary campsites happened to be covered with one or two feet of water. This factor altered the visible beach zones and one of the pictographs that Dewdney and Kidd (1967) had recorded was not viewable. The timings of related factors such as freeze-up, break-up of ice, ice damming, beaver dams, stream flow, snow cover, and wind are also still viewed as important factors in seasonal activities by Anishinaabe people (Winterhalder 1983). As a direct result of all of these factors, drownings were a particular hazard faced in the boreal forest ecozone and certainly occurred even within the families that we worked with on these projects (also see Holly 2002 and Steegmann 1983).

In terms of elevations along the Bloodvein River, the headwaters are about 380 m above sea level (a.s.l.) and gradually descend to 323.70 m a.s.l. at the provincial border and then to 217.63 m a.s.l. at Lake Winnipeg (measurements originally in feet and converted from Burwash 1923:31). Along the approximate 306 km span of the Bloodvein River, there are gradual changes in elevations totalling about 162.37 m, with the greatest changes occurring through Manitoba.

Climate

Early in the twentieth century, Burwash (1923:42-44) recorded specific temperatures in this region during a survey of the provincial boundary, including the Bloodvein River, from June 3 to October 5, 1921. He noted a high of 92°F (33°C) and a low of 29°F (-2°C) in June and within the 125 days of the survey, rain fell on 68 of those days including 18 thunder storms events (Burwash 1923:42). Although that information may be different for earlier and present times, it provides baseline information. The study area is included in the climatic zone that Chapman and Thomas (1968) refer to as the English River Climatic Region. Being positioned in middle North America, the climate is termed continental. The mean temperature for January is -14°C and for July is 18°C (Chapman and Thomas 1968). Typically, the mean frost-free season is 108 days with May 30 being the average last day for spring frost. Usually, 60% of precipitation occurs from May to September with a mean annual precipitation of 63 cm (Chapman and Thomas 1968).

Only one palynological study has taken place along the Bloodvein River at Artery Lake where two lake cores were collected at lat. 51° 23', long. 95° 07' and lat. 51° 24', long. 95° 07' (McAndrews 1986). A third core was sampled from "Mordsger Lake", which although being described as being on the headwaters of the Bloodvein (51°23'N, 94°15'W in McAndrews 1986:2; Moos and Cumming 2011), technically it is found on the Sabourin River headwaters just northeast of Olive Lake rather than on the Bloodvein system per se (Figure 3.1). McAndrews (1986:4) interprets long-term vegetational changes in the park from the three pollen cores in the following way:

> The interpretation of the Park diagrams is similar to that of Hayes Lake. From deglaciation through the disappearance of Lake Agassiz, local vegetation on windswept islands was sparse tundra with tree pollen and prairie pollen derived from vegetation that grew on the upland hundreds of kilometers to the south. With the drainage of Lake Agassiz from the higher elevations and a warming climate, poplar invaded the tundra together with juniper and gale. Continued warming permitted the successive invasion of white birch, spruce, jack pine and alder to form a boreal forest. Further warming caused the reduction of spruce and the northeastward encroachment of prairie, either as part of the aspen parkland or its local occurrence on dry sites. With a cooling of the climate beginning 6,000 B.P., spruce expanded, and fir invaded the Park. Jack pine also increased as savanna prairie retreated southward. During this hypsithermal interval, white pine did not reach the Park. Thus the modern vegetation and caribou habitat has been present for the past 6,000 years.

Although this is a very broad interpretation for the very large WCSS area, it provides the only examples of pollen sampling and interpretation. Some plants, such as a stand of bur oak (*Quercus macrocarpa*) located along the middle Bloodvein River in Ontario (Ontario Parks 2007), indicate that the prairie vegetation described above was likely present at a larger scale in the past. Bur oak are the hardiest, most fire tolerant, slow growing, and long living species of oak in North America (Johnson et al. 1995) suggesting that this stand has been in place for many decades. As an earlier recorder of information about northwestern Ontario, Bell (1879:29) notes that, "Small trees of red oak are found as far north as the English River for some distance above its junction with the Winnipeg, but stunted bushes belonging to this species extend to Beren's River". One of the quartz lithic quarry sites described in Chapter 7 is also found at this location, which has a large canoe landing area and extensive exposures of bedrock. Clearly, it was an important place for precontact people whether for harvesting the acorns for storing as winter food or other use (Johnson et al. 1995) or taking quartz from the bedrock.

A nearby study of the Experimental Lakes Area near Kenora yielded analogous information by compiling the Mordsger Lake data and a larger study of Manitoba and northwestern Ontario dated sediment cores (Moos and Cumming 2011). Their results confirm the general trends indicating that during the early Holocene (~11,600-8600 cal yr BP), there is evidence of relatively low precipitation and the coldest temperatures; after deglaciation, a strong spruce *(Picea)* trend is followed by a transition to mainly pine *(Pinus)* forests (Moos and Cumming 2011). Teller and Leverington (2004) indicate that there are the Younger Dryas, Preboreal Oscillation, and 8.2 cal. ka cooling events interpreted for those time frames. During the Altithermal or warmer early to mid-Holocene epoch (~8600-4500 cal yr BP), evidence suggests there is a decrease in the relative abundance of pine (*Pinus)* and an increase in *Cupressaceae* (cypress family - likely juniper) and *Ambrosia* (ragweed) plants, indicating a more open forest during this time (Moos and Cumming 2011). Increases in summer precipitation and both summer and winter temperatures are also indicated by pollen results. During the late Holocene (~4500 cal yr BP-present), there is a return to *Pinus* being the most numerous taxa and suggestion of a closed-canopy boreal forest. Temperatures and precipitation are essentially similar to modern levels according to interpretations by Moos and Cumming (2011).

Researchers have suggested, based on multiple lines of evidence, that the climate became the warmest and driest of the entire Holocene epoch thus far in the Hypsithermal or Altithermal Period; this time frame coincides with the pollen data collected by Moos and Cumming (2011) in northwestern Ontario. The "Little Ice Age", which began at about AD 1350 and ended in the late 1800s, is also noteworthy in terms of cultures experiencing colder temperatures during this time (Nicholson et al. 2006). Another study completed a short distance from the Bloodvein River at Little Raleigh Lake in the Winnipeg River drainage basin near Dryden, Ontario investigated diatoms within sediment cores. From this research, Ma and colleagues (2012) suggest that two time periods of prolonged aridity are evident from about AD 950 to 1300 during the "Medieval Climate Anomaly" and from about AD 1625 to 1750 within the "Little Ice Age". Both of these age ranges are pertinent to this study since they coincide with the beginning and end of the Late Woodland Period, indicating detectable changes in cultural patterns of the archaeological record coincident with likely climate shifts. Flynn (2002) discusses these climatic changes in detail with relation to the archaeological components at the Lockport Site in southeastern Manitoba.

Winterhalder (1983) also discusses a possible warming trend for the northern hemisphere beginning about 1885 that had reversed by about 1940. Those dates would be well within the Post-contact Period after Canadian Confederation (see Chapter 5). This trend coincides with the demise of the bison on the adjacent prairies to the southwest of the study area and the apparent lack of a viable HBC post business in Red Lake (Lytwyn 1986a).

Flora

The central Canadian boreal forest includes coniferous and deciduous forests, marshes, fens, and bogs. There are also subcategories of trees, shrubs, grasses, sedges, mosses, lichens, rushes, ferns, flowers, and aquatics (Johnson et al. 1995; Shay 1980); the presence of lichens is very important to sustain the woodland caribou in the region. Due to the immense size of the WCSS, the flora is complicated and varies across many different micro-habitats, even along the length of the Bloodvein River. While it is certain that vegetation changed many times during the long human occupation of this region, present day examples are currently the best evidence for analogies of the past. First peoples may have used some of these plants in the past and they continue to harvest food and medicinal species (Marles et al. 2008; Shay 2009). Non-Indigenous knowledge of present and past ethnobotanical selection is currently quite limited, although Ontario Parks is trying systematically to document vegetation in WCSS while working together with the five First Nations communities with traditional territories in the park. Kenny (2000) and Kenny and Parker (2004) discuss some of the ethnobotany in the Lac Seul area, which is pertinent to the study area since Lac Seul people lived along the eastern part of the Bloodvein River. Pikangikum (PFN and OMNR 2006) and Davidson-Hunt et al. (2012) have also been documenting some forms of plant usage in their traditional area.

While completing archaeological surveys of the Bloodvein River in Ontario, the main types of vegetation for each lake and at each site were noted because this information is used to provide clues about why a location was chosen and for what purpose it was used in the past (Table 3.1). Vegetation may indicate if a locale is currently well-drained or not and therefore if it is an appropriate location for camping or other uses. Woodland Caribou Signature Site staff were undertaking a vegetation survey during some of the archaeological projects and that information helped inform this study. These combined upper and lower story floral components represent fairly typical plants for this region and the central Canadian boreal forest ecozone. Although there were some rare plants found (i.e., bur oak, usually found on the plains), most were consistent with other parts of the southern boreal forest in this area of northwestern Ontario.

From a natural resource management perspective, the study area and all of the WCSS is technically in the Lac Seul Upland and Ecoregion 4S as determined by forest management personal, forest management units, climate, tree composition, and age of trees (Racey et al. 2000:2; Wild-

Table 3.1. Vegetation identified in the Bloodvein River, Ontario region; all Linnaean binomial taxonomic terms are derived from Johnson et al. (1995) and Lakehead University Faculty of Natural Resource Management (2010).

Trees	
black spruce *(Picea mariana)*	jack pine *(Pinus banksiana)*
balsam poplar *(Populus balsamifera)*	red pine *(Pinus resinosa)*
white/paper birch *(Betula papyrifera)*	balsam fir *(Abies balsamea)*
eastern white cedar *(Thuja occidentalis)*	eastern white pine *(Pinus strobus)*
trembling aspen *(Populus tremuloides)*	white spruce *(Picea glauca)*
Tamarack *(Larix laricina)*	Manitoba maple *(Acer negundo)*
American or white elm *(Ulmus americana)* - possibly	bur oak *(Quercus macrocarpa)* - very limited clusters
Shrubs	
willows *(Salix* genus*)*	green alder *(Alnus crispa)*
beaked hazelnut *(Corylus cornuta)*	red-osier dogwood *(Cornus stolonifera)*
saskatoon *(Amelanchier alnifolia)*	pin cherry *(Prunus pensylvanica)*
wild red raspberry *(Rubis idaeus)*	velvet-leaved blueberry *(Vaccinium myrtillodes)*
choke cherry *(Prunus virginiana)*	currents and gooseberries *(Ribes* genus*)*
bush cranberries *(Viburnum* genus*)*	prickly rose *(Rosa acicularis)*
western mountain-ash *(Sorbus scopulina)*	common snowberry *(Symphoricarpos albus)*
common Labrador tea *(Ledum groenlandicum)*	honeysuckles *(Lonicera* genus*)*
common bearberry *(Arctostaphylos uva-ursi)*	juniper *(Juniperus* genus*)*
Wildflowers	
lily family including eastern wood lily *(Lilium philadelphicum var. andinum)*	orchid family including yellow lady's slipper *(Cypripedium calceolus)*
mint family including wild mint *(Mentha arvensis)*	rose family including woodland strawberry *(Fragaria vesca)*
aster family including common yarrow *(Achillea millefolium)*	stinging nettle *(Urtica dioica)*
Aquatics	
common cattail *(Typha latifolia)*	sweet flag *(Acorus calamus)*
arum-leaved arrowhead *(Sagittaria cuneata)*	wild rice *(Zizania aquatica)*
Other	
Indian-pipe *(Monotropa uniflora)*	

lands League 2006). However, parks are protected areas rather than Forest Management Units. So, the park is more similar to the more northerly, uncut forest area to the north of Ecoregion 4S that is named Ecoregion 3S; this is north of the 'area of undertaking' where no industrial logging activity is taking place (Wildlands League 2006). The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources has also added the Red Lake Forest Management Unit, which is directly east of the WCSS (Figure 1.3), to Ecoregion 3S since it is more similar than more southerly forest management units (Racey et al. 2000). Some characteristics about the forest in Ecoregion 3S are summarized by Racey et al. (2000:9), which provide a useful overview for the WCSS:

> The majority of older forest in this ecoregion is black spruce dominated. There is high recruitment of young stands of jack pine and black spruce. This is likely due to both silvicultural treatments (planting and seeding) after harvest and natural succession following fire disturbance. Pure poplar and poplar mixedwoods are fairly prominent on the landscape with white birch represented to a lesser degree. Mixedwoods compose approximately one quarter of the landscape. There is much less conifer-conifer mixedwood than conifer-hardwood mixed-wood. Black spruce dominates the mixedwood component. Young stands of pure balsam fir are present. The ecoregional age class distribution has a significant depression around the 30 year age class. This may reflect major depletions in the late 1960s and early 1970s. During this period, silviculture was mainly based on natural regeneration and a policy of active fire suppression was adopted. The peak in the next age class (50 to 70) may be the result of reasonably effective fire suppression.

These data differ slightly from the park since jack pine and black spruce occur along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS, as also reported in the 1920s by Burwash (1923). However, it provides additional information about the majority of tree species and age of the forests, which has implications for First Nations people using the area and also for archaeological site predictive modeling. In general representation of Ecoregion 3S, young trees account for 25% (0-50 years), mature ones make up 50% (50-100 years), and 25% are old trees (over 100 years) (Racey et al. 2000).

In addition to the identified trees, many other types of plants were observed while working along the Bloodvein River but not specifically identified to genus and species: sedges *(Eriophrum* genus*)*; rushes *(Juncaceae* genus*)*; grasses (common sweet grass [*Hierochloe odorata]* and many genera); horsetails *(Equisetum* genus*)*; lichens (*Cladonia* and other genera*)*; club-mosses *(Lycopodiaceae* genus*)*; mosses and liverworts (*Pagiomnium* genus and many others); and ferns (*Matteuccia struthiopteris* and others). Also important is the regionally and provincially significant flora that have been identified along the Bloodvein River such as: a rush called *Juncus interior* found between Knox Lake and Murdock Lake; yellow marsh-marigold *(Caltha natans)* and a pondweed called *Potamogetan vaseyi* both identified to the south of Larus Lake; and the big-head rush *(Juncus vaseyi)* located on the east side of Musclow Lake (Jackson 1998; Johnson et al. 1995).

Fire History

Related to the type and occurrences of flora found in this study area, the fire history is important because large forest fires are necessary for forest regeneration and succession (Johnson et al. 1995). Fire history is also useful for helping to interpret archaeological sites and as an indication of how often past residents of the WCSS had to deal with these events (Figure 3.7). In addition, fires may expose some archaeological sites by removing trees, low brush cover, and sometimes the humus layer.

In addition to being part of the central Canadian boreal forest, the WCSS is significantly affected by its proximity to the northeastern prairies in adjacent Manitoba, resulting in comparatively dry, warm seasons. Consequently, the WCSS is located in a region (Site District 4S-1) that has one of the highest forest fire occurrences in Ontario (OMNR 2003), representing a dynamic ecology that can change dramatically over a short period of time (Figure 3.7). In the last 80 years, approximately half of the WCSS has been burnt (OMNR 2003) (Figure 3.7). Across the central Canadian boreal forest, fire return intervals vary greatly and range from several decades to 813 years (Hodson et al. 2011). However, a significant portion of the Bloodvein River region in Ontario has not burned since before the 1920s, resulting in large sections of comparatively old growth forest (Figure 3.7).

According to OMNR (2003) records, smaller frequent fires are more common but large fires account for the majority of burnt areas within the park (Figure 3.7). The largest recorded single forest fire event in the WCSS occurred in 1986 (44,599 ha). During the 1980s, the most extensive fire activity occurred in this region (85,568 ha), followed by the 1940s (83,720 ha), and the 1920s (73,905 ha) (OMNR 2003) (Figure 3.7). Most recently, the Red Lake #124 fire burned 21,675 ha from July 26 until October 6, 2011 around the Knox Lake through to Larus Lake portion of the Bloodvein River (Claire Quewezence, personal communication 2011; Figures 3.8, 3.9). Clearly, such large fires burning for so long would have affected Indigenous inhabitants in the past by restricting their movements and presenting potentially life-threatening circumstances. It would also have altered their hunting and gathering plans for several years as they adapted to changing situations.

Natural disturbances in the boreal forest ecozone, caused by fires and other processes, along with succession are also key processes in creating heterogeneity across time and space in wildlife habitat (Hodson et al. 2011). The late Pikangikum Elder Whitehead Moose explained, "After the forest is burnt new growth starts. Animals get tired of eating old food. Just like you and me. The Creator knows that animals need new food. After the fire there is fresh food to eat" (Miller 2010:129). Moose, beaver, and hare thrive on the young saplings that regenerate following a fire, while caribou prefer mature forests where lichen growth is optimal (OMNR 2003). Excellent berry habitat would be created for many years after a fire. Indigenous occupants would undoubtedly

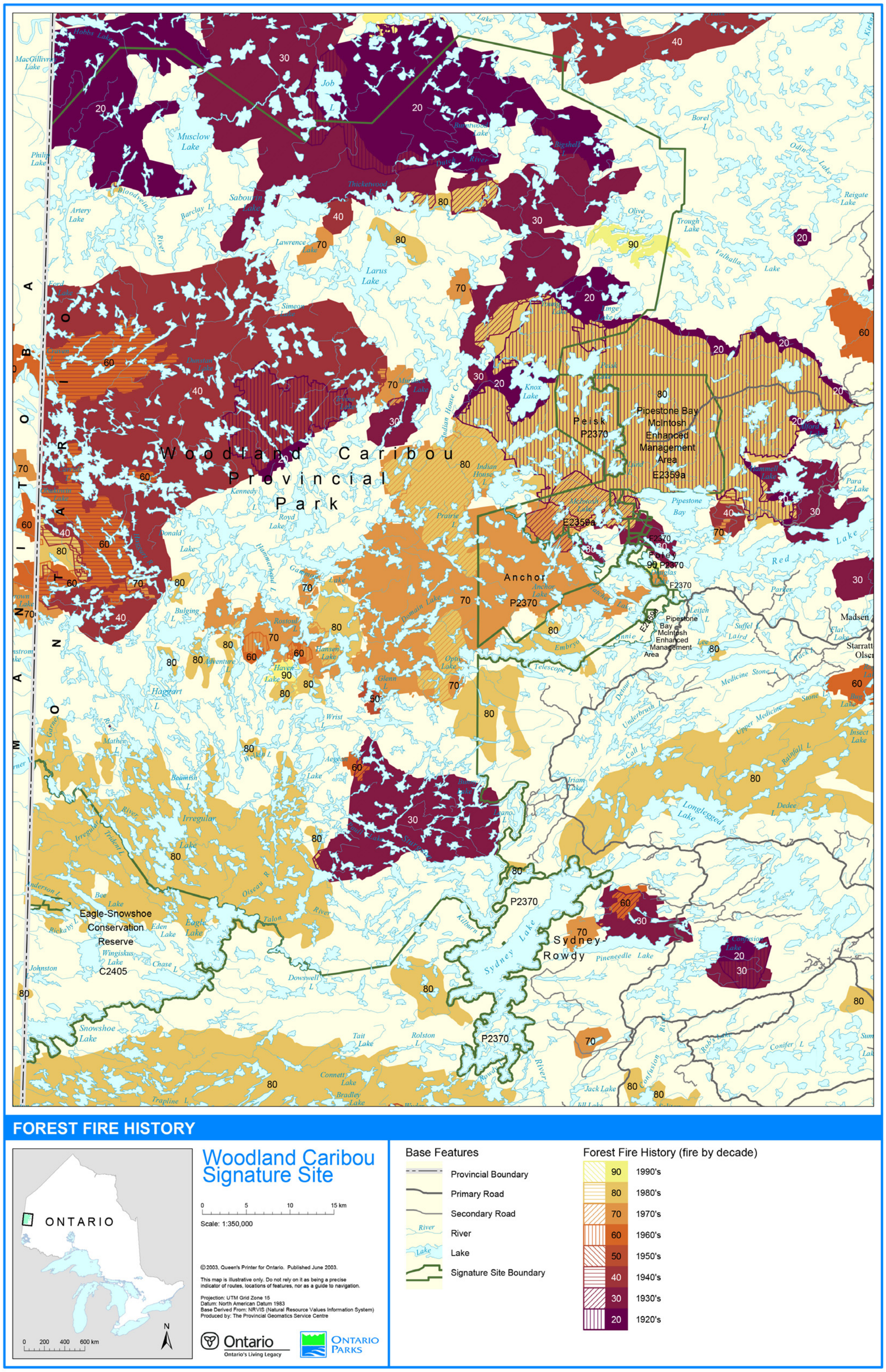

Figure 3.7. Forest fire history recorded for the Woodland Caribou Signature Site for most of the twentieth century. Note few fires were recorded for the Bloodvein River in Ontario since before the 1920s indicating old growth (courtesy of Doug Gilmore and Ontario Parks and used with permission).

Forest Fire Boundary
Red #124 - 2011
Murdock Lake - Woodland Caribou Prov. Park

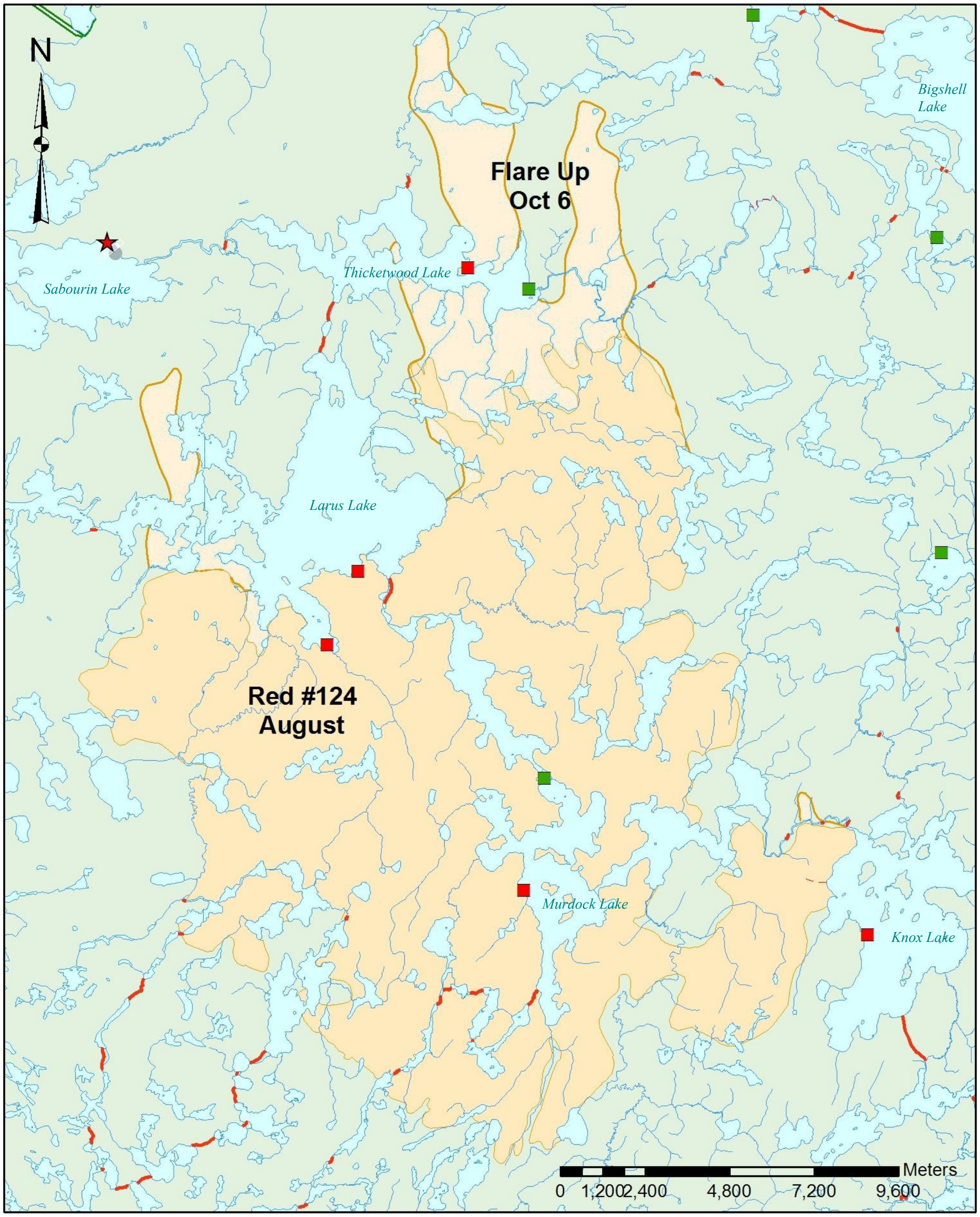

Figure 3.8. Large fire (named Red Lake #124) that burned large portions of the Bloodvein River region in Ontario between Knox Lake and Larus Lake from August to October, 2011. Red squares/stars are outposts and green ones are cabins (courtesy of Assistant Park Superintendent Claire Quewezence of Ontario Parks; used with permission).

Figure 3.9. View of the scale and force of some boreal forest fires. This photo was taken during the months long wildfires of 2011 but this particular fire was a back burn ignited to save the lodge (sprinklers are on and it was saved). Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources Fire Ranger heading to Larus Beach Lodge, on Larus Lake along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS, where we had stayed for the 2007 survey. Courtesy of Debbie MacLean, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Red Lake District and used with permission.

have used these types of burnt areas to make the most of faunal and flora abundances.

It is widely acknowledged that First Peoples altered their landscapes by fire in the past and more recent time frames (e.g., Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Lewis 1982; Miller 2010). As is typical of the central Canadian boreal forest, some areas along the Bloodvein River remain open due to bedrock exposures and natural fires altering the landscape. At the time of writing, the Park Superintendent and Ontario Parks staff were working with the five First Nations with traditional use areas in the park to create a WCSS fire plan, exploring which management practices the communities and individual knowledge holders believe will work best. Pikangikum Anishinaabeg knowledge of the forest fire cycle is intricate, knowing how setting fires will enhance habitat for animals and plants and adapting to changes when natural burns occur (Figure 3.10). Some of the Elders who were part of the archaeological surveys were also OMNR firefighters in the past, so they provided much insight into types of fires, how to stop them, and resulting changes in the boreal forest ecozone (Miller 2010; Sanders 2011). Elders Joe Paishk and the late Joe Keesic, while working on the archaeological projects on Larus Lake and Murdock Lake along the Bloodvein River, recalled their

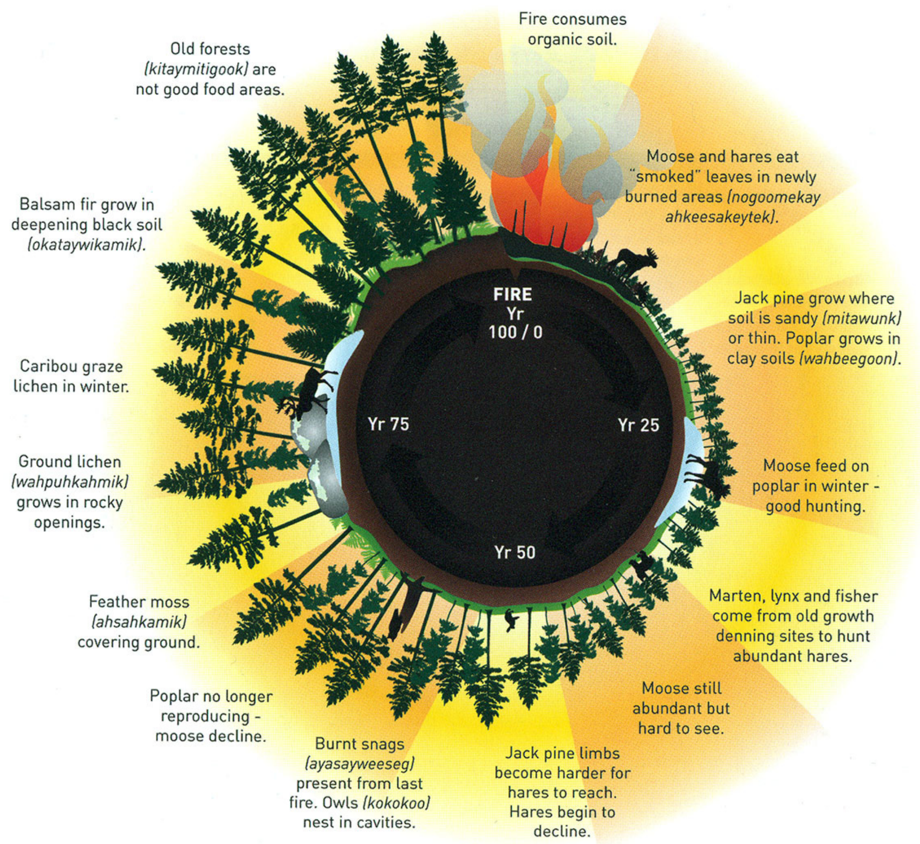

Figure 3.10. Diagram of Pikangikum Elders' views of the 100 year fire cycle in the Whitefeather Forest and how this influences the cultural landscape. Not coincidentally, it is set up like a medicine wheel indicating the circular nature of life cycles (from Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012:82 and modified from Miller 2010).

OMNR fire fighting days in the 1970s when they put out fires on these lakes as part of a team (see Sanders 2011 for more information about Red Lake and Pikangikum Anishinaabeg fire fighters).

Fauna

The present day varieties of fauna for the Bloodvein River region (Table 3.2) are most likely similar to the Late Woodland Period examples that Indigenous people of the central Canadian boreal forest relied upon for food, hide, fur, and tool making materials (Gillespie 1981; Steinbring 1966). Thompson (2000:55) describes the species diversity of the Great Lakes and boreal forest of Ontario as including: 60 mammals plus two wetland examples; 150 birds plus 140 in wetlands; 14 amphibians; eight species of reptiles; and another 15 species of wetland reptiles (turtles and snakes) and amphibians (frogs, salamanders and toads). There are also thousands of insect species which appear mainly during the warmer months. Due to fairly limited preservation of faunal remains in the typically acidic boreal forest soils and slow soil development, there are few examples of direct physical evidence in good context from archaeological sites to assist with determinations of which species were there formerly and were used by Indigenous people. Also, few large-scale

Table 3.2. List of the main mammalian, avian, fish species found in the study area (compiled from Beryl 1981; Holm et al. 2009; Lakehead University Faculty of Natural Resource Management 2010).

Large Mammals	
moose *(Alces alces)*	woodland caribou *(Rangifer tarandus)*
black bear *(Ursus americanus)*	elk *(Cervus elaphus)* - possibly
white tail deer *(Odocoileus virginianus)* - possibly	
Medium and Small Mammals	
timber wolf *(Canis lupus)*	domesticated dog *(Canis familiaris)*
coyote *(Canis latrans)*	fox *(Vulpes vulpes)*
lynx *(Lynx canadensis)*	bobcat *(Lynx rufus)*
beaver *(Castor canadensis)*	raccoon *(Procyon lotor)*
porcupine *(Erethizon dorsatum)*	muskrat *(Ondatra zibethicus)*
pine marten *(Martes americana)*	fisher *(Martes pennanti)*
wolverine *(Gulo gulo)*	badger *(Taxidea taxus)*
groundhog *(Marmota monax)*	*cougar (Puma concolor) - possibly*
Small Mammals	
mink *(Mustela vison)*	short tailed weasel/ermine *(Mustela erminea)*
least weasel *(Mustela nivalis)*	river otter *(Lutra canadensis)*
jackrabbit *(Lepus townsendii)*	snowshoe hare *(Lepus americanus)*
skunk *(Mephitis mephitis)*	red squirrel *(Tamiasciurus hudsonicus)*
least chipmunk *(Eutamias mininus)*	meadow-jumping mouse *(Zapus hudsonius)*
deer mouse *(Peromyscus maniculatus)*	southern red-backed vole *(Clethrionomys gapperi)*
little brown bat *(Myotis lucifugus)*	pygmy shrew *(Sorex hoyi)*
Birds	
bald eagle *(Haliaeetus leucocephalus)*	golden eagle *(Aquila chrysaetos),*
osprey *(Pandion haliaetus)*	red-tailed hawk *(Buteo jamaicensis)*
great blue heron *(Ardea herodias)*	great horned owl *(Bubo virginianus)*
snowy owl *(Nyctea scandiaca)*	turkey vulture *(Cathartes aura)*
ruffed grouse *(Bonasa umbellus)*	spruce grouse *(Canachites anadensis)*
Northern sharp-tail grouse *(Pedioecetes phasianellus)*	common grackle *(Quiscalus quiscula)*
common raven *(Corvus corax)*	American crow *(Corvus brachyrhynchos)*
Canada goose *(Branta canadensis)*	herring gull *(Larus argentatus)* and other shore birds *(Charadriiformes* order*)*
cedar waxwing *(Bombycilla cedrorum)*	pine grosbeak *(Pinucola enucleator)*

Table 3.2. Continued.

American robin *(Turdus migratorius)*	belted kingfisher *(Ceryle alcyon)*
magpies/jays *(Passeriformes* order*)*	grey jay *(Perisoreus canadensis)*
blue jay *(Cyanocitta cristata)*	loon *(Gavia immer)*
wood duck *(Aix sponsa)*	swan/goose/ducks *(Anatidae* family*)*
red-headed woodpecker *(Melanerpes erythrocephalus)*	pilated woodpecker *(Dryocopus pileatus)*
red-winged blackbird *(Agelaius phoeniceus)*	song sparrow *(Melospiza melodia)*
tree swallow *(Tuchycineta bicolor)*	black-capped chickadee *(Parus atricapillus)*
ruby-throated hummingbird *(Archilochus colubris)*	
Fish	
lake sturgeon *(Acipenser fulvescens)*	walleye/yellow pickerel *(Sander vitreus/Stizostedion vitreum)*
humpback whitefish *(Coregonus clupeaformis)*	northern pike *(Esox lucius)*
lake trout *(Salvelinus namaycush)*	brook trout *(Salvelius fortinalis)*
small mouth bass *(Micropterus dolomieu)*	goldeye *(Hiodon alosoides)*
muskellunge *(Esox masquinongy)*	white sucker *(Catostomous commersonii)*
yellow perch *(Perca flavescens)*	minnow *(Cyprinidae* family*)*
burbot/ling *(Lota lota)*	

archaeological excavations have taken place in the area to aid with increasing zooarchaeological knowledge.

Using the present day species as analogies for what was present in the past, species such as moose (*Alces alces*), woodland caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*), and hare (*Lepus americana*) were probably the most important subsistence mammals for the Subarctic culture area (Gillespie 1981). Woodland caribou occupy this region and were important to Indigenous populations as a food and fur source. However, currently the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) and Committee on the Status of Species of Risk in Ontario (COSSARO) have designated it as threatened or at risk of becoming endangered in Canada and Ontario (Ontario Parks 2005). Black bear (*Ursus americanus*) were available to regional inhabitants (Lakehead University Faculty of Natural Resource Management 2010) but were not hunted by some Algonquians because of their important ceremonial and clan values in their cultures (Honigmann 1981). There may also have been some elk *(Cervus elaphus)* and white-tailed deer *(Odocoileus virginianus)* present in the study area during the past. For example, Thompson (2000) discusses how white-tailed deer have advanced north even within different decades of just the twentieth century. The large pictograph on Artery Lake of the Bloodvein River with an obvious bison *(Bison bison)* painting (Dewdney and Kidd 1967), may indicate that species was found farther north in the past (see McAndrews 1986).

Several other present day fauna in the Bloodvein River region are significant because they are important to Indigenous peoples and relatively few in number; they may have been more numerous in the past before the Fur Trade Period. Pikangikum First Nation's land use plan (PFN and OMNR 2006) notes that wolverines, the bald eagle and the great gray owl are also provincial Species at Risk but found throughout the Whitefeather Forest. Wolverines (*Gulo gulo*) are present in the study area and they are currently assigned by COSEWIC as a species of "special concern" and COSSARO has recommended them for "threatened" status (Ontario Parks 2005). Interestingly, many of the larger mammals and birds such as moose, black bear, caribou, wolverine, and eagle are still prominent *doodems* or clans for the Anishinaabeg of this area (see Bishop 1976 for a detailed discussion about Anishinaabe clan systems).

Although moose and other mammals are still very important to Indigenous people in northwestern Ontario, it is well known from some archaeological sites (e.g., Hamilton 2007) and ethnographic examples that earlier boreal forest dwelling peoples also relied upon them for food, fur, hide, and tool sources (e.g., Rogers 1964; Steinbring 1966). Medium and small sized mammals in the central Canadian boreal forest have been trapped since long before the fur trade and continue to be harvested (PFN and OMNR 2006). In particular, beaver *(Castor canadensis)* have long been important subsistence animals (Rogers and Black 1976) but there are known time frames when their numbers waned due to the fur trade trapping pressures, as a result of the popularity of beaver fur top hats in Europe. Snowshoe hare were particularly important during the late fur trade era, known to some researchers as the fish and hare period (e.g., Rogers and Black 1976), when low numbers of large mammals caused people to rely on those two subsistence sources.

There are many important central Canadian boreal forest bird species. It is likely that Indigenous people only harvested some of these species in the past, since that is the case presently (Table 3.2). Particularly important are migratory waterfowl such as ducks and geese (PFN and OMNR 2006:22). For more specific information about seasonal patterns and feeding habits of central Canadian boreal forest birds see Malasiuk (1999:Appendix 3).

The major freshwater fish types in the boreal forest of northwestern Ontario are listed in Table 3.2 (see Cleland 1982; Holm et al. 2009; Malasiuk 1999:Appendix 4 for more details). Fisheries remain very important to Indigenous people, being used every season, and were undoubtedly used in the past (Cleland 1982; Holzkamm et al. 1988). They are also important economically due to sports fishing tourism that draws thousands of national and international visitors to the WCSS and Red Lake annually. Distributions of fish species in northwestern Ontario were shaped by events immediately following the last ice age and also by the present day climate (Holm et al. 2009). During the retreat of ice sheets in the early Holocene epoch, large meltwater lakes formed across northwestern Ontario which allowed fish species to spread from Alaska and northward from southern locations such as the Great Lakes and Missouri River basin; drainage of the meltwater lakes and isostatic rebound created the current water channels where fish are found today (Holm et al. 2009). Climate also affects which species will be present since some fish are cold water species (e.g., lake trout) that arrived first in the region, then there are cool water (e.g., yellow perch), and finally warm water species (e.g., longear sunfish). In addition, humans have influenced fish species distribution through some overfishing in commercial practices (e.g., the Rainy River sturgeon population in Holzkamm et al. 1988) and more recently through the OMNR research, monitoring, and introduction programs.

Land Use Planning in the Study Area

Woodland Caribou Provincial Park and the Signature Site

The WCSS is located in northwestern Ontario along the Manitoba/Ontario border (Figure 3.11) with the north and south boundaries found between 50º and 52ºN latitude. Its eastern boundary is irregular but is near 94ºW longitude. Overall, the WCSS extends approximately 100 km north to south and 64 km east to west. In the adjacent portion of Manitoba, Atikaki Provincial Park/South Atikaki Provincial Park (Figures 1.5, 3.11) along with the adjacent Nopiming Provincial Park to the south, form a very large dedicated protected area along the shared provincial border (Ontario Parks 2007). The Bloodvein River on the Manitoba side (Figures 1.5, 3.11) is protected within Atikaki Provincial Park boundaries (Manitoba Conservation 2008). Nopiming Provincial Park was established by the Manitoba government in 1976 and Atikaki (similar to the Woodland Caribou park appellation, this word means 'land of the caribou' in Anishinaabemowin) was created in 1985 (OMNR 2003). Between the four provincial parks, there is a total area of over 1 million hectares of contiguous protected land that has come together under an interprovincial partnership (Ontario Parks 2007).

The Bloodvein River in northwestern Ontario is almost entirely within the WCSS, except for the far northern portion of Paishk Lake on the eastern end of the river (Figure 1.3). This park was first formalized in 1983 (OMNR 1986), although earlier iterations, even in the 1940s, were in place by the Ontario Lands and Forests regulating body. During the Ontario's Living Legacy Land Use Strategy (OMNR 1999) protected area expansions, this park was designated as the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, for which all the stages of public assessment have been approved and the final management plan has begun to be implemented (Ontario Parks 2007). Signature site is the term used to describe the nine established provincial parks that were enlarged during Ontario's

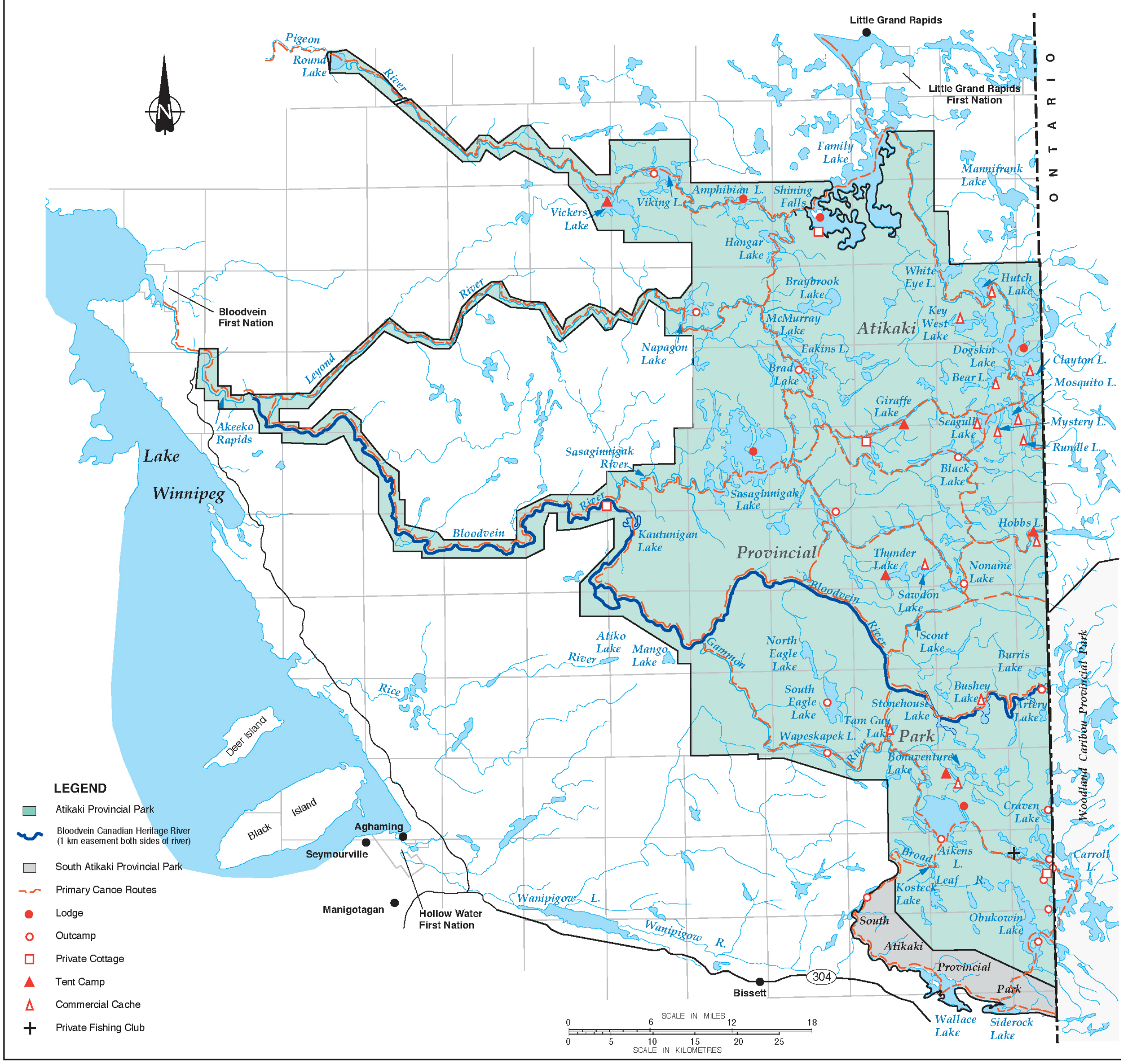

Figure 3.11. Map of the Bloodvein River in Manitoba showing how it flows through Atikaki Provincial Park to Lake Winnipeg (from Manitoba Conservation 2008:5).

Living Legacy land use strategy (OMNR 1999). The WCSS consists of the previously designated Woodland Caribou Provincial Park (456,575 ha) along with four park additions (29,660 ha), the Eagle-Snowshoe Conservation Reserve (35,621 ha), Pipestone Bay-McIntosh Enhanced Management Area (22,281 ha) and a forest reserve (23 ha) (Ontario Parks 2007) (Figures 1.3, 1.4; Table 3.3). The Pipestone Bay-McIntosh Enhanced Management Area was created partly to protect the headwaters of the Bloodvein River (Ontario Parks 2007). Four park additions of 29,660 ha include the southern part of Paishk Lake on the Bloodvein River (Figure 1.3; Table 3.3).

Ontario Parks (2007) and the Canadian Heritage River system (Newman and Gilmore 2007; Jackson 1998) have resulted in Dedicated Protected Area status for most of the study area, which means that the archaeological sites and natural features will be protected from development, monitored, and maintained by Ontario Parks. Although some natural and cultural site formation processes will still be acting on archaeological sites along the Bloodvein River, they have the greatest degree of protection available in the province of Ontario. Although Knox Lake, along the Bloodvein River, has been protected within the original Woodland Caribou Provincial Park since 1983 (OMNR 1986), adjacent Paishk Lake was not a Dedicated Protected Area (Figure 1.3). The southern part of Paishk Lake was added recently to the WCSS (Ontario Parks 2007). Through discussions over several years, Ontario Parks and Pikangikum First Nation have agreed to reclassify the northern part of Paishk Lake and some adjacent land (to protect the headwaters) as a park addition and Dedicated Protected Area through the Whitefeather Forest land use plan (PFN and OMNR 2006:76-77). Therefore, both halves of Paishk Lake are now protected from any forestry, mining, or other developments.

The importance of the Bloodvein River/Paishk Lake to present day Pikangikum First Nation is evident in the Elders seeking to add the northern half of Paishk Lake to the WCSS as a Dedicated Protected Area (DPA06 in PFN AND OMNR 2006:76-77):

> Payshk Ohsahgaheegahn DPA06: Peisk Lake Park Addition. This area includes the northern portion of Peisk Lake and extends north following a natural boundary that is a dominant cliff feature. Including this in the boundary of Woodland Caribou Provincial Park would improve the watershed and feature integrity of the park and enhance the associated recreation and tourism opportunities.
>
> Land Use Dedication: The area is proposed for inclusion in the Woodland Caribou Provincial Park boundary.

Table 3.3. Components of the Woodland Caribou Signature Site.

Site Component	Classification/ Category	Area (ha)
Woodland Caribou Provincial Park	Wilderness	456,575
Four Park Additions	Wilderness	29,660
Eagle-Snowshoe Conservation Reserve	N/A	35,621
Pipestone Bay-McIntosh Enhanced Management Area	Recreation	22,281
Woodland Caribou Forest Reserve	N/A	23
Total area		**544,160**

-Adapted from Ontario Parks (2007:4).

Management Direction: The proposal to include this area in the Woodland Caribou Provincial Park boundary will be shared in both ongoing, consultative planning processes: in the WFPA (Whitefeather Forest Planning Area) land use planning process and in the planning process for the Woodland Caribou Signature Site. Pending review and endorsement of this proposal through the WFPA land use planning process, steps would be taken to regulate the area under the framework of the Ontario Provincial Parks Planning and Management Policies.

Having the whole of Paishk Lake protected within the WCSS aids in safeguarding archaeological sites and other cultural and natural features from impacts or development. This important area also contains some of the headwaters of the Bloodvein River. The different spellings of the word Paishk above reflects the name of the people that I work with (Paishk), the Pikangikum spelling as *Payshk* (PFN and OMNR 2006), and the original spelling of the lake as Peisk, possibly used by Euro-Canadians. This spelling was changed in 2008 after Paishk family members, that were partners on these archaeological projects made this request to Park Superintendent Gilmore. Their grandparents John and Flora Paishk and other family members had lived on that lake for decades. This request was formalized subsequently with the government geographical naming commission.

Nature Reserves in the WCSS

Three nature reserves are identified along the Bloodvein River system in Ontario as outlined in the WCSS management plan (Ontario Parks 2007:11-12), since they are regarded as areas of natural significance: NR1 - South Artery Lake Wetland; NR2 - Bloodvein River Savannah; and NR3 - Larus Creek Wetland (Table 3.4). Nature reserves protect provincially significant and representative life and earth science features (Ontario Parks 2007). However, they are important for this study since they also indicate unique places that are culturally significant for providing material sources or areas that are distinct in this boreal forest landscape. For example, the NR1 South Artery Lake Wetland nature reserve contains good examples of porphyritic granite, representative of one of the major rock units in the park (see geological overview in this chapter). Some granite cliffs in this region were sacred spaces used by early Aboriginal inhabitants since three pictograph sites are known on Artery Lake (Figure 3.1). The second nature reserve recognizes a small region of bur oak (*Quercus macrocarpa*) 'savannah' between Sabourin Lake and Larus Lake (Figure 3.1) that represents a typical prairie species (Johnson et al. 1995) found in the middle of the central Canadian boreal forest (Ontario Parks 2007). It is the northernmost oak tree, very hardy, typically lives for several hundred years, and some Indigenous people harvested the acorns (Johnson et al. 1995). These could be roasted, powdered, dried, and/or used as an unusual winter food staple (Johnson et al. 1995). The Larus Creek Wetland nature reserve (NR3) is southwest of Larus Lake (Figure

Table 3.4. Summary of Bloodvein River nature reserves in the WCSS (information compiled from Ontario Parks 2007).

Nature Reserve	Special Values
NR1 - South Artery Lake Wetland (1,184 ha)	Sedge meadows with rare plant species; one of two hardwood swamps in the park; good examples of porphyritic granites
NR2 - Bloodvein River Savannah (24 ha)	Bur oak (Quercus macrocarpa) 'savannah' most typical of prairie ecozone and containing rare plants
NR3 - Larus Creek Wetland (4,594 ha)	Largest percentage of hardwood trees in the park on relatively deep lacustrine silts and clays

3.1) and has the largest percentage of hardwood trees in the park on deep, rich lacustrine silts, and clays. In some cases, we found that these relatively deep sediments in this region provided excellent artifact preservation. Many clay sources were found that would be suitable for making pottery. I obtained samples for future study and use in pottery replication experiments. Thus, early inhabitants of the Bloodvein River might also have found this clay useful in preparing pots.

Canadian Heritage River

The Bloodvein River has been formally recognized nationally and given the designation of a Canadian Heritage River in both Ontario (Jackson 1998; Newman and Gilmore 2007) and Manitoba (Manitoba Conservation 2008). It was designated due to its cultural heritage and natural values as well as recreational opportunities (Jackson 1998). Information from this project will be used for ongoing cultural heritage management of the Bloodvein River.

Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Area

Since the Bloodvein River is located within the WCSS, it is also part of the *Pimachiowin Aki* World Heritage Project that is currently under consideration by the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for a World Heritage Site designation in a boreal context within Ontario and Manitoba (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2015). This nomination demonstrates that the study area is regarded to be of international significance for cultural and natural values. The *Pimachiowin Aki* World Heritage Project is a community driven initiative comprised of five Anishinaabe communities (Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi, Bloodvein River, and Poplar River) along with the WCSS and Atikaki provincial parks. Pertinent to this study is that some information resulting from this study has been provided for the nomination documents and other promotional materials (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2012, 2015). The total proposed World Heritage Site planning area is about 6,000,000 ha, which would result in this portion of the central Canadian boreal forest being recognized as an international heritage site and new socio-economic opportunities for the residents.

West Patricia Land Use Plan

The West Patricia Land Use Plan (OMNR 1981) resulted from the OMNR being directed by the Ontario government to prepare a land use plan for the districts of Red Lake, Sioux Lookout, and Geraldton in the late 1970s to the early 1980s. This followed the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the provincial government and Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. (Reed Paper Ltd.), after the latter wanted an extensive feasibility study for the Ear Falls/Red Lake area (OMNR 1981); the forestry industry was undergoing a prosperous period during this time. The West Patricia Land Use Plan provided background details for this study in the form of decades old land use data available for comparison with present day Ontario Parks' information. Even more pertinent was generating the only baseline archaeological site information collected from the Bloodvein River surveys (Pelshea 1980; Wall 1980a), in other parts of Woodland Caribou Provincial Park (Smith 1980), along the Berens River (Pelleck 1980a), at Red Lake (Smith 1981; Wall 1980b), and Trout Lake (Pelleck 1980b). The West Patricia Land Use Plan resulted in many short archaeological surveys (Reid, ed. 1980; Reid and Ross 1981; Ross 1982) and in the only larger scale excavations to have taken place in this area (Hamilton 1981; Pelleck 1983).

Summary

This chapter outlines various physiographic and logistical aspects of this project for the study area along the Bloodvein River in Ontario with adjacent areas. The significance of the Bloodvein River and nearby physical environment was outlined including evidence of ancient aspects and present day contexts of the geology, glaciation, waterways, climate, flora, fire history, and fauna. These physiographic characteristics required adaptive behaviours from precontact through to present day Indigenous peoples, so are important to consider in archaeological studies. Present day information provides possible analogies for the past environment that cannot usually be ascertained through archaeological evidence. Because this region has undoubtedly changed through time, the most complete environmental data is contemporary. However, I have also included historic details where possible to try and provide the best overview of the study area. Information was derived from Elders and community members sharing information, academic research, as well as Ontario Parks/OMNR personnel and publications.

During the writing of this thesis, very important land use planning changes were occurring across the Red Lake district and the far north of Ontario. Thus, the third section of this chapter discussed old and new developments that have lasting ramifications for the study area and people who reside nearby. For example, the original Woodland Caribou Provincial Park is now designated a signature site, including dedicated protected areas and nature reserves, and expanded in size after many stages of public vetting. This planning work partly enabled the funding of many of the archaeological surveys included in this study and provided applied research results for communities to use as they wish. Also important to this area is the WCSS partnership with five First Nations (Bloodvein, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi, Pikangikum, and Poplar River), and Atikaki Provincial Park as part of the *Pimachiowin Aki* World Heritage project (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2012). That process involved each First Nation completing their community-based land use plan and each park updating planning documents (Manitoba Conservation 2008; Ontario Parks 2007). The Canadian Heritage River System has also formally recognized the cultural and natural values of the Bloodvein River by naming it a Canadian Heritage River in Ontario (Jackson 1998; Newman and Gilmore 2007) and Manitoba (Manitoba Conservation 2008). Chapter 4 will discuss previous research completed mainly in Northwestern Ontario and the culture history of the study area.

CHAPTER 4: PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND CULTURE HISTORY

Introduction

Although there has been minimal archaeological research conducted in northwestern Ontario, compared to many other areas of Canada, it is important to review that information to explain the current state of knowledge and provide context for how this project was completed. Additionally, this will provide contextualization for later discussions about the study area, the survey results, and the Selkirk Composite archaeological culture in particular. This chapter also reviews information about the cultural-historical framework for northwestern Ontario, the WCSS, and the Bloodvein River basin before this study was completed. Limited investigations have prompted previous researchers to conclude that the regional culture history is uncomplicated, even though that is not the case. However, cultural-historical time-space models for the area are still being refined.

First, the information about where archaeologists have completed work in Northern Ontario (Figure 4.1) is reviewed to indicate the general state of knowledge in this area and discuss sites that provide analogous information, particularly about the Selkirk Composite. The main reason for the lack of data in northwestern Ontario is that archaeologists have not looked for sites in the vast majority of the province (Figure 4.1). There are a growing number of cultural resource management projects being driven by development across Ontario, particularly near larger settlements and related to mineral exploration, forestry projects, mining development, or road building. However, academic archaeological research projects like this study remain rare in northwestern Ontario.

The next section provides a brief discussion of different archaeological taxonomies in use in the central Canadian boreal forest because there have been many different iterations used during the past decades in the literature ('grey' or otherwise). This overview will explain my usage of terminology for later chapters, when proposing changes to the current taxonomy. Then, the culture history of northwestern Ontario and some specifics about the study area of the WCSS and environs will be discussed. Artifact evidence has been found in the WCSS from all of the time periods discussed here but most sites with diagnostic evidence date to later periods.

Early Research in Northwestern Ontario

In the nineteenth century, geologists completed the first surveys near the study area and in northwestern Ontario as part of Euro-Canadian mineral prospecting, land surveying, and general exploration. These early accounts almost always provide useful ethnohistorical information about local Indigenous peoples, significant places, vegetation, physiographic features, as well as insight into potential lithic materials and quarries. Dawson (1984, 1999) notes some surveyors and geologists began to report about Indigenous people and their cultures in northwestern Ontario as early as

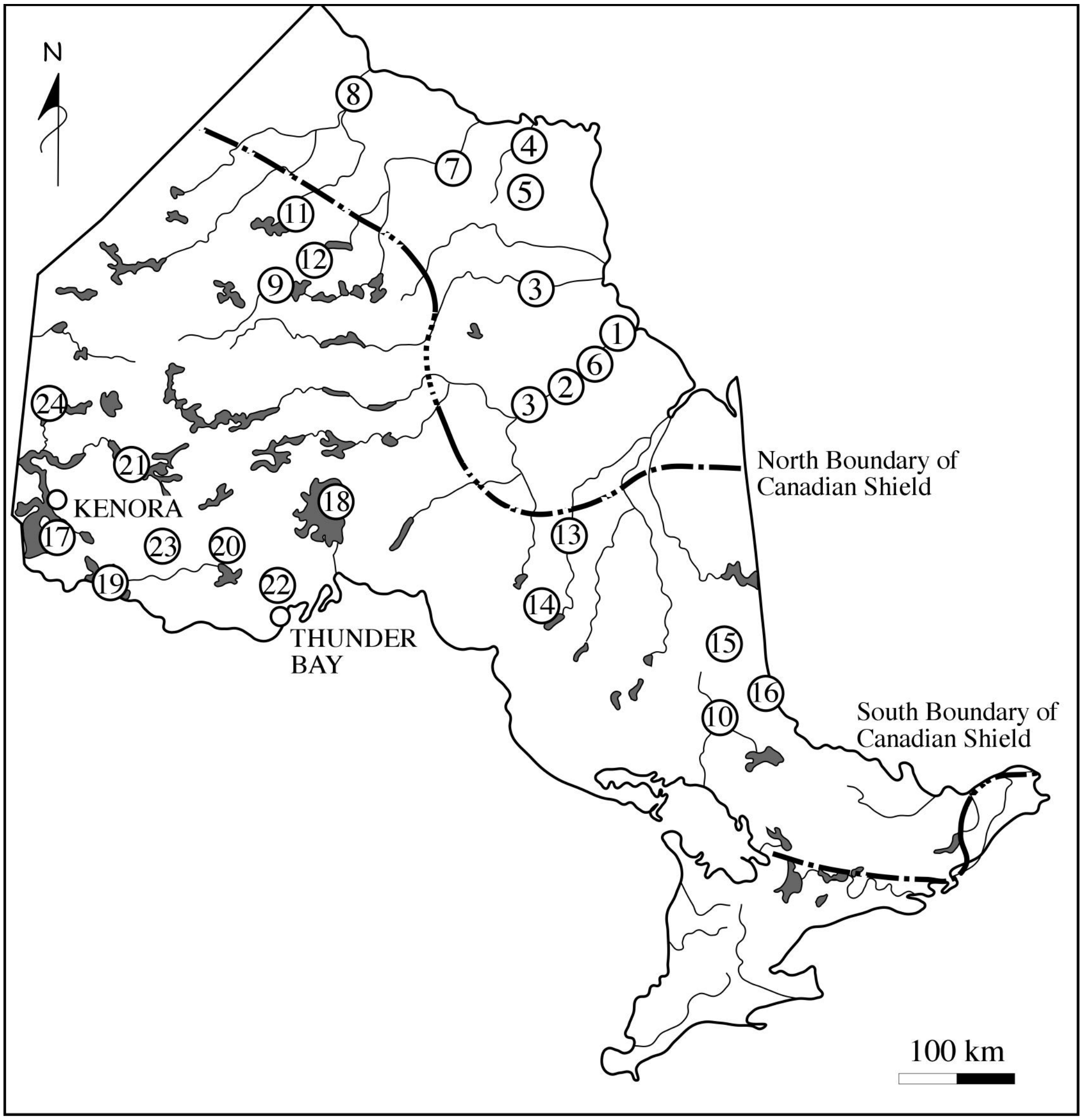

Figure 4.1. Main areas of archaeological study and researchers in northern Ontario (after Hamilton et al. 2003; template courtesy of Scott Hamilton): 1. Kenyon (1986b) at Albany Factory; 2. Dawson (1976a) at Albany River; 3. Riddle (1981, 1982) on Attawapiskat and Albany River; 4. Tomenchuk and Irving (1974) along Brant River; 5. Pollock and Noble (1975) at Hawley Lake; 6. Julig (1988) along lower Albany River; 7. Lister (1988) on Shamattawa River; 8. Pilon (1987, 1988, 1990) surveyed lower Severn River; 9. Gordon (1985, 1988a) at North Caribou Lake; 10. Gordon (1989, 2014) at Temagami Lake; 11. Hamilton (2004) at Wapekeka First Nation; 12. Hamilton et al. (2000) along Asheweig River; 13. Arthurs (1983) on Moose/Missinaibi Rivers; 14. Pollock (1974) at Missinaibi Lake; 15. various projects by Pollock in NE Ontario; 16. projects by several researchers in L. Abitibi, Temagami and Timiskaming region; 17. various researchers in Lake of the Woods region (e.g., Reid and Rajnovich 1991); 18. Dawson (1976b) at Lake Nipigon and Hill (1982) just east in Geraldton district; 19. Arthurs (1986) in Rainy River area; 20. McLeod (1982) and avocationalists like Terry Wilson - Dog Lake area; 21. Hamilton (1981) and Lambert (1982) at Lac Seul, also research licence holders Brad Hyslop, George Kenny, and Scott Angeconeb, also Kenyon (1961) on English River; 22. various researchers and CRM projects - Thunder Bay area surveys and excavations - mainly Plano and Middle Period ages; 23. avocationalist Dennis Smyk in Ignace area; 24. Dewdney and Kidd (1962, 1967) plus short West Patricia Archaeological projects (Reid, ed. 1980), and Taylor-Hollings and research partners for Bloodvein River and Whitefeather Forest surveys.

the 1860s (e.g., Dawson 1868, 1869). Although fur trade posts were set up earlier by Europeans on the Bloodvein River in the 1790s (Lytwyn 1986a), Rickaby (1923) and Burwash (1923) were the first to explore the Bloodvein River while completing a boundary survey along the Manitoba and Ontario border starting from the Winnipeg River and ending at the Twelfth Base Line marking the northwest angle of Ontario. In 1888, A.W. Ponton surveyed the area on the Berens River of Pikangikum Lake (or "Pekangikum" as originally spelled) to establish the reserve (Dowling 1896:24). He also surveyed Little Grand Rapids in the same year (RG 10, Indian Affairs, Volume 3673, File 11,135, Library and Archives Canada). Dowling (1896) worked in the general region around Family Lake where Little Grand Rapids is situated. Other parts of the Berens River (Bell 1879), Red Lake (Bruce 1924a; Bruce and Hawley 1928; Dowling 1896; Rogers 1926), and adjacent areas (Low 1886) were also investigated well before European settlement. The Lac Seul Reserve, that is also pertinent to this study because people from there have long-established family ties and traditional areas along the Bloodvein River, was usually referred to as Lonely Lake in early documents (e.g., Coleman 1896; Dowling 1896). It was first surveyed in 1881 but resurveyed in 1912 (RG 10, Indian Affairs, Volume 3673, File 11,135, Library and Archives Canada). This community is also described in many early surveys (e.g., Bruce 1924b; Burwash 1920), since the nearby greenstone belts were recognized as having economic potential.

Archaeological research in the central Subarctic is often prompted by the finding of artifacts or development near settled areas, where the likelihood of discoveries is greater. For example, the Brohm Site is located only about 50 km east of Thunder Bay (MacNeish 1952) and was one of the first sites to be investigated rather just than collected or looted by antiquarians. Dawson (1999) notes that Wilson (1856) was the first actual archaeologist to visit northwestern Ontario, as he was attracted there by reports of copper quarrying. In 1855, Wilson (1856) visited the precontact copper mines on Lake Superior and produced the first site report about Ontario's boreal forest. Boyle (1908) wrote the initial report about northwestern Ontario pictographs. Later, Wintemberg (1942) created the first map of Canadian archaeological sites regarding precontact pottery including a few sites in Ontario (Dawson 1999). One prominent American researcher suggests that "Except for an occasional small band of hunters penetrating far inland from the Great Lakes centers on winter hunting excursions, the interior shield region was a wasteland without permanent residents" (Hickerson 1966:8). Such antiquated ideas have been countered by archaeological evidence many decades ago. For example, Kidd (1952) writes about initial archaeology in Ontario for the 60 years prior to that publication. Between 1945 and 1950, he was one of only three archaeologists working in Canada (Dawson 1999). One of the others was MacNeish (1952), a prominent archaeologist who completed the first work in northwestern Ontario at the Brohm Site near Thunder Bay and first outlined the Selkirk Focus in Manitoba (MacNeish 1958). Clark (1991:6) describes his work: "the most persistent investigator was Richard S. MacNeish, who, on the basis of his hard-won findings, wrote highly speculative interpretations of Subarctic prehistory"; to be fair, this was very early in Canadian archaeological research, so it was necessarily speculative since there was little information with which to compare.

Dawson (1984, 1999) notes that prior to the 1940s, minimal archaeological work was carried out in northern Ontario. Wright (1985, 1999) discusses the development of Canadian archaeology including parts of Ontario. Cinq-Mars and Martijn (1981), Dawson (1984), and Hamilton 2006[2010] provide overviews of research and cultural resource management archaeological work that has been completed in the larger region of northwestern Ontario as well as the Subarctic (Figure 4.1). For an intriguing overview of northern Ontario archaeology with comments about the character of primary archaeologists, see Dawson (1999).

Perhaps one of the most influential archaeologists in Ontario, Wright (1965, 1967a, 1967b, 1972a, 1972b, 1974, 1985, 1995, 1999, 2004) also began a long career in the province during the 1950s. His excavation of the Pelican Falls Site on Lac Seul (Wright 1967a) provided the basis for one of the first descriptions in Ontario of the Laurel Culture, as first described by Wilford 1941 in Minnesota. Hyslop (2009) has continued working at that site and adjacent ones for several decades now. The Potato Island Site report (Koezur and Wright 1976) was also one of the early examples of Wright's work in northwestern Ontario. In addition, his wide-ranging surveys across the Canadian boreal forest led to his definition of the Shield Archaic Culture (Wright 1972b), which is understood currently as the longest period in boreal forest archaeological contexts (ca. 7000 to 2,200 years BP). Another prominent Ontario archaeologist, Kenyon (1961, 1986a, 1986b), investigated burial mounds in Northwestern and Southern Ontario and many other projects (e.g., Kenyon and Churcher (1965). The recoveries from the Hungry Hall mound include one of the best preserved series of small pots including one with a birch bark lid (Kenyon 1986a).

Also in the 1960s, Dawson (e.g., 1974, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1977a, 1977b, 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1999) began his long career in northwestern Ontario archaeology when he surveyed part of the Albany River in Ontario, being one of the first to conduct archaeological research in the Hudson Bay Lowlands at the mouth of the Moose River on James Bay (Riddell 1969). He completed projects across many different areas of northern Ontario such as Quetico Park, Whitefish Lake, Fort William, Wabinosh Bay on Lake Nipigon (Riddell 1969) and he often provided the initial descriptions and interpretations. In the late 1960s, Dawson helped found the Department of Anthropology at Lakehead University (Dawson 1999), one of only two such departments in northern Ontario. Laurentian University, in Sudbury, also has a Department of Anthropology where Helen Deveroux, later Patrick Julig (e.g., 1984), and others have been completing research in the boreal forest of Ontario.

Despite Lytwyn's (1981, 2002) work being focused on historic geography, he provides an excellent overview of archaeological work completed in the Hudson Bay Lowlands and was an early proponent of people being there long before Europeans arrived. Prior to a number of archaeological research projects being completed (e.g., see overview in Pilon 2006), some researchers had viewed the lowlands (or even the whole of the Shield as previously discussed) as being virtually devoid of people before European contact, suggesting that this area was not widely inhabited by First Peoples because of a sparse resource base other than seasonal abundances of aquatic resources. This view was thought to be in contrast to land usage of the Canadian Shield to the south (Dawson 1976a). Dawson (1976a) proposed that Indigenous people only used the Lowlands on a seasonal basis and spent the rest of the year in the more biologically productive uplands of the Canadian Shield. Several archaeologists (Dawson 1983a; Hlady 1970a; Wright 1981) suggested that the Lowlands remained unoccupied on a permanent basis until after 1670 when the presence of European trade locales along the Hudson and James Bay coasts attracted Indigenous people northwards. "The prevailing view, based on the Jesuit Relations, suggested that the forest was occupied by an insignificant population of wandering nomads (Thwaites 1896-1901:66:107)" as Dawson (1999:23) explains. Thus, the central Canadian boreal forest was seen as unattractive, inhospitable, and inaccessible and these factors discouraged investigations (see Holly 2002 for a critical review of these ideas). Early geological surveying reports (e.g., Upham 1890) also provided this impression to non-indigenous people.

Although it is known from written records that Indigenous people have lived in the far north since the beginning of European contact in Hudson Bay, archaeological evidence of precontact peoples was unknown until relatively recently. Bell (1879) had found precontact pottery sherds on his survey of the Hayes and Nelson Rivers, they were brought back to the National Museum of Canada, and forgotten about until nearly 100 years later (Lytwyn 2002). Wildlife researchers in Polar Bear Provincial Park discovered archaeological materials along a section of the Brant River in the far north of Ontario (Tomenchuk and Irving 1974) (Figure 4.1). This finding led to a brief archaeological survey by Tomenchuk and Irving (1974). Late Period artifacts were found including a variety of bone fragments, lithics, and three thin-walled sherds. The subtriangular projectile point and these sherds demonstrate similarities with the Late Woodland Selkirk Composite from northeastern Manitoba and northwestern Ontario (Tomenchuk and Irving 1974), making this one of the most northern sites where it has been found.

Following the results of Tomenchuk and Irving (1974), Pollock and Noble (1975) initiated surveys within Polar Bear Provincial Park and at Hawley Lake on the Sutton Uplands (Figure 4.1). Investigations along the relict beach ridges yielded only one Late Period site. However, research at Hawley Lake resulted in the discovery of 16 archaeological sites including Late Woodland artifacts such as babiche-impressed and corded pottery vessels (Pilon 2006; Pollock and Noble 1975). They also found features such as hearths, implying that there were camping locations rather than just lithic scatters. High numbers of caribou bones were also found indicating that hunting that animal was likely the primary economic factor for occupation (Pollock and Noble 1975).

Continuing with his previous ideas that the Hudson Bay Lowlands were not inhabited by people before European contact, Dawson (1983a) viewed these discoveries as confirmation of his idea about the general unsuitability of the region for human occupation, except for far northern Hawley Lake where Pollock and Noble (1975) had found archaeological evidence. He surmised that the Sutton Uplands sites demonstrated that far northern occupations were concentrated in the uplands and along well-drained rivers but not within the majority of wetlands in the region. However, this view does not take into account the relative ease of travel in the winter on frozen wetland areas nor does it acknowledge our continuing poor understanding of the archaeological sites in this large region. With further surveys, including Pilon's (1987, 1988, 2006) work, there is now direct evidence that Dawson (1983a) and others were incorrect about occupations in the far north of Ontario only being of seasonal habitation or only after European contact. In addition, Pollock (1975) completed surveys near Hearst, Chapleau, and Kapuskasing in northeastern Ontario, finding an array of archaeological sites in and around James Bay; he produced one of the first cultural-historical overviews for that part of the province.

Morgan and Griffin (1949) recount Hlady's early report of two sites found at the mouth of the Berens River and a survey conducted north Lake Winnipeg where 10 sites were located. From these results, he concluded the following (in Morgan and Griffin 1949:249):

> On the whole the area [mouth of the Berens River and north of Lake Winnipeg] was not conducive to human occupation. The country is one of rock, muskeg, and forest with few favorable locations for camping. Game is not sufficiently plentiful to support more than small family groups. Travel is very rugged. The party had to traverse eighty-five sets of major rapids and waterfalls. Any Indian who could have occupied a more favorable area probably did so. Most of the present occupants--Crees--were settled in the area by the Hudson Bay Company as trappers, although some Cree undoubtedly lived in the more favorable areas.

Here is another example of one researcher making generalizations about a very large region after only completing a brief survey of the region by canoe. It appears ethnocentric, since Hlady apparently did not appreciate the physiography of the region. However, Cree and ancestral Algonquians have lived there for thousands of years. There is also mention of the typical presumption that the HBC caused the Cree to 'settle' in this region, as a result of the postcontact fur trade, which is unlikely in most cases. Hlady (1971) would later work in northern Manitoba and establish the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type, of the Clearwater Lake Complex, of the Selkirk Composite; so clearly, he changed his mind in regards to the sustainability of the boreal forest.

In 1981, Julig (1988) conducted an archaeological survey along portions of the Albany River (Figure 4.1). The Bloodvein River is linked as part of the Albany River fur trade region through Lac Seul, so was likely important in precontact times as well. Julig (1988) found a number of interior Hudson Bay Lowland sites that date from the Middle Period through to recent times. Several sites were located on high terraces and yielded large mammal bones. Julig's (1988) results are particularly important because he emphasizes that year-round occupation of the Hudson Bay Lowlands was possible and evident through his research. Given that there are many Cree and Oji-Cree speakers still residing in this region and utilizing their traditional areas during the entire year, it is logical that this was happening before the arrival of Europeans and the Fur Trade Period.

Pilon (1987, 1988, 1990, 2006) conducted surveys along the lower portions of the Severn River (Figure 4.1), providing archaeological information about a previously unknown area and working with some of the local Indigenous people. He identified a significant number of archaeological sites and completed testing and/or excavations at some locales. Although initially planned as gathering evidence about precontact occupations, Pilon (1990) states that postcontact Indigenous sites were far more common. Side-notched projectile points similar to "Pelican Lake" points (dating to about 3,000 BP in the Plains area) were identified at the Kitché Ouessecote Site (GfJi-1) and suggest a late Middle Period occupation. Lithics, pottery, and faunal material in association with three 14C dates indicate that other sites were occupied from the Middle Woodland Period through to Postcontact times. Pilon (1987) found a high frequency of caribou bones in many of these sites and suggests that occupants ambushed caribou that annually migrate through the region. He proposed that large numbers of animals were killed using mass capture techniques at river crossings (Pilon 1987). In the 1740s, Isham (1968) discusses Indigenous people using bows and arrows for hunting on land and having built elaborate, long fences containing snares. Pilon's (1987) work also effectively refuted the idea that Indigenous people had only occupied the Hudson Bay Lowlands in the Severn River area in seasonal situations and also expanded the knowledge about culture history of far northwestern Ontario.

Other significant contributions to northwestern Ontario archaeology include Gordon's (1983, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 2014) archaeological surveys at North Caribou Lake and later at Lake Temagami (Figure 4.1). Archaeological assemblages at North Caribou Lake represent the Middle Woodland Laurel and Late Woodland Blackduck cultural affiliation as well as postcontact material from the Fur Trade Period and more recent traditional land use. By contrasting the precontact with the postcontact data, Gordon (1988) was also able to surmise the shift in Indigenous settlement patterns and material culture as a result of contact with Euro-Canadians throughout this period. Similar time depth and cultural affiliations were observed at Lake Temagami, although there is a long distance between these two areas. Her comprehensive work provided more information about later time periods in the region.

Hamilton (1981) began a career in northwestern Ontario archaeology with the Wenesaga Rapids Site project on Lac Seul (Figure 4.1). The resulting assemblage is still one of the largest in northwestern Ontario and provides a good comparative sample from a nearby area for this project.

This site was first found by the West Patricia Archaeological Study (Reid, ed. 1980) and continues to be one of the largest known seasonal aggregation sites in the Lac Seul basin. There are hundreds of vessels represented at the Wenesaga Rapids Site including those identified as Laurel (n=91), Blackduck (n=57), Selkirk (n=23 probable), and perhaps other Late Woodland vessels; there are likely Middle Period occupations as well (Hamilton 1981:150). With the very large Lac Seul system being continually dammed since the 1920s, each year brings newly eroded portions of the site, allowing collectors to find artifacts continually. The Wenesaga Rapids Site also has an anthropogenic soil consisting of fragmented pottery sherds (Brad Hyslop, personal communication 2012), occurring because of recent frequent visitors and perhaps from previous long-term usage in the past. Unfortunately, it is also a well-known archaeological site in the area where many collectors visit to build their artifact collections.

In 1990, Hamilton (2004) conducted an archaeological salvage and assessment of a burial site overlooking Weir Lake at Wapakeka First Nation, which is one of the farthest north examples (Figures 4.1, 4.2). Although most of the site was destroyed during airport landing strip construction, human remains representing three individuals were recovered. After obtaining permission from Wapakeka First Nation to assess the age of the bone samples, significantly old ages resulted from AMS radiocarbon dating methods. Samples yielded uncorrected 14C dates of 6,630±90 BP (TO-1943), 6,800±90 BP (TO-1941), and 7,080±90 BP (TO-1942), indicating an early Middle Period

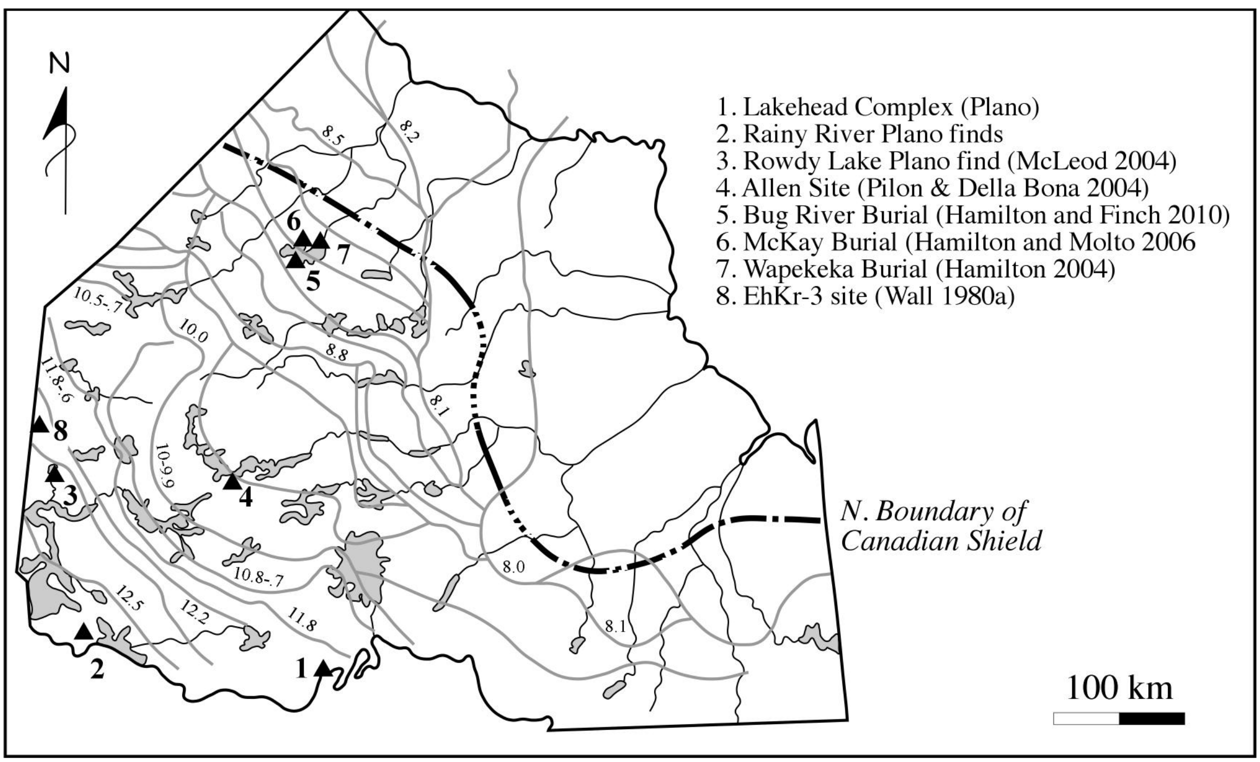

Figure 4.2. Map of Ontario showing the retreat of the Laurentide Ice Sheet and known Early Period sites in northwestern Ontario (ages in thousands of radiocarbon year BP). Map based on Prest (1969) and after Hamilton (2013:87).

or perhaps late Plano Tradition occupation (Hamilton 2004:354). This site is currently the earliest dated Early Period assemblage in far northern Ontario. Subsequent to this project, two other burials eroding out of their locations were excavated nearby at Big Trout Lake *(Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug)* by Hamilton and Molto (2006), at the request of the Chief and Elders. With approval of the community leaders, a foot bone from the McKay burial was sent for AMS dating, resulting in an uncorrected date of 4,450±50yBP (TO-11878) (Hamilton and Molto 2006) (Figure 4.2). The subsequent Bug River burial on Big Trout Lake was also dated with community approval (Figure 4.2). Two AMS dates are 4,620±40yBP (Beta 278403) and 4,660±30yBP (Beta 278493) (Hamilton and Finch 2010). However, at this second burial place, Hamilton and Finch (2010) found Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware in an upper occupation making this one of the most northern locations.

In 1998, Hamilton and associates (2000) conducted preliminary surveys along the headwaters of the Asheweig River system in collaboration with Wawakapewin First Nation (Figure 4.1). While a number of postcontact archaeological sites were reported, surprisingly few precontact sites were located. As archaeologists tend to focus their attention upon the more accessible shorelines, rather than the densely forested inland zones, this results in a failure to identify inland encampment areas, which may explain why few precontact sites were located (Hamilton et al. 2000). Occupations that might exist in the shoreline zone are also vulnerable to destruction from ice damming and flooding in some areas. However, this represents one of the few surveys completed in this area, many important traditional use locales were mapped, and was a collaborative project with the community.

Recently, several research projects in northwestern Ontario have focused on the analysis of carbonized food residues from Middle Woodland and Late Woodland pottery vessels (Boyd and Surette 2010; Boyd et al. 2006, 2008, 2014). The analytical methods utilized have included stable C and N isotopes, trace elemental composition, and plant macrofossils identification (Boyd et al. 2008). Results from these studies indicate a surprising number of occurrences of maize (*Zea mays* spp. *mays*), plus many examples of wild rice (*Zizania* spp.) and other starchy plant phytoliths on sherds from across a broad area of central Canada, evincing the presence of those important subsistence plants in precontact contexts (Boyd et al. 2008). These results also indicate the northerly presence of plants such as maize, domesticated beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), and squash (*Cucurbita* sp.) that were previously assumed to not be components of Indigenous peoples' diets in the central boreal forest of Canada. Many of the residue samples that have been investigated and yielded maize, wild rice, and maize starch were from Winnipeg Fabric-impressed sherds of the Selkirk Composite (Boyd and Surette 2010; Boyd et al. 2008). Gas chromotography analyses has also been applied to pottery from the Plains and Parkland ecozones to yield interpretations of Indigenous diets using a different method (e.g., Malainey et al. 1999).

Ontario Ministry of Culture Projects. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Ontario Ministry of Culture (and its many iterations) had northern provincial archaeology offices in Cochrane, Kenora, Sault

Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay (Noble 1982). These widely dispersed offices provided the opportunity for archaeologists to learn more about different regions of Ontario than ever before. They also built a public profile for archaeology and provided an opportunity for people to report new artifact finds and sites (Hamilton 2006[2010]), often discovered due to a development context or by local interested members of the public (see Hamilton et al. 1995). In addition, the West Patricia Archaeological Study resulted from Reid and Ross (e.g., 1981), who worked in the Kenora and Thunder Bay offices respectively, obtaining funds to carry out projects for three years during large-scale land use planning efforts by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. Many results from this large project (e.g., Wall 1980a) have been used for this dissertation and provided the only previously completed fieldwork results for some of the Bloodvein River. Reid (1979) notes that before this project started, there were less than 24 sites registered in the West Patricia Planning Area, which consists of about one quarter of Ontario in the northwestern portion. As part of the multi-year West Patricia Archaeological Study, several large excavation projects near the study area also resulted from the initial surveys, such as at the Forestry Point (Pelleck 1983), Wenesaga (Hamilton 1981), and Rowdy Lake sites (Hamilton 2007; Hamilton et al. 2007; McLeod 2004). These excavations resulted in some of the largest collections of information and artifacts from sites in this region of northwestern Ontario. Currently, Thunder Bay has the only remaining office of these northern branches of the Ontario Ministry of Culture and it now houses the Kenora and Sault Ste. Marie collections. Hamilton (2006[2010]:69) also laments that:

> the end [of] the northern "storefront" heritage program also marks the end of the Conservation Archaeology Report (CAR) publication series that was edited by "Paddy" Reid, Grace Rajnovich, Bill Ross, and Dave Arthurs. . . . This 'grey' literature has proven to the primary information base for current research, and is heavily cited in the few conventionally published works that address the archaeology of northwestern Ontario.

The previous Kenora/Lake of the Woods area office of the Ontario Ministry of Culture was relatively near to the WCSS (Figure 4.1) and the centre of archaeological research for several decades. Although that branch closed in the early 1990s, much of the work completed by Reid and Rajnovich (e.g., 1991) as well as many colleagues, provides detailed archaeological information and thus allows for some useful analogies for beginning to understand nearby locales including the study area. They also produced an unusually high number of publications and reports for a provincial government archaeology office, with particular relevance to the Late Period (e.g., Rajnovich 1980, 1983, 1984, 1994; Rajnovich and Reid 1978, 1981; Rajnovich et al. 1982; Reid 1977, 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1984, 1988; Reid, ed. 1980; Reid, ed. 1988; Reid and Rajnovich 1980, 1983, 1991; Reid and Ross 1981; Speidel 1989). Before this project, Rajnovich's (1983) research on the Spruce Point Site was the only major review of Selkirk Composite sites in northwestern Ontario.

Reid and Rajnovich (1991) represents another of the important articles produced during that time that discusses progressive taxonomic and temporal changes with the Laurel Configuration, essentially working towards building theory and understanding culture history in northwestern Ontario. The large number of collections from the West Patricia Archaeological Study and other projects initiated by the Ontario Ministry of Culture now reside in the Thunder Bay regional office.

Previous Research in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site and Environs

In terms of previous archaeological research in the WCSS, there have been only a few archaeological projects completed before this one (Taylor-Hollings 2004b). Dewdney and Kidd (1962) initially documented some pictograph sites along the Bloodvein River in Ontario, then returned to document others (Dewdney 1965, 1970; Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967), resulting in nine pictograph sites on the Bloodvein River in Ontario at Artery Lake, Musclow Lake, and Murdock Lake and seven in Manitoba (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 2013) (Figure 3.1). Additionally, they describe a pictograph at Hansen Lake within the WCSS (Dewdney and Kidd (1967:120). Many of these sites were found due to Indigenous knowledge holders and Lands and Forests (now the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources) employees sharing information with the researchers. Pelshea (1980) revisited some of the same Ontario Bloodvein River pictographs to document them at that time and determine if their condition had deteriorated. Lambert (1985) returned to some of the Bloodvein River pictograph sites and decided to split EiKs-4 into another locale (EiKs-6) due to its extensive size and actually having different panels; he also recorded a previously unknown pictograph as EiKs-5. Colson (2006) discusses a report that he (Lambert nd) wrote and his activities but I have been unable to find a copy of this report through the Ontario Ministry of Culture and archaeological colleagues. The Borden forms (Lambert 1985) were located at the Ontario Ministry of Culture Office in Thunder Bay, which provided information about his ideas.

Much like this project, Dewdney and Kidd (1967:178) state that they gained much assistance from local Indigenous people in northwestern Ontario and specifically state: "Of other Ojibwa who generously shared with me the lore of their forefathers, I should particularly mention Messrs. Norval Morriseau and Thomas Paishk of Red Lake . . .". Norval Morriseau was one of the most famous woodland artists from northwestern Ontario, lived in Red Lake from the late 1950s until the 1970s, and worked together with Dewdney (see Morrisseau 1965). Some pictograph and birch bark images were the inspiration for several of Morrisseau's paintings (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2015). Since he knew Dewdney, much of those references likely came from Dewdney's recordings of those sites (e.g., Dewdney 1965, 1975). The other Red Lake area resident given credit in Dewdney and Kidd's (1967) work, Thomas Paishk, was a member of the Lac Seul/Red Lake family that is so fundamental to this project (i.e., uncle to Peter and Joe Paishk, Joe Keesic, and Jennie Angeconeb; see Chapter 5). Thomas was once the Lac Seul chief and was also interested in sharing information about his traditional area and concerned about preserving the knowledge of his family members about 50 years before this PhD project. Neither Wall (1980a) nor Pelshea (1980) indicate if the archaeologists worked with local Indigenous people to learn more about the region, although Pelleck (1980a:24-34) frequently mentions that archaeological sites were still used by "native people" and that there is evidence of "recent activity". The evidence of the latter is important because it indicates a continuity of occupations at older archaeological sites (see Hallowell 1992).

Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978), as reported by Wall (1980a), completed the only other brief archaeological survey along the Bloodvein River in Ontario, from Larus Lake through to Artery Lake (Figure 1.4) during the West Patricia Archaeological Study (Reid, ed. 1980). She found 14 sites and visited three of the five previously recorded pictograph sites found by Dewdney and Kidd (1967). Pelshea (1980) also revisited some of the pictograph sites found by Dewdney and Kidd (1967) on the Bloodvein River. Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer's (1978) survey was conducted over 12 days and involved two people being dropped off by a float plane to complete canoe surveys. The reconnaissance was focused along the shorelines of the main channel of the Bloodvein River since it was thought to allow more visibility of archaeological sites through human disturbed campsites, cabins and portages, or eroding contexts (Wall 1980a). Wall (1980a:71) states that "more intensive survey and test excavation is planned for the Bloodvein system to generate and test hypotheses concerning prehistoric settlement patterns in the West Patricia area in the next field season of the West Patricia Land Use Plan"; however, that did not happen during the subsequent two years of the West Patricia projects due to a limited amount of time, funding, and personnel plus a large amount of territory where most places had never been surveyed.

Another short duration West Patricia Archaeological Study survey in the WCSS occurred along part of the Gammon and Oiseau Rivers and Sydney Lake (Smith 1980). More recently two sites were investigated at Rowdy Lake (Hamilton 2007; McLeod 2004), which is now protected as part of the WCSS. This measure effectively stopped the building of a road, which would have destroyed part of an Early Period site (McLeod 2004) and another multi-component site with excellent faunal preservation (Hamilton 2007; Hamilton et al. 2007).

One of the other objectives, other than research, of recent collaborative First Nations, Ontario Parks, and archaeological projects in this portion of northwestern Ontario was to gather information to be used for cultural heritage resource management planning and protection for Ontario Parks in the WCSS (e.g., Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Taylor-Hollings 2004a, 2004b, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007). This fieldwork focused on the Bloodvein River system more recently and in the adjacent Whitefeather Forest (PFN and OMNR 2006) traditional area of Pikangikum (Figure 4.1). In 2003, I documented a small surface collection from Larus Lake (Figure 4.1) along the Bloodvein River, in the possession of an Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources employee. This came from the Laurel, Blackduck, and Selkirk Composite EhKp-1 Site on Larus Lake, originally recorded by Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) (reported by Wall 1980a). More recently, the Park Superintendent, Elders and I worked at Larus and Murdock lakes during a field trip in 2007 (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a). We also returned to Murdock Lake in 2008 for a short survey (Figure 1.4). Hamilton and I worked at Knox and Paishk lakes (Figure 1.4) (Taylor-Hollings 2006a). In 2008, I returned to these lakes with Elders from Lac Seul, Gilmore and other crew members (Figure 1.4). Just north of the Bloodvein River, but still part of this system, I completed a short survey with Pikangikum community members and Ontario Parks' employees at Olive Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2004a) and Thicketwood Lake in 2008 (Figure 1.4). Two brief field trips to Artery Lake and one to Musclow Lake were completed with Little Grand Rapids community members and the Park Superintendent in 2009, 2010, and 2012. The most recent project involved meeting with UNESCO World Heritage adjudicators to provide archaeological evidence to them for assessing the *Pimachiowin Aki* nomination (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2012, 2015). Essentially, combining all of this recent research results in there being an archaeological survey completed along the entire Bloodvein River in Ontario (Figure 1.4) plus some nearby regions that had not been examined previously. In addition, the more recent survey work has the advantage of guidance through community members from three First Nations with traditional territories in this area.

Regions Adjacent to the WCSS

One solution for addressing the lack of research is comparing results from relatively nearby projects that have taken place in adjacent regions such as the West Patricia Archaeological Study results from Red Lake (Pelleck 1983; Smith 1981; Wall 1980b), nearby Berens River (Pelleck 1980a), Trout Lake (Pelleck 1980b), and Lac Seul (Lambert 1982). Hyslop (2003, 2009, 2011) has also been working at Lac Seul for about 20 years. Southeastern Manitoba work (e.g., Buchner 1979a; Saylor 1978b) and Minnesota research (e.g., Arzigian 2008; Bakken 2011; Richner 2004, 2008) provides additional analogous examples. These results have been used for comparative purposes for discussing the culture history and artifact analysis.

Just outside of the WCSS, Pelleck (1980a) completed a brief canoe based survey along the Berens River from southeast of Pikangikum First Nation west to the provincial border. This survey resulted in a significant increase in the understanding of the culture history of this region, since Pelleck (1980a:19) recorded 41 archaeological sites consisting of at least 44 components that include: one Middle Period; three Laurel; three Blackduck; four Selkirk; one Blackduck or Selkirk; two Historic; two undifferentiated Woodland; and 28 of unidentified affiliation.

Also pertinent to this project are prior research projects involving a partnership between Pikangikum, the WCSS, Scott Hamilton of Lakehead University, and myself that resulted in a survey at Kirkness and Stormer lakes in Pikangikum's Whitefeather Forest (Hamilton et al. 2007; Taylor-Hollings 2006c) (Figure 1.4). That work was partly funded by Ontario Parks and the Social

Sciences and Humanities Research Council. I also had the opportunity to work with Pikangikum Elders at Roderick Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2006b) (Figure 1.4). Elder Solomon Turtle invited Hamilton and I to go to Barton Lake, which is also in the Whitefeather Forest (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008b).

Pelleck (1980b) conducted an archaeological survey within the Trout Lake (near Red Lake as opposed to other lakes with that name in Ontario) drainage system but did not survey that large lake, finding one site near it and others to the south (Figure 1.4). A very brief archaeological survey of Trout Lake was conducted in 2007. That project was funded by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to address shore lunch locales (places where outpost guests are taken to cook and eat their fish), in particular and assess whether human activities were affecting archaeological sites. Since shore lunch locations sometimes have built features such as tables, fire pits, and benches, we checked those places to see if older sites were being damaged by this modern usage (Taylor-Hollings 2008). Natural disturbances were also documented. Two Trout Lake Anishinaabeg (*NamekosipiiwAnishinaapek*)/Lac Seul community members, Scott Hamilton, two archaeological students, and myself worked together to note damage being caused to archaeological sites, perhaps being caused by local outpost visitors, and to document important places to the community members (Taylor-Hollings 2008). We worked on a basic site inventory for the community and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources planning activities. There are many visitors to this large lake and much damage was found to be occurring to archaeological sites including looting that Pelleck (1980b) had noted evidence for decades earlier. The crew visited the known HBC post location (Pelleck 1980b) that is beside a modern cemetery. While there, we mapped the stones and burial places, at the request of the community members, for future Trout Lake community members to have a record of their people interred at this place. No digging or collecting of any kind was completed anywhere near that location. The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Ontario Parks are currently working together with Trout Lake Anishinaabeg community members to address concerns about other community places and land use planning.

At the suggestion of Park Superintendent Gilmore and a local tourist camp operator, Hamilton (through a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Northern Research Development grant) funded a brief survey of Pakwash Lake and Bruce Lake (Figure 1.4) to inventory sites and assess damage from the Ear Falls dam and possibly from visitors utilizing several tourist camps on the lake (Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2007). Pelleck (1980b) recorded two sites there as part of the Trout River survey and Smith (1981) also visited and recorded one site as a sideline to her main study area of Red Lake. An additional objective of this Stage 2 archaeological research project was to identify how much and what type of cultural heritage remains were present within the study area and to document high potential locations in the field that would not necessarily be determined from Stage 1 map research. A related benefit of this project was to gather archaeological and historical information to be used for cultural heritage planning for Ontario Parks in updating the Pakwash Provincial Park plan, which was in progress. Finally, the region was examined to ascertain if natural or cultural processes were impacting sites and to investigate if future cultural heritage problems could be identified given the relatively high usage of this area, with the ultimate goal of protecting sites. One outcome from this project was the finding of several pottery sherds with carbonized residue present. These were analyzed by Boyd and Surette (2010) and found to contain maize phytoliths. A Clearwater Lake Punctate Type sherd from the Snake Falls Site and Sandy Lake Ware sherd from the Crescent Site were both found to have maize rondel phytoliths and the latter one also had evidence of maize starch (Boyd and Surette 2010). These represent some of the farthest north examples found in northwestern Ontario and well within the southern boreal forest.

History and Usage of Central Canadian Archaeological Taxonomies

Before discussing northwestern Ontario culture history, it is necessary to outline the main archaeological taxonomies or culture-historical time-space systematics utilized in northwestern Ontario and adjacent areas (Table 4.1). Occasionally, researchers retain use of the older taxonomies, while other writers choose more current terms; each system has implications for archaeological interpretation. During early northwestern Ontario archaeological research, most researchers employed the older Midwestern Taxonomic System outlined by McKern (1939) for the Midwest and northeast U.S.A (Table 4.1). MacNeish (1952, 1958) used this classification system in northwestern Ontario and southern Manitoba, also referring to the earlier work of Vickers (1948) in Manitoba. The system is hierarchical from the least to most inclusive divisions: the Point Peninsula Site *Component* - Point Peninsula *Focus* - Vine Valley *Aspect* - Northeastern *Phase* - Woodland *Pattern* (Ritchie 1938:96) (Table 4.1). Other researchers utilized the taxonomy devised later by Willey and Phillips (1958:34-38) that employs a range of terms from smallest to largest variation, although

Table 4.1. Different archaeological taxonomic schemes and their basic equivalencies used in central North America.

MTS - McKern (1939)	**Willey and Phillips (1958)**	**Syms (1977)**
Component	**Component**	**Assemblage**
Focus (spatial restrict.)	**Phase** (spatial restricted short temporal)	**Complex**
Aspect		**Composite**
Phase (temp. restricted)	**Tradition** (primarily temporal)	**Configuration**
	Horizon (primarily spatial; approx. contemporaneous)	
	Horizon style/Pottery tradition (large spatial, short temporal)	
Pattern	**Culture**	**Pattern**
	Civilization	
Base	**Climax**	

they propose a mix of spatial and temporal terms: *component*, *phase* (spatially restricted - short temporal), *tradition* (primarily temporal), *horizon* (primarily spatial and approximately contemporaneous), *horizon style/pottery tradition* (large spatial, short temporal), *culture*, *civilization*, and *climax* (Table 4.1). Hlady (1971) and Wright (1974, 1981) applied this taxonomy to Canadian boreal forest contexts and some researchers adopted that system while others did not. Willey and Phillips (1958:18-21) also outlined convenient spatial divisions that many archaeologists now use for North American areal contexts: *site* - single location (e.g., small camp to large city); *locality* - site to community size (e.g., more than one site of a culture); *region* - considerably larger unit of space; related to geography (e.g., Florida Glades); and *area/subarea* - larger than region; similar to ethnographic areas (e.g., Subarctic or Arctic.).

Mainly due to the work of Meyer (1978), his students, and colleagues, most central Canadian boreal forest archaeologists use Syms's (1977:70-72) taxonomy for archaeological classification (Table 4.1) that was developed as part of his Co-Influence Sphere model for southwestern Manitoba sites (Table 4.1). Ironically, more researchers working in the central Canadian boreal forest, including myself, have adopted this system than those working in the northeastern plains. Lenius and Olinyk (1990:78) explain the utility of this particular model: "The order in which Syms' taxonomic entities (assemblage, complex, composite, and configuration [as well as pattern]) should be used is also the natural order of archaeological discovery". In addition, Syms (1977:70) created these units with artifact classification in mind but also with inferred cultural activities of past residents:

> The term assemblage refers to the surviving materials, features, and evidence of activities of a single residential group over a short period of time at one site. . . . It is used in the same sense as the term component and represents the remains of a single occupation, or multiple occupations that are so closely spaced that no differentiation can be made between the occupations.

This situation occurs sometimes in central Canadian boreal forest sites, where so called collapsed stratigraphy is evident (see Reid 1988). An example of Syms' (1977) taxonomic system in use is: the Lloyd Site *assemblage,* included in the Pehonan *Complex*, which in turn is part of the Selkirk *Composite,* of the Western Woodland Algonkian *Configuration* (Figure 4.3) and the largest unit of Woodland *Pattern* as proposed by Lenius and Olinyk (1990). One begins by describing a site assemblage, ideally left behind by the same group of people, of which similar assemblages from different sites are grouped together into a larger complex (Syms 1977). On a regional scale, complexes that share similar stylistic and technological traits (representing people who share a lifestyle and tool kit) are placed together into a composite (Syms 1977). Complexes have a sufficiently similar set of technological and stylistic traits that indicate a common and recent ancestry but are different enough to indicate that micro evolutionary changes have taken place (Syms 1977). An even larger grouping of composites is known as a configuration, which typically describes a gen-

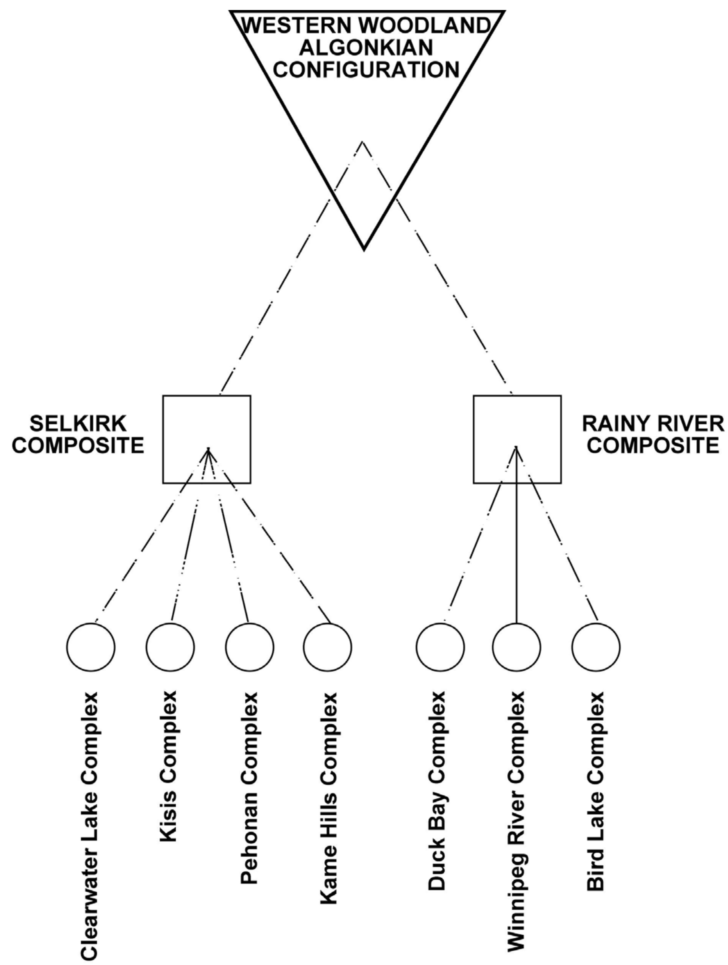

Figure 4.3. The Western Woodland Algonkian Configuration, as proposed by Lenius and Olinyk (1990) but adapted from Mantey and Pettipas (1996:31); shown as an example of the Syms (1977) taxonomic system.

eral economic or linguistic affiliation (e.g., presumed Algonquian speakers). The largest category in this taxonomy is the pattern, which indicates the basic subsistence base (Syms 1977). In summary, the literature reflects moving from the originally named Selkirk 'Focus' (MacNeish 1958) or 'Phase' (Hlady 1971) to the Selkirk 'Composite', as proposed by Meyer and Russell (1987). This change in nomenclature reflects the switch from the older taxonomic systems (McKern 1939; Willey and Phillips 1958) to one devised for Canadian archaeological situations by Syms (1977) and that is used by many researchers in Canada. It is more easily applied to smaller, minimally known cultural historical contexts that typically have few absolute dates to define temporal changes.

It is also useful to define the ware concept and the Type-Variety system (Krieger 1942; Rice 1987; Rouse 1939) being followed in this document, since I will be discussing different wares and types from the Late Woodland in Ontario and adjacent areas. The Type-Variety system is also widely used for categorizing projectile points and pottery from other areas in North America. This approach is utilized in the central Canadian boreal forest as a useful way for categorizing inter- and intra-assemblage variability of pottery and lithics (Young 2006), so I will follow this precedent. A type is the combination of attributes descriptive of whole artifacts such as vessels or projectile points. It may be descriptive, functional, chronological, stylistic or some combination of those forms (Rice 1987). These are also various considerations such as beliefs, symbolism, spirituality and other less mundane aspects of pottery technology that are more difficult to discern from the archaeological record (e.g., Miller 1985). Although all classification schemes are essentially created by the analyst, I have found that it is most appropriate to attempt to understand vessels from the original potter's perspectives. Rice (1987:278) refers to this as "native classifications" derived from ethnographic studies in pot making societies and replicative experiments in my case. In terms of how the Type-Variety system is used, vessels (or almost always sherds which represent the once complete vessel in northwestern Ontario) with similar attributes are grouped into wares. These larger groupings are sometimes divided into subsections called types and still smaller variants (e.g., the ware within the Selkirk Composite is also divided using the Type-Variety system - Winnipeg River Fabric-impressed *Ware* has several types defined including Alexander Fabric-impressed *Type,* with no variants named in MacNeish 1958). As Walde et al. (2006[2010]:141) explain: "in defining wares here, we emphasize exterior surface finish and vessel shape but also consider production techniques such as paddling and bag moulding"; this method is quite common in studying pottery from the boreal forest in central Canada. Although some pottery analysts consider paste characteristics as a basis for splitting types (Peterson 1986), the vast majority of pots in central Canadian boreal forest sites are grit-tempered so there is usually not enough variation to help differentiate types or wares using that attribute. However, I did examine this variable, since some other types of temper have been noted such as shell temper in a few vessels form Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan (Taylor-Hollings 1999). I have also identified grog temper (pieces of broken pottery added to clay to improve the workability and slow drying) in southwestern Manitoba precontact pottery and so did Meyer and Smith (2010) in Saskatchewan. Young (2006) notes sand temper being added in the manufacturing of Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware in Saskatchewan and Alberta. These last examples provide a context for indicating how few pots actually have been found with different temper forms than grit across central Canada.

Discussing these classification models is important in preparation for later chapters, in order to explain how I am using these terms to define archaeological assemblages from the Bloodvein River in Ontario. Also, sometimes this terminology is used incorrectly by archaeologists, whether confusing different taxonomies or mixing overall cultural affiliations with ware/type names in Woodland Period assemblages. A recent citation from Colson (2006:36) exemplifies this idea:

> Archaeologists classify ceramics found in the [Lake of the Woods] region in three major types: Laurel, Blackduck, and Selkirk. Each of these types is associated with a cultural tradition composed of a number of temporally and re-

gionally defined phases, such as the Rainy River Composite, which consists of the Sandy Lake, Duck Bay, Bird Lake, and Winnipeg River complexes.

Laurel, Blackduck, and Selkirk are the terms used for the larger cultural affiliations (including all material culture from a composite as in Syms 1977) and they are not types but are sometimes used to name wares by researchers (using the Type-Variety pottery classification system). Unfortunately, it has become fairly common in some North American archaeological contexts to use the same name for a larger archaeological taxonomic unit as for the wares that are considered part of that unit, which does cause confusion. It is more appropriate to name wares and types separately from the larger cultural affiliation to avoid such issues about which one is being discussed (Playford 2015), since there are other artifact classes included in an assemblage and complex. However, this has not always been done (e.g., Selkirk Ware of the Selkirk Composite rather than MacNeish's [1958] original naming of the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Focus). Referring back to Colson's (2006:36) example above, Sandy Lake Ware of the *Psinomani* Culture, as so named by Minnesota archaeologist Gibbon (1994), has long been reported in northwestern Ontario (e.g., Arthurs 1978; Participants 1987) but it was not proposed as part of the Rainy River Composite by Lenius and Olinyk (1990). Many researchers believe that Sandy Lake Ware was produced by Siouan speakers rather than deriving from Algonquian peoples (Participants 1987) and it is therefore considered to be distinct from Selkirk and Rainy River Composites as well as the other complexes mentioned above. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) proposed the Rainy River Composite with Duck Bay, Bird Lake, and Winnipeg River Complexes be grouped together; evidence of Sandy Lake Ware/Psinomani Culture is contemporaneous and found in the same areas and some sites grouped in the Rainy River Composite (Taylor-Hollings 1999). For both of the provincial government databases that I requested information from, the search of "Selkirk" pottery returned the most information rather than the named types (e.g., Clearwater Lake Punctate Type). Part of that lack of specificity results from the confusing way taxonomies are applied by different people in central Canada and the northern U.S.A.

It is important to emphasize that with Syms' (1977) taxonomic system, the smallest unit is the assemblage. Thus, although pottery is usually the most diagnostic artifact class in Middle and Late Woodland occupations (Boyd et al. 2014), every other artifact class (e.g., projectile point types and other lithics, lithic materials, faunal remains) must be studied. All of the other information such as economic implications, site setting, and environmental setting needs to be considered when determining if an existing or new complex is evident from assemblages, not just the pottery finds.

Cultural-Historical Models for Northwestern Ontario

Much of the general cultural-historical time-space sequence is based on the early work (ca.

1950 to 1982) of a few researchers working in adjacent areas of Minnesota (Evans 1961; Wilford 1941, 1955) and Manitoba (Fewkes 1937; MacNeish 1958; Vickers 1948) but also the initial archaeologists in northwestern Ontario (e.g., Dawson 1983c; MacNeish 1952; Reid, ed. 1980; Reid and Ross 1981; Ross 1982; Wright 1967b). The past few decades have not resulted in a significant transformation of this general view of the central Canadian Subarctic cultural history but some details have been added to the interpretations for certain areas as more work has been completed. Much of this cultural heritage synthesis is also applicable across some other parts of the Canadian boreal forest in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario (Hamilton et al. 2003; Meyer and Hamilton 1994). In addition, the central Canadian boreal forest/Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Forest transition of northern Minnesota has some archaeological sites with similar precontact cultural affiliations (e.g., Anfinson 1979; Arzigian 2008; Birk 1977; Mulholland and Woodward 2001; Richner 2004, 2008).

Despite some limitations in working in the central Canadian boreal forest (discussed in Chapter 2), a general culture history framework may be outlined for northwestern Ontario and the more specific study area. The findings of the Bloodvein River surveys, and particularly for each time period, will be presented separately with the results in Chapter 7. For other detailed descriptions of the culture history of northwestern Ontario, consult Dawson (1983c), Meyer and Hamilton (1994), and Wright (1995, 1999, 2004).

Troublesome Terminology

Archaeological terms for the major periods of culture history in Canada and the U.S.A. have undergone many changes through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. I will explain how the terms in current use came about and why I am choosing to use less common but hopefully more culturally appropriate choices. The first archaeologically defined Indigenous cultures in Canada have long been referred to by archaeologists as 'Palaeoindians' (or various versions). This reference stems from the now politically incorrect terms in Canada coined by early archaeologists for the main precontact time frames of the Paleo- and Neo-Indian (Griffin 1946) Periods in which the Neo-Indian was divided into Woodland divisions of North American Indigenous occupations. The Meso-Indian Period was also used by some researchers for the time in between the earliest and latest periods. Although the Palaeoindian and Woodland terms are still in widespread usage by archaeologists, Meso- and Neo-Indian are not. "The term Paleoindian is still prevalent in the literature although Aboriginal people today find the term derogatory, feeling that it relegates them to fossils, so the term is not used here" as Playford (2015:26) explains. I have encountered this opinion from some Canadian Indigenous peoples as well. Some researchers choose to use the terms Palaeoamericans for the people they are discussing (e.g., Holliday and Meltzer 2010) or Palaeo Period, which are both more appropriate than the older terms.

Willey and Phillips (1958) introduced the Lithic, Archaic, Formative, Classic and Postclassic Stages, which were historical developmental units for classifying similar assemblages and time frames in middle American archaeological contexts. Unfortunately, the 'Archaic' term has been retained from this taxonomy by many researchers across the U.S.A. and Canada for the time frame between the earliest and Woodland Periods. The term Archaic is widely used in North American archaeological literature to refer to a period of the mid-Holocene epoch when cultures shared a series of new technological and socio-political traits that differentiate them from previous cultures. It is not supposed to reflect the judgmental sense of the term archaic, meaning no longer efficient or useful, but instead refers to being very old or from an early period. Many researchers switched from using the earlier published term 'Meso-Indian' (Griffin 1946) to Archaic. I prefer to not use any of these monikers, choosing Early, Middle, and Late Periods, since I agree with many Canadian Indigenous people that find these terms inappropriate. Leigh Syms has suggested recently the changing of terminology to the Intensive Diversification Period (Brownlee 2005), which is being used by some Manitobans, as an alternative to the Archaic Period.

Adovasio and Carr (2009:521) suggest dropping the Palaeoindian and Early Archaic terms for different reasons:

> ...the foregoing strongly suggests that, despite their hallowed place in North American archaeological literature, the very terms Paleoindian and Early Archaic (or, for that matter, any subdivision of them) need to be reexamined. As classificatory culturally historic constructs with specific sociotechnic behavioral implications, they may have outlived their usefulness. Indeed, retention of these terms seems to obfuscate, mask, or otherwise distort the very transitions in lifestyles they were intended to illuminate.

These authors note that there are few startling changes evident between the Palaeoindian and Early Archaic Periods, at least in the Northeast USA culture area, in terms of technology and lifeways; they propose that changes within the Middle Archaic are more striking (Adovasio and Carr 2009:521).

Wright's (e.g., 1967a, 1972b, 1981) pioneering work provided baseline taxonomic information for many researchers in the central Canadian boreal forest. He outlined the series of specific periods for this area including the Paleo-Indian, Shield Archaic, Initial Woodland (akin to Middle Woodland), and Terminal Woodland (equivalent to Late Woodland) (Wright 1981). The latter two periods were named since he did not believe there were Early Woodland occupations in central Canadian boreal forest sites, unlike those found in the adjacent northern U.S.A. (e.g., Arzigian 2008). Thus, Wright (1981) proposed the Initial and Terminal Woodland names for the latest precontact periods in Canadian archaeological contexts. He later used different terminology called the Late Western Shield Culture (Laurel) and Northern Algonquian Culture and proposed a national classification system (Wright 1995, 1999) that has not been implemented. I have retained the original nomenclature of Middle and Late Woodland terms, primarily because this was the original naming system and also because most Minnesota and Manitoba researchers with comparable archaeological collections still use that terminology. Wright (1995) also changed his 'Shield Archaic Culture' to the Early Shield Culture related to Plano Culture (8,000 - 4,000 BC) and Middle Shield Culture (4,000 - 1,000 BC), which indicates his acknowledgement that 'archaic' was not a good term for precontact peoples. Dawson (1983a, 1983c, 1984, 1999) and Hamilton (2010) also discuss northern Ontario culture history and developments in Canadian archaeology. For more discussions about variations in Great Lakes archaeology taxonomies, see Williamson and Watts (1999).

In summary, the most commonly used central Canadian boreal forest cultural-historical units (Figure 4.4) result from a legacy of utilizing portions of many early iterations conceived for other areas. I will adopt the more updated terms of Early, Middle, and Late (divided into Middle and Late Woodland), Protocontact, and Postcontact periods (Korejbo 2011; Mantey and Pettipas 1996; Playford 2015) since these terms avoid the politically incorrect term 'Indian', the value laden term 'Archaic' for early Indigenous occupations, and also possibly misrepresenting economic transitions for hunter gathering societies in northwestern Ontario.

Early Period (ca. 9,000-7,000 BP)

Consistent with some Indigenous oral traditions, occupation of the Americas and the study area may be viewed as having occurred since time immemorial (Hamilton et al. 2003; PFN and OMNR 2006); however, over time archaeologists have deduced a generalized time frame for initial occupation of southern, central Canada through assessing postglacial conditions, comparative relative dating, and minimal absolute dating opportunities (Meyer et al. 2011). The timing, technologies, routes, ethnicities, and cultural affiliations of the earliest people to arrive in North America is a controversial topic amongst archaeologists and others. Although for many decades it was believed that the Clovis Complex represented the first occupants of North America, that idea has been dispelled by compelling evidence of different forms (e.g., 14C dating, DNA studies, palaeo-linguistic reconstructions, lithic technologies, etc.) from several Pre-Clovis sites in the Americas (see Goodyear 2005). Researchers have proposed that Pre-Clovis or Clovis peoples arrived via different routes such as the Bering Land Bridge, a North American west coast route, or more recently a trans-Atlantic Ocean route (Bradley and Stanford 2004).

The Younger Dryas cooling episode occurred from about 12,896±138 to 11,703±99 calendar years before AD 2,000 across parts of the Northern Hemisphere (Paquay et al. 2009:21505). Causes of the Younger Dryas event are still being investigated but it would have likely affected when early human populations could move into the Great Lakes area. Some large mammal extinctions, destabilization of the Laurentide Ice Sheet, and Early Period cultural changes likely occurred before or coinciding with that cooler period; the technological change from fluted to unfluted projec-

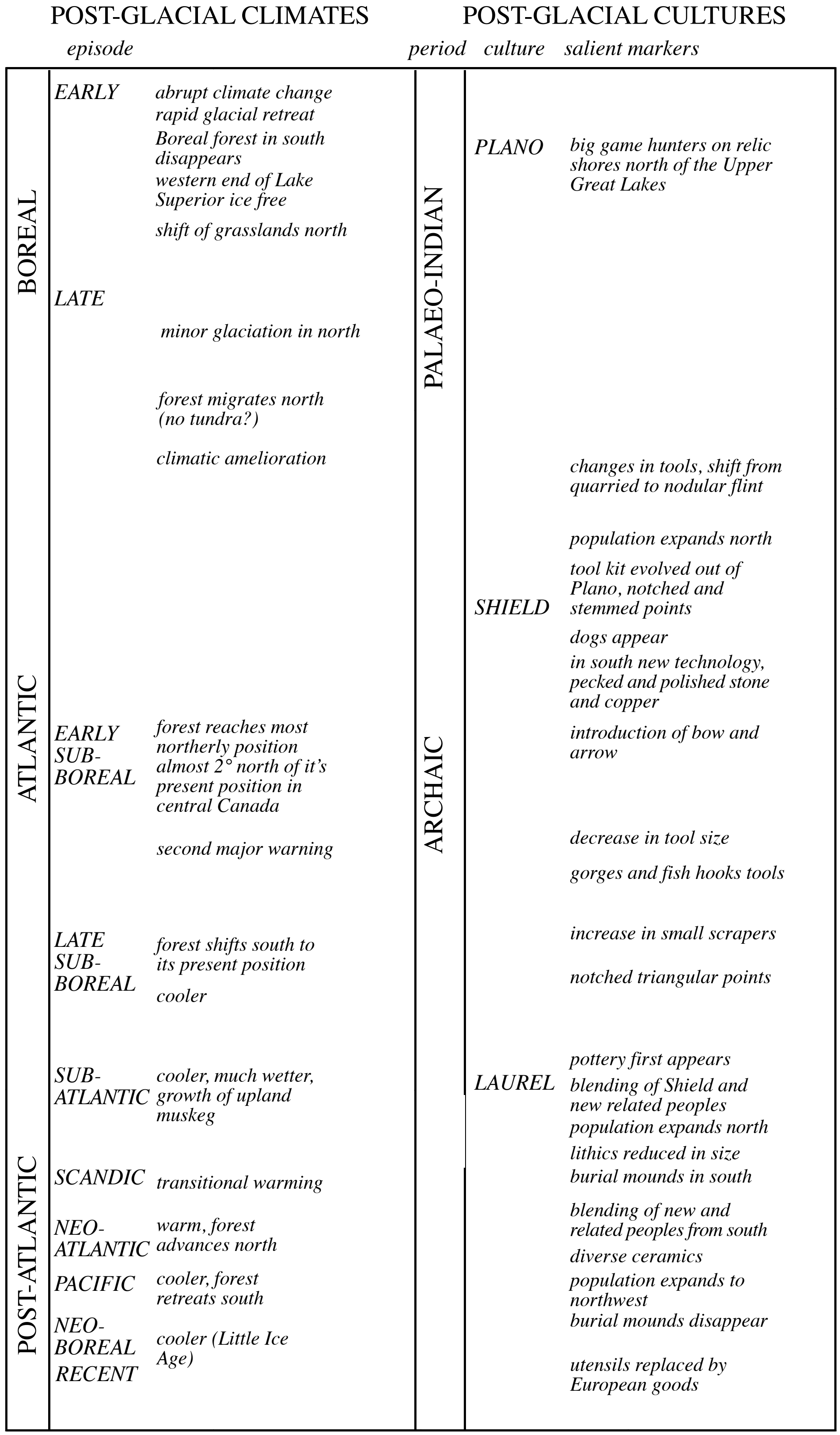

Figure 4.4. Typical stacked chronology of central Canadian boreal forest archaeological cultures with coinciding climatic patterns (redrawn from Dawson 1984:29).

tile points also began to occur at the end of the Younger Dryas (Holiday and Meltzer 2010).

Substantial geomorphological evidence suggests that initially the Laurentide Ice Sheet (Dyke and Prest 1987) (Figure 3.4) and then later massive proglacial lakes such as Agassiz (Figure 3.5) limited when people were able to access northwestern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba during the Early Period (for detailed overviews of northwestern Ontario see Chapter 3 and Hamilton 1996; for Manitoba see Pettipas 2012). Many climatic, biotic, and landscape changes were undoubtedly occurring during the late Pleistocene and beginning of the Holocene epoch (Figure 4.4). Over large areas of the U.S.A. and the northeastern plains of Canada, the Clovis and Folsom Complexes of the Llano Tradition are dated to approximately 11,200 to 10,200 BP (Meyer et al. 2011). The two complexes are most readily identified by the distinctive fluted spear point technologies that represent an expert level of flintknapping and may be associated with extinct megafauna remains. Sites of these complexes have been found in southern Manitoba (Pettipas 2011, 2013) and Minnesota (Bakken 2011) but are presently unknown in northwestern Ontario. Several Goshen Complex projectile points, which are essentially the same as Clovis without having the characteristic fluting, have also been found in Manitoba (Pettipas 2011). In addition, Midland projectile points, that are virtually the same as the Folsom Type without fluting, have also been recovered at a few sites in that province (Pettipas 2011). To the best of my knowledge, having discussed this issue with regional archeologists and collectors, no Goshen nor Midland projectile points have been found or recorded thus far in northwestern Ontario.

Early (or Palaeo) Period cultures in northwestern Ontario and other areas likely consisted of relatively few, highly mobile hunting groups living in recently deglaciated landscapes; this economic pattern probably continued for thousands of years, making the later 'transition' to the Middle Period rather difficult to ascertain. Lanceolate shaped spear points with various forms of elaborate flaking across the tool (irregular, parallel oblique, etc.) and edge grinding were diagnostic of the earlier time frame. Large bifaces, unifaces, and other tools were also made from mainly quarried and local materials. People moved over large areas and hunted large ice age mammals such as mammoth, mastodon, giant bison, and other megafauna (Bell 1898). Due to lack of preservation of plants, there is very limited information about how they were used during this period, although occasionally geoarchaeological investigations have uncovered some early botanical data (e.g., Boyd et al. 2010). As the climate warmed and woodlands gradually developed along the former ice front tundra zones, many of these megafauna prey species declined and eventually became extinct (Hamilton et al. 2003). Many researchers believe that caribou then became one of the most important animals to later Early Period cultures (e.g., Dawson 1983b; Lemke 2015; Wright 1981). Lemke (2015) discusses one example of caribou from an Early Period archaeological site and 26 other Great Lakes area palaeontological examples that aid in supporting this hypothesis; she notes that many of the earliest finds are tied to ancient lake levels (e.g., old beach ridges, once submerged zones, etc.). Jackson and McKillop (1989:4) recovered an Ontario example of a caribou antler from open pit mine dredging at Steep Rock Lake near Atikokan (which is coincidentally the Anishinaabemowin word for caribou bone); this small town is about 500 km southeast of the Bloodvein River. They were able to submit an AMS radiocarbon sample of the antler that resulted in a date of 9,940±120 years BP (AA-3285), which are the oldest caribou remains found in Ontario (Jackson and McKillop (1989:4). Although no artifacts were found near the specimen, it clearly indicates that caribou were available for the earliest Indigenous hunters in the region and south of the WCSS.

Plano Tradition. The most relevant time frame of the Early Period for the study area is the later Plano 'Tradition' sites that date between about 10,500 to 7,800 BP across a large portion of North America (Meyer et al. 2011) including many found in northwestern Ontario (Dawson 1983b; Fox 1975; MacNeish 1952; Norris 2012; Ross 1995). Wall (1980a) did not report any Early Period sites from along the Bloodvein River (but see Chapter 7 for new results). Using the Syms' taxonomic system discussed previously, the equivalent would probably be the Plano Configuration, although most researchers still use the tradition term. Quimby (1960) first used the Aqua-Plano name to refer to cultures that made unfluted Early Period lanceolate projectile points. He believed that these cultures moved from the western plains to the ancient beaches of Lake Superior, which is why he coined the term Aqua-Plano (Quimby 1960); researchers later dropped the first part of the phrase. Dawson (1983a) also suggests that Plano peoples originally derived from the plains and the northwest (Keewatin).

The Plano Tradition is comprised currently of the Agate Basin, Hell Gap, Late Plano, Alberta, and Cody Complexes (Meyer et al. 2011). The latter two are typically found in Alberta and Saskatchewan Early Period sites (Meyer et al. 2011). Plano spear points are found in many different parts of Canada and the United States and have a number of different forms. Pettipas (2011) describes Plano as three co-traditions based on spear point shapes: (1) Broad Concave-based Lanceolate (Goshen, Frederick); (2) Slender Leaf-shaped Lanceolate (Agate Basin, Lovell, Angostura, Foothills/Mountain); and (3) Stemmed/Shouldered (Hell Gap, Alberta, Cody). Describing the co-traditions by attributes is an interesting way of splitting the types, in that it characterizes and groups them in a logical way moving away from geographical names for such a widespread tradition.

The only distinctive groups identified from archaeological evidence in northwestern Ontario during the Early Period are part of the Plano Tradition (Meyer et al. 2011). Specifically, the Lakehead Complex (Fox 1975), Lake of the Woods/Rainy River Complex (Ross 1995), Quetico Superior Complex (Ross 1995), and Reservoir Lakes Complex (Ross 1995) have been defined since there are clusters of these late Early Period sites (Figure 4.2). Ross (1995) has evaluated this evidence and formulated some of these complexes and the larger Interlakes Composite around

Lake Superior and along the international border. The people represented by these material remains may also have been related to the Caribou Lake Complex sites of southeastern Manitoba although some of those sites may also be transitional to the early Middle Period (Buchner 1979a, 1980; Bill Ross, personal communication 2016). Characteristic Early Period spear points of these groups were expertly made and lanceolate-shaped, usually with parallel oblique or random flaking patterns (Hamilton et al. 2003). The lithic material is typically derived from locally sourced, bedrock quarries of the Gunflint Formation such as the Cummins Site (Dawson 1983b) and others in and around Thunder Bay (Julig et al. 1990). One type often found in northwestern Ontario is Agate Basin (McLeod 2004), which is also found in the plains culture area (Meyer et al. 2011).

Currently, there is much more information about the numerous Early Period sites from the Thunder Bay area including Dog Lake (e.g., Fox 1975; Hamilton 1996; Hinshelwood 2004; MacNeish 1952; McLeod 1982; Norris 2012; Ross 1995) than other parts of northwestern Ontario, Although discovery of some sites has resulted from assessments required for highway or other developments near the city, there are still a high proportion of Early Period sites in this region. Projectile points from these sites have been identified as typically of the Agate Basin Type**,** although originally MacNeish (1952) identified the first ones found at the Brohm Site as the Plainview Type due to similarities with those he had seen in Texas. One of the most informative sites is Cummins (Dawson 1983b; Julig et al. 1990), where a cremation burial, taconite quarry, and lithic reduction stations were found. In addition, ponds were sampled to obtain palynological evidence for creating environmental reconstructions, and various geomorphological features were mapped related to its early occupation (e.g., Julig et al. 1990; Phillips 1988). Like many of the sites near Thunder Bay, the Cummins Site was also occupied by people in the Middle Period (Julig et al. 1990). Recent cultural resource management work just east of Thunder Bay in the Mackenzie locality by Western Heritage Services in collaboration with the Department of Anthropology at Lakehead University as well as several local First Nations and Métis organizations has provided much information about Early and Middle Period occupations; analyses are ongoing. Most of these sites relate to the Gunflint Formation lithic material sources within and near Thunder Bay and the palaeogeography of Lake Superior (e.g., Julig et al. 1990; Phillips 1988).

Plano Type projectile points have been found at least as far north as the Albany River (Figure 4.1) in northwestern Ontario (Dawson 1983a). In the central Canadian boreal forest, few radiometric dates have been obtained from Early Period sites. Recent work at the Mackenzie locality near Thunder Bay has yielded an early date at the Woodpecker 2 Site of "8680+/-50 BP and a 2 sigma cal B.P. date of 9760 to 9750; 95 percent probability was cal B.P. 9750 to 9540" (Beta 323410) (Norris 2012:56). As one of a relatively large number of Early Period sites in the Thunder Bay area, the Cummins cremation burial dates to a similar period of 8,480±390 BP (uncalibrated NMC-1216) (Julig et al. 1990:26).

The following findings comprise the known definitive examples of Early Period artifacts and sites on and near the Bloodvein River before this project. One Early Period site was found at Rowdy Lake (2004), which is now protected as part of the WCSS (Figure 2.3). A single Agate Basin Type projectile point (Figure 4.5) was found there in a test pit, although the small site was extensively tested with 400 small test pits, four 50 x 50 cm test pits, and eight metre squares (McLeod 2004). This site also has Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk, and recent Postcontact Period occupations (McLeod 2004).

I also documented an Agate Basin Type projectile point in a private collection from Pakwash Lake near Ear Falls, Ontario (Figure 4.4), which is south of the WCSS (Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2007). For several years in the 1990s, Pilon and Dalla Bona (2004) conducted investigations of the Early Period Allen Site near the town of Sioux Lookout and Lac Seul in Ontario (Figures 4.1, 4.2). It is important because it has interpretable and comparatively deep stratigraphy (~90 cm below the surface) and two AMS dates have been obtained, which is rare for this region (Pilon and Dalla Bona 2004). The Allen Site is one of the oldest in northwestern Ontario. In addition, many rarely found trihedral adzes were discovered there (Pilon and Dalla Bona 2004). Lanceolate projectile points and fragments were discovered indicating a likely late Early Period occupation; however, these points may also represent early Middle Period occupations (Pilon and Dalla Bona 2004). The AMS dates were obtained from charcoal found in paleosols and are reported as

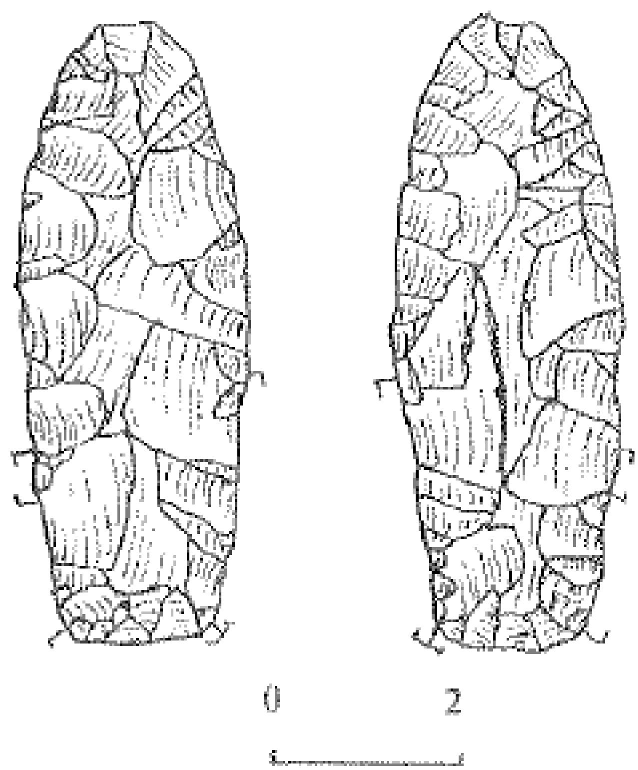

Figure 4.5. Agate Basin Type Early Period projectile point from the Bear Site (EdKo-6) on Rowdy Lake in the southeastern part of the WCSS (from McLeod 2004:4).

8,050±80 BP (Beta 111666) and 8,160±80 BP (Beta 111667) (Pilon and Dalla Bona 2004:331). A Woodland Period component was also found at the Allen Site. In addition, two Plano projectile points made of locally available materials were found at the EaKa-9 and EbJx-9 sites on the shoreline of Lac Seul (Hyslop 2003; Pettipas 2014a). Although there are currently few known sites and isolated finds from the study area and northwestern Ontario, it clearly indicates that some Early Period hunters were present just south of the study area.

Middle Period (ca. 7,000-2,200 BP)

The apparent shift from the late Early to the Middle Period (or Shield Archaic) is very poorly understood for northwestern Ontario, adjacent Manitoba, and the Minnesota Border Lakes region to the south (Richner 2008). It is likely that major shifts in the climate may have affected cultural transition patterns, especially over such a long time period. For example, the climate became the warmest and driest during the middle Holocene epoch (Wright 1995), which is known as the Altithermal or Hypsithermal Period. Such major climate changes (Figure 4.3) undoubtedly contributed to people adapting and perhaps moving out of their typical traditional area. However, Wright (1995) notes that there was much regional variability during this time frame and that there are controversies regarding the Altithermal Period. Dawson (1983a) suggests that Middle Period peoples were linear descendants of the Plano cultures, based on similar but smaller stone tool technology in the early part of this period. Unfortunately, there is limited evidence to support this idea, or indicate if they were new migrants into the area.

Throughout much of the Canadian Shield, the main archaeological grouping during the Middle Period is referred to as the ‘Shield Archaic Culture’ as first named by Wright (1972b); Dawson (1984) uses the term ‘Tradition’. Some archaeologists use the names interchangeably, referring to the period as a single archaeological entity. Later, Wright (1995) proposed dividing the time frame into the Early Shield Culture related to the Plano Tradition and transition (8,000-4,000 BC) and the Middle Shield Culture (4,000-1,000 BC). Much of Wright’s (1972) initial synthesis of the lithic technology resulted from information gathered from 11 sites and supplemental information in Quebec, northern Ontario, Manitoba, and also in the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories (now Nunavut). The original Shield Archaic Culture is best identified by large lanceolate, corner and/or side notched projectile points and many types of large uniface and biface tools; in addition some ground stone tools and many native copper artifacts have been found in these assemblages (Wright 1981). Wright (1981) suggests that projectile points, scrapers, and knives dominate the assemblages; also lanceolate projectile points gradually disappear through time as side-notched variants increase. Originally, the Shield Archaic term was meant to encompass the archaeological sites that post date the Early Period (best represented by edge ground lanceolate projectile point technology) and do not have pottery technology in the assemblages (Buchner 1979b) in the absence of radiometric dating, which is often the case. Buchner (1979b, 1980) and Hanna (1980) criticize the concept of the Shield Archaic Culture for several reasons (but also see Wright's 1979 reply) including that it was too broad and ambiguous. Minimal refinements have been achieved since the original description or these critical evaluations due to the paucity of sites, limited radiometric dating opportunities, and some of these sites may be submerged resulting from postglacial changes.

During the Middle Period, there were widespread adoptions of new subsistence and settlement patterns in various parts of North America that developed over several thousand years (Hamilton et al. 2003) and within the major climatic changes that were mentioned previously. Human populations appear to have increased throughout this period as suggested by larger and more numerous archaeological sites. It is evident from artifact recoveries that Indigenous people became more diversified in their technologies during the Middle Period in northwestern Ontario (Dawson 1983a), although it encompasses a very lengthy duration of time and remains poorly known. The appearance of smaller dart projectile points, native copper tools, net weights, and some grinding stones indicate that diversity from earlier times (Dawson 1983a). Researchers often suggest that early Middle Period hunters, like their Plano predecessors, mainly hunted caribou and followed them within their natural habitat (Dawson 1983a); undoubtedly, people hunted other mammals as well. Lemke (2015) discusses several caribou specimens from around the Great Lakes that date to the Middle Period, which helps to support the idea that they were available to hunters during this time frame.

Although there are limited faunal remains that have been preserved from the Middle Period, one example is a fossilized bison skull from the Kenora area but unfortunately no artifacts were found with it (McAndrews 1982). Bell (1898) suggests that bison roamed as far east as Lake Superior and Lake Erie during the Postcontact Period. Although there are no known historic examples of bison from Ontario, they were apparently in the southern boreal forest by at least ca. "4850 ± 60 B.P.", which is the uncorrected radiocarbon date for the bison skull fossil (McAndrews 1982:41). Pollen studies from the same locale indicate that the environment was open, mixed woodland from "9,200 to 3,600 B.P." rather than the present day boreal forest (McAndrews 1982:46). Several bison pictographs much further north have also been found on the Bloodvein River, at Lake of the Woods (Dewdney and Kidd 1967), and on the Sachigo River (Scott Hamilton, personal communication 2010). Jones (2006) also lists six bison pictographs in the Churchill River boreal forest area of Saskatchewan. All of these examples suggest that either bison moved further north at certain times in the Holocene or people moved back forth between the plains and forest. When they disappeared from the southern boreal forest of Ontario is unknown at this time.

In addition, there is evidence of early moose hunting from the Middle Period near Morson, Ontario in the Rainy River region directly south of the WCSS (Kenyon and Churcher 1965). A worked antler fragment was found in direct association with a lithic chopper tool; the context is within a gravel pit of late Lake Agassiz sands and gravels. Kenyon and Churcher (1965:238) note that a worked antler fragment from *Alces alces,* or perhaps the extinct elk-moose *Cervalces*, was found and dated by conventional radiocarbon method to "7,861±423 years before 1963, or between 6 321 and 5 474 B.C." (SM 696-2).

Wright (1981) notes that several major climatic changes occurred during this lengthy time period of the Middle Period but most notable a cooling trend starting in 1,550 BC or 1,250 BC until approximately AD 1. Dawson (1983a) describes this as the tree line advancing back and forth across northern Ontario, as evinced by the few pollen cores that have been analyzed (e.g., Julig et al. 1990). The Sub-Boreal Climatic episode (ca. 2,800-900 BC) coincided with the Middle Period and the Sub-Atlantic Episode (ca. 900 BC to AD 300) to the Middle Woodland Period (Buchner 1979b). Buchner (1979b) suggests that people were actually subsisting in a plains environment rather than in a boreal forest zone in Manitoba due to these climate changes.

Some contact with other Middle Period cultures (e.g., Laurentian, Old Copper, and plains populations) is evident from the occasional diagnostic artifact found in these sites (Wright 1981). Dewdney and Kidd (1967) suggest that the Old Copper people had lived in nearby Lac Seul, although they do not explain why they made that assertion. Perhaps Dewdney had found native copper artifacts there, since he had lived there before the flooding took place in the late 1920s, or since there has been copper pieces found at sites on Lac Seul (Brad Hyslop, personal communication 2014; Hamilton 1981; Wright 1981). There is also evidence of fishing technology in the form of copper gaffs and fish hooks that have been found in Middle Period sites in northwestern Ontario (Dawson 1983a; Wright 1981). Quimby (1966) and Cleland (1982) note that the earliest fishing evidence for the upper Great Lakes comes from the Old Copper Culture in the Late Middle Period in Ontario, northern Michigan, and Wisconsin; these come in the form of fish bones, barbless copper fishhooks and gorges, as well as gaff hooks. Fishing was an important, perhaps paramount, subsistence pursuit in the Great Lakes area (Quimby 1966) and was likely done in earlier times. Although faunal remains from Early Period sites are rare, Kuehn (1998) offers evidence from the Deadman Slough and Sucices sites in Wisconsin that these people also used the readily available fish subsistence resources in the western Great Lakes area.

Although there is very limited absolute dating for Middle Period occupations in northwestern Ontario, the approximate range is thought to be from about 7,000-2,200 BP (Hamilton et al. 2003), which is a substantial amount of time to be represented by one archaeological period. Richner (2008) also notes the lack of definition of early, middle, and late divisions within the Middle Period in adjacent Minnesota as well. Dawson (1983a:8) argues that "peoples who left archaeological remains in Northern Ontario from ca. 5000 B.C. to 500 B.C. (or slightly later in the far north) appear to have evolved out of the late Plano-Palaeo-Indian period culture base" and "lanceolate projectile point forms of the early Shield Archaic culture appear to be direct descendants of Plano varieties". Dawson (1983a) suggests that subsistence in the Middle Period was largely the same as for the Early Period cultures, emphasizing hunting caribou and fishing in the abundant rivers and lakes. He also explains that they became forest-adapted people (as opposed to tundra-taiga of earlier times) as evident from the invention of woodworking tools such as axes, adzes, and chisels in the period (Dawson 1983a). There is also evidence of Middle Period cultures using more flint nodules than quarried lithic materials (Dawson 1983a; Hamilton 1996).

Native Copper. This metal was obtained from certain bedrock outcrops around Lake Superior and Lake Michigan and formed into many functional and decorative items that was traded widely across central North America (Hamilton et al. 2003). It was not smelted but was hammered and heated/cooled numerous times to work it into many different tools. Copper was widely used during the Middle Period in northwestern Ontario (Dawson 1983a). Some radiocarbon dating has been completed on organics associated with copper, such as artifacts from the Renshaw Site (DaJi-1) near Thunder Bay. Four Middle Period dates were obtained from this site: 3,420±80 BP (S-1370); 4,420±60 BP (TO-2441); 4,590±50 BP (TO-2213); and 4,630±60 (TO-2215) BP (Morlan and Betts 2001). It was one of the first Middle Period sites to be excavated in northwestern Ontario and 128 copper items, in various stages of finish, were recovered (Arthurs 1979). Copper usage on Lake Superior persisted until postcontact times, as related by Blue (1894:63) about the explorer David Thompson's experiences in 1798:

> The same year on the survey, about 52 miles northward of the Falls of St. Maries, a visit to near Mahmaize, there five or six canoes of Indians, who informed me they were then at the old path of their grandfathers, who used to come here for pure copper for heads to their Lances, arrows, axes, knives, and other necessaries; by their description the place was about five miles in the interior. I requested to be shown the place, but they said they did not exactly know it, and dreaded the Musquitoes.

Blue (1894:80) notes the area where native copper was extracted at several locations in the Mamainse region, which is just northwest of Sault Ste. Marie on Lake Superior:

> The real Indian diggings are shallow holes, sunk at intervals along the courses of the veins, and surrounded by broken pieces of veinstone, along with which are occasionally found stone hammers. These hammers are merely beach pebbles, usually of trap. and having shallow grooves worked around them, to receive withes or thongs used as handles. Most of them are 5 or 6 inches in their longest diameter, but one now in the collection of the Geological Survey, is about a foot in length.

Dawson (1999) also mentions a brief comment in Champlain's journal of 1610 about Indigenous people digging for native copper near Lake Superior as the earliest reference to precontact sites in the boreal forest of Ontario. Other French explorers note this occurrence and then surveyors' reports began recounting these types of native copper quarrying (Dawson 1999).

Although Lake Superior is a long distance from the study area, it would have been quite possible for people to trade for copper items. I am not aware of any native copper artifacts found in the study area or the WCSS. However, Pelleck (1983) describes four copper items found at the Forestry Point Site in nearby Red Lake as: one copper awl; one bangle type object commonly worn as regalia by Anishinaabe people; and two trim bits. Thus, copper items were obviously traded for and brought into the Red Lake area. Many copper items have been found at Lac Seul to the south (e.g., copper fish hook in Wright 1981:89).

Within the limited time available for archaeological surveys that have taken place in the WCSS and Whitefeather Forest, several Middle Period sites have been identified. Wall (1980a) reports no Middle Period sites from his Bloodvein River survey but the more recent finds will be discussed in Chapter 7. Pelleck (1980a) identified one Middle Period site on the nearby Berens River survey and three were reported by Smith (1980) for the Gammon River survey. Since it is sometimes difficult to identify artifacts and sites from this period, there are likely more of them from this region and from the larger northwestern Ontario area.

Late Period: Middle Woodland (ca. 2,200-750 BP)

In the central Canadian boreal forest, the development of hand built earthenware vessels by Indigenous people marks the beginning of the Late Period, which is subdivided into Middle and Late Woodland Periods based on pottery attributes, radiocarbon dating, and stratigraphy. Wintemberg (1942) provides an early discussion about the Woodland Pattern in northwestern Ontario and across Canada, linking it to early Algonquian speakers. Early Woodland sites have not yet been found in northwestern Ontario, although they have been identified in southern Ontario (Fox and Garrad 2004), Quebec (Gates St-Pierre 2009), and Minnesota (see Hohman-Caine and Goltz 1995 for a discussion about unusually early dates). Hence, Dawson (e.g., 1983a) and Wright (1972a) uses the term Initial Woodland instead of Middle Woodland and Terminal for the Late Woodland. Later, Wright (1995, 1999) suggested different terminology and named the Late Western Shield Culture for Laurel and the Northern Algonquian Culture of Period V for the Blackduck Complex. However, I have retained the original nomenclature, primarily because many Minnesota and Manitoba researchers with comparable archaeological collections also still use those terms.

In the Canadian Subarctic, the Middle Woodland time frame is best represented by the widespread archaeological ware referred to as Laurel (unfortunately the larger cultural entity also has the same name now), which dates from approximately 2,150 to 750 years BP (Reid and Rajnovich 1991). Wilford (1955) also describes burial mounds with Laurel Ware in Minnesota. Wall (1980a) did not identify any Laurel assemblages from the previous survey completed along the Bloodvein River in Ontario (but see Chapter 7 for results from reanalysis and recent surveys).

As Reid and Rajnovich (1991:224) explain, "Laurel studies have been bedeviled with a plethora of taxonomic approaches, some might say a mishmash, which renders the expression of new ideas in logical fashion somewhat difficult". Wilford (1941, 1955) first described Laurel pottery of the Rainy River Aspect in Minnesota whereas MacNeish (1958) described it as part of the Nutimik and Anderson Foci for Manitoba contexts. Interestingly, both of these early writers used the better approach for clarity in naming pottery wares separately from the larger archaeological culture. Wright (1967a) renamed it the Laurel 'Tradition' and described this archaeological entity in Ontario sites. Mayer-Oakes (1970) later used the Willey and Phillips (1958) terminology and defined it as the Laurel Phase. To further complicate the literature, other researchers refer to Laurel as a configuration (Reid and Rajnovich 1991), composite (Syms 1977:79), complex (Lints 2012), horizon (Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Syms 1977:106), culture (Mason 1969, 1970; Stoltman 1973), and others just call it "Laurel" (Brandzin-Low 1997; Meyer and Epp 1990). For the purposes of this thesis, as it is taxonomically similar to the Selkirk Composite, it would be logical to use the term Laurel Composite (Syms 1977) for the larger archaeological culture. However, I will use the term Laurel Configuration as it was outlined by Reid and Rajnovich (1991), since they have provided the most recent revision that deals with locales closest to the study area and many researchers have been using that level of taxonomy for Laurel assemblages. Although it would be more appropriate to return to the original naming precedence in the literature of Wilford's (1941) Rainy River Aspect (using the updated Composite term instead of Aspect and using a different term for the ware), that would cause even further confusion since Lenius and Olinyk (1990) proposed the name Rainy River Composite for Late Woodland assemblages and complexes.

The most characteristic artifacts that are part of the Laurel Configuration are the smoothed, conical to sub-conical shaped pottery vessels many of which are decorated with elaborate stamped, dragged, incised, dentate, pseudo-scallop shell, pushed and pulled, cord wrapped object impressions, and/or punctate/boss designs (Mantey and Pettipas 1996) (Figure 4.6). However, some vessels have no decoration. When present, decorations may appear just below the lip and sometimes will appear over most of the upper exterior in intricate patterns (e.g., Hamilton 1981). Vessels were manufactured from locally available clays by the coiling method (Budak 1985) with incorporated grit or sand temper; coil breaks are often seen on individual sherds. Laurel Ware generally has rounded or pointed, unthickened lips, that are usually free of decoration (plain). Walls tend to be medium to thick (approximately 4-8 mm). The vessel profile is straight to slightly incurvate. Budak (1985) discusses replicative techniques for making Laurel Ware, which provide much insight for studying the sherds and vessel portions. The Laurel type site is Grand Mound or the Smith Site in Minnesota (e.g., Stoltman 1973).

The Laurel Configuration is also represented by medium-sized, side-notched arrow projectile points, some ground/pecked stone tools, and occasionally native copper implements found

Figure 4.6. Example of reconstructed and infilled Laurel Dentate (with row of punctates/interior bosses) vessel with elaborate patterns over half of the vessel including on the lip. From the Ballynacree (DkKp-8) Site at Lake of the Woods; located at the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport in Thunder Bay.

in widely dispersed sites across the Canadian Shield including Quebec (Côté and Inksetter 2001, 2009; Gates St-Pierre 2009), Ontario, Manitoba (Mantey and Pettipas 1996), and Saskatchewan (Meyer et al. 2008; Reid and Rajnovich 1991). Lithic materials are not particularly diagnostic since they resemble those in later Blackduck assemblages; however, the non-pottery parts of Laurel assemblages remain under investigated. There are also many of these Middle Woodland sites in Minnesota (e.g., Stoltman 1973; Wilford 1941, 1955). Many Laurel Configuration locales are associated with fish spawning locales, aggregation places, and perhaps wild rice stands (Rajnovich 1984). Reid and Rajnovich (1991) also report the finding of three rare Laurel Configuration house structures that have been detected in the archaeological record at the Ballynacree Site at Lake of the Woods. The sheer number and size of these Middle Woodland sites suggests a larger population than in previous periods. For example, after many years of careful testing and analysis by Hyslop (2009), the Pelican Falls Site originally found and described by Wright (1967a) as a fairly small locale is now known to be over one hectare in size. This finding counters the so-called Small Sites Syndrome explained by Reid (1988:191):

> For researchers in the Boreal Forest area of Northern Ontario we find ourselves "sandwiched" between the large number of big Iroquoian villages in southern Ontario and the same situation -- on a slightly smaller scale -- in the Siouan area of the east central Plains. . . . Sites in the hunter-gatherer area of Woodland Ontario (i.e., the Boreal Forest) then are deemed "small" by comparison.

The only Middle Woodland affiliation that has been identified in the study area and most of northwestern Ontario is the Laurel Configuration (see Chapter 7). However, I have also identified another Middle Woodland pottery type from the remnants of a Brainerd Net-impressed vessel (Lugenbeal 1978) of the Elk Lake Culture (Hamilton et al. 2011; Hohman-Caine and Goltz 1995; Norris 2007), from the multi-component Martin-Bird Site (Boyd et al. 2014; Burchill 2014; Dawson 1987a). It is located southwest of Thunder Bay in northwestern Ontario, near the McCluskey and McGillivray sites excavated by Dawson (1974, 1976b, 1980). Brainerd Ware has been identified rarely in Ontario, so it is noteworthy and may indicate that there are more sites with that affiliation. It is mainly found in Minnesota and is similar to the widely found Avonlea Ware (associated with Avonlea projectile points) recovered from sites in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Montana (Boyd et al. 2014; Burchill 2014; Hamilton et al. 2007; Lints 2012; Norris 2007).

Middle/Late Woodland Period Transitions

The earliest Late Woodland Period affiliation in northwestern Ontario is the Blackduck Composite, in which the characteristic pottery is quite distinctive from earlier Laurel Ware. The surface finish is either brushed or results from a manufacturing technique using a vertically oriented textile bag as a mold (or less likely paddle and anvil techniques) as opposed to earlier coiled methods (Figures 4.7, 4.8). There is much speculation about how and when the cultural transition from Middle Woodland to Late Woodland periods actually occurred but there is a growing amount of information regarding these time frames. Some scholars suggest a Laurel to Blackduck transition that reflects migration of new peoples into the central Canadian boreal forest (e.g., Syms 1977); others argue the complete replacement by new people (Meyer and Hamilton 1994). Once present in the region, it is probable that newcomers influenced resident populations, contributing to the widespread distribution of newer Blackduck technology throughout the Subarctic (Hamilton et al. 2003). Others propose that more recent Blackduck Composite sites merely represent the spread of a new pottery style among an already resident population (e.g., Buchner 1979a). Complicating the issues of whether there was an ancestor/descendent or replacement scenario is the lack of resolution with radiocarbon dating (see discussion in Hamilton 2006[2010]). There is evidence for the notion of a transition since some vessels are actually syncretic or exhibit several characteristic attributes of both Laurel and Blackduck wares together at: the Potato Island Site near Red Lake (Koezur and Wright 1976); the Lake of the Woods locality (Reid and Rajnovich 1991); Lac Seul

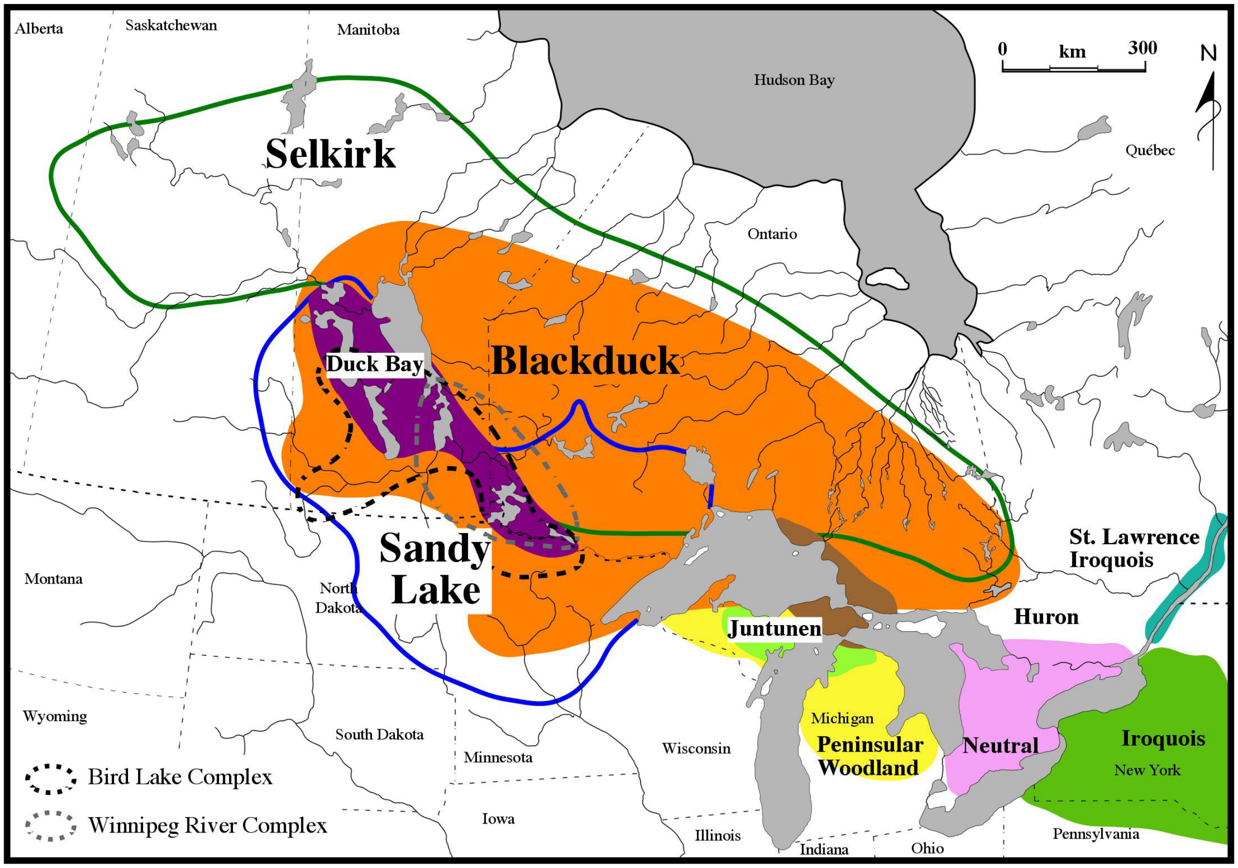

Figure 4.7. Previously known general distributions of the Selkirk Composite and other Late Woodland affiliations in the central Canadian boreal forest and adjacent culture areas (adapted from Hamilton et al. 2003:49).

Figure 4.8. Reconstructed (from sherds and infilled) small Blackduck pot found at the Martin-Bird Site near Thunder Bay, Ontario from Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University collection (from Dawson 1981:155).

in several sites (e.g., Hamilton 1981; Hyslop's 2009 "Blaurel" Ware); the Albany River (Dawson 1976a); southeastern Manitoba (MacNeish 1958; Meyer et al. 2008; Peach et al. 2010); and Minnesota (Lugenbeal's 1976 Laurel Cordwrapped Stick Type). Peach and colleagues (2006[2010]) suggest that there are three different forms of these transitional pottery vessels: (1) Laurel or Blackduck vessels with decoration that is typical of the other ware; (2) thick-walled, coiled pots with large temper and wide spaced cord wrapped object impressions; and (3) Lenius and Olinyk (1990) characterized mixed trait vessels with punctates, stamps, and cord wrapped object impressions as the Rainy River Coalescent. Meyer et al. (2008) describe the newly formulated Middle Woodland/Late Woodland transitional River House Complex, found in central Saskatchewan and adjacent Manitoba. It includes pottery with widely spaced cord wrapped object impressions (a decorative attribute often associated with Late Woodland vessels) and dates to approximately AD 800-1,200 (about 750-1,150 BP) (Meyer et al. 2008). Perhaps this new complex extends further eastwards into Manitoba and Ontario, since some of the transitional pots noted above have similar wide spaced cord wrapped object impressions. Although none of these transitional pots have been found in the study area, several have been found in more than one location on nearby Lac Seul and near Red Lake (Hamilton 1981; Hyslop's 2009; Koezur and Wright 1976).

Late Period: Late Woodland (ca. 1,250-250 BP)

A considerable amount of detail about the Late Woodland Period is included in this section since the Selkirk Composite, other contemporaneous cultures, and later groups are the focus of this study; it provides important background information for subsequent chapters. Wall (1980a) only reports 'Late Woodland' and unknown components during the Bloodvein River survey in Ontario (i.e., they could have been Blackduck, Selkirk, or undifferentiated Woodland at that time). The reanalysis of this material and more recent survey results are discussed in Chapter 7.

In the central Canadian boreal forest, the Late Woodland Period has been dated from about 1,250 BP to the varying time frames of European contact in different areas. However, as Syms (1977:136) explains:

> Unlike the previous Laurel Composite, Blackduck sites are more numerous in the Boreal Forest and Aspen Parkland and are common on the Plains. Furthermore, large sites such as Stott suggest that larger groups were present. Blackduck burial mounds are found in the Aspen Parkland and Plains, as opposed to the very restricted distribution of Laurel mounds.

Although Syms (1977:136) is correct about Blackduck Composite sites being found in other ecozones, there are very large Laurel Configuration sites now represented in Manitoba and Ontario such as those at Lake of the Woods (Reid and Rajnovich 1991), Wanipigow (Saylor 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1989), Wenesaga Rapids (Hamilton 1981), and Pelican Falls (Hyslop 2004, 2009). Syms

(1977) also discusses burial mounds, which have been identified with Laurel Configuration affiliations as well as all Late Woodland manifestations discussed here (e.g., Arzigian 2008; Cooper and Johnson 1964; Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Stoltman 1973) except for the Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type (Hyslop 2011). The numerous burial features in northwestern Ontario, northern Minnesota, and Manitoba indicate a long held practice of community endeavours to look after their deceased members and associated ceremonialism; some researchers link this cultural practice to earlier Adena, Hopewell, and other mound building societies in the Midwest U.S.A. (Hamilton et al. 2011). No burial mounds, or associated exotic Eastern Woodland material culture, have been found in the study area but this may be due to it being much farther north than other Canadian occurrences so people did not use burial mounds.

There are various Late Woodland cultural affiliations represented in northwestern Ontario (Figure 4.7; Table 4.2). Several examples of Iroquoian vessels are also found around Lake Superior (Dawson 1983a), indicating the presence or influence of another Late Woodland Indigenous group originally from southern Ontario, but not in the study area. Buffalo Lake is another important related complex with pottery having mixed Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and Sandy Lake Ware attributes known as Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware (Young 2006). Although it is not found in the study area, but rather Saskatchewan and Alberta, it is related to the Selkirk Composite and *Psinomani* Culture.

Many of the Late Woodland cultures shared a similar economy, lithic, and bone tool kit with few differences from earlier Laurel Configuration assemblages (Hamilton et al. 2003). For example, small side-notched and triangular projectile points become ubiquitous across southern Canada during the Late Period (see Kehoe 1966; Peck and Ives 2001). Several of these late projectile points were found during the Bloodvein River surveys (see Chapter 7). However, more detailed research is required in this area of archaeological inquiry within northwestern Ontario, since most researchers focus on pottery, which is currently the most distinctive indicator of cultural change. It is thought that women typically produced most of the pottery and that their skills and artistic views were passed down through the generations; however, there are examples from ethnohistoric examples of men also making pots (Syms 1977). This cultural knowledge resulted in a continuity of design and decoration likely reflecting some aspects of social identity (Hanna 1982, 1984); it also provides evidence for cultural change. Given that people, often women, moved from one hunting band to another upon marriage, one could expect pottery diversity within any hunting band and therefore in archaeological assemblages (Hanna 1982, 1984).

Blackduck Composite. The Blackduck Composite likely first appeared in the archaeological record near the headwaters of the Mississippi River and adjacent Boundary Waters region (Hamilton et al. 2003). Wilford (1941, 1945) first identifies the Blackduck Focus of the Headwaters Lakes Aspect (after places in Minnesota) and slightly later Vickers (1948) notes the similarities to pottery

Table 4.2. Different archaeological cultures and wares of the Late Woodland for the central Canadian boreal forest.

Larger Cultural Unit	Complex or Equivalent	Ware	Type	Who Defined First
Blackduck Focus	Headwaters Lake Aspect	Blackduck	Blackduck Brushed and CWOI and Punctate	Wilford 1945
Early Blackduck		Blackduck	Many types depending upon different authors; Blackduck Brushed and CWOI and Punctate	Lugenbeal 1976
Late Blackduck		Blackduck	Many types depending upon different authors	Lugenbeal 1976
Selkirk Composite	Clearwater Lake	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware	Clearwater Lake Punctate mainly; Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed	MacNeish 1958; Clearwater Lake Punctate Type of the same complex by Hlady 1971
	Kame Hills	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware	& cups and lamps/plates; mini vessels	Dickson 1980
	Pehonan	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware	& Francois Punctate, Nipiwin Horizontal	Meyer 1981, 1984
	Kisis	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware	& Kisis Angled Rim	Paquin 1999
	Keskatchewan	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware		Gibson 1998
	Sipiwesk	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware		Kevin Brownlee and Manitoba Museum colleagues (in progress)
	*Winnipeg River	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware	Mainly Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed; less Clearwater Lake Punctate	Rajnovich 1983
Rainy River Composite	Duck Bay	Duck Bay	Duck Bay Stamp (formerly Duck Bay Punctate, Undecorated, and Notched Lip also)	Gibson 1976; Snortland-Coles 1979
	Bird Lake	Bird Lake	Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp & Bird Lake Stamp	Lenius and Olinyk 1990
	*Winnipeg River	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware	Mainly Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed; less Clearwater Lake Punctate	Rajnovich 1983
?Related to Selkirk and Psinomani	Buffalo Lake	Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware		Young 2006
Psinomani Culture		Sandy Lake Ware	Sandy Lake Corded and Smoothed with plain, notched and CWOI variants	Cooper and Johnson 1964
Minontoba Composite			Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type	Hyslop 2011

*I agree with Meyer (2012), Hyslop (2011), and some Minnesotans (e.g., Mulholland and Woodward 2001) that the Winnipeg River Complex should remain with the Selkirk Composite.

in Manitoba, grouping those assemblages in the Manitoba Focus of the Headwaters Lake Aspect. MacNeish (1958) also defines Manitoba Corded Ware in that province, which represents an early regional Blackduck example. Wares of this archaeological culture have been more recently identified in northwestern Quebec (Coté and Inksetter 2001, 2009; Gates St-Pierre 2009; Inksetter 2010; Plourde 2011) through to eastern Saskatchewan (Meyer 1978, 1998; see Meyer et al. 1999 for a comprehensive overview).

Similar to the Laurel Configuration, there have been taxonomic difficulties and controversies with the Blackduck affiliation varying from an aspect (Wilford 1945), tradition (Dawson 1984), horizon (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:82; Mantey and Pettipas 1996), complex (Boyd et al. 2008), configuration (Alzigian 2008; Thomas and Mather 1996), or the literal "Cultural Unit" (Peck and Ives 2001:182). In Minnesota, Lugenbeal (1976) divided assemblages into Early Blackduck and Late Blackduck; the latter was the prelude for Lenius and Olinyk (1990) to define the Rainy River Composite. Early or classic Blackduck Composite sites likely date from possibly the earliest finds of 1,450 to 1,250 through to 950 years BP (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). However, that is a rather restricted view of these assemblages, given the relatively few radiocarbon dates (and issues with them) obtained in association with this ware. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) suggest that there are three ways of differentiating early Blackduck pottery from later, related forms: Blackduck Bossed with exterior bosses; Blackduck Brushed with a brushed surface finish; and Blackduck cord wrapped object impressed with either punctates or exterior bosses.

There has been a long debate about the ethnicity of Blackduck Composite assemblages/peoples ranging from the Assiniboine (MacNeish 1958; Wilford 1945) to Algonquians (Evans 1961) and the Ojibwe (Dawson 1974, 1977a, 1987b; Wright 1971). As Richner (2008:36) explains:

> Dawson also interprets the continuity of artifact assemblages including ceramics into the historic era as strong and clear evidence for in situ development of the Northern Ojibwe, as opposed to a westward expansion model long favored by historians (Dawson 1987:163). Still, such an argument for the link between Blackduck ceramics and the Northern Ojibwe remains speculative, since there is a temporal gap between Blackduck and the historic era.

While attempting to assign ethnicity to even the latest precontact period assemblages representing groups is difficult, certainly it is even more challenging with the older Laurel Configuration and Blackduck Composite occupations. The peoples who made Blackduck pottery are characterized as boreal forest or woodland foragers whereby seasonal forest resources (Hamilton et al. 2007) were central to their survival. Many Blackduck Composite groups also occupied the plains and aspen parklands of southern Manitoba where they subsisted mainly by bison hunting, mixed species hunting, and gathering (Graham 2008; Hamilton 1981; Hamilton et al. 2003; Playford 2015; Syms 1977). Thus, ethnicity could be independent of subsistence systems in Late Period times. See Playford (2015) for a detailed analysis of seasonality and subsistence for that time period. Interestingly, many of these plains Blackduck sites are not found near present day waterways (e.g., Graham 2008; Playford 2015), which is very different from the central Canadian boreal forest stream and lake oriented subsistence bases (even discounting the somewhat biased nature of current boreal forest surveys to the edges of water bodies).

Blackduck Ware is characterized by globular shaped earthenware cooking vessels with constricted necks and widened, outflaring rims (Figure 4.8). Thickened, wedge shaped lips, and grit temper are most common. The surface finish of Blackduck vessels is usually vertically oriented textile impressed, thought to result from the sprang pattern of a woven bag (Figure 4.8) or less likely a paddle and anvil method. The latter would leave overlapping cord marks and a bag structure would not be evident (Saylor 1978). This sprang or interlinking technique is produced by crossing over or interlinking vertical warp elements (perpendicular to the rim) and horizontal weft elements are missing (MacLean 1995; Saylor 1978). This contrasts with the smoothed finishes found on earlier Laurel Ware (Figure 4.6) and the later amorphous, twined, or interlacing fabric impressions (Meyer 1998) of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed and Rainy River Composite wares (Figure 4.9). The

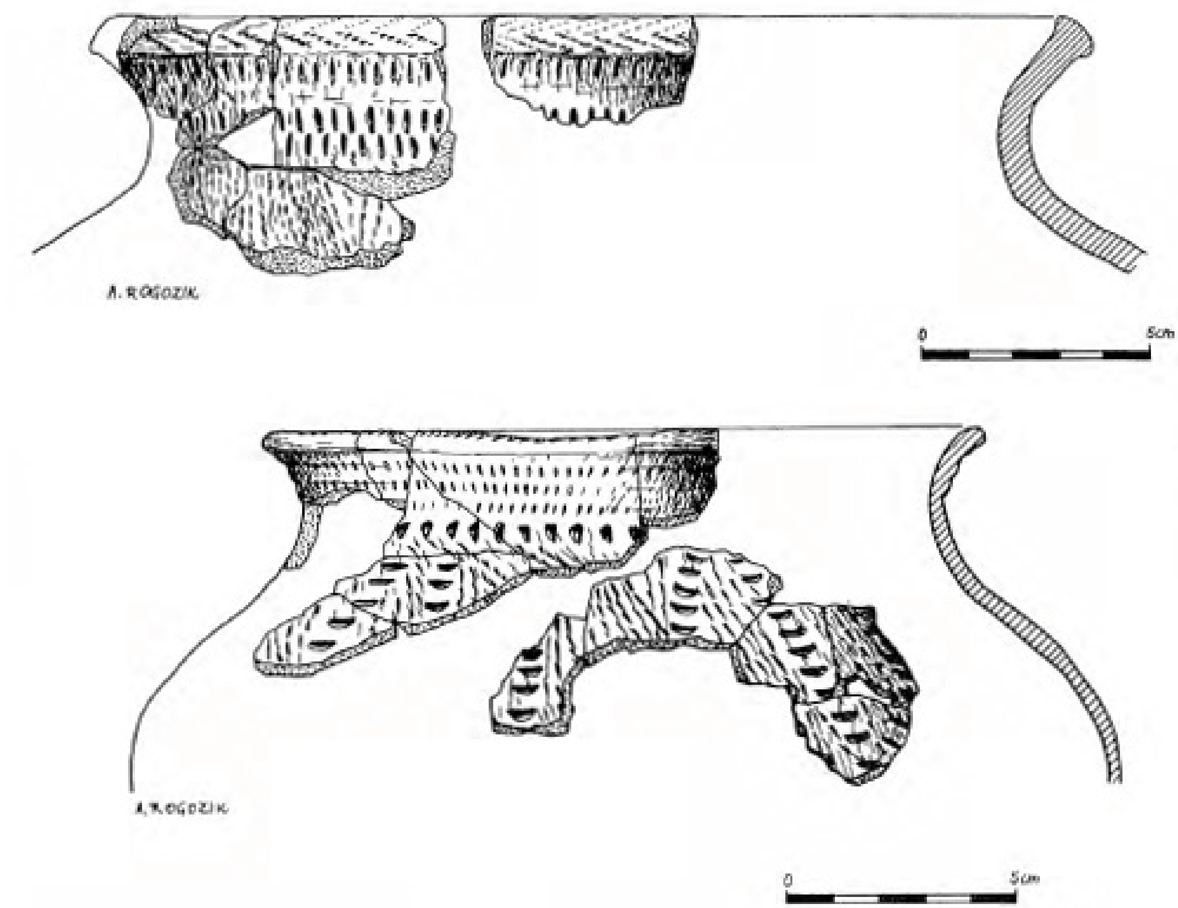

Figure 4.9. Artist's renderings of partial reconstructed and profile of Bird Lake Ware pots from a site on the Bird River (drawing by A. Rogozik, from Mantey and Pettipas 1996:54).

twined fabric impressed surface finish has sometimes been smoothed over somewhat and is considered to be the result of the forming of vessels inside textile, sometimes twined bags (MacLean 1995; Meyer 1998; Saylor 1978). Twining is done by twisting or interlacing the warp (vertical) fibres with weft (transverse) strands (MacLean 1995). Textile or fabric impressed sherds reflect the negative impression of the woven technology used on the vessel and provide useful information for studying the non-preserving weaving and textile technology of Late Woodland peoples. A unique surface finish of Blackduck Ware is a vertically brushed or combed exterior (literally exhibiting brushed marks down from the rim) but it is less common in Canadian archaeological sites than sprang. Decoration usually consists of many complex arrangements of varied cord wrapped object impressions combined with punctates/bosses on the rim and neck; the lip and sometimes the interior are also decorated. Patterns on Blackduck vessels are so varied across the extent where it is found that it is difficult to compare and contrast them. Some researchers (e.g., Carmichael 1977; Dawson 1974) have used various descriptive modes to try and address this variation in the decorative attribute. In accordance with the way that the Type-Variety system has been used by many researchers to define pottery in Minnesota (e.g., Cooper and Johnson 1964 for Sandy Lake Ware), Blackduck with the unique brushed exterior surface finish should be considered a separate type to those with vertical oriented textile impressions, if not a different ware.

Some Minnesota archaeologists classify Late Woodland components differently to Canadian researchers. One reason is that they also have Clam River and Kathio Wares in their archaeological sites that are likely regional complexes similar to early Blackduck assemblages (Anfinson 1979; Arzigian 2008). However, I identified a rare Kathio complex rim sherd from recent excavations at the Martin-Bird Site near Thunder Bay (Boyd et al. 2014), which is much farther north than typical of this ware. In the past, Minnesota archaeologists had a tendency to lump pottery with textile impressions (of many forms), cord wrapped object impressions, and punctates as Blackduck Ware. Richner (2008:33) exemplifies that idea: "Sherds alternately placed in the typological categories of Late Blackduck, Selkirk, or Rainy River Composite are also present in considerable numbers. Regardless of name, these vessels can be viewed as simpler, "stripped down" decorative variants of earlier Blackduck wares". This view is not accurate since Blackduck ware has a different form of surface finish, profile, and lip shapes to those later dating Selkirk and Rainy River Composite wares. Arzigian (2008:111) presents a slightly different take of Blackduck Composite changes that also suggests this view of Blackduck ware being the root of all Late Woodland forms through time, based on Stoltman's (1973) work: Early Blackduck (transitional Blackduck/Kathio Complex); Middle Blackduck (Blackduck/Kathio Complex); Early Late Blackduck (Rainy River Late Woodland); and Late Late Blackduck (Rainy River Late Woodland). Arzigian (2008) has created a grouping for Late Blackduck pottery, which is termed Rainy River Late Woodland Complex that includes Late Blackduck, "Selkirk", and Duck Bay Ware in this synthesis even though the Selkirk

Composite is thought to be a different archaeological entity and represent different peoples (e.g., Meyer and Russell 1987). Although there are many new viewpoints about the complexities of Late Woodland archaeological cultures, at least all researchers agree that the movement away from the boreal forest 'stacked chronologies' (Laurel-Blackduck-Selkirk) is a step in the right direction towards understanding the complexities of the past (Lenius and Olinyk 1990) with more radiometric dating options and results being available (e.g., Boyd and Surette 2010; Boyd et al. 2014).

Rainy River Composite - Western Woodland Algonkian Configuration

Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) classifications of the Western Woodland Algonkian Configuration, Rainy River Coalescent, Rainy River Composite ('Late Blackduck'), and three complexes (Bird Lake, Duck Bay, and Winnipeg River) included in that composite is somewhat complicated (Figures 4.3, 4.9, 4.10). These affiliations are outlined briefly here in order to preface further discussions about the Winnipeg River and Bird Lake complexes later.

As Richner (2008:101) so aptly states, "Much more problematic are the definitions of types and decorative changes within Blackduck through time, especially between what some consider to be Late Blackduck, but what others consider to be a different taxon, the Rainy River Composite". Hence, there is much disagreement among archaeologists about how to characterize later dating sites of the Blackduck Composite and which archaeological group represents their descendants (the proposed Rainy River Composite by Lenius and Olinyk 1990). The Selkirk Composite is contemporaneous with some late Blackduck assemblages and also proposed to be part of the Western

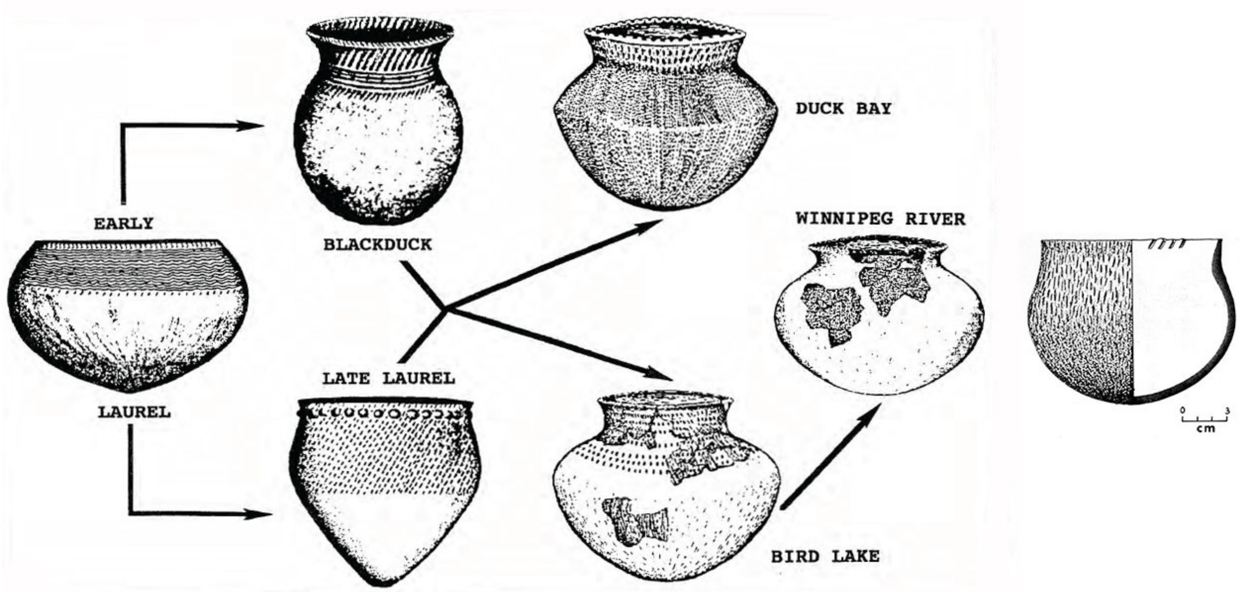

Figure 4.10. Some wares found in the central boreal forest of Canada illustrating Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) proposed Western Woodland Algonquian Configuration from the earliest dating Laurel Ware to later wares that they include in the Rainy River Composite (from Mantey and Pettipas 1996:50). Contemporaneous with the later vessels is Sandy Lake Ware (shown in the inset modified from Birk 1977:43).

Woodland Algonkian Configuration (Figures 4.3, 4.10) indicating a possible distant shared ancestry (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). Both the Selkirk and Blackduck composites overlap in much of their distributions and are found together in some sites.

Lenius and Olinyk (1990) suggest detailed taxonomic changes, using Syms' (1977) system, for the Late Woodland Period in the Rainy River area of northwestern Ontario and adjacent parts of Manitoba (Mantey and Pettipas 1996), as well as Minnesota. After measuring and analyzing over 600 larger vessel portions, they conclude that the largest unit of the Late Woodland pattern comprises the Western Woodland Algonkian Configuration, which includes the existing Selkirk Composite (discussed later) and the newer Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990) (Figures 4.3, 4.10). Peach and colleagues (2006[2010]) follow up with discussions of other aspects of the Rainy River Composite and Reichert (2010) presents suggested new pottery types for the Winnipeg region. Both Selkirk and Rainy River Composites were suggested to result from the 'coalescence' of Laurel and Blackduck people, paradoxically using the terms from two different taxonomies: Laurel "Configuration" and Blackduck "Horizon" (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:78); they are suggested to co-exist in the Rainy River region from about 1,250 to 950 BP. After that time, those peoples disappeared and Rainy River Coalescent Ware (Peach et al. 2006[2010]) emerged in the archaeological record at around 950 to 850 BP. This coalescence is suggested to signal the beginning of the Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990) and consists of small ceremonial vessels in the Rainy River mounds and a large group of vessels, which have not been analyzed, that exhibited a "blending of traits from the ceramics of the ancestral Blackduck and Laurel people together with traits which characterize the later Rainy River complexes" (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:84). Furthermore, Lenius and Olinyk (1990) propose, mainly from evidence found on different pottery vessels and burial mound contexts, the division into three complexes of the Rainy River Composite: Duck Bay (formerly a separate cultural affiliation); their newer Bird Lake Complex and ware iteration; and the Winnipeg River Complex (originally included in the Selkirk Composite) (Figures 4.3, 4.10). The first two are said to have "emerged about A.D. 1100 and continued until approximately A.D. 1350", and "to have collapsed back to the central area of the composite in the Winnipeg River and Rainy River regions, thus forming the Winnipeg River complex" (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:84). Unfortunately, the same terms for the types/wares and complexes have been proposed instead of using different terms, which tends to complicate discussions. Furthermore, Lenius and Olinyk (1990:82) propose that:

> in order to be included in the Rainy River Composite, a complex must meet two criteria. Firstly, a complex must be represented within the mounds by a significant number of vessels of at least one definitive ceramic type belonging to the complex. Secondly, a complex must include at least one habitation site.

It is unclear why a complex must be represented in the burial mounds, given that Bird Lake and Duck Bay vessels are also found in habitation sites far away from the Rainy River area, where there are no burial mounds known (Hyslop 2011). Following further cultural changes, Lenius and Olinyk (1990) propose that both the Selkirk and Rainy River Composites resulted from the Rainy River Coalescence. Evidence of Rainy River Composite groups appears in the archaeological record and continued until about 600 BP or a maximum of 300 BP (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). The name relates to the earlier Rainy River Aspect discussed by Wilford (1945) and for that particular region.

Vessels included in the Rainy River Composite complexes are variable but all are globular in shape. One of the most interesting stipulations is that Rainy River Composite pottery should not have any punctates (Lenius and Olinyk 1990), even though most wares, from earlier and later times, found in the central Canadian boreal forest have them as decorative elements. However, the earlier Coalescent Ware is said to be "defined by the combination of punctates, stamps, and CWOI decorative techniques applied onto a typically Late Woodland textile-impressed vessel form" (Peach et al. 2006[2010]:14).

Duck Bay Complex. Duck Bay Ware, categorized within the Duck Bay Complex (Figure 4.10), was defined by a number of Manitoba archaeologists starting in the 1970s (Gibson 1976; Hanna 1982, 1984, 1992; Snortland-Coles 1979; and an unpublished report by Leigh Syms cited in Hanna 1984). The majority of known Duck Bay Ware vessels are represented at the type site (Aschkibokahn Site) in west-central Manitoba (n=40 of 55 in Lenius and Olinyk 1990:97) and that is the only site where it is most numerous (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). Duck Bay Ware has also been identified in small numbers in Minnesota, northwestern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan (Hanna 1982, 1992; Meyer 1998). It has not been found in the study area yet but is often found with related wares that have been found along the Bloodvein River.

Hanna (1992:16) describes the ware:

> Vessel rims are straight to slightly S-shaped. The neck is usually demarcated by a sharp angle, both inside and out. Shoulders also tend to be sharply angled. Vessel bodies have vertically oriented fabric impressions on the surface, but frequently these impressions are at least partly obliterated in the course of manufacturing. Decoration is found on lips, rims and occasionally shoulders.
>
> . . . The predominant type was Duck Bay Punctate [sic], characterized by at least three rows of punctates, which are usually rectangular in shape but which can also be circular, crescentic or irregular. Punctates can also extend onto the shoulder of the vessel, and are frequently found on the vessel lip. This type account for 49% of the ceramics found at the site.

Duck Bay Notched Lip [sic] was the second most common type. It is characterized by closely-spaced notches, usually made with a smooth object, on the interior lip angle. The third type, Duck Bay Undecorated, was described as having the same vessel shape and surface finish attributes of the other two types but lacking decoration.

The Duck Bay Punctate Type is now named the Duck Bay Stamp Type, reflecting Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) definition of stamps as opposed to punctates. That type is distinctive from contemporaneous Blackduck Ware, Clearwater Lake Punctate Type and other Selkirk Composite types, Sandy Lake Ware, Bird Lake, and Winnipeg River Complex pottery. However, Duck Bay Notched Lip Type vessels are characterized by lip edge decoration such as wedge-shaped impressions are the most common, but cord wrapped object impressed, pseudo-cord wrapped object, "pie-shell" crimping, and incising (Hanna 1984, 1992), which I have suggested as being similar to Sandy Lake Ware Corded Notched Lip (Taylor-Hollings 1999). The lips are also not thickened or wedge shape like Blackduck Ware (Meyer 1998). There are cultural connections between the Duck Bay Complex and the Selkirk Composite, either through being found together in some sites, the implied shared relationship through the Rainy River Composite, or through the *Psinomani* Culture (as often identified by Sandy Lake Ware). Further discussions of this topic may be found in in Meyer (1998) and Taylor-Hollings (1999:158-166). Ultimately, all of these taxonomic proposals, issues, and challenges indicate that we truly are still at the culture-historical level of classification in central Canada.

Bird Lake Complex. Bird Lake Stamp and Bird Lake Cord Wrapped Object Impressed (CWOI) and Stamp (Figures 4.9, 4.10) are two pottery types defined in the Bird Lake Complex of the Rainy River Composite by Lenius and Olinyk (1990). Peach et al. 2006[2010] discuss proposed updates to the Rainy River Composite that are not the same but related to Bird Lake Complex. Bird Lake Ware has a pronounced outflaring rim, a constricted neck that is at a right angle to acute, a "generalized rounded, rather than distinctive, ridge to the interior" (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:93). The rim becomes slightly thicker from the neck towards the lip and Lenius and Olinyk (1990) suggest that this vessel form resembles Selkirk Focus pots described by MacNeish (1958). However, there is a pronounced outflaring to Bird Lake pots that does not match the vessel form of MacNeish's (1958) original description. The surface finish of Bird Lake Ware is usually the same as Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware in which both are usually twined. Lenius and Olinyk (1990:93) suggest that "a small number of Bird Lake Complex vessels exhibit a "cord-marked" or vertical textile impressed surface finish generally identified with vessels of Blackduck Ware (Saylor 1978:52)"; however, that factor would indicate that those vessels are not Bird Lake Ware but rather a different ware (Meyer and Smith 2010). Lenius and Olinyk (1990) also state that Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed types are found in Bird Lake assemblages. Nevertheless, they "cannot be used in isolation to determine if an assemblage belongs to the Bird Lake

Complex, because they also occur in the Duck Bay and Winnipeg River complexes" (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:93). As discussed, there are problems with those interpretations since they also occur in Selkirk Composite assemblages. Bird Lake Complex did not exist when Wall (1980a) reported the previous Bloodvein River survey, so it has not been identified previously along the Bloodvein River in Ontario. Winnipeg River Complex will be discussed in the Selkirk Composite section.

While acknowledging their very detailed and lengthy research efforts, not all archaeologists working in the central Canadian boreal forest and adjacent areas have accepted Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) interpretations of their data, so some researchers use the terminology (e.g., Flynn 2002; Reichert 2010) and some do not (e.g., Hyslop 2011; Mulholland and Woodward 2001; Richner 2008). Graham (2008:25) also notes some concerns with the Rainy River Composite scheme: Blackduck Ware was not examined from each area where it is found as a basis for establishing the late Blackduck Composite (i.e., most of the dates are from the Stott Site in southwestern Manitoba not the Rainy River area); few Blackduck associated dates were considered and only from six sites; and there are some difficulties with the Duck Bay identifications (being found at few sites). "Although there are no radiocarbon dates after A.D. 1475 associated with the Rainy River mound sites, the Rainy River Composite likely persisted until approximately A.D. 1650" as explained by Lenius and Olinyk (1990:84).

Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type. Recently, Hyslop (2011, 2014) has proposed the new Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type of Late Woodland pottery that is similar to Blackduck Ware but clearly different (Figure 4.11). He noticed that many Blackduck-like vessels from several archaeological sites on Lac Seul do not conform to Early Blackduck, Bird Lake, Duck Bay, Winnipeg Fabric-impressed, and Sandy Lake wares nor other Late Woodland vessels from Minnesota, Manitoba, and Ontario. Particularly, these Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate pots have both stamps and punctates, which precludes them from being part of the Rainy River Composite or Blackduck wares according to Lenius and Olinyk (1990) (i.e., Bird Lake/Duck Bay have stamps and Blackduck has punctates). Thus, the Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type was proposed reflecting a

Figure 4.11. Newly identified Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type from the Lac Seul area (photo courtesy of Brad Hyslop and used with permission). This rim sherd is from the EcJx-7 Site on Lac Seul.

regional grouping of similar vessels for the Lac Seul area. I have also examined these sherds and agree that they are likely a different type than Blackduck Ware.

The Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type represents globular vessels with textile impressed exteriors and smoothed interiors. Thus, they are Late Woodland pots manufactured in textile bags. As the name suggests, there is a purposely smoothed band around the exterior lip to neck areas of these pots, on which a variety of different types of stamps and punctates/interior bosses in different oblique, horizontal, and vertical directions have been placed; there is a lack of horizontal cord wrapped object impressions rows (Hyslop 2011). The lips of these vessels are usually wedge shaped and thickened, the profile is excurvate, the paste is laminated, and temper is grit. In studying these sherds, Hyslop (2011) has indicated a similar decorative complexity and variation to Blackduck and Bird Lake wares. There are no radiocarbon dates associated with the Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type. However, it is definitely a Late Woodland entity, since textile impressions are present on some sherds. Hyslop (2011) notes that often rim sherds are broken at the rim/neck junction, so the surface finish of the larger pot is not always visible. The new find of this type along the Bloodvein River is discussed in Chapter 7.

Sandy Lake Ware/Psinomani Culture and Connections to Selkirk. Cooper and Johnson (1964) first identified Sandy Lake Ware in Minnesota and Wisconsin sites. Gibbon (1994) includes Sandy Lake Ware in the larger *Psinomani* "Culture" (originally named by Birk 1979 as an Ojibwe word *Wanikan*) that includes triangular and side-notched projectile points, bone tools, features (e.g., wild rice pits, hearths), and different local or exotic lithic materials depending where the site is located. Sandy Lake Ware was initially made about 1000 years BP, apparently replacing Blackduck Ware in Minnesota (Cooper and Johnson 1964; Gibbon 1994) and later in Manitoba (Walde et al. 1995). Walde et al. (1995) also propose that the *Psinomani* culture had moved into south central Saskatchewan prior to the Late Plains Mortlach culture developing, given that they both have Siouan or perhaps Assiniboine cultural affiliations. It persisted into the Protocontact Period in Minnesota, Manitoba, and northwestern Ontario along with the Selkirk Composite (Arthurs 1978, 1986; Birk 1977; Michlovic 1985; Participants 1987; Taylor-Hollings 1999). Birk and Johnson (1992) propose the Bradbury Phase to represent sites where Sandy Lake Ware was found in conjunction with Dakota and French contact evidence. At the Shea Site, Sandy Lake Ware and Plains Village Northeastern Plains Village Ware are found together (Michlovic and Schneider 1993). Meyer and Hamilton (1994) suggest that by about 750 BP, the *Psinomani* culture had expanded north to the Boundary Waters area of Minnesota (and likely northeastern North Dakota) and at around 450 BP had moved into northwestern Ontario and southeastern Manitoba. It is important to this project since it is found close to the study area near Red Lake (as I observed in a private collection), also occasionally in the same sites with the Selkirk Composite, and even in syncretic or mixed trait vessels (e.g., Arthurs 1978; Taylor-Hollings 1999; Young 2006).

Cooper and Johnson (1964) classify Sandy Lake Ware as having Corded (Figure 4.10) and Smoothed Types indicative of exterior surface finishes, with each having Plain and Notched decorative variants. Most researchers still use the original description of the ware, although Birk (1979) suggested the provisional Sandy Lake Stamped Type of check stamped and simple stamped surface finishes. That being said, only two check stamped Sandy Lake Ware vessels were identified at the Lowton Site in Manitoba (Taylor-Hollings 1999) and several in southwestern Manitoba (Nicholson 1990), being a very rare surface finish on vessels found in any contexts. Peterson (1986) also suggested limited numbers of Obliterated and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed surface finishes. However, these two surface finishes are likely representative of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware that has been misidentified (since Minnesota Selkirk Composite sites are rare and were not recognized in that state previously, being lumped in with “Late Blackduck” affiliations). By far, the majority of Sandy Lake Ware sherds have the parallel vertically oriented textile impressed (sprang) surface finish akin to most Blackduck and Duck Bay vessels (Figure 4.8). The Sandy Lake Ware Smoothed Plain variant is often misidentified (Laurel Plain or Alexander Fabric-impressed Ware) or not classified, since there is a tendency for researchers not to deal with plain wares and just refer to them as ‘utilitarian’ when in fact all attributes need to be taken into consideration; plain wares are just as important to a potter as the highly decorated version in terms of functional and social meaning. The Corded Type was probably made in a textile bag and accounts for such thin walled vessels in the ware (Goltz 1991; Meyer 1998). Several researchers discuss the Late Woodland methods in detail including different methods of pottery surface finishes, fibre weaving, and ethnoarchaeological studies related to that process (Budak 1991; Goltz 1991; MacLean 1995; Mantey and Pettipas 1996; McKinley 2001; Saylor 1978; Syms 1977; Taylor-Hollings 1999).

Other attributes found on Sandy Lake Ware include: comparatively plain decoration or none; very thin, vertical or slightly S-shaped walls; thickened at the shoulders and thinning towards the lip; globular vessels with laminated pastes; and lip shapes tend to be flat or beveled if not changed by the decorative application (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Decoration is minimal and on the interior or interior lip corner area but in rare occasions on the interior or exterior shoulder (Peterson 1986). Peterson (1986) and Nicholson et al. (2006[2010]) include exterior lip corner decorations as acceptable attributes on some Sandy Lake Ware vessels but these also have interior and exterior lip/lip corner decorations. I have followed a more conservative classification based on the original description (Cooper and Johnson 1964) when identifying vessels in Canada (Taylor-Hollings 1999). There are many variations of decorative elaboration but the main forms are cord wrapped object impressions, notching, crenulations, and various types of tool impressions (Cooper and Johnson 1964; Peterson 1986). In some sites in Minnesota and Wisconsin, Sandy Lake Ware also has distinctive shell temper (Budak 1985), as well as shell and grit temper. There are now several shell tempered examples identified from southern Canada, with the majority having grit temper as in other Late Woodland wares (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Another characteristic in common with almost all Sandy Lake Ware is that it is well made, even with such thin walls.

Arthurs (1978) notes that some of the Sandy Lake Ware in northwestern Ontario has a characteristic row of punctates/bosses, like the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type in the Selkirk Composite, in addition to the typical attributes found in 'classic' Minnesota examples (cf., Cooper and Johnson 1964). I described these as syncretic or mixed attribute vessels, which are also found in Manitoba (Taylor-Hollings 1999; see Peach et al. 2010 for their examples of Clearwater Lake Punctate and Sandy Lake Ware). In eastern Saskatchewan, Young (2006) defines the Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware to encompass those vessels there that have mixed Selkirk and Sandy Lake Ware attributes. Researchers have typically associated Sandy Lake Ware with different Siouan speakers such as the Assiniboine in more northern areas (Meyer and Hamilton 1994; Participants 1987), which is intriguing since some were allied with several Cree speaking groups (thought to be the makers of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware) in the Postcontact Period; this is thought to be a continuation of the Selkirk Composite/*Psinomani* Culture relationships (Taylor-Hollings 1999; Walde et al. 1995).

Many Sandy Lake Ware examples found in Ontario and Manitoba do not have the row of punctates/bosses and would easily fit with examples recovered from Minnesota and Wisconsin sites. In a private collection from the Red Lake area, I identified two of these classic Sandy Lake Ware examples. Pelleck (1983) also reports Sandy Lake Ware from Red Lake. Koezur and Wright (1976) also found examples of this ware at the Potato Island Site near Birch Lake, which is close to Red Lake. All of these examples indicate *Psinomani* Culture is important in this region, despite not yet being found in the study area. In addition, Gordon (1983:55-56) describes two vessels from the McCauley and Patricia sites on North Caribou Lake that "bear similarities to Sandy Lake ware . . . . However, there is enough variation to merit classifying these vessels as simply Late Woodland". Since she describes these vessels as having a vertical profile, plain lip and cordmarked surface (Sandy Lake Plain Type), while the other has a row of punctates and interior lip notching (typical of some mixed trait syncretic Sandy Lake Ware/Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware found in Ontario), both of these vessels represent the northernmost examples of Sandy Lake Ware in Ontario thus far. I have also examined pottery that is Sandy Lake Ware in the 'classic' form (no punctates) from the Vermilion Falls and Two Point sites on Lac Seul from Hyslop's (2003) research.

Sandy Lake Ware is most often found in sites with other wares rather than as a single component (Arzigian 2008; Taylor-Hollings 1999). Unfortunately, this often leads to it being misidentified and particularly in south central and southeastern Manitoba (Meyer and Hamilton 1994; Flynn 2002; Participants 1987; Taylor-Hollings 1999). For example, Peach et al. (2006[2010]:10) state that, "Sandy Lake ceramics are not well represented in the collections [U. of Winnipeg southeastern Manitoba] but are recovered in minor amounts. This trend corresponds with the recognized distribution of this type, which is centred within Minnesota. Southeastern Manitoba thus lies on the northwestern periphery". In the same volume, Nicholson et al. (2006[2010]) discuss Sandy Lake Ware from southwestern Manitoba, which has long been established in sites there (e.g., Nicholson 1990). Furthermore, Meyer and Russell (2006) identified it in Saskatchewan and Walde and colleagues (2006[2010]) detail the Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware (Young 2006) that has both Sandy Lake Ware and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware attributes found on pots even farther west in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Taylor-Hollings (1999) examined collections from southern Saskatchewan, Manitoba, North Dakota, northwestern Ontario, and some from Minnesota to determine the northwestern extent of the *Psinomani* Culture. Nicholson (1991), Mokelki (2007), and Hartlen (1997) also describe Sandy Lake Ware as an important part of the Vickers Focus assemblages in southwestern Manitoba. If Peach et al. (2006[2010]) examined all of these collections from western Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in determining the western extent of Sandy Lake Ware, they do not mention this research.

One of the most important aspects of Sandy Lake Ware is that it is now found across many ecotones, including the: Eastern Woodlands (Cooper and Johnson 1964); central Canadian boreal forest (Arthurs 1978; Mayer-Oakes 1970; Peach et al. 2006[2010]); plains and plains villages (Michlovic and Schneider 1993; Walde et al. 1995); and plains/parklands (Meyer and Smith 2010; Nicholson and Hamilton's extensive work [e.g., 2006]; Participants 1987; Taylor 1994; Taylor-Hollings 1999). In central Minnesota, some sites with Sandy Lake Ware are interpreted as large villages that were sustained by rich fisheries where wild rice harvesting was thought to be very important (Cooper and Johnson 1964). Boyd and Surette (2010:126) also identified one Sandy Lake Ware sherd from the Porth Site, in southeastern Manitoba, which has wild rice phytolith evidence from the carbonized residue analysis. To the northeast, the *Psinomani* Culture economy appears to have been based upon generalized Subarctic foraging like other Late Woodland cultures. To the west, Sandy Lake Ware has been variously associated with Plains Village horticultural/bison hunting villages (Michlovic and Schneider 1993) and Plains Woodland foraging sites where bison hunting was the central pursuit (Hamilton et al. 2011).

Buffalo Lake Complex. A relatively newly identified ware that is directly related to the Selkirk Composite and *Psinomani* Culture is Young's (2006) definition of the Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware of the Buffalo Lake Complex in the northwestern Peter Pond Lake - Upper Churchill River region of Saskatchewan. Millar (1997) completed the original excavations in the Upper Churchill River Basin that Paquin (1999) used to refine the Kisis Complex and Young (2006) used for formulating the Buffalo Lake Complex. In addition, a forest fire in the area created increased ground visibility and the exposure of 105 sites that were recorded with many artifacts surface collected. Young (2006) discusses 22 sites, including 86 vessels, from the Peter Pond Lake area that form this complex, which is a significant sample. It is distinctive from Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite that is also found all over the same region and may be contemporaneous or somewhat earlier (Walde et al. 2006[2010]; Young 2006). Young (2006:196) explains that the AMS dating of carbonized residue from two Narrows Fabric-impressed vessels ranges from about cal. AD 1240-1300 (Beta-192664) and AD 1410-1470 (Beta-200109) calibrated at 2σ. Small side-notched and triangular projectile points, many bifaces and unifaces, and numerous bone tools have been found in conjunction with the pottery in these assemblages (Young 2006).

Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware has a parallel vertical fabric impressed (sprang) surface finish, simple profiles (straight lip and neck) and similar interior and interior lip decoration to Sandy Lake Ware. Rarely, some of these Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware pots have angular shoulders like Kisis and Pehonan complexes (Young 2006). However, these pots also have the ubiquitous row of punctates/bosses that are found on many pots of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, so that it has some traits from Sandy Lake Ware and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Selkirk) (Young 2006). Interestingly, Young (2006) notes that the paste tends to be tempered with sand and often poorly consolidated (perhaps local conditions of the clay?). Walde and colleagues (2006[2010]:142) explain further:

> The Narrows Fabric-impressed pottery is particularly intriguing since it exhibits several attributes of Sandy Lake ware. The latter ware is best known from central and northern Minnesota (Gibbon 1994:145-147) but is also common in the southern half of Manitoba as well as adjacent northwestern Ontario (Taylor-Hollings 1999).
>
> There is some evidence that the distribution of Sandy Lake derived ware extends from the upper Churchill River southeast across central Saskatchewan (Meyer 1998). For example, a reconstructed vessel from the Cumberland Reserve site (FgNe-3) in the aspen parklands of central Saskatchewan has some Sandy Lake attributes (Meyer and Russell 2006:314-315; Young 2006:160, 205-211). In general, Sandy Lake ware is considered to have been produced by Siouans, and in the Canadian context the Siouans were the precontact Nakota of Manitoba and adjacent provinces (Rajnovich 1987).

Recently, Walde et al. (2006[2010]) also identify one example of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and five examples of this new ware from the boreal forest of Alberta; these were found with typical Late Period small side-notched and triangular projectile points. The newly defined Buffalo Lake Complex from northwestern Saskatchewan comprises pottery wares that have attributes from both Winnipeg Fabric-impressed and Sandy Lake wares (Meyer and Russell 2006; Walde et al. 2006[2010]; Young 2006). Meyer (2013) has also re-evaluated some vessels in central Saskatchewan that had been placed in the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware but had sprang textile finishes; with the new Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware, many of those vessels/assemblages are more appropriately categorized with the latter complex. Thus, a new distribution of the Buffalo Narrows Complex is found in the boreal forest of Alberta (n=11) and Saskatchewan (n=13) (Meyer 2013) indicating the movement and influence of the *Psinomani* Culture with Selkirk Composite peoples. Some of the syncretic vessels found in Manitoba and Ontario may well indicate a closer affinity for Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware.

The Selkirk Composite and Associated Complexes

This section includes a more comprehensive overview of the Selkirk Composite (ca. 850-250 BP) than other archaeological cultures, as this is the focus of this dissertation. It is the latest archaeological culture in northwestern Ontario and much of the central Canadian Subarctic with several postcontact sites in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario (Arthurs 1986; Wright 1981). The contemporaneous *Psinomani* culture or the makers of Sandy Lake Ware were also persisting after European contact in some areas (Arthurs 1986; Taylor-Hollings 1999). However, the known geographical range of Sandy Lake Ware sites is somewhat smaller and they are more numerous in Minnesota and Wisconsin (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Neither Wall (1980a) nor I have identified any Sandy Lake Ware from the Bloodvein River surveys (although it has been found nearby in a collection from just south of Red Lake), thus the Selkirk Composite is the latest dating precontact cultural affiliation in the study area.

Most researchers seem to agree that the earliest dates for Selkirk Composite sites are from northern Manitoba contexts (ca. 850 BP), so it is thought that the people represented in these assemblages moved down to more southern areas (Meyer and Russell 1987). Meyer and Russell (1987) suggest that late dating Laurel populations in that area and northern Saskatchewan interacted with Blackduck Composite groups, which resulted in the Selkirk Composite assemblages representing the material remains of those people, who continued to use the ubiquitous single row of punctates/bosses on their later forms of Late Woodland pottery (Meyer and Russell 1987). That idea is further developed with the Rainy River Composite by Lenius and Olinyk (1990) but pertaining to Late Blackduck groups in that region. The Selkirk Composite sites in Ontario, Saskatchewan, and other parts of Manitoba date to the Postcontact Period in some cases (Reid and Rajnovich 1984).

Although researchers typically cite Downes (1938) in northern Saskatchewan (Hanna 2004; Meyer 1978) and MacNeish (1958) as the first people to describe the pottery we now name Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, it was actually Fewkes (1932:151) who first describes that pottery for a Pikangikum Lake location north of the study area; although only one sherd was drawn with other artifacts, it seems to have the attributes most similar to the Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. In the 1930s, Hallowell (1992:47) created a map of Pikangikum on which he plots the “Island on which pottery sherds were found”, which was the site where these artifacts were located.

Following this earlier work in the 1930s, MacNeish (1958) worked in southeastern Manitoba along the Winnipeg and Red rivers, naming the Selkirk Focus as having Alexander Fabric-impressed, Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed, and Sturgeon Punctate Types as part of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Figures 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16). He suggests that this pottery dates later than AD 1,350 (approximately 600 BP) and had been made by ancestors of modern Cree speakers (MacNeish 1958); most researchers still accept those ideas (Meyer and Russell 2006). MacNeish (1958) also named the Cemetery Point Corded Type that has a vertically oriented textile impressed exterior and has been replaced by the term Sandy Lake Ware, even though that former name had precedence (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Alexander Fabric-impressed Type is the plain (undecorated) type (Figure 4.14). Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type has lip (or upper rim) decorations in oblique cord wrapped object impressions or criss-crossed patterns (MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Russell 1987); tool impressions and incising are also used (Hlady 1971; Meyer 1978) and the fabric impressions may extend on to the lip (Figure 4.13). The Sturgeon Punctate Type (MacNeish 1958) has a row of punctates and sometimes bosses and/or lip decoration but is now called the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type (Figure 4.12) as named by Hlady (1971) (Meyer and Russell 1987). Meyer and Russell (1987:10) point out that "it is the authors' view that MacNeish's terminology had priority and should have been retained, although a redefinition was evidently in

Figure 4.12. Reconstructed Clearwater Lake Punctate Type vessel (with actual sherds and infilled) from the Berens River near Pikangikum First Nation found by Pelleck (1980a). Note the intricate fabric impressed surface finish, probably best described as twined. The unusual, large punctates were likely made with a moose fifth metatarsal (Kevin Brownlee, personal communication 2014).

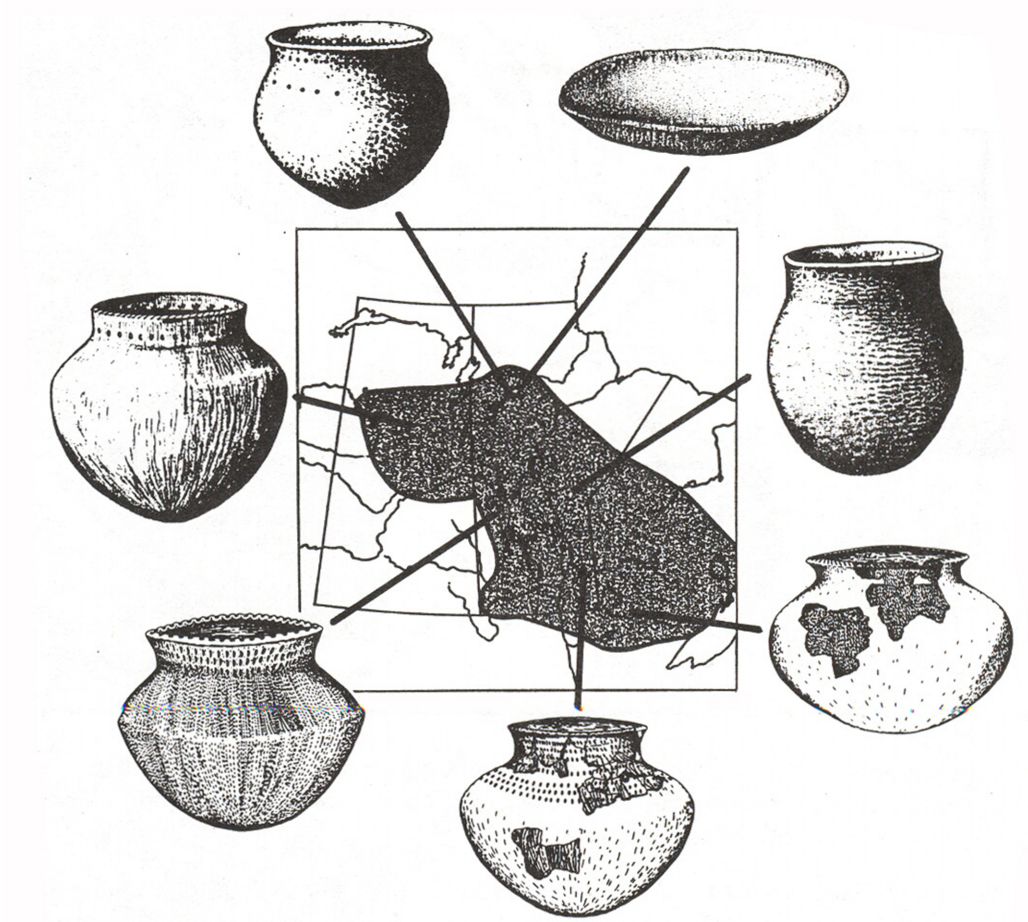

Figure 4.13. Some different Late Woodland wares, included in the Selkirk and Rainy River Composite, and the main regions where they are found in the central Canadian boreal forest. Beginning at middle left and going clockwise: Kisis; Kame Hills; Kame Hills lamp or plate; Sipiwesk Lake; Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Winnipeg River Complex); Bird Lake; and Duck Bay (from Pettipas 1996b:Figure 76).

Figure 4.14. The conserved Mason Alexander Fabric-impressed Type vessel found from a submerged context near Thunder Bay, Ontario (see Arthurs 1995).

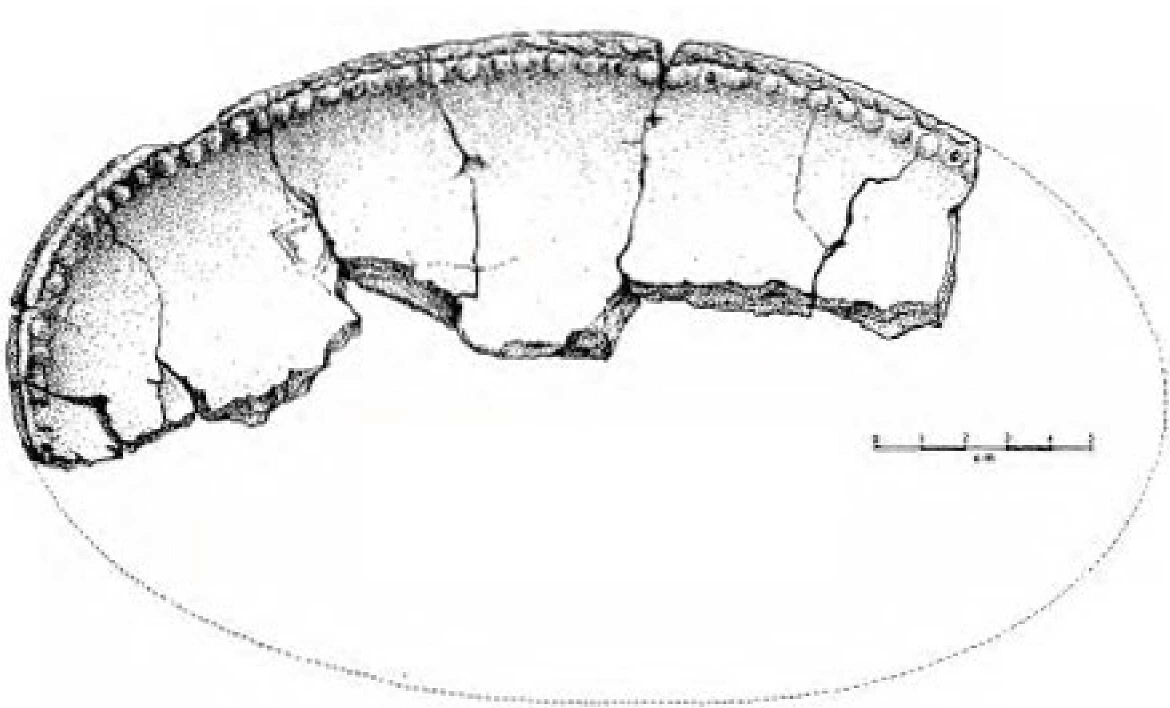

Figure 4.15. Artist's rendering of lamp/plate from the Kame Hills Site in northern Manitoba (drawing by Aliana Yung Au in Dickson 1975:25 and Mantey and Pettipas 1996:43).

Figure 4.16. Photo of reconstructed Clearwater Lake Punctate Type Vessel 30 from the GfLm-3 Site on Sipiwesk Lake in northern Manitoba (from Skalesky et al. in press; courtesy of Kevin Brownlee and used with permission).

order". That type is diagnostic of the Selkirk Composite (Hanna 2004), in that all complexes must have that type. However, it dominates in the Clearwater Lake Complex (Meyer and Russell 1987).

All Winnipeg Fabric-impressed vessels (Figure 4.13) are globular in shape with characteristic fabric impressed exteriors that are often smoothed over (or partially) on the exterior and smoothed on the interior (MacLean 1995; Meyer and Russell 1987). Fabric impressions vary a great deal on Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, are often irregular, and have a texture similar to a golf ball (Figure 4.12). Typically, only Bird Lake Ware shares this type of surface finish, although researchers report this form in Duck Bay and Sandy Lake wares (which are likely not those wares since they have the sprang woven technique vertically oriented surface finish [Figure 4.10]). Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware rims are usually outflaring or sometimes straight, necks are most often constricted, thickened, and sometimes quite short, and shoulders are typically thickened as compared to the lip; some shoulders are angled (MacNeish 1958). Walls are typically thin (6-10 mm) and pastes are usually laminated and have grit temper (Meyer 1978). Lips are usually flattened or rounded and the shape may reflect the manufacturing technique of being made in a fabric/textile bag with the fabric continuing over the lip. Overall, Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware is relatively plain and has less decoration in comparison to earlier Laurel and Blackduck Wares; this is typical with later times in the Late Woodland (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Decoration is minimal with a single row of punctates or up to three (that may also appear as interior bosses) on the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type and a great diversity in lip decorations (Hlady 1971 noted 22 modes of variance in this case) often with cord wrapped object impressions or other tool impressions (Meyer and Russell 1987). At least one of Hlady's (1971:13) modes is Alexander Fabric-impressed Ware, although he named it "Mode 20, Clearwater Fabric-impressed Plain" and he does indicate other vessels of this type being part of his analysis.

These Late Woodland vessels were most likely manufactured in textile bags (e.g., Goltz 1991; MacLean 1995; Meyer and Smith 2010; Saylor 1978). MacLean (1995) suggests that most Selkirk Composite vessels from her study of Kame Hills and Pehonan/Keskatchewan complexes were created with twined bags. These containers were similar to those made by Ojibwe and other Algonquian speaking groups into the twentieth century (MacLean 1995; Meyer and Smith 2010; Quimby 1966). That finding is particularly important since it suggests that Ojibwe people made these bags to support the manufacturing of pottery and then continued to make them in the Post-contact Period. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but probably earlier, Ojibwe people also used techniques to create rabbit skin blankets and clothing by looping together strips of fur; this became important for making clothing when caribou and moose became more scarce (Rogers and Smith 1981). It is important to pursue further research regarding the fabric impressions found on Late Woodland pottery (e.g., MacLean 1995), since it may prove useful for generally distinguishing body sherds (in the absence of associated rim sherds) from other wares such as Blackduck,

Duck Bay and Sandy Lake. In northwestern Ontario, archaeologists will often stipulate between fabric-impressed (meaning 'Selkirk') and corded (indicating Blackduck) sherds. The number of Late Woodland entities (Table 4.2) does not allow for that simplicity any more. Saylor (1978) suggests that some Selkirk Ware has sprang textiles but that would more likely indicate that there may be another cultural affiliation such as Blackduck or Sandy Lake wares. This idea has been updated with the naming of Narrows Fabric-impressed Ware, which explains this idea of sprang textiles and some Sandy Lake Ware decorative attributes on essentially otherwise Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. Essentially, all Selkirk Composite pottery types have these basic attributes with enough regional variation to distinguish local stylistic traditions (Meyer and Russell 2007). For example, some Saskatchewan Selkirk Composite vessels have very angular necks and shoulders yet the same surface finish and decoration seen on Clearwater Lake Punctate Type pots (Paquin 1999).

The Association of Manitoba Archaeologists held a symposium discussing MacNeish's (1958) original classification of the Selkirk Focus in 1978 (Rajnovich 1983), which resulted in a publication that saw researchers sharing their regional views about the composite (Arthurs 1978; Meyer 1978; Rajnovich and Reid 1978; Saylor 1978). It was also decided that Selkirk 'Ware' should be used rather than the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Dickson 1980). Unfortunately, this was adopted by most people (hence the Selkirk Composite and Ware are sometimes used interchangeably rather than one representing the larger cultural grouping and another for the pottery). It is preferable to use the original Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware designation, since that has precedence in the literature from MacNeish (1958); Meyer and Smith (2010) have also returned to using the original naming. However, the symposium helped to resolve some inconsistencies and provide the basis for Meyer (1981, 1984) to propose the Selkirk Composite and then Meyer and Russell's (1987) larger synthesis; all Selkirk Composite assemblages contain the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type and usually other ones, such as Alexander Fabric-impressed, Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed, Francois Punctate (Meyer 1984), Nipiwin Horizontal, or Kisis Angled Rim types in Saskatchewan (Paquin 1999).

Regional Complexes and Distribution

Researchers have identified regional complexes of the Selkirk Composite across central Canada (Figures 1.6, 4.7) to attempt to clarify the relationship amongst the varied Selkirk and Selkirk-related assemblages that occur across such a large area (Rajnovich 1983). The Selkirk Composite has been identified as far west as Alberta, with McCullough (1977) describing the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type found in the Lac La Biche area through to the eastern Ontario (Meyer and Hamilton 1994). Rajnovich (1983) notes that the Selkirk Composite is found as far north as the Severn River mouth in the Hudson Bay Lowlands (Pilon 1987; Pollock and Noble 1975) and possibly farther into the Hudson Bay Lowlands (Tomenchuk and Irving 1974) and as far east as Pic River, Ontario

(Wright 1967b) (Figure 4.1). Updates to the eastern distribution the Selkirk Composite will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Clearwater Lake Complex. In the 1970s, three researchers (Hlady 1971; Mayer-Oakes 1970; Wright 1971) worked in northern Manitoba where they found Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. However, Hlady (1971) decided that the sherds he found were different enough to justify a new named pottery type, which he named the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type (Figure 4.12) still in the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Clearwater Lake Phase (now a 'complex'). He realized that much of the Late Woodland pottery found in northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba was of that type but determined that it was distinctive from MacNeish's Sturgeon Punctate Type for more southern sites in Manitoba (Meyer 1978). Syms and McKinley (2006[2010]) note that the Clearwater Lake Type is problematic since the description of data are limited to a relative chronological framework focusing on decoration without surface treatment. Although Hlady (1971:29) also described another new phase, Grass River, and Grass River Fabric-impressed Ware, with the reasoning that the surface finish of it was sufficiently different than the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type (having a coarser 'ribbed fabric' impression than other vessels), other researchers do not see this as a valid concept (Dickson 1980; Meyer 1978; Meyer and Russell 1987). Skalesky and colleagues (in press) have named a new complex for the Sipiwesk Lake area (Figure 4.16), which was one of the locations included in the Grass River phase. The Clearwater Lake Punctate Type is Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware that always has a row of punctates and sometimes bosses. Often, the lip is decorated with cord wrapped object impressions, incising or many other forms of tool impressions (Hlady 1971).

The Clearwater Lake Complex is comprised of Selkirk Composite assemblages that have the same named pottery type in the majority from eastern central Saskatchewan through to northwestern Ontario (Meyer and Russell 1987) (Figures 1.6, 4.7). Most recently, Pentney (2002) and Hanna (2004) completed work in Saskatchewan at Brabant Lake and Reindeer Lake regarding this complex. Interestingly, Hanna (2004) notes the discovery of some Taltheilei, often interpreted as ancestral Dene, artifacts along with Selkirk Composite artifacts on Reindeer Lake. This finding likely indicates that early Algonquians (Cree speakers perhaps) were interacting with more northerly groups. Meyer and Russell (1987) suggest a calibrated date range of about 700-160 BP (AD 1,250-late 1700s); this is in agreement with Rajnovich (1983), who posits that Clearwater Lake Punctate Type is the earliest dating pottery of the Selkirk Composite.

One of the most noteworthy sites on the Berens River was the Boot Site or ElKn-2, where large portions of a Clearwater Lake Punctate Type vessel were found (Pelleck 1980a; Rajnovich and Reid 1978, 1981). It is one of the most complete vessels recovered in northwestern Ontario (Figure 4.12), although it was reconstructed by infilling large sections with coloured acetate; Pelleck 1980a estimates that about 70% of the vessel was found and reconstructed. This vessel has a fairly complex fabric-impressed surface finish that continues to over the lip (and an inner brim oblique cord wrapped object impressed decoration) and could be described as twining with the warp element perpendicular to the rim (e.g., similar example in MacLean 1995:178) or a linear weave (Rajnovich and Reid 1981). The yarns are quite coarse, leaving behind impressions that are quite robust, which is in line with MacLean's (1995) conclusion that larger yarn was used to make denser textiles for larger vessels (as opposed to fine yarn for small vessels). Pelleck (1980a) and Rajnovich and Reid (1981) provide more detailed descriptions of the reconstructed vessel.

Another interesting factor with the ElKn-2 vessel is that the single row of punctates/interior bosses was likely created with a moose fifth metatarsal, as suggested by Manitoba Museum Curator Kevin Brownlee (personal communication 2014) for some vessels in Manitoba (see Peach et al. 2006[2010]:11 for one example). In addition, Dickson (1980:62) illustrates a Kame Hills Complex vessel with that particular decoration from northern Manitoba. Dickson (1980) also notes that bone tools are rare in the Kame Hills Complex, so the pottery actually provides evidence of bone tool usage in absence of the organic technology, as do the fabric impressions. This decorative technique seems to be a particular application used by people in the Berens River and adjacent portions of Manitoba but more archaeological research is required in between these two areas.

Pehonan and Keskatchewan Complexes. The Pehonan Complex (Figure 1.6), consisting of sites situated in central Saskatchewan in the Nipawin area, includes Clearwater Lake Punctate and the distinctive Francois Punctate Type and Nipiwin Horizontal Types (Meyer 1981). As Meyer (1998:70) explains:

> In particular, there is the presence of a certain frequency of angular shoulders, S-profiles and quarterly tabs (Lenius and Olinyk 1990:93) in both the Selkirk pottery (Pehonan and Kisis) (Meyer 1984, Paquin 1995:83-91) and the Duck Bay pottery. As has been noted by several researchers, including Meyer (1984) and Lenius and Olinyk (1990:93), such attributes "suggest some influence from the plains." However, it is probably appropriate to regard these simply as traits which were shared by those contemporaneous and neighbouring social groups whose material remains we know as Duck Bay, Pehonan, Kisis, Mortlach and Vickers.

There is, not surprisingly, a distinctive plains influence seen in some Selkirk Composite types found in Saskatchewan and Manitoba as compared to those found in the eastern distribution (Meyer and Russell 1987). For example, there is evidence to suggest that peoples representing the Mortlach Phase (Walde 1994) or Mortlach Aggregate (Malainey 1991) and Selkirk Composite on the plains and aspen parklands of Saskatchewan had some forms of interaction; there may also be an ancestral Sandy Lake Ware connection (Walde et al. 1995). These ideas are indicated by vessels that have syncretic or mixed traits such as the combination of Selkirk/Mortlach/Wascana (plains) and Selkirk/Sandy Lake (Meyer and Russell 2006; Meyer and Smith 2010; Young 2006). Meyer and Smith (2010) note that some assemblages from Nipawin in Saskatchewan are part of the Pehonan Complex but have Mortlach and Wascana wares as well. The Pehonan Complex is suggested to date from about 550-250 BP (AD 1,400-1,700 in Meyer 2012).

Gibson (1998) identified the Keskatchewan Complex from the Bushfield West Site in Saskatchewan, as formerly part of the Pehonan Complex. Many of these vessels have unusually tall rims as defining attributes. However, Meyer and colleagues (Meyer 1998; Meyer and Russell 2006; Meyer and Smith 2010) suggest that Gibson (1998) should have revised the Pehonan Complex rather than proposing a different complex, having more vessels available than when Meyer (1981, 1984) initially proposed the Pehonan Complex (Meyer and Smith 2010). Regardless of these differing views, Gibson's (1998) study of 96 vessels from one site concluded that the vessel functions and forms were related indicating boiling, utility, heavy cooking, and light cooking usage. His in-depth analysis of artifacts and activity areas indicated to him that this smaller complex represents a regional band (Gibson 1998). Also unusual was the finding of many sets of fingerprints preserved on the bossed decorations of some pots at this site (Gibson 1998). Four calibrated radiocarbon dates average to about 500 BP at the Bushfield West Site (Gibson 1998).

Kisis Complex. Kisis Angled Rim Type is found in the Kisis Channel/Buffalo Narrows region of northwestern Saskatchewan and has distinctive very angular rims and sometimes with grit temper impressed to the exteriors of the vessels (Paquin 1999). Other traits exhibited on Kisis Angled Rim Type include sharply S-shaped rim profiles, cord wrapped object impressed decorated lips, and occasionally ochre on the interior of the walls (Paquin 1999). The rim angles sometimes have fingernail pinches as decoration (MacLean 1995). Francois Punctate Type and Clearwater Lake Punctate Types are also found in these assemblages, which have a late dating range of about 350-250 BP (AD 1,600-1,750 in Meyer 2012).

Kame Hills Complex. In northern Manitoba, Dickson (1980) identified the distinctive Kame Hills Complex centred on Southern Indian Lake (Hanna 2004; MacLean 1995; Syms and McKinley 2006[2010]) (Figure 1.6). The type site is HiLp-1 and was excavated over three seasons (Gibson 1998). This complex has assemblages with unique pottery cups, bowls, vessels, and lamps/plates (Figures 4.13, 4.15) that all typically have a row of punctates so characteristic of most Selkirk Composite pots (Dickson 1980; Mantey and Pettipas 1996; Syms and McKinley 2010). Some researchers (Syms and McKinley 2006[2010]) suggest that the 'plates' may have been used as fish oil lamps, similar to those used for seal oil by the Inuit immediately north of the Kame Hills Complex area (Mantey and Pettipas 1996). However, it is important to note that using fish oil in this way would have been an attractant for bears in this ecozone, since that (e.g., sardine oil) is often used for bear baiting in modern contexts by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and tourist outposts (Doug Gilmore, personal communication 2006). The unique decorative elements on Kame Hills vessels includes sometimes a double row of punctates on some pots (Figure 4.13) and 'piceated' rims, where twigs were impressed into the clay (Dickson 1980). This complex is suggested to date from about 600-260 BP (AD 1,350-1,690 in Meyer 2012). MacLean (1995) examines in detail the varied textile impressions evident as surface finishes on some Kame Hills vessels, providing insight into the complex weaving techniques used by Late Woodland peoples, that otherwise would not be known given the organic nature of fibres.

Sipiwesk Lake. The Sipiwesk Lake area in northern Manitoba (Figures 4.13, 4.16) has been investigated recently by Kevin Brownlee and Manitoba Museum colleagues; it is located north of Lake Winnipeg and on the Nelson River (Skalesky et al. 2010, in press). David Thompson of the HBC wintered there in 1792 (Tyrrell 1916), which provides an interesting opportunity to examine the Postcontact Period record in that area in relation to the Selkirk Composite. Manitoba Historic Resources Branch employees found the remains of his post recently (Kevin Brownlee, personal communication 2013). Interestingly, some of the vessels found on Sipiwesk Lake have a double row of punctates, similar to the nearby Kame Hills vessels, and some similarities to angular shouldered Pehonan Complex pots from Saskatchewan (Meyer and Smith 2010). The fabric impressions tend to be quite coarsely knotted and the necks quite long in comparison to other Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware Skalesky et al. in press). Some vessels also have a few distinctive 'nodes' attached to the top of the rim (Kevin Brownlee, personal communication 2014). The main description of the pots is: vertical or almost vertical rims, punctates centrally located on the rim, prominent to rounded shoulders, fabric impressed and globular bodies (Skalesky et al. in press) (Figure 4.16). This group of sites and pottery types are still being defined (perhaps into a new complex) since minimal work has been completed in the area. It is important to this study because Sipiwesk Lake is one of the closest possible regional complexes of the Selkirk Composite. No dates have been assessed yet.

Winnipeg River Complex. Rajnovich (1983:53) explained the creation of the name Winnipeg River Complex (Figure 4.13) within the Selkirk Composite:

> In southeastern Manitoba, Syms [personal communication?] has suggested the Winnipeg River Complex based on MacNeish's (1958) ceramic types comprising Alexander Fabric Impressed, Sturgeon Falls Fabric Impressed and Sturgeon Punctate, clearly different from, yet related to, Clearwater Lake ceramics in the shared traits of shape, size and 'Winnipeg Fabric-Impressed' surface treatment. The Spruce Point ceramics (see Chapter IV) are the most similar to the Winnipeg River Complex.

However, she does not add any new information to MacNeish's (1958) Selkirk Focus outline, since the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type is now recognized as being the same as his Sturgeon Punctate Type (Meyer and Russell 1987).

Lenius and Olinyk (1990) present other possible taxonomic revisions by defining the Western Woodland Algonkian Configuration (Figure 4.3) after completing their study of different Late Woodland pottery vessels from central Canada and the northern United States. They propose that the Duck Bay, Bird River and Winnipeg River complexes (Figures 4.3) be included in the Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). These two researchers suggest that Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Types should be removed from the Selkirk Composite and placed in the "Late Blackduck" Winnipeg River Complex of the Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). However, they leave the Sturgeon Punctate Type, now Clearwater Lake Punctate Type, in the Selkirk Composite. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) treat the Selkirk Composite as a more northern, contemporaneous archaeological entity related to their Rainy River Composite designation. In the Lake of the Woods area, MacNeish's Selkirk Focus was renamed the Winnipeg River Complex by Rajnovich (1983). In her view, this was a southern complex of the Selkirk Composite having mainly Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type and fewer examples of the Alexander Fabric-impressed Type than northern sites. However, Clearwater Lake Punctate Type vessels are also found in the Lake of the Woods area (e.g., Rajnovich and Reid 1978) and even at the Spruce Point Site that Rajnovich (1983) used to name the Winnipeg River Complex. It is also identified in adjacent southeastern Manitoba (e.g., Peach et al. 2006[2010]). Meyer and Russell (1987) state that a single row of punctates characterizes all northern Selkirk complexes but not the Winnipeg River Complex; they further suggest possibly reassigning the Winnipeg River Complex to a composite of southern complexes, which is what Lenius and Olinyk (1990) proposed. However, Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type and Alexander Fabric-impressed Type have more similar attributes to the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type such as the same surface finish (differing from Duck Bay Ware) and the rim and vessel profiles are similar to the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type rather than Bird Lake and Duck Bay (having taller rims and more angular profiles (Figure 4.13). These ideas will be discussed later in the context of the Bloodvein River finds.

In northwestern Ontario, only the Clearwater Lake and Winnipeg River complexes have been identified for Selkirk Composite assemblages (Figure 1.6). Instead, Lenius and Olinyk (1990) propose that the latter complex be added to the Rainy River Composite. Rajnovich (1983) reports that the major Late Woodland component is the Selkirk Composite at Lake of the Woods, Ontario, where much research was focused in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., Rajnovich and Reid 1978). These ideas will be discussed in Chapter 7.

U.S.A. Occurrences. Within northern Minnesota, the Selkirk Composite has not been studied much, likely due to it only being present in the far northeastern portion of the state (e.g., Lugenbeal 1976; Richner 2004) where less archaeological work is focused. It has been sometimes identified as 'Late Blackduck' there for many decades (e.g., Lugenbeal 1979; Lenius and Olinyk 1990), which is problematic because the wares are considerably different. Arzigian (2008:106-107) explains the recorded sites of the Selkirk Composite, which she has grouped with Late Blackduck and Duck Bay in the "Rainy River Late Woodland Complex (Late [Terminal] Woodland in Northern Minnesota, A.D. 1100–1400): There are only seven sites with Selkirk ceramics listed in the

SHPO [Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office] database, five of them in the Border Lakes archaeological region, and two in the Central Lakes Coniferous region”. It is likely that there are other Selkirk Composite assemblages in northern Minnesota, since parts of that state have never been surveyed. Archaeologists in the Superior National Forest have identified the Pauline Lake Site (Mulholland and Woodward 2001) and 10 others have been found in Voyageurs National Forest (Richner 2004). The Pauline Lake Site was identified as a possible single component, which is quite atypical. Although Vessel 1 is identified as Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed, it has a single row of punctates so is likely the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type. The other Late Woodland vessel may be Bird Lake Stamped Type, due to having rows of small stamps, rather than the suggested Alexander Fabric-impressed Ware from the Winnipeg River Complex (Mulholland and Woodward 2001), which is plain. There were also six body smooth sherds found from a lower level that might be Laurel Ware (Mulholland and Woodward 2001:80, 81). If this is accurate, although not indicative of a single component, it is interesting that the two pottery types were found together evincing both the Selkirk and Rainy River composites and possibly a Laurel component. If so, the Bird Lake affiliation also expands the extent of that culture eastward to the border of Minnesota and Wisconsin from Lenius and Olinyk’s (1990) original outline.

Lithics and Other Material Culture in the Selkirk Composite. Richner (2008:36) laments about the fact that researchers do not describe all aspects of Woodland assemblages: “So, while we have older reports that use abandoned schemes like the “phase/focus” approach, or newer ones that use some variant of Syms’ nested “composite/complex” system, we learn little about differences in subsistence, group structure, and settlement pattern between the various archeological entities”. Although pottery is the most distinctive type of material culture present in assemblages from the Late Woodland time frame (Meyer and Thistle 1995), lithics, bone tools, lithic materials, and ground stone tools are an important part of Selkirk Composite assemblages that preserve in archaeological contexts. MacNeish (1958) had initially reported bell shaped pits at the Lockport Site as being associated with the Selkirk Composite.

Precontact clay pipe fragments from Selkirk Composite assemblages are rare but Dickson (1980) assigned a pipe from the Kame Hills Site to the Clearwater Lake Punctate Complex. Pentney (2002) did not assign an affiliation for the two from the GlMw-10 Site at Brabant Lake in Saskatchewan, since ten sherds recovered from one unit came from depths ranging from 0-2, to 8-10 cm below the surface. Pentney (2002:101) explains: “As Laurel, Selkirk, and Post Contact period artifacts were also recovered from each of these depths it is difficult to assign a cultural affiliation to these pipes”. Therefore, they may be associated with the Laurel Configuration component but Selkirk Composite fired clay objects are typically more diverse, such as the Kame Hills assemblages (Dickson 1980). Rajnovich (1983) also found two pipe bowls made from steatite and Hanna (2004) reports a serpentine one from the Downes’ (1938) collection.

MacNeish (1958) first defined the projectile points known as Selkirk Side-notched and Eastern Triangular Types in conjunction with the Selkirk Focus. He suggested that both Blackduck (Focus) and Selkirk (Focus) peoples manufactured the Eastern Triangular projectile points; it was estimated that they were made from about AD 1,000-1,750 (MacNeish 1958:103). Thus, many researchers still believe that Blackduck populations were ancestral to Selkirk Composite groups (e.g., Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Meyer and Russell 1987). Hlady (1971) reports Plains and Prairie Side-notched Types and triangular projectile points in the Clearwater Lake Phase in northern Manitoba. However, he notes that only 17.3% of his Clearwater Lake 'Phase' samples have Eastern Triangular Type points, whereas they were more often associated with Selkirk Composite sites in southeastern Manitoba (Hlady 1971:23). Meyer (1983) notes that Plains Side-notched Type projectile points and some other plains influences are seen in Pehonan Complex assemblages of the Selkirk Composite in Saskatchewan.

Small side-notched and triangular projectile points are most commonly found at Selkirk Composite sites as originally noted by MacNeish (1958). These lithics may consist of a simple flake with only minimal unifacial or marginal retouch (Wright 1981). As Peck and Ives (2001:183) suggest in reference to side-notched projectile points:

> More formal analysis will be required to elucidate the nature of the points associated with the Selkirk Composite. This may be difficult given the small sample sizes normally available. From this limited review of illustrated projectile points, we conclude that Selkirk Composite points show a greater range of morphological variability than that seen within the Mortlach Group, and even fewer similarities to the Cayley Series [plains projectile points].

A wide variety of other lithics are commonly found in Selkirk assemblages including retouched flakes, scrapers, ovoid and half-moon shaped bifaces, gravers, and debitage (Dawson 1983a, 1987b; Hlady 1971; MacNeish 1958; Meyer 1978; Paquin 1999). Wright (1981) notes that Selkirk assemblages contain a wide range of scrapers but that most are small end scrapers. Bifacial knives, hammerstones, grooved mauls, pebble net-sinkers, flat slabs of shale or slate used for abrading, manos, anvils, abraders, and rarely wedges are also found (MacNeish 1958; Wright 1981). Lithics tend to be manufactured from local materials such as vein quartz, pebble cherts (Hlady 1971; Meyer 1978; Paquin 1999) and rhyolite or Knife Lake siltstone (Rajnovich 1983) but may also include 'exotic' materials that have been traded or transported into a site (Paquin 1999). Exotic lithic materials sometimes occur in the study area as well (Taylor-Hollings 2006a). Celt stones and adzes with carefully ground cutting bits have also been recovered (Meyer and Thistle 1995; Wright 1981). Hammerstones, anvils, arrow shaft straighteners, and manos are also noted by Wright (1981).

Bone tools and faunal remains are more common in plains and parkland ecozone sites, since many of these may not be preserved due to the degradation caused by acidic soils in the central Canadian boreal forest ecozone or other factors (e.g., Hamilton 1981). However, some Selkirk Composite sites have an array of bone and antler flaking tools, such as: unilateral and bilateral barbed harpoon points; tubes; beads; pendants; scapula hoes or shovels; celts; fishing tools; long bone fleshers; beamers; shaft straighteners; polished bone awls; snowshoe needles, and beaver and hare incisor gouges (Hlady 1971; MacNeish 1958; Meyer 1978; Paquin 1999). Steinbring (1966) documents the manufacturing and use of the *mekingun* (bone defleshing tool) amongst southern Lake Winnipeg Anishinaabeg. Bone fleshers are found in some precontact sites and their use has persisted with some Ojibwe people (Pikangikum Elder Gideon Peters, personal communication 2015; Steinbring 1966) and Cree speakers (Brownlee 2005); Skinner (1911) documents how they are being used at Lac Seul in the early 1900s. Many Anishinaabeg also still use other bone tools and items made from faunal material for ceremonial purposes. McKeand (1995) describes adze blades, bone whistles, barbed bone harpoons, shell beads and pendants from the Bushfield West Site in Saskatchewan as characteristic of the Pehonan Complex of the Selkirk Composite. Occupations with conditions for faunal preservation (e.g., Hamilton 2007) will have bone fragments from animals that are typical of the boreal forest ecozone (see Chapter 3).

Archaeologists have identified different features associated with the Selkirk Composite such as two rare precontact house structures at the Spruce Point Site (Rajnovich 1983), hearths, ash dumps, and activity areas (Gibson 1998; McKeand 1995; Mulholland and Woodward 2001). Mulholland and Woodward (2001) also identify a possible sleeping area beside a hearth, interpreted by minimal artifact densities found in a localized area around the hearth.

Subsistence and Seasonality. Although fairly limited in number, some examples of Selkirk Composite sites that provide detailed subsistence studies include written by Arthurs (1986), Gibson (1998), McKeand (1995), and Rajnovich (1983). Part of this issue arises from difficulties in analysis, slow soil development, and generally poor preservation due to boreal forest acidic soils causing some degradation of faunal remains in many Selkirk Composite sites. It is quite common for these sites to be linked with a mainly fishing economy (Arthurs 1986; Meyer and Russell 1987) but often that is inferred by the location of a nearby modern fishery rather than deriving from evidence of faunal recoveries. Mulholland and Woodward (2001) note that they recovered 766 bone fragments but there were no fish nor avian remains, suggesting that that fishing did not factor highly in their diets (or at least from that part of the site).

More recently, Boyd and colleagues (Boyd and Surette 2010; Boyd et al. 2008, 2014) have been studying Middle and Late Woodland assemblages (including Selkirk Composite examples) for subsistence evidence using various archaeological material science techniques such as analyzing carbonized food residues, stable isotopes, and AMS dating. These studies, some centred at the Martin-Bird Site (Dawson 1987b) and other Whitefish Lake locales (Dawson 1974, 1980) southwest of Thunder Bay, have resulted in dramatic physical evidence of northern wild rice *(Zizania* spp.) usage and unexpected domesticated plant usage such as maize (*Zea mays* spp. *mays*), common bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), and squash (*Cucurbita* sp.); some have been found on Selkirk Composite and other Woodland pottery wares (Boyd et al. 2008, 2014; Boyd and Surette 2010). These findings indicate much more complexity in boreal forest Indigenous diets than previously thought.

McKeand (1995) provides one of the best examples of identifying Selkirk Composite subsistence. She outlines subsistence activities and areas, along with identifying a large array of species representing food evidence from the Bushfield West Site in Saskatchewan such as: "bison, moose, elk, bear, canids, lynx, marten, badger, striped skunk, snowshoe hare, white-tailed jackrabbit, beaver, muskrat, red squirrel, swans, geese, teal, mallard, grouse, crane, sturgeon, northern pike, suckers, silver redhorse, shorthead redhorse, and walleye" (McKeand 1995:ii-iii). Such unusually abundant faunal evidence associated with a Selkirk Composite site also provides some seasonality indicators (McKeand 1995:iii):

> Several factors suggest that Bushfield West was occupied in the spring of the year: most of the bird species represented at the site are spring migrants to the Nipawin region; the presence of medullary bone in some of the grouse elements; the recovery of eggshell fragments; the majority of fish species represented at the site are spring spawners; the presence of foetal and/or newborn ungulate specimens and juvenile beaver elements; and the eruption schedules and wear patterns of the bison mandibles. These are all strong indicators that the site was occupied in April, May and possibly as late as early June.

McKeand (1995) notes that late term foetal and immature bison remains provide the potential for seasonality information at some other Saskatchewan Selkirk Composite sites and points to a late spring occupation. Interestingly, like earlier Blackduck Composite peoples moving into Manitoba and Saskatchewan, some Selkirk groups in those provinces also changed from a boreal forest to an aspen parkland (e.g., Meyer and Smith 2010) or plains subsistence routine of bison hunting with diverse assemblages of mammal, bird and fish, but especially beaver food sources (McKeand 1995; Meyer and Smith 2010). These changes in economy may have been seasonally based decisions or more long-term moves into new territories. It is also important to note that many Selkirk Composite occupations represent aggregations (also known as ingathering or rendezvous) that are typically associated with seasonally available resources (Gibson 1998; Meyer 1998; Meyer and Hutton 1998; Meyer and Russell 2006; Meyer and Smith 2010; Meyer and Thistle 1995; Meyer et al. 1992). These locations sometimes indicate inferred seasonality from nearby resource opportunities such as spring (and fall) spawns (Meyer and Smith 2010). Many of these aggregation archaeological sites have been found in northwestern Ontario (e.g., Hamilton 1981; Hyslop 2009) and the similar Postcontact Period locations of the Anishinaabe, Oji-Cree, and Cree are beginning to be better understood by researchers (e.g., Duck/Barton Lake for Pikangikum people in Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012 and Hallowell 1992).

Although almost all Selkirk Composite archaeological sites have been found in the central Canadian boreal forest, several have been found in the adjacent parkland areas of Saskatchewan and Manitoba (e.g., MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Epp 1990), and the Great Lake-St. Lawrence forest (e.g., Arzigian 2008; Richner 2008) in Minnesota. These areas are currently different ecozones and may have been similar to present day contexts or conversely, could have been quite different during Late Woodland times. By studying current ecozones, we may use analogies to infer the past economies of archaeological site inhabitants. Thus, most Selkirk Composite peoples likely relied upon typical central Canadian boreal forest subsistence possibilities such as moose, caribou, and other large game along with fishing. Gathering of typical central Canadian boreal forest plants such as wild rice, berries, and medicinal plants (Densmore 1987; Vennum 1988) was also very important (see Chapter 3).

Proposed Ethnicity. Another important consideration when studying any Late Woodland to Protocontact Period archaeological culture is possible ethnicity associated with the material culture and thus an indirect deduction about the people(s) who left them behind. Most archaeologists believe that the Selkirk Composite represents the material culture of Algonquians and specifically Cree speakers (e.g., Buchner 1979a; Downes 1938; Hanna 2004; MacNeish 1958; Mantey and Pettipas 1996; Meyer 1978; Meyer and Russell 1987). Of course, even though Late Woodland researchers, including myself (Taylor-Hollings 1999), have debated ethnicity associated with material culture for a long time, we will never know the true situation in most cases. Thus, it is a theoretical (if not speculative) debate based on the most logical arguments made for the present evidence. One reason for investigating this idea is that Sandy Lake Ware/*Psinomani* has been associated with the Mdewakanton (Dakota) material culture along with Ogechie and Orr series pottery wares at the time of French contact in some Minnesota sites. Further research of the latest dating sites may aid in learning about direct associations (see Dawson 1987b; Wright 1968). Many of our understandings about Late Woodland central Canadian boreal forest peoples, including those representing the Selkirk Composite, come directly from ethnographic analogies about the Anishinaabe, Cree, and Oji-Cree speakers (e.g., Rogers 1967). Downes (1938) decided that the pottery he found was most probably Cree in origin and this occurred 20 years before MacNeish (1958) proposed that idea based on his excavations in southeastern Manitoba (Hanna 2004). The inference is that this material culture was left behind by early Cree speakers since the Selkirk Composite is found across huge areas of the known early Postcontact Period Cree territories (Gibson 1998; MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Thistle 1995; Meyer and Russell 1987; Richner 2004). Russell (1991) presents an extensive discussion of these territories and early postcontact Indigenous movements and territories. Meyer and Thistle (1995) also provide compelling evidence, through archaeology, ethnohistory and interviews with Elders, for Selkirk Composite occupations and later Cree associations at major aggregation centers in central Saskatchewan. These aggregation sites yield Selkirk Composite artifacts and are later associated in fur trade records with specific Cree speaking groups. However, these are interesting implications for Selkirk Composite sites found in northwestern Ontario and Minnesota, given that the study area historically has mainly Ojibwe speakers and evidence of Sioux and Cree speakers in the past (Russell 1991; Skinner 1911). Gordon (1985) and Richner (2004, 2008) also discuss the problems of associating a precontact material culture to historically present Indigenous groups in Ontario and Minnesota. Richner (2008:38) explains:

> As we have seen, there are problems with linking historic groups with prehistoric complexes or ceramic types. Larger issues of ethnic identity and ethnogenesis of historic groups complicate such efforts. For example, one might ask did the Ojibwe move into the area after 1731, or did local groups merely become known as Ojibwe at that time? It seems rather tenuous to assume that the "Cree" were the makers of the Selkirk wares found along the Rainy River and the lakes of Voyageurs NP to the east. Still, the explanation that the precontact Cree were the makers of Selkirk wares seems to be the most plausible at present (Dawson 1987:165).

Although it is a difficult proposition, archaeologists studying the latest precontact time frames usually consider the question of likely ethnicities of Late Period peoples. This information will be discussed further in later chapters in regards to the Selkirk Composite and Anishinaabeg in the study area.

Evidence of Cultural Influences from Other Ecozones

It is pertinent to this study that although the culture history of northwestern Ontario reflects typical material culture of the central Canadian Subarctic culture area, plains cultural influences are evident in the archaeological assemblages from western areas of Ontario (e.g., Buchner 1979b; Hamilton 1981, 2010; Hamilton et al. 2007; Wright 1972b). Part of the point of discussing evidence of cultural exchanges is that it contradicts an often-expressed notion of the central Canadian boreal forest ecozone being insular or socially isolated (e.g., Hickerson 1966, 1970). For example, some projectile point types usually associated with the plains have been found in northwestern Ontario such as Early Period Agate Basin (McLeod 2004) and Middle Period Oxbow as well as Pelican Lake Types (Pilon 1990; Wright 1972b). While viewing a private artifact collection, I was able to document a quartz Oxbow projectile point found near Little Grand Rapids in eastern Manitoba (Figure 1.5). This location is north and east of most finds of this cultural affiliation. Another quartz Oxbow Type projectile point, as part of a multi-component site, was also reported on the Sasaginnigak River that joins the Bloodvein River in Manitoba (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch database and reported by Petch in *Pimachiowin Aki* 2012). Arthurs (1985) and Richner (2008) also report several Oxbow projectile points from the Rainy River area and northern Minnesota respectively. All of these finds indicate many early occupations near the study area and perhaps plains people moving farther into the Manitoba and Ontario boreal forest than originally believed.

The presence of many Blackduck Composite sites in northwestern Ontario forests and the plains of southern Manitoba indicate that people were moving back and forth between the different ecozones (Hamilton et al. 2007; Syms 1977). From the east, there is evidence of Iroquoian artifacts in some sites around lakes Superior and Nipigon (e.g., Dawson 1983a) but that is far removed from the study area and limited research has been completed about these artifacts. Early in Ontario archaeological research, Wintemberg (1942) notes the finding of Iroquoian pottery at Lake Abitibi, on the boundary between Ontario and Quebec, where fragments of four pots were found associated with several Woodland pot fragments. Much later, Coté and Inksetter (2001) discuss the influx of Iroquoian artifacts into western Quebec in the Late Woodland Period. Wintemberg (1942) also noted several rims found at Lake Nipigon. There are still different cultural divisions evident in the western part of Ontario, given that people speak the Anishinaabemowin language in the south, Oji-Cree in the middle terrains, and Cree in the far north mainly around Hudson Bay (Figure 1.2). Thus, these cultures remain distinct from the Siouan speakers in southern Manitoba (e.g., Ray 1974) and Iroquoian or Huron communities in southern Ontario (e.g., Fox and Garrad 2004).

Pictographs

Rock paintings are very important in northwestern Ontario culture history (e.g., Boyle 1908; Colson 2006, 2007; Creese 2011; Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Dewdney 1978; Lambert 1985; Pelshea 1980; Pettipas 1991; Pufahl 1990; Rajnovich 1989, 1994; Steinbring 1987; Steinbring and Elias 1968; Vastokas 2003; Whelan 1983) and also across other parts of the Canadian Shield (Lemaitre 2012). Archaeologists usually cannot assign ages to these pictographs (Rajnovich 1989) nor typically to the specific time periods discussed previously. It would usually be inappropriate for pictograph paint in this area to be sampled to attempt chronometric dating because they are sacred sites. Reid (1980a) proposes that West Patricia Archaeological Study pictograph sites have a long time depth because of analogies to numerous Middle-to-Postcontact Period sites in the Lake of the Woods. The majority of pictographs likely date to precontact periods except some which may be determined to be postcontact from their subject matter (e.g., a horse or gun appearing in a panel).

These places are important to present day Anishinaabeg as well as many Euro-Canadians who live in the Canadian Shield area. Pictographs are spiritual places and archaeological sites, being numerous in the study area, in northwestern Ontario, and in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Rajnovich (1989:179) states that there are over 400 pictographs in the Canadian Shield area, however there are still many unrecorded by archaeologists (see Chapter 7 for new information). Given how many pictograph sites are found along the Bloodvein River on either side of the border (Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Dewdney 1978; Pelshea 1980; Steinbring and Elias 1968), these types of sites are an integral part of the sacred landscape of this river corridor that were created in the past but continue to be venerated. New information about the pictographs found along the Bloodvein River in Ontario will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Postcontact Period (Beginning ca. 350 BP in Northwestern Ontario)

In the seventeenth century, Indigenous people in northwestern Ontario first came into contact with Europeans who were working for the newly established Hudson's Bay Company (HBC, ca. 1670). For the Bloodvein River peoples, that contact would likely have been much later when French (North West Company) and English traders moved inland in the late 1700s (Lytwyn 1986a). Changes in technology through time are apparent and comparatively quite late in the study area. Resulting from direct contact, epidemics brought by the Europeans caused misfortune amidst the new cultural interactions. Later economic changes occurred when the Anishinaabe were moving to small towns for employment. The Red Lake gold rush and Residential Schools also affected the Bloodvein River Indigenous population. Cultural changes evident in the study area during the Postcontact Period will be detailed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed three main categories of information for northwestern Ontario, the WCSS, and the study area: (1) pertinent previous research; (2) archaeological taxonomies used; and (3) the culture history applied generally and specifically. Previous archaeological research in northwestern Ontario and in the study area was discussed in order to provide background information and context for this project in terms of methods, scope, and general findings. Although it is clear that improvements may be made in understanding all aspects about northwestern Ontario's past, the recent work in Pikangikum's traditional territory of the Whitefeather Forest and this work adds considerably to the culture history and academic research completed for the WCSS and larger area.

The previous and current archaeological taxonomies or cultural-history time-space systematics that have been used by researchers in this central Canadian boreal forest were outlined to provide an explanation for different terminology seen in the literature, how it is used now, and within this research. There have been many iterations of different archaeological taxonomies using McKern's (1939) system and then Willey and Phillips' (1958) later version. Syms' (1977) taxonomy is currently utilized by most researchers in central Canada such as those who have categorized the Selkirk Composite complexes (e.g., Dickson 1980; Gibson 1998; Meyer 1984; Meyer and Russell 1987; Paquin 1999; Skalesky et al. 2010); thus, it was explained as a basis for discussions in later chapters. There are also many inconsistencies in how these terms are applied and, since northwestern Ontario is still at the stage of building culture history, many issues that need to be researched for the Late Woodland in particular. Thus, the known culture history of northwestern Ontario and the study area were discussed regarding the Early through to Postcontact Period sites. A particularly detailed overview of the Selkirk Composite and other Late Woodland affiliations was included here as that is one of the main foci of this project. Chapter 5 discusses the more recent culture history of the Bloodvein River region and nearby areas.

CHAPTER 5: ANISHINAABE TRADITIONAL USE AND NEWCOMER INTERACTIONS ALONG THE BLOODVEIN RIVER AND ADJACENT AREAS (CA. 1821 TO PRESENT)

> Though a new generation of scholars has made great strides in probing the complexities of relationships between Subarctic Algonquians and the environment where they have made their living for millennia, further lines of inquiry may help resolve some of the varied opinions expressed in the published literature to date. A fuller understanding of Indian/land relationships within the eastern Subarctic will be gained only by examining all relevant data (Rogers 1986:205).

Introduction

Information compiled in this chapter assists with solving both research problems developed for this dissertation: (1) what evidence is there of cultural and technological change along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS of northwestern Ontario; and (2) to determine what evidence is available about the regional Selkirk Composite archaeological culture found along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS and consider that within the context of northwestern Ontario (see Chapter 1 for further details). Although the data in this chapter are directly related to the first research question, it is also likely that some contemporary Anishinaabeg are descendants of those people who left behind the Selkirk Composite archaeological assemblages, since there are cultural continuities between locations of those sites and later Ojibwe occupations (Taylor-Hollings 2006c) (Appendix 1). This chapter aids in reaching the second objective outlined in Chapter 1, which was to update and amplify the culture history of the Bloodvein River and larger region from the precontact periods through to modern times. Referring to Rogers' (1986:205) quotation above for later time periods, this objective will be achieved by using more recent information to provide a broad perspective of cultural change for the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg learned through traditional knowledge, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric methods.

This chapter discusses the more recent culture history of the Anishinaabeg in the Bloodvein River study area in northwestern Ontario, considering the time period after the HBC and NWC amalgamated in 1821 to the present. The latter half of the nineteenth century represents a clear demarcation from earlier times during the Early Fur Trade Period (as informed by archaeological and ethnohistorical information in Chapter 6), since the HBC downsized and animal numbers supposedly decreased dramatically after the competition era of 1779-1821 for the Bloodvein River and larger area (Lytwyn 1986a). In describing the later culture history of the Severn Ojibwe, Rogers and Taylor (1981:231) explain, "Lack of information makes it difficult to distinguish precise time periods enabling one to describe the cultural changes that have taken place since contact with Europeans". However, Rogers and Smith (1994) divide the Postcontact Period in northern Ontario into four different time frames: the Early Fur Trade (1670-1821); Northern Algonquians and the HBC (1821-1890); Frontiers of the "New Ontario" (1890-1945); and the Modern Period after World War II (1945-present). The three last units of time serve as useful analogies for discussions about the Postcontact Period in the Bloodvein River region in this chapter. The Northern Algonquians and the HBC Period (1821-1890) is based on the cultural changes after the merging of these two companies such as modernization of the fur trade when the railways were built through northwestern Ontario. J.G. Taylor (1994) explains the Frontiers of the "New Ontario" (1890-1945) Period as when so many Europeans moved into northwestern Ontario for exploration and mining, forestry, missionary work, as government agents, and other occupations, which caused much cultural and technological change for Indigenous inhabitants. In addition, the Modern Period after World War II (1945-present) represents even more European migrations into northwestern Ontario along with the imposition of the trap line system and land use planning era. Residential schools were affecting Indigenous families across all three of these time divisions (see Bryce 1907).

While completing archaeological fieldwork with Lac Seul and Pikangikum Elders of the Paishk/Keesic family, individuals would often share information about their *Mishoomis* (Grandfather) and *Gookom* (Grandmother) Paishk in particular, mentioning how they were one of the last families to live in the Knox and Paishk lake region along the Bloodvein River (Josephine King, personal communication 2008). Family members took us to places that they had lived, camped, hunted, and other important locations; these places often had evidence of earlier archaeological sites (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). They also shared some information, presented below, which serves as a corollary for other Anishinaabe families around the Red Lake area, since they are related to people in Ojibwe communities of Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, Lac Seul, Red Lake, Trout Lake, and likely others. This chapter illustrates these postcontact cultural and technological changes from the Bloodvein River Anishinaabe themselves. Also, there was an opportunity to document the recent archaeological places from the 1900s and learn from people who had lived at these places (Appendix 1). The related Keesic family also provided information about having lived in Red Lake for many generations near and at Forestry Point, a multi-component archaeological site investigated by Pelleck (1983). This information provides examples of radical changes occurring with the Bloodvein River region Anishinaabe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see also Sanders 2011). In addition, we had the opportunity to work with Comber/Strang family from Pikangikum, as well as the Duck and Moar families from Little Grand Rapids in their traditional territory along the Bloodvein River in Ontario.

While providing a brief introduction about the three communities that I work with on archaeological projects, and with the view of attempting to trace cultural continuities using a direct historical approach (Steward 1942), the modern context of Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum First Nations is outlined in the first part of this chapter. There may also be individuals who are Métis citizens, or those who self-identify as Métis or non-status Aboriginal (as categorized by the Canadian government), as well as non-Aboriginal people living in all of these communities. Also included is a brief discussion of the present day language groups in northwestern Ontario that likely relate to earlier Protocontact and Precontact periods; this is particularly pertinent for this chapter and later discussions of Selkirk Composite ethnicity and Ojibwe migrations (Chapter 6).

There is some documentary evidence about the Bloodvein River peoples but much of it pertains to the Lake Winnipeg of Bloodvein First Nation. That region is more accessible and Europeans started venturing there in the early 1700s for various reasons, such as fur trade routes, and thus typically created documents for church or government agencies. However, ethnographic information from the Berens River, particularly Dunning (1959) and Hallowell's work (e.g., 2010) about Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids, is relevant to the eastern Bloodvein River since many families from those communities have ties to Red Lake and Lac Seul families (Hallowell 1992). Several key themes that apply to the eastern Bloodvein River were chosen to illustrate the complexities of cultural changes taking place during this time and to amplify our understanding of changing times after the HBC and NWC amalgamation in 1821, including information about recent families, belief systems, schools, HBC continuities, and economic considerations.

Post World War II Modern Period (1945-Present) Community Contexts and Languages

Communities with Traditional Areas Along the Bloodvein River

During the post World War II Modern Period (1945-present), people lived along the Bloodvein River in Ontario all year round until about the 1970s. Then, many chose to move to communities such as Red Lake, Pikangikum, Lac Seul, and Little Grand Rapids. However, people with government registered trap lines in the WCSS and Atikaki Provincial Park in Manitoba, and otherwise, frequently travel and stay in the parks in different seasons. They continue traditional subsistence pursuits such as hunting, fishing, and gathering staying in small trap cabins and camping (Ontario Parks 2007). Park visitors also seek short stays along the picturesque river corridor.

People still live year round at the Anishinaabe community of Bloodvein First Nation on the Lake Winnipeg side (Figure 1.5) of the river. In addition, on the Berens River to the north there are several permanent populations with Berens River First Nation having a slightly higher population (1962 on reserve/1003 off reserve) than further east along that system at Little Grand Rapids (1,233 on/311 off) and Pikangikum (2501 on/91 off) (AANDC 2013). Many of these families still use the Bloodvein River system through trap line ownership and customary lands (Ontario Parks 2007).

Lac Seul. To begin with, the Anishinaabe people who have traditional territories on the eastern portion of the Bloodvein River are mainly from Lac Seul 28 First Nation and Pikangikum. The former is known locally as *Obizhigokaang* and is approximately 38 km northwest of Sioux Lookout, Ontario on Lac Seul (Figure 1.3). Although the community is located quite a distance from the study area, Lac Seul members travelled north to what is now the northeastern portion of the WCSS along the Bloodvein River and even into the Whitefeather Forest (Deutsch 2013; Hallowell 1992). Many still live in Red Lake, although there used to be a much larger population there in the mid-twentieth century with some families at Trout Lake (Figure 1.3) to the east (see Agger 2008; Sanders 2011). Several colleagues on these archaeological projects are Lac Seul members who live in Red Lake. The Lac Seul Reserve (Figure 5.1) consists of three sections named Kejick Bay, Frenchman's Head, and Whitefish Bay where 871 on-reserve residents live. Interestingly, there is a much larger population of 2,347 members living off reserve (AANDC 2013) in Red Lake, Ear Falls, Sioux Lookout, Kenora, Thunder Bay, and elsewhere. Access to Lac Seul First Nation is available by all weather road and boats to all three sectors of the community, which is comprised of about 26,821.5 ha of land (AANDC 2013).

Lac Seul is a signatory to the original Treaty 3, which was signed in 1873 (Government of

Figure 5.1. View of Lac Seul and entry bridge to Kejick Bay. This bridge was built recently so that residents would have road access to this part of the First Nation. After damming began at Lac Seul, it flooded parts of the community, creating islands where there were none.

Canada 1978). It is also known as the Northwest Angle Treaty, referring to the shape of the boundary on the Lake of the Woods (Government of Canada 1978). In 1873, Saulteaux peoples from northwestern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba signed the treaty after numerous negotiations. The Grand Council of Treaty #3, located in Kenora, Ontario, is now the political representative of the communities included as signatories, although a Grand Council in the Rainy River area existed before the treaty was signed with various ranked male leaders (Lovisek et al. 1997). The Treaty 3 area encompasses about 55,000 square miles of territory that was important to the Canadian government as part of the route between Fort William, Ontario and Fort Garry, Manitoba (Government of Canada 1978) with Red Lake also included.

Little Grand Rapids. Some families in Little Grand Rapids 14 First Nation, located in eastern, central Manitoba (Figures 1.3, 5.2), have trap lines and a history of traditional land use in the WCSS along the middle Bloodvein River in Ontario and Manitoba. That community has family, business, and other ties to Pauingassi (meaning nearby sand hills) First Nation located only 24 km to the north in Manitoba, which was given reserve status in 1988 and only became a separate community in 1991 (Pauingassi First Nation and Government of Manitoba 2012). Steinbring (1981) explains that it was formed in the 1940s by a small group of traditionalists, who reacted to what

Figure 5.2. View of Little Grand Rapids from the ice road on Family Lake. It also goes to nearby Pauingassi First Nation and provides an important mode of contemporary winter travel in the north.

they believed was excessive Westernization in Little Grand Rapids. It is possible that Pauingassi community members travel to the Bloodvein River to the south but their trap lines and traditional areas are mainly located to the north of Little Grand Rapids; both communities have traditional land use areas in Manitoba and Ontario (Pauingassi First Nation and Government of Manitoba 2012).

Little Grand Rapids is located approximately 270 km northeast of Winnipeg on the shores of Family Lake, north of the Bloodvein River and near the provincial border (Figure 1.5). Hurst (1930:51) notes the difficult journey between the Bloodvein River mouth and that community:

> There are 52 portages between Lake Winnipeg and Little Grand rapids on the Berens river and 22 short portages from that point to Favourable lake. The swiftest and most difficult stretch can be avoided by taking the 80-mile wagon road which runs from the mouth of the Bloodvein river on Lake Winnipeg to Little Grand rapids.

Thus, by at least the 1920s, trails were being used by the Europeans to bring goods into Little Grand Rapids via wagons. Many people in the community call it *Chupowitick* (little rapids), which refers to the nearby and culturally significant Shining Falls that marks the headwaters of the Pigeon River (LGRFN and OMNR 2011). Some community representatives decided to be part of Treaty 5, which was signed in 1875 at the Berens River community to the west (Coates and Morrison 1986; Government of Canada 1875) but Little Grand Rapids' representatives signed the treaty adhesion in 1876 in their own community. As of 2013, there are 1,233 people residing in Little Grand Rapids, with 311 living off reserve (AANDC 2013). The size of their traditional lands is approximately 189,796 ha (LGRFN and OMNR 2011). Access to Little Grand Rapids (and Pauingassi First Nation) is only by boat, plane, or winter road. Many people fly there going through Bissett, Manitoba, which is the closest town.

Pikangikum. Both Lac Seul and Pikangikum First Nations are part of the Independent First Nations Alliance Tribal Council along with Big Trout Lake, Muskrat Dam, and Whitesand communities. As of 2013, there were 2,501 people living in Pikangikum First Nation Reserve 14 (Figure 5.3), while only 91 members live off reserve (AANDC 2013). These figures contrast with the much larger off reserve and smaller on reserve populations of Lac Seul. Pikangikum is a name derived from the Anishinaabemowin word *Bikanjikaming* that refers to how the Berens River flows into Pikangikum Lake on the east, how the lake spreads from the river on either side, and how it exits the lake in the west (NSPC and PCM 2009). Dowling (1896:24) had described Pekangikum Lake as meaning "dirty water narrows" but that is incorrect. Pikangikum has one of the highest Anishinaabemowin language retention rates in northwestern Ontario (Philips Valentine 1995) but many older people speak some English and young people are learning their Indigenous language at home and English in school.

Figure 5.3. View of Pikangikum from a float plane (photo courtesy of Doug Gilmore and used with permission).

Access to the community of Pikangikum is by plane (community airstrip and float plane), ice road, or boat. At the time of writing, the community was in the process of planning to continue the all weather road system farther north (currently it extends north of the Red Lake area but not all the way to Pikangikum) in partnership with Sandy Lake and several other First Nations to the north (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2010). The reserve community is located on Pikangikum Lake, which is part of the Berens River system that flows west into Manitoba and ultimately to Lake Winnipeg, directly north of the Bloodvein River (Figure 1.5). However, the traditional land use area of Pikangikum community members is much larger and encompasses their Whitefeather Forest of about 1.3 million ha (Figure 1.5) and some northeastern portions of the WCSS, including the Bloodvein River. The community-based land use planning document for the Whitefeather Forest is named *Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetahkeemeenaan* or Keeping the Land, which refers directly to Pikangikum First Nation's guiding philosophy to remain Indigenous environmental caretakers (PFN and OMNR 2006; see also OP and PFN 2010). It is also the first in Ontario to be approved, providing much information from the Elders' and community members viewpoints about their traditional lands.

Pikangikum was not specifically mentioned in the Treaty 5 document and representatives did not sign it but are somehow recognized as a signatory of this treaty with other Berens River peoples (OP and PFN 2010). This lumping together of different Anishinaabeg communities by Europeans along the same river was likely due to all of them having the same Chief, *Nah-wee-kee-sick-quah-yash* Jacob Berens, in the 1870s; the position of chief (as we think of it now) was likely at least partly a construct of the HBC and other Europeans at that time (Ray et al. 2000). Jacob was also the father of William Berens, Hallowell's (2010) famed colleague, who was considered by the government to be the leader of this area, even though he lived on the west end of the river and was far from Pikangikum to the east. William Berens was born in Pikangikum and had a residence in Little Grand Rapids, even though he lived at Berens River (Hallowell 1992), which did provide his link to all three communities.

Bloodvein First Nation. The western portion of the Bloodvein River in Manitoba is located within the traditional territory of Bloodvein First Nation (Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011:16). Their reserve is located on the far west end of the river mouth where it empties into Lake Winnipeg (Figure 1.5). Part of Bloodvein First Nations' traditional territories and registered trap lines are located within Atikaki Provincial Park (Manitoba Conservation 2008) (Figure 1.5) and is southwest of Little Grand Rapids' traditional territory (Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba 2012). Thus, this study did not occur in Bloodvein First Nation's territory, which is wholly within Manitoba and has always been closely associated with Lake Winnipeg (Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011). The reserve period had them located more centrally in that community (see Gray 1996, 1999; Leach 1971). In 1917, the Chief and Councilors requested the reserve boundaries be moved to the present location, which is closer to the river mouth; it was formally on "Long Body Creek (KEN WAH BIE CREEK)" (Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011:19). Gray (1996) refers to them as the Lake Winnipeg Saulteaux along with Berens River and Poplar River peoples to the north. Dewdney (1978) notes that the Chief at the time guided an ethnographer to a pictograph site that had not previously been recorded on Sasaginnigak Lake in their territory on the Bloodvein River (Figure 1.5). Thus, Bloodvein First Nation people clearly know the area east of their community very well and use it for traditional pursuits (Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011). As of 2011, there are 997 on reserve and 598 off reserve band members. This community has always been accessible by boat from Lake Winnipeg (ferry/barge as well) but can be reached by winter road, all weather road (Rice Lake Road extension), and plane (air strip or float plane).

Anishinaabemowin, Dialects, and Algonquian Languages

Integral to understanding the Indigenous peoples and cultural geography of the study area is knowing about the languages spoken there at present, with Algonquian ones being so strongly tied to oral history and inherently part of their cultures (Hermes 2005). Archaeologists researching the Late Period and later time frames recognize that it is important to learn this information in order to consider population movements, ethnicity of precontact peoples who were likely Algonquian speakers (Rhodes and Todd 1981), and if cultural continuity is evident. Rhodes and Todd (1981:60) explain:

> Another approach to unraveling prehistoric population movement is to look at the linguistic relationships among the modern dialects. By evaluating the similarities and differences among the modern dialects, judgments can be made regarding which groups split from which, and what the relative chronology of the splits was.

Although this is still being refined, they suggest that the Saulteaux and Northwestern Ojibwe are the furthest apart from Algonquian speakers in southern Ontario, as diverged (like a cladogram) from a "Proto-Ojibwa" language. Similarly, the Cree and Ojibwe split from "Proto-Algonquian" speakers and moved north at some point by about 900 BC (Rhodes and Todd 1981:60). This problem has long been debated between ethnohistorians, historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists for the area north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Winnipeg, in which the study area is included (e.g., Hickerson 1970) but will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

In northwestern Ontario, the two largest language groups are Anishinaabemowin or Ojibwe and *Ininimowin* or Cree speakers mainly in the far north and around Hudson/James bays as *Mushkegowuk* (Swampy Cree, see Bird 2005) and *Moosoni* (Moose Cree) people (Rhodes and Todd 1981) (Figure 1.2). Also, many Indigenous people in Ontario and central eastern Manitoba speak a third language in the area called *Anishininiimowin*, Oji-Cree, Cree-Ojibwe, or Severn Ojibwe dialect as named by linguists (Philips Valentine 1995; Rhodes and Todd 1981; Valentine 2001; Wolfart 1973). People living north and north east of the study area in places like Sandy Lake, Deer Lake, and Marten Falls/Ogoki Post First Nations speak this language (Figure 1.2). Interestingly, many Severn Ojibwe people often refer to themselves as Cree (Rogers and Black Rogers 1978). The Saulteaux dialect is spoken by people in the Lake of the Woods area and west into southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Rhodes and Todd 1981). Steinbring (1981), based on earlier researchers such as Skinner (1911), named the people east of Lake Winnipeg as the Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg; this grouping is now split into more dialects. Hallowell (1955) originally named the Berens River people as the Northern Ojibwa and some writers followed (e.g., Bishop 1974). That terminology has caused some confusion when others also used the appellation to refer to those who speak the Severn Ojibwe (Oji-Cree) residing further north and east of the Berens River (e.g., Rogers and Black Rogers 1978; Steinbring 1981; Wolfart 1973). Thus, I will use the more recent terms to avoid that confusion and because it also indicates that there is much more Indigenous linguistic complexity in northwestern Ontario than typically discussed (Figure 1.2).

All three communities involved in these archaeological projects speak the Anishinaabemowin language. Philips Valentine (1995) notes that there is a specific Berens River dialect that Berens River First Nation, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids people speak, with those communities having very high language retention rates. Previously, Rhodes and Todd (1981) had considered them all to be in the Northwestern Ojibwe grouping. However, the Lac Seul community members and those related people from Red Lake in this project speak the Northwestern Ojibwe dialect found south of the Berens River and northeast of Saulteaux speakers according to Philips Valentine (1995).

The dialects of Berens River and Northwestern Anishinaabemowin are mutually intelligible but there are major differences in morphology, phonology and lexicon (Philips Valentine 1995); community members have iterated that these differences exist and I have noticed variations in pronunciation and meanings of certain words. At meetings that I have attended (e.g., Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting 2009), some Lac Seul Elders described that Pikangikum speakers sound like they are "singing when they talk" in terms of the way words are pronounced and this was regarded as an interesting, pleasant nuance. According to Philips Valentine (1995:126), the Severn Ojibwe peoples' impression of the Berens Ojibwe dialect is similar as "speakers sound like they are singing"; that is, they speak with different intonational patterns and considerable pitch variation. Of interest is how these two dialects evolved, given that many are the same families, although Rhodes and Todd (1981) note examples where two dialects are spoken in the same community.

In Lac Seul First Nation, there is generally more English spoken than in Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids First Nations across all ages. This fact is a source of frustration for the Elders that I work with in Lac Seul (e.g., Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting in Red Lake 2007, Lac Seul Meeting 2011), because they would like the younger people in the community to retain or learn Anishinaabemowin. Part of this difference between the three communities is likely due to Lac Seul being located farther south and having all season road access to the nearby, mainly English speaking communities of Hudson and Sioux Lookout, Ontario (Figure 1.3).

Lac Seul, known locally as *Obizhigokaang*, actually consists of three communities: Kejick Bay (originally *Obizhigokaang* and now named in English after one of the main families living there); Frenchman's Head *(Wemitigoozhiiwitigwaaning)*; and Whitefish Bay *(Ne'odikamegwaaning)* (Ningewance 2004:187-188). Jennie Angeconeb (personal communication 2012) explained that the Kejick Bay community is named after her grandfather *Gizhik* (Sky) Sam Kiishik (also spelled Keesic, Kesick, Keesick, Keesig, and other variations). This family was also very important in the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, and Trout Lake areas, as will be explained later in this chapter.

Ningewance (2004:187-188, bold emphasis hers) hails from Lac Seul and provides interesting oral history about how these places got their names:

> I do know the story behind "Frenchman's Head"--translated as **Wemitigoozhiiwitigwaaning**--which is in the same vicinity as the above place [Hudson, Ontario]. A long time ago, a French trader tried to cheat some local Ojibwes of their money. They killed him and put his head on a stick to send a message to other unethical fur traders. And then there's **Obizhigokaang**--Lac Seul. I've nev-

> er heard it pronounced any other way and it doesn't mean anything the way it's pronounced now. I can only guess that it might have been pronounced **Waabi-Zhingwaakaang** ("At the White Pines") a long time ago. Before the area was flooded by Hydro around 1930, Lac Seul had forests of tall white pines. It may have been named then, and the two waa's became o's and the nasal zhing became zhig to be Obizhigokaang. Who knows? So many names change over time.

These examples of original Anishinaabemowin toponyms provide evidence of language continually evolving and that place names sometimes reflect the results of Euro-Canadian arrivals. If French traders had not been at Lac Seul, the toponym would not exist and have persisted with local residents. Lytwyn (1986b:17) mentions that "During the winter, [John] Long was informed that Joseph La Forme, another of [Ezekial] Solomon's traders who was settled at Lac Seul, was killed by an Indian". This person may have been the French trader discussed above, since Ezekial Solomon was a French trader who moved into this area and Red Lake in the late 1700s (Lytwyn 1986a) (see Chapter 6). In addition, if Ontario Hydro had not built dams on some waterways and caused flooding, then *Waabi-zhingwaakaang* may still be the name used instead of Lac Seul. In the late 1800s, Coleman (1896:60-61) noted that a Hudson Bay Company post was located at this place White Pine Narrows, which was a toponym in use then (if not earlier):

> The Hudson Bay post at which our canoe route ended is planted on a strip of sandy beach just opposite a long sandy point projecting from the Ontario shore, a point that immediately catches the eye from the fine group of wind-swept white pines standing upon it, giving the name of White Pine narrows to the blue channel separating Ontario from Keewatin.

Dewdney (1997) also discusses living in the same area before the flooding occurred; now these submerged trees can sometimes be seen just below the water, creating hazards for people boating on Lac Seul.

In terms of the larger Anishinaabemowin language, people live right across Canada from Quebec through to British Columbia and from Michigan west to the Dakotas with northern and southern groupings (Philips Valentine 1995). People usually refer to Ojibwe living in the U.S.A. as the Chippewa, although that is an exonym of long-lived use stemming from the French explorers who first arrived in Minnesota and Wisconsin (Hickerson 1966). The larger, eastern Algonquian language family consists of 13 languages (Voegelin 1960) and the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwe speakers reside in the Canadian plains/parklands.

Traditional Areas and Trap Lines Along the River

During the Modern Period in 1947, trap lines began to be negotiated and/or imposed upon northwestern Ontario Indigenous peoples by Ontario Department of Lands and Forests (now the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources) (Deutsch 2013; Finch 2013). The Ontario and Manitoba governments initiated trap line systems to help 'regulate' wildlife and the people who were hunting, as just one of the assimilative policies enacted by the federal government after World War II. As Pikangikum Elder George B. Strang explains: "The traplines started in 1946. The people who set the boundaries were called the "meat bosses". They designated areas for us to trap in and we have not broken these areas to date. These will not be broken in the future" (as translated from written text in PFN and OMNR 2006:26). The 'meat bosses' would travel to the different communities to establish the trap lines based on what they found out about traditional areas (Macfie and Johnston 1991). However, the end results often did not correlate with past land usage. Also, some outsiders, including some non-Indigenous individuals, became Head Trappers of areas that they probably should not have been given (Ontario Parks 2007).

The 1947 Ontario government development of registered trap lines, where there were no such regulations for earlier family run trapping areas (Deutsch 2013), does cause some issues. For example, Lac Seul community members are part of Treaty 3 area (Government of Canada 1978) whereas Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids are part of the Treaty 5 zone of 1875 (Coates and Morrison 1986; Government of Canada 1875), including most of the WCSS. Yet, many of these families are related (e.g., Hallowell 1992). Hence, some family members have to seek permission to hunt in areas along the Bloodvein River that they have been using for many generations prior to the trap line system.

Recently, five First Nations including Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi, Poplar River, and Bloodvein came together to work on the *Pimachiowin Aki* World Heritage Project, whereby community-based land use plans of traditional areas adjoining reserve lands were determined together (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Didora 2010; *Pimachiowin Aki* 2012, 2015). Two adjacent existing provincial parks, the WCSS and Atikaki in Manitoba, are part of the nomination area. The plans were based on trap lines initially and the process took many years of planning and working together with Ontario and Manitoba government officials. In 2016, UNESCO will decide if *Pimachiowin Aki* will become a world heritage site and these planning documents will provide a basis for future land use management.

There is much debate by researchers about what the precontact and later land tenure systems were like in northwestern Ontario (e.g., Deutsch 2013; Finch 2013; Hallowell 1949; Rogers 1963, 1986; Sieciechowicz 1986; Speck 1915). Some people believe that there are precontact origins of the family hunting territory system and others are in favour of them being responses to the post-contact Fur Trade Period changes (see a history of these discussions in Roger 1986). It is useful to examine the current trap line owners and communities as an indication of the traditional areas along the Bloodvein River (Figure 5.4). This factor serves to illustrate why there are three communities and certain families involved in these survey projects. The Paishk/Keesic family from Lac Seul/Pikangikum has traditional territories in Red Lake and the Bloodvein River headwaters, along

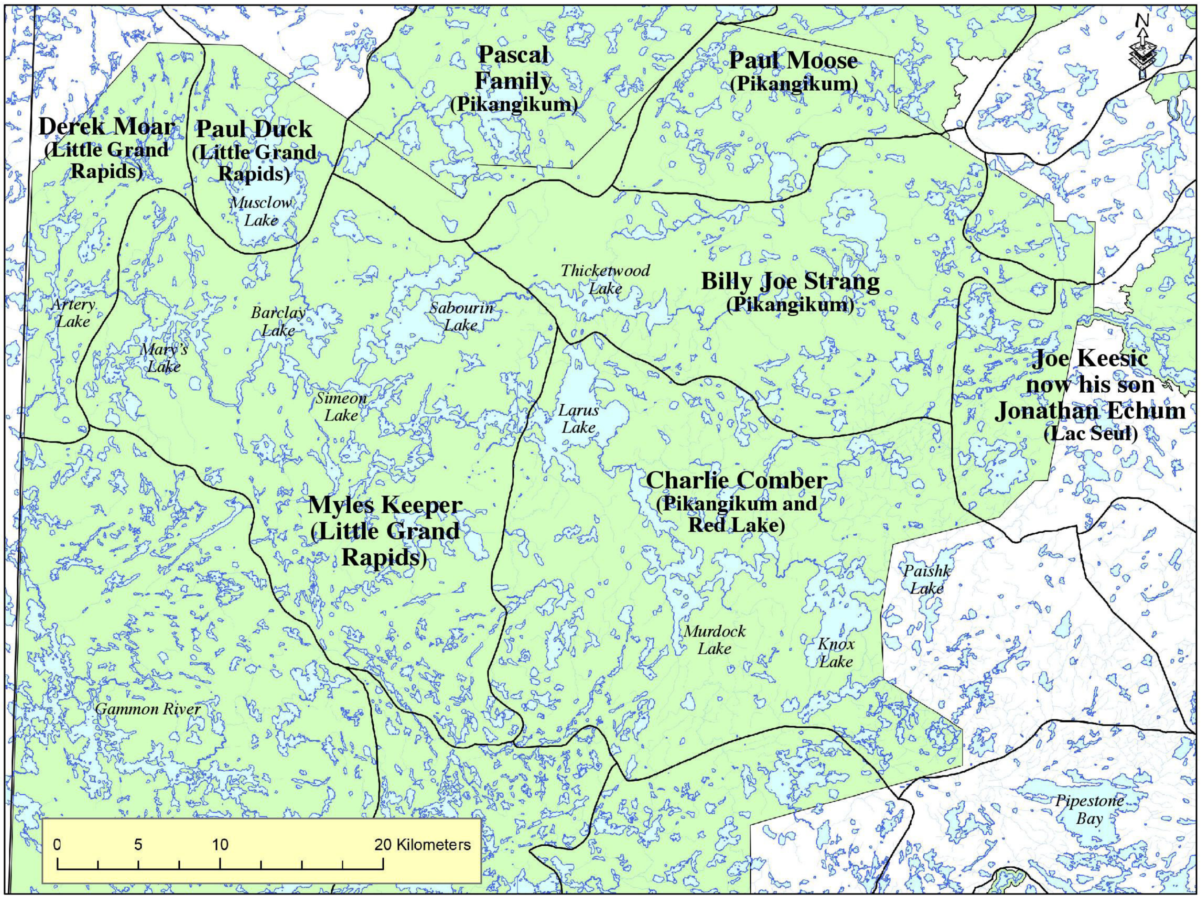

Figure 5.4. Northern portion of the WCSS (in green) showing the Bloodvein River and trap lines associated with different communities (background map courtesy of Doug Gilmore, Ontario Parks, and used with permission).

with Paishk, Knox, Murdock, Larus, and Indian House lakes to the south (Figure 5.4). However, the trap line has been held by a Pikangikum/Red Lake Anishinaabe man named Charlie Comber for many years (Figure 5.4). When asking about this part of the WCSS, the Elders Steering Group in Pikangikum First Nation provided direction to Superintendent Gilmore and I to contact Peter Paishk and members of the Paishk/Keesic family (living in Pikangikum, Lac Seul, and Red Lake mainly). Pikangikum Elders identified Peter as the person with the longest and most comprehensive knowledge about the eastern Bloodvein River at an early meeting with the Elders' Steering Committee (Taylor-Hollings Pikangikum Meeting 2007). He lived there until he was 19 or 20 and still goes to the eastern end of the Bloodvein River like many generations before him (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2007). Thus, we began working with Peter and family after getting approvals from all involved. For the Thicketwood Lake area, we were advised by the Elders Steering Group to contact Billie Joe Strang, who is the Head Trapper (Figure 5.4). We later worked with him, a few community members, and family on a brief Thicketwood Lake archaeological survey (Taylor-Hollings 2016 in review).

Recently, through the WCSS park management plan, a trap line near Sabourin Lake once owned by a non-Indigenous person was recently transferred to Myles Keeper of Little Grand Rapids (Figure 5.4). Pikangikum Elders had indicated previously that for some middle stretches of the Bloodvein River in Ontario, there were no longer people who trap there or have particular knowledge about that area. When the fieldwork was completed in this area, it belonged to a non-Indigenous owner who did not often use the trap line anymore (Doug Gilmore, personal communication 2009). The WCSS management plan (Ontario Parks 2007) stipulates the return of trap lines to Indigenous owners, as will be decided by each individual community for their region.

In terms of the other trap lines along the Bloodvein River in Ontario, Paul Duck from Little Grand Rapids has one including Musclow Lake in the WCSS (Figure 5.4) (Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba 2012; PFN and OMNR 2006). His brother Nathaniel was the trap line owner while we were completing these projects but unfortunately he passed away. We worked with the Duck family on one field trip to Musclow Lake.

Derek Moar of Little Grand Rapids is now the trap line holder on the remaining one near Artery Lake on the Bloodvein River in Ontario (Figure 5.4). His father Fred was originally the Head Trapper when we completed the first archaeological trip together (Taylor-Hollings 2012) but unfortunately, he has since passed away. We have also worked with some of the Duck and Moar family members on trips that brought visiting UNESCO World Heritage Site adjudicators and dignatories associated with the *Pimachiowin* Aki project as well (Taylor-Hollings 2012b).

The Importance of Anishinaabe Families and Clans

Adjacent locales are also useful to consult because several Paishk/Keesic family, Lac Seul, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids community members informed me that their ancestors and families travelled back and forth between these areas frequently and also married people from these different communities (Taylor-Hollings Field Notes 2004). Hallowell (1992:23) documented these patterns of movements, familial relations, *doodemag* or clans, and relationships when he worked along the Berens River in the 1930s (Figure 5.5). *Doodemag* are very important kinship based groups within Algonquian peoples and particularly with the Anishinaabeg (e.g., Bishop 1974; Dunning 1959; Lytwyn 2002; and discussion about the Cranes in Rogers and Black Rogers 1982). Although Dunning (1959) concluded that they were not very important, that is not true and they have long standing importance with the Anishinaabe (Bohaker 2010). They are a source of pride in Anishinaabe families, kinship, ceremonies, and spiritual life (Bohaker 2010). *Doodemag* are based on animal, bird, or fish (e.g., Moose, Caribou, Kingfisher, Eagle, Bear, Sucker, Pike, Sturgeon, Crane, Pelican, Loon, etc.). Lytwyn (2002:47) notes that the King Fishers were recorded as living at Bad Lake, a place with several posts on the Bloodvein River, and their leaders were Sharp Eyes and Arrow Legs (HBCA, B.154/e/2, fos. 12d-14). Lytwyn (2002:46) also explains that George Holdsworth, in charge of the HBC post on the Berens River in 1815, noted that the Indigenous people were divided into four bands of the Pelican, Moose, and Sucker tribes east of Lake

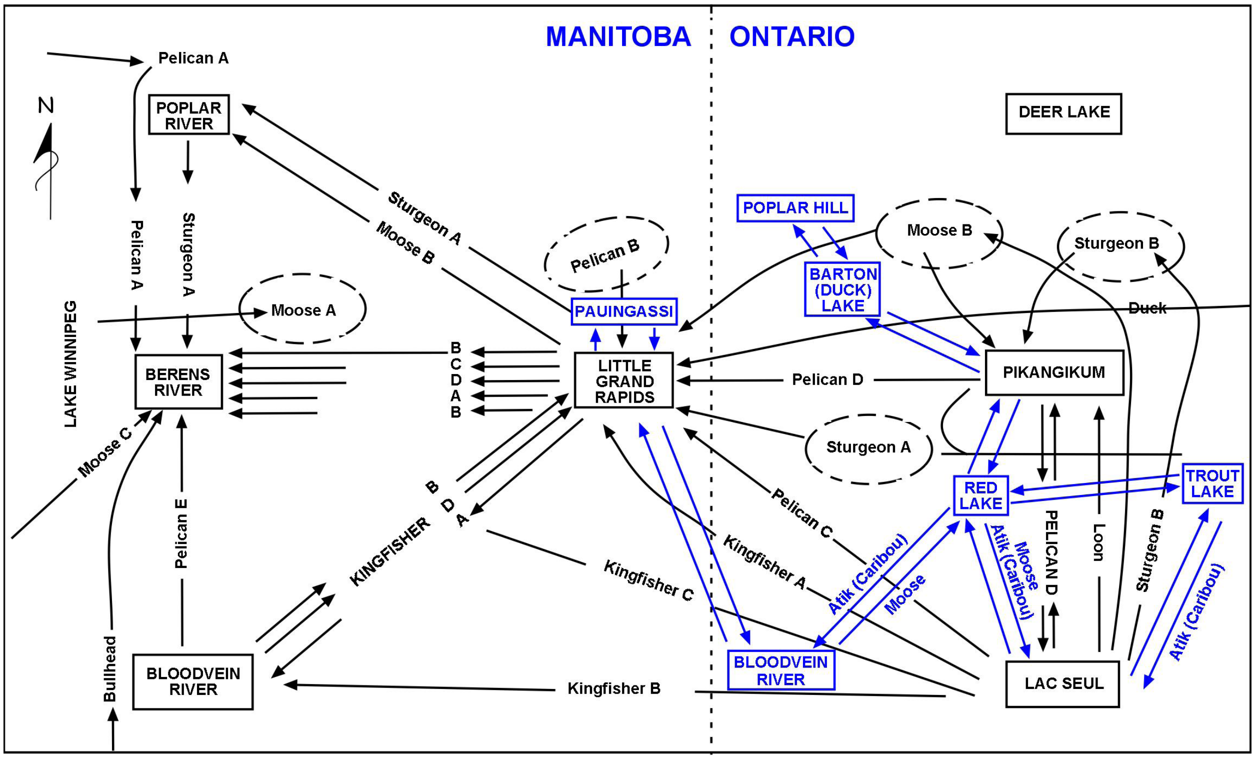

Figure 5.5. Update of Hallowell's (1992:23) 1930s schematic of Anishinaabe clan and family interactions in the Bloodvein and Berens River area (redrawn and adapted).

Winnipeg and north of the Bloodvein River, whereas the Kingfisher tribe lived in the area around the Bloodvein River. Some of these (Pelican, Moose, and Kingfisher) are the same clans listed in Hallowell's (1992:23) ethnographic work from the 1930s for the same area (Figure 5.5); however, he also records Sturgeon, Duck, Bullhead, and Loon. Douglas (1926) made note of some Pikangikum people being Loon clan. This suggests considerable continuity in the area over several hundred years. Of course, Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg are also included in these groupings but it seems that Hallowell (1992) was referring to the Indigenous people at the Bloodvein River mouth in his mapping of clans and lineages. Although that is the case, the Moose clan (but not Caribou) of the Paishk/Keesic family are represented in that diagram and so is Lac Seul (Figure 5.5).

In the 1930s, Hallowell (2010:182) notes that: "To the southeast, Lake Seul is well known because long ago a number of Berens River families came from there". Interestingly, Hallowell (1992) omitted the Trout Lake Anishinaabeg (*NamekosipiiwAnishinaapek*) from his study (perhaps not knowing about them with his focus on the Berens River), who are now part of the Lac Seul Band registry under a Treaty 3 Adhesion in 1874 (Government of Canada 1978). Many of these people are related to the Paishk/Keesic family from the Bloodvein River area (Figure 5.5) and many decided to settle in Red Lake for employment purposes. Dunning (1959:65) also refers to these enduring community ties: "prior to 1920 a high percentage of marriages were contracted between members of Pekangekum Band and two neighbouring bands, Little Grand Rapids and the Red Lake segment of the Lac Seul Band". The latter group consisted of many people who once lived and continue to travel to the eastern Bloodvein River. Marriage interchanges involved both men and women leaving Pikangikum along with new residents of both sexes moving to the community (Dunning 1959). Many Indigenous people from all over this large area also migrated to Red Lake to find employment (Dunning 1959) in mining, natural resource management, firefighting (see Sanders 2011), commercial fishing, and millwork. Dunning (1959) reports a change in this pattern in the 1940s to 1950s whereby these intermarriages almost ceased and where people were virtually endogamous. However, today some Anishinaabeg people move between the communities of Pikangikum, Poplar Hill, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi, Berens River, Red Lake, Trout Lake, and Lac Seul.

Lac Seul and Red Lake Ties to the Bloodvein River: Paishks and Keesics

The Paishk family from the eastern Bloodvein River, Lac Seul, Red Lake, and now other places is able to trace six or more generations back to a person named *Paishk* (meaning Nighthawk) who was a male ancestor with a single name (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2004; Sanders 2011). This person may be the one listed in the 1911 census for Lac Seul, where a person named "*Paishke* Night Hawk" is listed as the head of the family (b. February 1834) with a son "*Paishke Manstiwokanapa*" born in December 1895; it is also interesting to note that the elder Paishke is listed as 'pagan' while the considerably younger son is listed as "Anglican" (Census of Canada 1911:53). This exemplifies the impact of the missionary period in this part of northwestern Ontario whereby various family members would 'officially' convert to Christianity whereas others would retain traditional belief systems. In addition, an example from Frenchman's Head also typifies the mix of Christian/traditional and degrees of contact with Europeans as described by Coleman (1896:60):

> The village is lively and picturesque, and is the seat of a Church of England mission with a neat little church and parsonage. These Indians come very little in contact with white men, and are said to be all the better for that. We camped for the night opposite the village, and presently a swarm of canoes paddled over, and their good natured owners gathered round with great curiosity, especially as to the Peterboro' canoes, which apparently some of them had never seen before. They were never tired of examining them, and the old chief praised them as much better than their own birch bark ones, None of the men we met could speak more than a few words of English, though some of them had been as far into the world as Rat Portage [present day Kenora].

While working with the Paishk/Keesic/Kejick family, individuals also shared information about their *Mishoomis* (Grandfather) John (*Mooshinee*) and *Gookom* (Grandmother) Flora (*Wananeeshe*) Paishk (Figure 5.6), mentioning how they were one of the last generations to live in the Knox and Paishk Lake areas along the Bloodvein River and also at Indian House Lake region in the WCSS to the south (Josephine King, personal communication 2008). John and Flora Paishk

Figure 5.6. John and Flora Paishk with his drum in Red Lake in 1956. From Macfie and Johnston 1991:85 (see also Macfie 2010). By this time, some of the family was living in Red Lake rather than along the Bloodvein River.

were parents to Josephine King (nee Paishk) and Mary Johnson Beecham (nee Paishk) from Lac Seul First Nation who worked on this project; Mary and their siblings Frank (discussed later), Annie, Sarah, Mary Ann, Margaret, Alex, and Adam are unfortunately deceased (some appear in Figure 5.7). John and Flora's grandchildren working on this project include: Jennie (Keesic) Angeconeb, Liz Kejick, Peter and Joe Paishk, and now deceased members of the family Joe Keesic, Julie Kejick, and Daisy Kejick. Information from this project has also been shared with several great grandchildren. Gilmore, Hamilton, myself, and several Ontario Parks employees working on these projects have been adopted into this family and given Anishinaabe spirit names as an additional honour (e.g., Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Black Rogers (2001) explains some of the details of that type of adoption, in her case by the Oji-Cree in nearby Weagamow Lake community, which few academics or outsiders experience.

Josephine King (nee Paishk) participated in one archaeological field visit to her family's namesake Paishk Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2012b). This trip was particularly important since she had not been there for many years and enjoyed being back in the area where her family lived. Josephine shared information about places where she and her family camped and even a burial location where several people she knew are laid to rest. As is sometimes the case, this burial place was undetectable on the surface, so that only traditional knowledge holders would know about its loca-

Figure 5.7. Photo of some Paishk family members in 1938 in front of their cabin at Knox Lake on the Bloodvein River. Photograph taken by Dr. Daniel Revell, who was there to help John Paishk, who was ill. L to R: Albert Paishk, Annie Paishk (later Annie Sam Kejick), Mary Ann Paishk (later Kejick), Mary Paishk (later Johnson/Beecham), Mary Duck Strang, Margaret Paishk, Sarah Paishk (later King), mother Flora Paishk with Adam (baby), and John Paishk (father). Identifications from Paishk family members. Josephine Paishk (later King) and Frank Paishk were born later. Photo and information about the photographer courtesy of John Richthammer and used with permission from him and the family).

tion. From an archaeological standpoint, it is an important indication that Indigenous consultation should be done within a Canadian boreal forest context. Some of these places were cabin locations like she had lived at (Figures 5.7, 5.8).

Parrott (1964:29) reports that the original trap lines at Red Lake in the early 1920s were held by Jimmie Pigeon, George Wilson (at Bug River to south), Dan Ducharme (around Medicine Stone Lake), Malcolm Macdonald (at Slate Bay), and that the "local Indian was a man named Tom Piask" he was a brother of John Paishk (Josephine King, personal communication 2013). That same Red Lake trap line owned by Tom Paishk may still be within the family, since the late Joe Keesic (whom we worked with) held one near Red Lake along with nearby Coli Lake and it now belongs to his sons. One of Tom's other sons was named Jim Paishk or *Chaawsence* (Jennie Angeconeb, personal communication 2014) or "Peepsite" and was born at Knox Lake in 1905; he was a guide for Red Lake area prospectors in the 1920s (John Richthammer, personal communication 2014).

Another important person in the Red Lake area that is part of the large Keesic family was Isaac, whom was chief of Lac Seul at one time (Richthammer and Nord 1985). A different "Uncle Isaac"

Figure 5.8. Older cabin at Thicketwood Lake that is typical of a similar style to Figure 5.7. Remnants of old cabins are still found in the WCSS.

(*Nishki'aa*) Keesic has often been discussed by Joe Paishk and Joe Keesic, since they all worked together at the Forestry Point Fire Centre in Red Lake, which has long been the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources fire centre (Joe Paishk and Joe Keesic, personal communications 2004; OMNR 1986b; Sanders 2011). Isaac was a leader in the Anishinaabeg community at Red Lake, worked as Deputy Chief Ranger at Forestry Point (Macfie 2010), and as a foreman of building the Skookum Bay Bridge near that town (OMNR 1986b). Isaac and other Keesic family members had lived at Forestry Point before being removed from there for the firefighting centre to be built (Joe Paishk and Joe Keesic, personal communications 2004) (Figure 5.9). The development of the complex began in 1926, as one building used by the Ontario Forestry Branch (see Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources 1986b for a chronology). Many buildings are now there at present and the whole point has been developed despite it being a large archaeological site (Pelleck 1983; Smith 1981) and displacing local families. Nearby Keesic Bay (much like at Lac Seul First Nation) is named after the family and is a location in which many people once lived but now just a few remain (Jean Keesic, personal communication 2015).

Figure 5.9. Anishinaabe campsite at Forestry Point in Red Lake showing traditional and more recent housing types (canvas far right). This site has been used by different people for at least 2,200 years. During the late 1920s and into the 1930s, people camped here in order to obtain firefighting jobs. Early photo courtesy of Jessie Taylor and from Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (1986b:1).

In addition to the Keesics and other Anishinaabeg families living at Forestry Point, it was also a much older multi-component archaeological site. Wall (1980b:91) refers to three reports on file with the Archaeological Survey of Canada written by Koezur and discusses her earlier work at the Forestry Point archaeological site in the early 1970s:

> Koezur's surface collections, test excavations, and local research revealed evidence of Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk, and Fur Trade components, reports of individual burials, and reports indicating that a probable Blackduck burial mound was bulldozed into the lake during construction.

This further demonstrated the presence of burials that local Indigenous people (the Keesics) had told officials about, as well as indicating that it was a multi-component ingathering site similar to those Meyer (e.g., Meyer and Thistle 1995) has documented in the boreal forest of Saskatchewan. Often gatherings were held in these locations in the spring and sometimes the autumn; later trading posts were often built in the same locations (Meyer and Thistle 1995). Wall's (1980b) Red Lake survey for the West Patricia Archaeological Study did not include work at the Forestry Point Site but Smith (1981) did discuss this location and Pelleck (1983) later completed a large archaeological assessment. It was the largest ever completed in Red Lake and surrounding areas.

Further indications of the prominence of the Paishk family in the Red Lake and surrounding areas may also be found, even as conveyed by non-Indigenous people in that region. One example is the naming of Paishk Crescent in Red Lake. Another example comes from Viking Outposts (2013), which is a long established bush plane and outpost camp business operated by the Carlson family. They have lived in Red Lake for at least three generations, including prospector Swede Arthur

Carlson who happened to build the first tourist outpost in the WCSS in 1948 (Shearer 2008). They explain why another lake called Night Hawk Lake, and is about 35 miles northeast of Red Lake, was named after a Paishk family member (Viking Outposts 2013:1):

> Frank Paishk, a local [Anishinaabe] guide and trapper, worked for [the] Carlsons for thirty years. He was loyal, talented and quite a character. The name Paishk comes from the sound made by a night hawk as it flies through the darkness. When Frank died we named the lake in his memory. His nephew, Jim Strang, took Frank's place at camp and we learned that he had spent much of his childhood in the Night Hawk area. One August he took a trip downstream from Night Hawk reliving his time with his grandparents. When he was a child, government people picked up native kids and took them to boarding schools. Jimmy's grandparents took him into the bush near Night Hawk to hide from these school police. As a result, he was one of the last native people in this area who remembered the old ways and traditions.

Red Lake saw Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living and working together from the 1920s, which was not common in other Canadian contexts. This explanation is an interesting example of a mixed Indigenous and European toponym. The lake was originally Night Hawk, then spelled as "Peisk Lake" and has subsequently been changed to "Paishk Lake" by Gilmore at the wish of family members from Red Lake and Lac Seul. Frank Paishk is one of John and Flora's sons (and an uncle to many of the Elders from Lac Seul with whom I work). It is not correct that that Jimmy Strang was one of the last people to remember the old ways and traditions, since there are still many people from all over this area who still have this knowledge of the old ways (see PFN and OMNR 2006). Another grandson, Peter Paishk, was also hidden by John and Flora from the 'school police', avoiding residential school, and has outstanding knowledge about many areas around Red Lake, Trout Lake, and of course the eastern portion of the Bloodvein River particularly from the headwaters through to Larus Lake. Unfortunately, his half-brother Joe Paishk was not as lucky; he was compelled to attend Pelican Falls School near Sioux Lookout (see Auger 2005) and suffered abuse by the teachers there (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2006). He now actively shares information about these unfortunate experiences with youth in his community of Red Lake, in order to educate Indigenous and non-Indigenous people about what took place. The two brothers were separated in later life by Joe's residential school abduction, with Peter living in Pikangikum and Joe residing in Red Lake (although both are Lac Seul band members).

Partly due to these Ontario Parks and archaeological projects, they were able to be together in their family's traditional territory of the Bloodvein River and recall stories about their childhood times spent with their grandparents John and Flora Paishk, along with other family members. Joe was able to return to the Bloodvein River area, where he was born on Murdock Lake and had stayed as a young boy with his grandparents. He was later part of the Indigenous fire fighting teams working for the OMNR (Sanders 2011) and then worked for the Ministry of Transportation. Peter continues to hunt, fish, guide others, and pursue traditional ways as many other Anishinaabeg still do along the Bloodvein River (e.g., Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba 2012; PFN and OMNR 2006; OP and PFN 2010).

A family related to the Paishks from the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, Trout Lake, and Lac Seul are the Keesics. The Kenny and Southwind families of Lac Seul are actually Keesics as well (George Kenny, personal communication 2014). Many of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg, including siblings Jennie Angeconeb, Liz Kejick, and the late Daisy Kejick (all with whom we worked) are Paishk family members but also descendants of *Gizhik* (Sky) Sam Kiishik (Keesic) who lived from 1829-1929, mainly in the Trout Lake area and also in Red Lake (Sanders 2011). Kaaren Dannenmann and her siblings, including Agger (2008), from the Trout Lake area are descendants of *Gizhik* and cousins to the Paishk family discussed here.

Sanders (2011:48-49) notes, in his detailed study of the OMNR Fire Fighting Station on Forestry Point in Red Lake, that:

> In addition, the many descendants of the late Gizhik (Sky)([A]) Sam Keesic (1829-1929) of Trout Lake, to the immediate northeast, also used the Red Lake area during the early 1900s (Gary Butikofer, personal communication, February 18, 2010). Certain Pikangikum families were also close to these Lac Seul Band groups. At Kirkness, Stormer and Little Vermillion Lakes to the north of Red Lake, the King family headed by the late Neekeekooneeneeh (Otter Man)(WF) (1867-1963) maintained ties with some of the Keesics and Paishks during the early 1900s as well (Gary Butikofer, personal communication, February 18, 2010). Red Lake was positioned as a sort of mid-point between these families, and likely others as well.

Jean Keesic (personal communication 2014) is a Keesic family member and partner to Peter Paishk but also she is the granddaughter to Otter Man as mentioned in the quotation; she fondly remembers going to Nungesser Lake in that area north of Red Lake and grew up there. They now live in Pikangikum but Peter is from Lac Seul; thus indicating that the statements above are correct in describing the family dynamics in this region. Before an archaeological project was completed at Kirkness Lake and Stormer Lake in the Whitefeather Forest (Taylor-Hollings 2006a), we were directed by Pikangikum Elders to speak with George B. Strang as well as Charlie and Lucy King (Taylor-Hollings 2006a), who are also relatives of the same King family. They shared some traditional knowledge about that area. Indeed, many descendants of *Gizhik* still live in Red Lake (Agger 2008). Hallowell (1992:23) documented these interrelationships between Lac Seul, Red Lake, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids in the 1930s (Figure 5.5), although he did not know about the Trout Lake families of Lac Seul. Dunning (1959) also notes connections between Pikangikum and other Berens River peoples along with Red Lake and Lac Seul. Community members from all three First Nations mentioned that these larger family ties have been in place for many generations.

Pikangikum Ties to the Bloodvein River: The Strangs and Combers

Further west along the Bloodvein River, the Pikangikum and Red Lake based family named the Combers also use parts of the river. Part of this family is Billie Joe Strang, who is the Head Trapper for the Thicketwood Lake area just north of the Bloodvein River at Larus Lake (Figure 5.4). We worked together with Billie Joe, his cousin Buster Kurahara, their extended families, Elder Oliver Hill, and several councillors at Thicketwood Lake on one archaeological project (Taylor-Hollings 2016 in review).

Little Grand Rapids Ties to the Bloodvein River: The Ducks and Moars

In the Manitoba and Ontario border area of the Bloodvein River, the Duck and Moar families from Little Grand Rapids on the Berens River hold trap lines and have lived in that region for many generations. The Ducks' trap line includes Musclow Lake (Figures 1.5, 5.4), which is part of the Bloodvein River system, but is located just to the north of the river. Nathaniel Duck was the Head Trapper during our archaeological project there but was unable to join us in the field; however, I had the opportunity talk with him in the community (Taylor-Hollings Little Grand Rapids Meeting 2011). Unfortunately, Nathaniel passed away in 2012. His brothers Paul (now Head Trapper), David, and Richard have worked together with us to learn more about the archaeology of their area. Victor is also a sibling, although he does not live in Little Grand Rapids. Richard worked with us on an archaeology and vegetation research project on Musclow Lake in his family's traditional territory in the WCSS; he also shared information about some artifacts that he had found near Little Grand Rapids. Richard Duck (personal communication 2010) mentioned that *Machkajence* (John) Duck, the traditional healer who built ceremonial *Wabano* 'pavilions' at Little Grand Rapids as discussed by Hallowell (1992, 2010), is not his grandfather but may be related. Schuetze (2001) also describes in detail his conversion of this important traditional healer and their rivalries, while living in Little Grand Rapids. Despite concerted efforts by missionaries along the Bloodvein and Berens Rivers (Gray 1996, 1999, 2006), there continues to be Anishinaabe traditional practioners in these communities.

The Moars from Little Grand Rapids, with whom Park Superintendent Gilmore and I worked with several times at Artery Lake on the Bloodvein River near the Manitoba border also have long lasting ties to that region (Figures 1.5, 5.4) (Taylor-Hollings Little Grand Rapids Meeting 2009). Elder Fred Moar was able to make his last trip to the family trap line at Artery Lake (Figure 5.4) for the archaeology project (Taylor-Hollings 2012b) before he passed away in 2010. Also present on the lake was his wife Helen, son Derek, daughter Colleen (Keeper), son-in-law Ray Keeper, and grandson Jason (Taylor-Hollings 2012b).

Several of the earlier Moars of Little Grand Rapids are mentioned quite often in HBC and other documents as being employed for a long time with the company and key residents of the community. Undoubtedly, they would have dealt with many Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg at the Little Grand Rapids post and were of mixed Scottish and Indigenous heritage. Beginning with John Moar Sr., who was born in 1840 in Orkney and began service in 1861 (HBCA Biographical Sheet: John Moar Sr.), he and his son John Robert Moar (HBCA Biographical Sheet: John Moar Jr.) were post managers for about 80 years (Malaher 1978). His son is described as follows: "John Moar, the manager at Little Grand Rapids post, was born and brought up there, his father having been in charge for many years previous to his managership" (Bartleman 1921:29). HBC records indicate that he was born at Sandy Lake in 1869 and began service in 1882 until 1932 (HBCA Biographical Sheet: John Moar Jr.). John Jr. is described as "the old Hudson's Bay man" in 1921 (Bartleman 1921:29), although only 52 years old at that time. Schuetze (2001:186) discusses the changes that occurred during John Robert's life, which mirror the experiences of other Little Grand Rapids people at this time:

> He grew up with the language of his native mother and in the company life of his father. He succeeded his father at the Little Grand Rapids post, and over the years saw the disappearance of the York boats on Lake Winnipeg and the coming of the steamboats. Men went back to freighting with canoes, then outboard motors appeared, making life easier. Some airplanes were being used in the Forest Service. Life was changing in the world. Johnnie Moar died in Selkirk, Manitoba, as his father had before him. His descendants continue to live in Little Grand Rapids.

Presumably, his mother came from Sandy Lake, since that is where he was born. John Robert is also acknowledged in Douglas's (1926) report as the HBC man that assisted the geological survey efforts from Red Lake to Favourable Lake in Little Grand Rapids territory. Gray (1996:20) notes a teacher named Mina Moar at the Little Grand Rapids Methodist Day School for 1925, so perhaps that was the "Mrs. Moar" referred to in Leach (1971:11).

Leach (1971) records that at about the same time, in 1919, Indigenous people were camped in tents all around the HBC post at Little Grand Rapids indicating that there were close ties between local people and the Moars' trade. Furthermore, Leach (1971:10-11) provides information about the next generation in that family and how in this part of the Berens River, traders were still working *en derouine* or going to the Indigenous people also:

> It is interesting to note that the Moar family have a record for long service in the Company. The first of the Moars served nearly fifty years; his son, our host, also served about the same length of time, and Fred, the son of J.R., completed forty-seven years, Fred's career nearly ended in 1926. He was stationed as Clerk at the Deer Lake Post. The lake is quite a size. After it had opened in the spring, Fred, with two companions, was sent by canoe to buy some fur from some Indians who were still on their trapping grounds. During the afternoon of the first day a halt was made on an island, for lunch. Whilst gathering some firewood to boil the kettle, a gust of wind caused the canoe to drift away from the shore. When this

> was noticed one of Fred's men dived into the water to overtake the canoe which was not too far out on the lake. Unfortunately, the poor fellow must have taken cramps for he disappeared and was drowned. The water was still quite cold as the lake had only been free of ice for a couple of weeks. Just a sufficient quantity of food had been taken ashore for lunch. Fred and his remaining companion were stranded on the island for over two weeks. When found by a search party, both had lost a considerable amount of weight and were barely able to walk.

It is likely that the Moars would have gone to the Bloodvein River to trade with people there as well. Moar Lake is also located in this area and further indicates a long lasting family presence in this community.

> . . . . It was built about seventy-six years ago. Jno. R. Moar, who is in charge, has worked for over forty years with the Hudson's Bay Company and, although he is now advanced in years, is still able to hold his own with the best dog driver in the country. His father was in charge of Little Grand Rapids for forty-five years. He retired about seventeen years ago, and now resides at Pigeon Bluff, West Selkirk.
>
> A happy event took place at Little Grand Rapids on the 24th February, when the eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J.R. Moar and D. Paterson were quietly married by Rev. J.W. Niddrie, of Beren's River. Miss Jennie Moar acted as bridesmaid and F. Distrowe as groomsman (Unknown Author 1924:316).

As before, this passage is referring to John Robert Moar as being advanced in age, although as stated he would have only been 55 years old at the time. It is likely that he had worked very hard during his tenure at the HBC. The other interesting aspect of this passage is that Reverend J.W. Niddrie is the attending (Christian Methodist) minister. He was an early missionary in the Berens River and Bloodvein River mouth area (Schuetze 2001) that started at the Berens River Methodist mission in 1920 (Niddrie 2000). The HBC post in Little Grand Rapids was destroyed by fire in 1941 but was subsequently rebuilt near the United Church cemetery in the community (Schuetze 2001). After about 1960, the HBC gave up the trading post and it was eventually replaced by a Northern Store (Schuetze 2001). As a result of these changes the second Fred Moar (son of the first), who worked with us, did not have the opportunity to work for the HBC.

Cultural Themes Related to the Bloodvein River Region in Ontario

Several specific known individuals and families from the Bloodvein River and adjacent regions will be discussed in this section, along with a few other specific themes emerged while completing this part of the study. Information about belief systems, missionary activities, the HBC's continuing roles in the study area, and new opportunities/changes from mining activities were determined as important themes for this region.

Belief Systems and Ceremonial Aspects of Anishinaabe Life

Algonquian speaking peoples have long held beliefs about how animals, birds, and fish are to be treated after they are hunted or trapped for food (Hallowell 1955, 1992; Nabokov 2006; Rogers 1973; Rajnovich 1983; Skinner 1911; Tanner 1979; Tyrrell 1916). This relates to their respect of other living creatures as their relations, not only as a source of food, clothing, tools, etc. Thus, there are many traditions that relate to how certain parts of animals are placed back in the landscape for respectful and ritual purposes. As Nabokov (2006:27) explains about the anthropologist gaining understanding of the Ojibwa in the 1930s, "Hallowell soon realized that these were actually social relationships, which were conducted over the generations under an ethic of reciprocity. Of course, humans were fallible and broke rules and behaved selfishly, but that probably explained why they got sick, or why muskrat or porcupines became scarce in a given year". Miller (2010:82) also documented some of those examples when working with Pikangikum Elders (Table 5.1). I have also learned of similar respectful placement of animal, bird, and fish remains back on the land or water from Pikangikum and Lac Seul First Nation Elders (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 2008). Essentially, these customs vary amongst individuals and the Anishinaabeg and Cree (Rogers 1973; Tanner 1979) but similarly demonstrate a respect for the natural world and their animal relations. From an archaeological perspective, this may also explain why some faunal remains are not frequently found in boreal forest sites in this region (Rogers 1973). Indigenous people in the past likely disposed of bones in the same manner, which would limit the number found in an archaeological context. The highly acidic podzolic soils, caused by the decay of coniferous tree needles, is also an important reason why porous faunal remains are usually not preserved. In addition, faunal remains will pre-

Table 5.1. Some examples of Pikangikum traditions that demonstrate respectful treatment of animals, fish, and birds (adapted from Miller 2010:82).

Species	**Respectful Treatment**
Moose	The moose's bell is hung from a willow.
Woodland caribou	Leave the guts and bones somewhere open where scavenging birds can get to it. The lake ice is *kwaykwayshay*'s (grey jay's) plate.
Beaver	Guts and bones are returned to the lake.
Fish	Catch-and-release fishing is disrespectful. You take every fish you catch. Bones and guts are placed on shore or ice for gulls, eagles or other scavengers.
Grouse, duck, goose	A wing is hung from a willow or other tree.
All (animals, fish, birds and plants)	Never take any life unless you need to do so; honour that relation by treating it with respect (the late Joe Keesic, personal communication 2008).

serve better in an area where significant soil development has occurred, which is atypical for many central Canadian boreal forest archaeological sites.

During the late 1800s and early twentieth century, Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg and all other Indigenous people were subject to yet another controlling, assimilative, and overtly colonial practice. The Indigenous peoples of Canada were prevented from continuing their ceremonial traditions beginning at least in 1885, when the Potlach Law (Section 149 of the Indian Act) outlawed that tradition on the northwest coast and amendments to the Indian Act were made to prevent other specific ceremonial practices (Pettipas 1988). Once they were outlawed across Canada, various Indian agents, police officers, and other enforcement agents began to continually interfere and prevent age old spiritual practices. It should be no surprise to those familiar with the nefarious Residential School system, that one of the central instigators Duncan Campbell Scott, was later behind outlawing such traditional practices (Pettipas 1988). Some Indian agents chose to work together with Indigenous people but Scott and many clergymen were dogmatic about outlawing all dancing and ceremonial activities (Pettipas 1988). These measures were taken in order to cause destruction to Indigenous values mainly due to ethnocentrism, colonialism, intolerance for non-Christian beliefs, and the vision of new Canada as being a culturally homogenous nation, or ultimately to aid with assimilation (Pettipas 1988). The government went as far as issuing ‘passes’ for people who wanted to go to other reserves, thus trying to limit traditional ceremonies, kinship meetings, and other events. People adapted (as they always do and in some cases with passive resistance) and instead starting holding dances at Euro-Canadian events such as fairs, where Indigenous dancing was becoming very popular and Indigenous arts and crafts were also showcased (McMaster 1988). This eventually morphed into a tourist trade and economic opportunity for many Manitoba and other Indigenous people (McMaster 1988). Again, Indigenous people took the opportunity of the Victorian quest for ‘exotic’ items and produced such items for purchase (McMaster 1988), all the while subverting the Indian Act by leaving their reserves, dancing at the fairs, and producing traditional items. McMaster (1988:206) discusses the changes in Indigenous material culture from the 1870s until the 1950s, when items went from strict in culture use, to curios, then ethnography (being collected by anthropologists, geologists, and other Euro-Canadians), and to art. In line with Industrial and Residential Schools, Duncan Scott believed that Indigenous people should be farming rather than dancing and began regulating these fairs, so that the crafts would reflect an assimilated view of Indigenous people (McMaster 1988:208-209):

> During the 1920’s the Department grew very active in organizing and supervising Indian exhibits at industrial and agricultural exhibitions, such as those in Brandon, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton. This involved encouraging Indian students from industrial and residential schools to participate in the production of arts and crafts. One role of the Indian Affairs’ agent (to ensure that these Indians were being “civilized”, i.e., becoming good farmers and trades-

> men), was to exhibit their products to show their civilized qualities rather than their traditions, assuming that this would instill a Euro-Canadian spirit of competitiveness and motivation. Beneath the veneer, however, lay the chilling fact that the Indian was a showcase for the Department's policy of assimilation.

Contrary to these policies, The Canadian Handicraft Guild, which was set up in 1902 in Montreal by a women's group, actively worked with people to keep traditional crafts alive (McMaster 1988). In the Fort Garry and Red River district, moccasins and gloves were the main products along with birch bark and quill work items, all of which had been important sources of income for the Indigenous people living in the vicinity (McMaster 1988). This economic option would likely have been available for Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg on the Lake Winnipeg side and who could have sold to the gold rush consumers in Red Lake (Macfie and Johnston 1991 note this craft was very important in other areas of Northwestern Ontario as well). Even though such colonial policies were attempted, Indigenous people have persisted in artistic endeavours, culminating in the Woodland School of art strongly represented in Northwestern Ontario and Manitoba (e.g., acclaimed painter Norval Morrisseau lived in Red Lake from the 1950s to 1970s [Morrisseau 1965]). People still produce other traditional arts and crafts such as birch bark baskets, beadwork, leather items, and carved crafts for sale and use.

Pettipas (1988) discusses many examples of Indigenous people and those on eastern Lake Winnipeg who were harassed by government investigators for practicing their traditional activities, including at Bloodvein Reserve in 1916, where a Giveaway ceremony was interrupted. These events are still held today and represent a host giving away many items for various reasons such as working towards a successful hunt and doing well through the winter, celebrating a rite of passage, distributing goods belonging to a deceased person, building good relations (Pettipas 1988), and more practically the redistribution of goods through a community. In 1921, at the nearby Hollow Water Reserve (south of Bloodvein Reserve on Lake Winnipeg in Figure 1.5), Joseph Black's Giveaway drum was handed over to the local police, who destroyed it since he had played a role in the Giveaway (Pettipas 1988). Although the police officers likely never thought about the repercussions, destroying a sacred object would have been devastating for Black and other community members. Even though such incidents frequently took place in the eastern Lake Winnipeg area during that time, people still continued to host Giveaways and other ceremonies (Pettipas 1988).

Drums

In the Berens and Bloodvein River and Red Lake areas, large elaborately decorated drums and ceremonies associated with them were very important to the Anishinaabeg, perhaps in the early twentieth century or earlier. Gray (1996:135-136) explains one idea of how they became popular along the Berens River:

> Hallowell was told that the ideas of Drum Dances came to the upper Berens River from an Aboriginal visitor to Little Grand Rapids around 1912. Recent research has shown that several features of these dances were very similar to the Ojibwa dream drum ceremonies which spread through Minnesota and Wisconsin in the 1870s. There were initiated by Tailfeather Woman, a Sioux, who was told in a dream how to make a large drum and of the songs to accompany it. The ensuing ceremony "became the vehicle for making peace between the Sioux and the Ojibwa." [261] [Brown and Matthews 1993]. Subsequently, Thunderbirds (pinésiwuk) gave Maggie Wilson her Drum Dance through dreams and it was performed at the Manitou Reserve form 1918 to 1929. Clearly, the pivotal ideas involved were moving throughout the Rainy River and Lake of the Woods area. It is probable that Ojibwa people carried them north to Jackhead and the Bloodvein River via the Winnipeg River and Lake Winnipeg.

Whether or not Hallowell was accurate about the antiquity of big drums being used by Berens and Bloodvein River people, it provides an example of the likely spread of traditional ceremonies at the same time that missionaries had been trying to convert Anishinaabeg people (see Gray 1996; Leach 1991; Schuetze 2001). Of course, outsiders noted these ceremonies at that time but they have been done long before then. Interestingly, the Maggie Wilson mentioned above was likely the person that anthropologist Ruth Landes (e.g., 1971) worked with near Emo, Ontario in the 1930s (but see Lovisek et al. 1997). There is also the central theme of a Sioux woman trying to create peace between enemies, in which Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg may have participated in some of those conflicts, whereby the Ojibwe and Sioux raided each other's territories (see Long 1791). One of the stories related to the Bloodvein River naming is that it was the site of a battle (on the Lake Winnipeg side) between different parties and John Best of the HBC noted seeing canoes of people leaving to go and attack the Sioux in 1794 (Lytwyn 1986b). The nearest town to Lac Seul is aptly named Sioux Lookout for that reason. Similarly, Minnitaki Lake, which is just south of Lac Seul, is explained by Coleman (1895:56): "It will be remarked that the name Minnietakie is a foreign one, quite unlike any name given by the Ojibways, but resembling Indian names in Minnesota, minnie being "water". It is said that this lake was named by the Sioux, who sometimes made forays in this direction". The Anishinaabemowin word for water is *niibe* (Ningewance 2004) so that might be the case.

In the eastern Bloodvein River and Red Lake area, John Paishk was well known and respected for his large ceremonial drum (Figure 5.6) as elucidated in this commentary by Macfie and Johnston (1991:84):

> John Paishk was one of the few people who nurtured the tradition of drumming through a period when it was nearly lost. Discovery of gold gave rise in the 1930s to the boom town of Red Lake, on the fringes of which rose a shack town of natives attracted by work in the mines. Into that environment Paishk brought his tayawaygun, with its moosehide head stretched over a frame of hoops made

> from the wood of the black ash tree. When in use, the drum hung from four pegs shaped like walking sticks, and several men sat around drumming in unison.

Whether he was really "one of the few" who carried a drum is somewhat debatable, since the Anishinaabeg had to conceal their traditional practices for so long in the earlier part of the twentieth century. Pikangikum community members have openly discussed how they were required to hide and even bury (put away) several of their drums to save them from outsiders taking them (the late Oliver Hill, personal communication 2008; Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012). Isaac Keesic(k), who was the uncle to many of the Keesics and Paishks that are research partners in this project, interpreted for John Macfie (2010) and they both went to see John (age 73 at the time) and Flora Paishk in Red Lake on June 20, 1956. Macfie (2010) documented information and took photographs of them with John and his drum, pipe, and other sacred items (Macfie and Johnston 1991) at a time when some traditional practices were being set aside by his people:

> The pipe he made himself only five years ago, from stone from Pipestone Bay at the west end of Red Lake, to replace a much older one that broke, and which he still keeps among the other stuff, wrapped in blue cloth.
>
> The drum seemingly comes from Manitoba, where he purchased it for $25 from an Indian, about 20 or 25 years ago.
>
> Apparently no drumming was then being done at Red Lake, and he wanted to revive it, or get it going. It is of ash wood, covered with blue cloth and decorated with brass studs. The heads are of moosehide, which he has to replace every four years. It is fully tanned, I believe.
>
> When the drum is in use it is slung from four legs, which are stuck in the ground. I only saw the points of these legs, as they were wrapped in an old Union Jack, but they seemed to be about two feet long and curved sharply on the upper end, somewhat like a short cane, only with no more than a 90 degree curve to the handle.
>
> Isaac Keesick was my interpreter. He says as many as 12 men beat the drum at once, sitting around it in a circle. They sing, and I believe dance as well.
>
> The singing is not just a chant with no meaning, but about the sky and such things, says Isaac. Everyone sings in unison, "just like white men."
>
> The drum is called tay-a-way-gan, the pipe assinae p-wogan [stone pipe], and the whole affair of drumming and singing is a wee-nay-mee-tum.

> I believe John Paishk passed away in April 1959, three years after I photographed him, while Isaac Keesick died, at age 76, in 1977.

Macfie's (2010) documenting of this information contains many themes of relevance to this project. The pipestone mentioned is why "Pipestone Bay" located as part of Red Lake is so named. Dowling (1896) mentions briefly that it exists but the Keesic and Paishk families still know about its exact location. This big drum was a means to sustain traditionally inclined people through ever changing times, as many Anishinaabeg from Red Lake had been sent to Residential School and began working in Euro-Canadian settings rather than living full time on the land. Paishk witnessed this situation with his own family, as he moved from the Bloodvein River to Red Lake. One of his many grandchildren, Jennie Angeconeb (personal communication 2014) could still recall her Mr. Paishk's drumming from her childhood and how it inspired the Red Lake community at powwows and other ceremonies; she also indicated that her grandparents had moved to Red Lake from the Bloodvein River since they were getting too old to be on the trap line all the time. He continued with his traditional beliefs regardless of the changing circumstances of the times.

Mr. Paishk was likely regarded with similar respect in his area as *Naamawan* (Fair Wind), a well-known ceremonial leader and healer from Pauingassi First Nation who was discussed in detail by Hallowell (1940, 1992) and later writers (Brown 1996, 2003; Brown and Matthews 1994; Peers and Brown 1999). Since Pauingassi is located close to Little Grand Rapids, with many related families, he would have also been important to people there. Gray (1996:135) explains the situation in Little Grand Rapids:

> By 1932, three of four big drums were used in a number of ceremonies by different families at Little Grand Rapids. They bore a striking resemblance to those used in Minnesota and Wisconsin, yet like Fair Wind's drum, they were each distinctive. Their histories underscore the Ojibwa abilities to receive new ideas, examine them and either reject, recast or integrate them (in bits or in totality) into a dynamic life.

Interestingly, Pauingassi First Nation (2012) has named their community-based land management plan "*Naamawin*: the Land of Fair Wind" after that important traditional healer and Elder, even though he passed away many years ago (1851-1944 in Peers and Brown 1999). In the words of the community members: "*Naamiwan* had a dream to make a healing drum, this dream came to him one day at a site not far from the present-day Pauingassi reserve. *Naamiwan's* dream, the drum and the healing ceremonies he conducted illustrate the importance of traditional Anishinaabe knowledge, practices and beliefs to this day" (Pauingassi First Nation and the Government of Manitoba 2012:6). Clearly, community members have not forgotten their traditional practices or their importance, despite federal government and missionary interferences. Perhaps sometime in the 1920s, *Naamiwan's* drum moved to nearby Poplar Hill First Nation where it was eventually purchased by Gary Butikofer, who taught there from 1970-1990, after the ceremonies had stopped; it now resides in the Red Lake Heritage Centre (Brown 2003). Poplar Hill community members said that it is in retirement and should not be used again, particularly since their ancestors with the spiritual knowledge, power, and blessings to conduct its ceremonies had passed on (Brown 2003). Sacred items such as this belong to an individual and should not be reused by others. Brown (2003) also describes how Dr. Jack Steinbring had collected about 240 artifacts from Pauingassi in 1970 for the Department of Anthropology museum at the University of Winnipeg; many were related to Fair Wind, his family, ceremonial items, and some of which appeared in Hallowell's (e.g., 1992) photographs. Of course, this did happen fairly regularly in the mid-twentieth century for various reasons. However, some of these sacred items were apparently given by the museum, without permission from Pauingassi, to the Three Fires *Midewiwin* Society in Wisconsin (for more information see Brown 2003). This example illustrates yet another problem of multiple levels of interference with Anishinaabe ceremonial beliefs (in this case sacred items).

The Windigo

When we were completing fieldwork in his territory, Richard Duck (personal communication 2010) informed me that the Anishinaabe name for Musclow Lake meant large round lake (*Gitchi Karweagamu*); it is located just off of the main Bloodvein River system through Barclay Lake (Figure 5.4). His family had regularly stayed there over many decades with that being part of their trap line. Malaher (1978:no page numbers) relates several stories about travelling with Anishinaabeg from Little Grand Rapids in the 1920s that reflect other long-established knowledge and traditions of the Anishinaabeg along this part of the Bloodvein River:

> The load of instruments, photographs, tent, bedding and supplies was too much for one 17-foot semi-freighter canoe and we hired two Indians with a second canoe to accompany us and help with the portaging. We promised to take them to Gitchi Karweagamuk (Big Round Lake), a lake on the Bloodvein River from which they knew the regular route home. All went well for the first week, then we noticed the Indians were uneasy and they said they thought we were lost. To prove otherwise, I showed them a picture of the lake on which we were camped, pointed across the lake and told them that over there was a short portage to the next lake, as shown on the picture. They talked this over, then off they went to see if I was telling the truth. They came back satisfied and on we all went. Two days later at an ungodly early hour we awoke to hear the Indians making breakfast. As soon as we appeared they said they were going home, nor could we dissuade them. They were given enough grub to get them home, a pay chit on the H.B.C., and off they went in a hurry-we knew not why. There was a one-mile portage immediately ahead of us, to be scouted and then cut. Beyond was some 50 miles of country with not an axe mark, portage trail, old camp fire or other human sign to be found. Beaver, otter, and other fur animals were in abundance, and it all seemed strange to us.

The route to Gitchi Karweagamuk (Big Round Lake) or Musclow Lake is still used by people from Little Grand Rapids. This section reinforces the idea that Europeans in northwestern Ontario required Indigenous people to guide them safely, especially inland. Malaher (1978:no page numbers) continues . . .

> Two years later when back at Little Grand Rapids I asked Johnny Moar [John R. Moar discussed herein] if he could explain why the Indians left us and why no one was trapping the unusual abundance of fur animals. He laughed and told me this story.
>
> Many years ago a party of Indians left Little Grand Rapids for their spring trapping, taking their canoes along on the dog toboggans. They camped on the shore of a narrow lake on the opposite side of which was a high rock cliff.
>
> One night soon after break-up of the ice there was a violent spring thunderstorm. A rift in the top of the cliff had been widened through the years by ice forming in the cleft and gradually pushing the rock forward. Reverberation of the thunder had been enough to topple the delicately balanced rock, and huge masses of the cliff were plunged into the lake. The resultant tidal wave swept through the Indian camp, drowned some of the people, drowned most of the dogs chained to trees along the shoreline, smashed some of the canoes and generally wrecked the camp.
>
> Believing that the Weetigo (evil spirit) was responsible, the survivors hurriedly salvaged what they could and high-tailed it for home. Word of the tragedy soon spread and none of the Indians of Little Grand Rapids, Pikangicum or Red Lake would enter the area. We were going to pass right through it, and that was why our Indians had deserted us.

The narrow lake described previously could be Artery Lake, where there are a number of high cliffs with pictographs. It is part of the Bloodvein River system in the territory of Little Grand Rapids but is also near the territories of Pikangikum and Red Lake Anishinaabeg, so that might be the lake Malaher (1978) is discussing. Although it is not a narrow lake, Peter Paishk informed our field crew about a location on Larus Lake (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a), which is east of Musclow Lake or Big Round Lake (Figure 5.4), where a *Weetigo* (also pronounced *Windigo*) has appeared and that a crying baby could sometimes be heard. Peter's grandparents, John and Flora Paishk, had told him not to go there. Of course, we did not go to that location out of respect for Peter, his family, and this oral history; he was trying to safeguard us from harm within his traditional territory. Perhaps this was a similar location that was known to John Moar and other Little Grand Rapids community members as Malaher (1978) as documented in the 1920s and has been perpetuated through oral tradition since earlier times (and Peter also has family members from Little Grand Rapids). This information provides another example of why it is important for archaeologists to work with traditional knowledge holders on the land if possible. Since there are parts of the cultural landscape that have spiritually important locations, not necessarily having material culture, these are important to local people and would not likely be recognized by archaeologists.

Charlie George Owen (1993) also relates many important Anishinaabeg beliefs within a story about a powerful traditional man named *Zhaangweshiwinini* (translates as Mink Man in Ningewance 2004:256, 291) who discusses Thunderbirds and who lived in the Bloodvein River mouth community:

> He knew this old man; he lived in Bloodvein River. Zhaangweshiwinini was his name. This old man was able to talk to Thunderbirds. So one time, he and his other man were going out to an island, to a rock. While they were there, they heard the Thunderbirds coming in the [f]araway distance. so he asked this man if he had the courage to see the the Binesiwag. The other man's reply was "Yes."
>
> So this old man filled his pipe with tobacco and gave the offerings, spoke to the Binesiwag [Thunderbirds] to come. The story goes on that there was a big cloud. As it got near, it got larger and larger; and it came down on that flat rock. So this old man told his partner, "Now look." The Binesi had landed. He says, when you look at the ash--the tall ones, not the little ones-- that's how bit is when it sat.
>
> It doesn't come out in the open; it's always in a cloud. He said it's huge. He said this Binesi is so powerful, when they come, when they sound the earth shakes. The word he uses is maamakaaj; it's overwhelming. He asks the question: "Would anybody believe that?" In the end, he says he believes that story; that Thunderbirds do exist.

Elders Paul Moose and Jim Turtle (personal communications 2004) from Pikangikum also used the word *maamakaaj* to express amazement such as when we found a projectile point at their long used spring camp during the Roderick Lake archaeological project (Taylor-Hollings 2006b). Ningewance (2004:260) also suggests that this word, in the Lac Seul dialect, can also mean "how amazing!" That is an alternative interpretation at the wonder of seeing *Binesiwag* and being overwhelmed. This story explains several important points in that powerful traditional practitioners were still living along the Bloodvein River, in the twentieth century, despite the missionary presence on the Lake Winnipeg end of the river (see Gray 1996; Pettipas 1988). Hallowell (1936, 1992, 2010) also discusses several *Mide* who were still following traditional practices in the 1930s in this area. The archaeological presence of Thunderbird nests in the Bloodvein and Berens River region that are tied to the land with Pikangikum and Lac Seul Elders' stories, as discussed in Chapter 7, provides further indications of the importance of *Zhaangweshiwinini's* story relating to Ojibwe cultural landscapes on the west side of the river.

Some Euro-Canadians refer to traditional Anishinaabeg belief systems as 'paganism', which was detailed in many twentieth century government documents about the Bloodvein and Berens

River areas. Most people had to go 'underground' with their traditional belief systems because of them being outlawed as previously discussed (see Pettipas 1988 for a thorough discussion about these ideas). In the early to middle twentieth century, many Anishinaabeg were traditional and others were Christian, with some using concepts from both belief systems (Gray 1996).

The *Midewiwin* and Other Anishinaabe Belief Systems

The *Midewiwin* has also been called the Grand Medicine Society, although some writers suggest that is as an incorrect translation and that none are very appropriate in English (Angel 2002; Hoffmann 1891). Despite some researchers (e.g., Hickerson 1970) suggesting that the *Midewiwin* only existed as a reaction to European contact, there is significant archaeological (e.g., pictographs, birch bark scrolls, and rarely sites as in Howey and O'Shea 2006), ethnohistoric, and oral history information to suggest that it is an older practice. There is evidence for ancient and more recent Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg being part of the *Midewiwin* through specific pictographs at Artery Lake and Murdock Lake (Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Rajnovich 1994) (see further details about Bloodvein River pictographs in Chapter 7). Hallowell (1936) also discusses specific examples and healers associated with this society living at the mouth of the Bloodvein River. In addition, there are several examples from nearby Berens River peoples, who were and still are related to Bloodvein Anishinaabeg (Figure 5.5).

Warren (1885:169), an Ojibwe writer born in the early 1800s, explains that the *Midewiwin* is the best example of ancient Anishinaabe beliefs and ceremony:

> In the Me-da-we rite is incorporated most that is ancient amongst them—songs and traditions that have descended, not orally, but in hieroglyphics, for at least a long line of generations. In this rite is also perpetuated the purest and most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common every-day use. And if comparisons are to be made between the language of the Ojibways and the other languages, it must be with their religious idiom.

It is very likely that some central and eastern Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg belonged to the *Midewiwin* Society and participated in other traditional spiritual practices since Hallowell (1992) notes that no Christians lived in Pikangikum when he visited there. As discussed previously, John Paishk and others were traditional drum keepers. In addition, there is evidence to suggest that nearby Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi, and Pikangikum (see Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Dewdney 1975; Douglas 1926; Hallowell 1955, 1992, 2010; Steinbring 1981) remained traditional longer than the Berens River and Bloodvein communities on Lake Winnipeg. Of course, some people who live in these areas still have traditional Anishinaabe beliefs and attend ceremonies but there was a notable decline in the occurrence of these after missionaries moved into the area in the mid-twentieth century (Gray 1996).

Hoffmann (1891) discusses the three main types of shaman or medicine people within Anishinaabe societies at that time known as *Mide*, *Jessakkid* (using the shaking tent), and *Wabano* (see Hallowell 1992). Although Hoffmann (1891) is ethnocentric and very critical of the *Wabano* in particular, *Namawin* (Fair Wind) was a noted Elder and healer from Pauingassi who held these ceremonies in his community (Brown 2003; Brown and Matthews 1993; Hallowell 1936, 1992, 2010). He is still revered even though he passed away several decades ago (Pauingassi First Nation and the Government of Manitoba 2012). Hoffmann (1891:159) also notes that there were *Mashkikike winini* (literally Medicine Man) and described as a herbalist within communities. All of these types of healers still exist today amongst the Anishinaabeg in northwestern Ontario.

Some information has been written about the *Midewiwin* Society by Indigenous people (Benton-Banai 1988; Rheault 1999; Warren 1885) but much more has been discussed by early writers documenting their views of ceremonies as they came upon them (e.g., Hoffmann 1891), or more recent historians (Angel 1997, 2002). Thus, the *Midewiwin* has mainly been written about by early European writers associated with the fur trade in North America and by non-Indigenous researchers (Angel 1997, 2002; Dewdney 1975; Hallowell 1936; Hickerson 1967; Hoffmann 1891). Angel (2002:5) describes the problem of outsiders viewing the *Midewiwin* Society and practices:

> Yet, the Midewiwin came to exemplify "Indian Religion" to many nineteenth-century Euro-Americans. As a result of their selective emphasis on particular rituals, taken out of the broader context, the Midewiwin symbolized to Euro-Americans all that was strange, savage, evil, and potentially dangerous in Aboriginal people who had not become "civilized" and Christianized. Mide "priests," as they were normally portrayed in words and pictures by Euro-American observers, became the ultimate "other."[13] Even today, many religious scholars, anthropologists, and historians continue to cite uncritically nineteenth-century Euro-American reports as being authoritative descriptions of esoteric rites practised among the Ojibwa.

Even in the early 1800s, Warren (1885) lamented about this being highly inaccurate about his culture. However, a few accounts have been recorded by Anishinaabe writers (Benton-Banai 1988; Johnston 2002; Warren 1885).

Since Bloodvein Anishinaabeg are related to Lac Seul community members, it is also important that Dewdney (1975) discusses some of the last ones held there in the 1920s. Dewdney (1997) was a missionary at Lac Seul in the 1920s, where many of the community members had also become Christian. The Ear Falls dam flooded their traditional ceremonial grounds, which seems to have curtailed traditional practices considerably afterwards (Dewdney 1997). Waugh (1919) documents the Lac Seul *Midewiwin* ceremonies while he was there and before the flooding. Hallowell (1936) noted that one of the last *Mide* leaders from Pikangikum left there to go to Lac Seul. Other Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg had been sent to residential schools and were forced to give up their traditional values for Catholic, Protestant, or Mennonite religions. Flooding did not happen farther north but certainly people had given (and sold) their sacred items and birch bark scrolls to Hallowell (1992) in the 1930s. It is likely they were going through tough economic times during the Depression and needed the money. Like the ceremonial drums discussed previously, Anishinaabeg people had to protect these traditions from government and missionary officials who were actively trying to dissuade people from continuing their traditional ways and attempting to assimilate them into Euro-Canadian Christian society through various means. As Angel (1997:261) suggests for the Plains Ojibwa, "under these circumstances, it is not surprising that members of the Long Plains band were extremely reluctant to discuss the practice of the *Midewiwin* with visiting ethnologists".

Hallowell (1935, 1936) profiles some prominent traditional men at Little Grand Rapids during the 1930s, including Angus (described as a 'conjurer' by Hallowell or traditional practioner). 'Conjuring' was the term used by outsiders and typically meant the use of Shaking Tent ceremonies (as documented by Hallowell [1992] in Little Grand Rapids) and drumming for traditional healers. Although that term was being used in the 1930s, it is ethnocentric given that the definitions include performing magic tricks, putting a spell on someone, and invoking supernatural forces (Oxford University Press 2012). These people are highly respected members of Anishinaabeg communities, leaders, and regarded as gifted at healing and providing advice. Many Anishinaabe shaman are important people with real gifts that are not referred to in that way any longer.

Hallowell (1936:67) also suggests that Morning Star, of the Hole River Band and who died in 1932, was the "last member of the Grand Medicine Lodge (*Midewiwin*) on Lake Winnipeg". This seems unlikely given that many people would not identify themselves as *Mide* even if asked, due to the Anishinaabe teachings regarding maintaining humility (Benton-Banai 1988). In addition, *Mide* are free to attend ceremonies in other locations that continue to host these ceremonies in other places in Manitoba, Ontario, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (Benton-Banai 1988) even if the ceremonies were no longer being held east of Lake Winnipeg. Therefore, I disagree with Hallowell's (1936) description that one of the most well known, long held Anishinaabe traditional ceremonial complexes, the *Midewiwin*, came to a 'demise' in the Lake Winnipeg area. Perhaps the ceremonies no longer take place *there* now but people from there may still be part of the society and go to ceremonies in other parts of northwestern Ontario, Manitoba, or the northern USA.

In addition to Shaking Tent ceremonies, Hallowell (1992, 2010) witnessed and documented Fair Wind and John Duck's *Wabano* pavilions (as he termed them) or *Wabanowígamik* where the large drum (dance drum) ceremonies took place in Pauingassi First Nation. These were traditional Algonquian long lodges of bent pole construction whereby tall, thin tree bases were placed in holes in the ground, then the trunks bent over to meet each other in the middle, and lashed together to create a supportive framework for covering (Hallowell 1992). Some lodges were left open in the case of *Midewiwin* ceremonies in the *Midewígamik* structure (as per spelling in Hallowell 1992:105). Hallowell (1992) mentions black spruce and willow poles being used but these would have only worked for shorter structures, whereas I have seen birch, poplar, or alder used typically here in northwestern Ontario. Hallowell (1992:105) mentions the *Wáginogan* used in conjunction with the *Midewiwin* that is likely a long or teaching lodge (Figure 5.10). He (Hallowell 2010) also discusses a *Wabanowígamik* that a man named Asagesi built at Duck Lake (now Barton Lake) in Pikangikum's traditional territory, which is a long-established area of summer gatherings as well as ceremonies (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008b). Also near the Bloodvein River regions, Hallowell (2010:47) discusses one built at nearby Pikangikum:

> In another pavilion which Asagesi had built previously at Lake Pekangekum, described in 1925, there were two large boulders east of two of the medial posts. Asagesi spoke of a large stone "underground" in telling me about his dream revelation to which the position of one of the three stones corresponds.

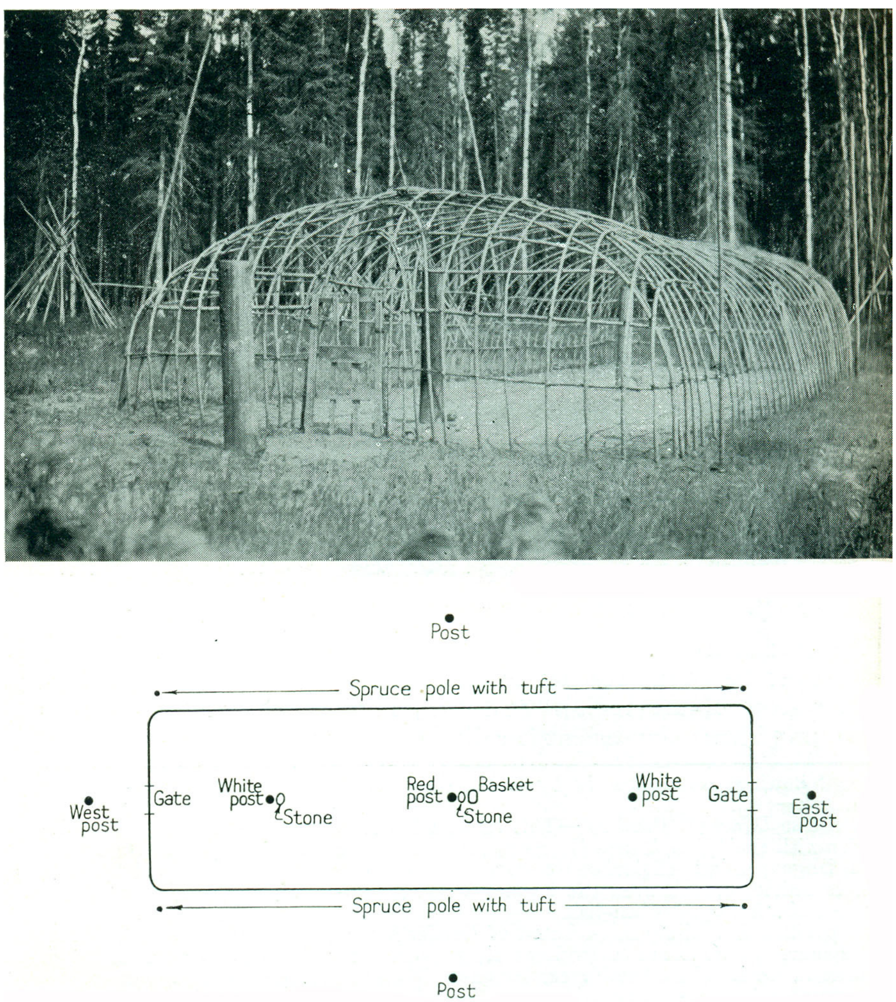

Figure 5.10. The long lodge and tipi structures photographed and mapped by Douglas (1926:20) at Pikangikum, near the entrance of Berens River in the 1920s. It is not in use in this photo, since there are no coverings on the top.

Although Hallowell (2010) does not refer to whom described this pavilion in 1925, it was not him, since his field trips began in the 1930s and he visited Pikangikum in 1932 (Hallowell 1955). However, there is some evidence to believe that the geologist Douglas (1926:20) documented Asagesi's *Wabanowígamik,* long lodge, or likely a *Mide* lodge as identified by Steinbring (1981). Douglas (1926) calls the structure an "*Utamin*" at Pikangikum (Figure 5.10) and notes that most of the people were not Christian at the time he was there in the 1920s. It was in use before missionaries moved into the community in the late 1920s (Dunning 1959) and likely similar structures were used for some time after that. Since I had not heard or read about this word "Utamin" in reference to a teaching or ceremonial lodge, I asked several Elders from Pikangikum (Jean Keesic, Linda Keesic, and Peter Paishk, personal communications 2015) about the meaning of "Utamin" and they said it sounded like their Ojibwe word "play" but were unclear as to what Douglas (1926) was meaning by using the term in that context. Hallowell's (1992:Appendix 102) detailed overview of different Aboriginal structures and dwellings about Aboriginal dwellings describes a "*cingúbigan*" which is somewhat similar when pronounced but it is a simple brush tent, temporary dwelling unlike the elaborate long lodge (Figure 5.10). Bushnell (1919:613) offers another explanation about his experience with entering into a Chippewa conical wigwam (*na'sawao'gem*):

> On approaching a wigwam, the custom is to raise the blanket which hangs over the doorway and go in without asking permission or knock as with us. If the inmates look on the newcomer with favor they say when he raises the blanket door and looks in, "Nind ubimin, nind ubimin (we are at home, we are at home)," which is a welcome, though nothing is thought on either side if silence is preserved.

It is possible that this phrase was used with Douglas (1926) in conjunction with discussing the lodge and he misunderstood the reference.

Indian Affairs (1903) describes Little Grand Rapids as being two-thirds Methodist and one-third 'pagan' during the early twentieth century. The same report (Indian Affairs 1903) describes the people of Pikangikum as being almost all 'pagan'. Hallowell (1955:114) notes that for the Pikangikum band, which he had visited in 1932, "there was not a single Christian reported before 1924. A decade later the Dominion Census (1934) reports 130 Indians still adhering to "Aboriginal Beliefs" out of a total population of 891, a proportion of 14 percent". This change within a decade may be explained by the nearby missions being set up at Little Grand Rapids and missionaries from there going to Pikangikum (Hallowell 1955). As of 1927, both Roman Catholic and United Churches had opened missions in Little Grand Rapids, which is reported to be a "fair-sized settlement" (author unknown 1927:141). Presumably, most people just to the south along the Bloodvein River in Ontario would also have been continuing their traditional belief systems, as exemplified by John Paishk and his family.

Dunning (1959) reports that Methodist teachers first moved to Pikangikum and then in 1925 the mission became occupied by the United Church of Canada; still later they left and Roman Catholic Oblates built a church there in 1950. At the end of that decade, Dunning (1959) suggests the sweat lodge (*mätutzwán* in Hallowell 1938a) and *Midewiwin* were not being practiced there any more but drums (or drum dances) and the dog feast had continued, although it is part of *Midewiwin* ceremonies; perhaps Dunning (1959) did not understand that it is only one component.

Missionary activities were becoming more aggressive and competitive with the Bloodvein River (at the mouth) and Berens River peoples from about the 1920s onward (see Gray 1996, 1999, 2006; Pettipas 1988). For many, that meant conversion to Christianity, using a mix of traditional beliefs along with Christian values, or some people remained so-called 'pagans'. More recently, a report completed by an outside consulting group and Pikangikum describes many facets of the community and the health of its people:

> Traditional spiritual practices are slowly being reintroduced into the community; this has created some tension amongst community members. Some community members feel that: "drum is evil, [it has] no place here." Hilarious Moose is a community member who was spoken highly of and who was labeled and not accepted by the church because he wanted to bring powwows back into the community. However, "now he gets approached by young people asking when the next powwow will be." One community member told us (NSPC and PCM 2009:6).

Hunter (2005) also describes a traditional drum being brought to Pikangikum and community member Josephine King (not the Lac Seul Elder previously mentioned) describes it:

> The people from Pikangikum and Poplar Hill used to meet halfway between their communities (at Stout Lake) to hold the wabano, mediwin and tent shaking ceremonies to seek guidance for whatever problems or concerns they might have had," she said. "In those days, there was a real sense of community. There was no suicide or other social problems."

My experience with community members is that many identify as Christian in Pikangikum (as iterated by Miller and Davidson-Hunt 2013) but that there are also people, other than Hilarious Moose, who still have traditional Anishinaabe beliefs. In addition, many people in Pikangikum, Lac Seul, and Little Grand Rapids choose to practice syncretism and take aspects from both Christian and Ojibwe spiritual viewpoints (see Gray 1996 for extended discussions about these ideas for the Berens River peoples). For example, community members still gather traditional medicines, with information passed down from many generations about location, how to harvest, when and which part to choose, ceremonies, and other time honoured practices. Pikangikum Elders also shared information about having to "put away" (as it is typically described for respectfully returning something to the land) or bury one of the large drums (as discussed previously) in the mid-twentieth century from the community near Duck/Barton Lake, since people feared that someone from the government would take their sacred item (see Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012:73 for an overview about some types of Barton Lake ceremonial sites). Hallowell (1992) also noted the importance of Duck Lake in the 1930s, as a summer family gathering location. Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings (2008b) document some of these and earlier archaeological sites, clearing indicating that Barton Lake has long been an important location for Berens River for ceremonies and otherwise.

In trying to determine when these major changes in spiritual practices occurred in Pikangikum and thus the Bloodvein River, another major change to the Anishinaabeg occurred with the reserve being surveyed in 1888. Government of Canada documents (1895) describe all 68 Pikangikum residents as all being pagan, 97 per cent of Bloodvein community at the river mouth were still traditional, while Little Grand Rapids has 109 Protestants and 65 traditional people, and Berens River has no 'pagan' people listed and a split between Catholic and Protestant (Canada 1895:282). Of course, this mainly relates to the number, form, and timing of missionaries moving into the region. Slightly later in the 1920s, Douglas (1926) describes and photographs a traditional long lodge right at Pikangikum as discussed previously (Figure 5.10); Steinbring (1981) identified this structure specifically as a *Mide* lodge and mentions that there was also one at Pauingassi when Douglas (1926) was in the area completing his survey.

By the time that Hallowell (1992:see appendix for extensive discussion) visits the community in 1932, he noticed that there were many differences between the Berens River community on Lake Winnipeg and inland communities, who still had more traditional forms of housing (cf., Figures 5.11, 5.12, and 5.13). Hallowell (1992) records that Berens River has mainly cabins in the 1930s (Figure 5.11), whereas further inland at Little Grand Rapids there was a mixture of mainly cabins but more traditional dwellings (Figure 5.12), and Pikangikum has more traditional dwellings (Figure 5.13); see Figure 5.3 for the modern viewpoint. Several decades later, Dunning (1959) completed work in Pikangikum and noted that there was only one sweat lodge there at that time, despite a considerably higher population than when Hallowell (1992) came to the community during the 1930s. Therefore, by the 1950s or early 60s, all the Berens River communities, including some Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg, had mainly Christian community members.

Schools

In the post-HBC period (1890-1945), missionaries became increasingly more aggressive about imposing Euro-Canadian education systems on Anishinaabeg communities. As Leach (1971:18) explains, missionaries such as himself, tried to obtain funds to build schools in the Bloodvein River region (not necessarily aimed at becoming residential schools but bringing forth their Euro-Canadian values about education):

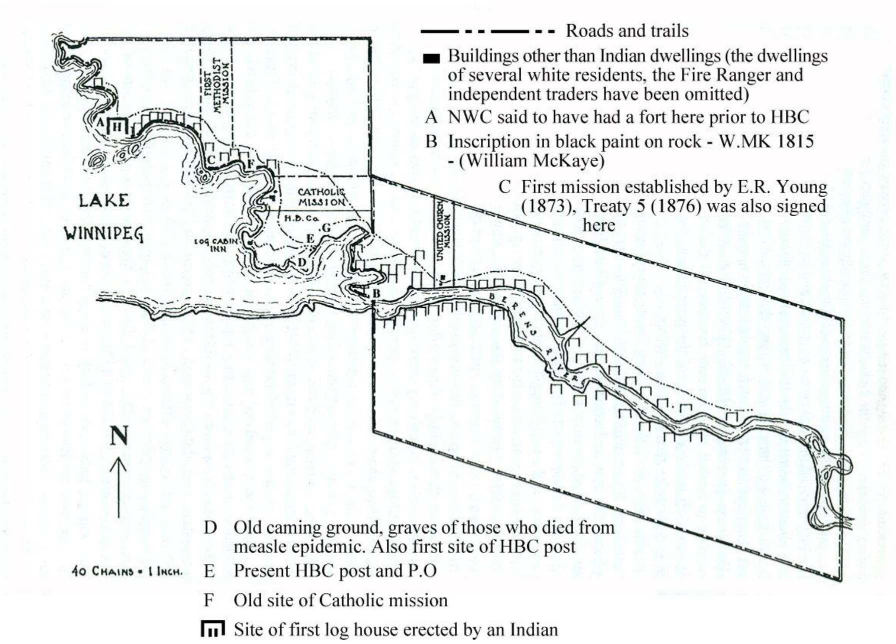

Figure 5.11. Map of Berens River First Nation, located on Lake Winnipeg, in the 1930s. From Hallowell (1992:34) who cites this as being based on the surveys of J.P.O. Hanley in 1878 and J.F.K. McLean in 1910. He mentions that "H" was the first log cabin built there. Note that three missions are already established.

> You may wonder why the Department of Indian Affairs hadn't provided funds for the construction of a school. In 1920 the conditions at Bloodvein were the same as those I mentioned at Little Grand Rapids. Most of the families left for the bush during the winter. The Government was willing to provide a limited amount of school material for the pupils but it was left up to us to prove that it was worth while for Ottawa to go to the expense of building a school. We had to get the parents to understand the importance of allowing their children to receive an education. This was no easy matter. Practically none of the married Bloodveiners had ever been to school and they could not understand the advantages of education for their children. Nevertheless that first winter we had a fair success as some of the families remained on the Reserve; the men went, alone, to their trapping grounds. The school built, in 1920, was in use up to 1937 when the Department built a decent one.

Effectively, Leach (1971) was trying to coerce people to change their spiritual beliefs at Bloodvein River First Nation. With regard to the lack of commitment from the Department of Indian Affairs back in the early 1900s, it seems that some 90 years later little has changed in this regard. Pikangikum has been waiting for a new school for many years even though they were promised federal funding often. It is one of the largest First Nation communities in northwestern Ontario and has one of the highest youth suicide rates in the country (Office of the Chief Coroner 2011). The previous school had burnt down in 2007, so teachers and students have been forced to use drafty trailers, hauled in on ice roads. During the early part of the twentieth century, many Bloodvein River Anishinaabe and nearby children were taken away from their parents and sent to Residential Schools in Poplar Hill, Macintosh, Pelican Falls, and Cecelia Jeffreys in Kenora (Auger 2005).

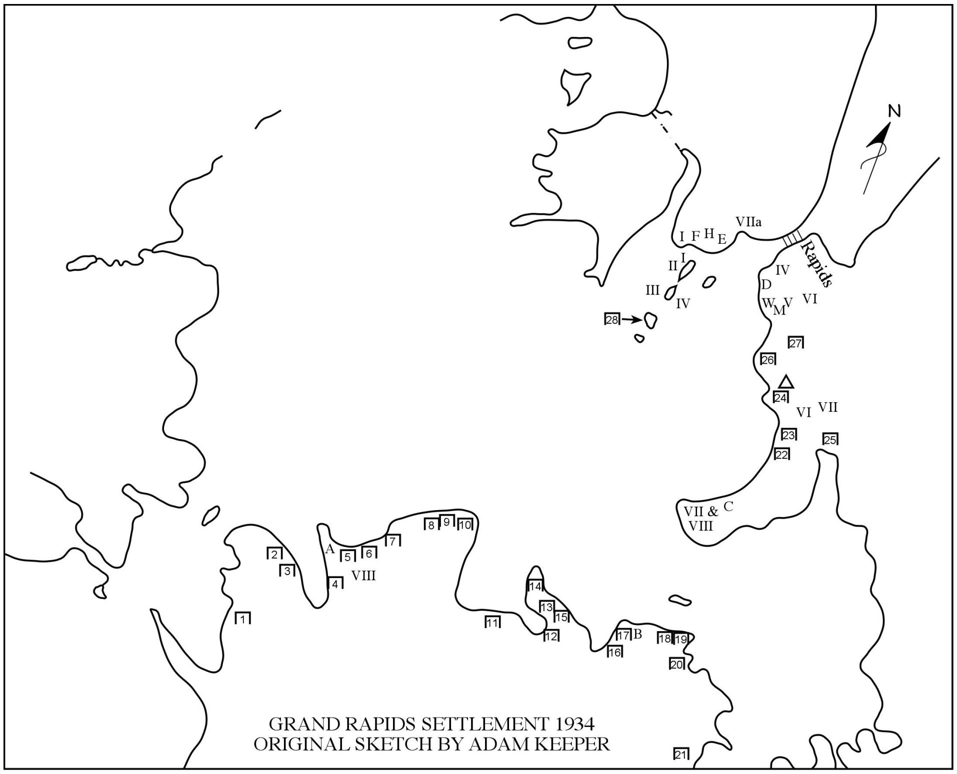

Figure 5.12. Little Grand Rapids in 1934 (redrawn from Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012:55; original sketch by Adam Keeper in A.I. Hallowell papers from his visit there). See legend in Figure 5.13.

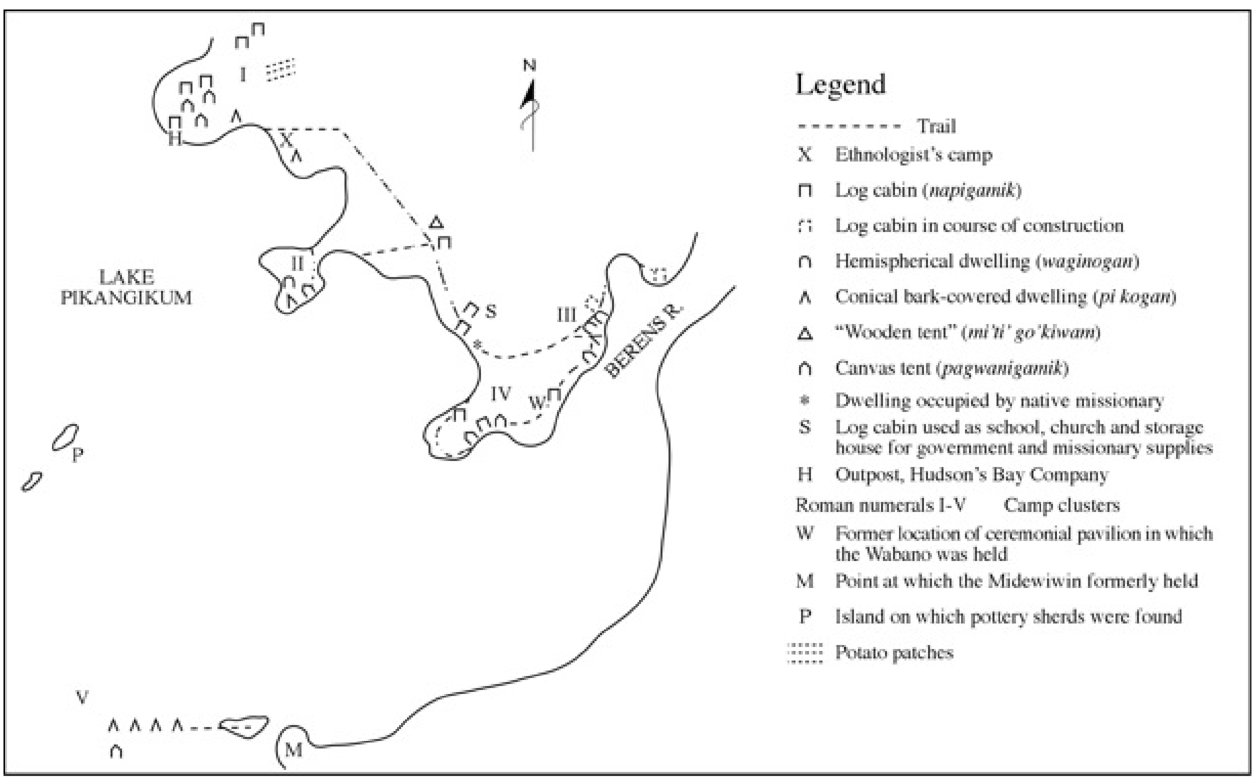

Figure 5.13. Pikangikum in 1932 (redrawn from original sketch by Neapit [Daniel Peter] in Hallowell 1992:47). Note the differences in housing types, HBC post, places where ceremonies were held, and potato patches. Archaeological pottery found by Hallowell ("P") was later described by Fewkes' (1937). See Figure 5.3 for comparison.

HBC Continuities

Regarding the Northern Algonquian and HBC Period (1821-1890) discussed by Rogers (1994), after the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC in 1821, many changes occurred in the Bloodvein River/Red Lake area due to the monopoly created. Foremost was the closure of all the posts on the Bloodvein River and the Red Lake post was only open from 1828-1829 before the twentieth century versions (Lytwyn 1986a). The Ojibwe participating in the fur trade then had to go to Little Grand Rapids, Fort Alexander in Manitoba, Lake of the Woods area, and many went to Lac Seul where few records survive about the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg (Lytwyn 1986a). This travelling further afield also may explain the longstanding family ties between Lac Seul, Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids peoples. The Canadian Pacific Railway also established a route south of the earlier HBC English River route in the 1880s (Lytwyn 1986a) supplying Dinorwic and Dryden near Sioux Lookout and south of the study area (Figure 1.4). In 1890, the Canadian National Railway became important to northern Ontario since it simplified and lessened costs for transportation routes to Lac Seul and other posts instead of the old boat brigades, while provided new employment opportunities for local Indigenous people to operate freight canoes and small steamers to take goods to the posts (Lytwyn 1986a).

An important factor in many Anishinaabe lives was the HBC, which still had some operations open in the north during the late 1800s and all over the north in the early twentieth century (Unknown Author 1927:140) including at the Bloodvein River community on Lake Winnipeg (W.C. Mackay stationed there in winter 1927), Little Grand Rapids (John R. Moar and Fred Moar), and Pikangikum (Peter Pekangikum in Unknown Author 1940). Lytwyn (1986a) suggests that the Barclay Lake post (discussed in Chapter 6) was open in the early twentieth century but it is unclear why he suggests that idea, unless he is just basing that on by Wall's (1980a) archaeological report. It is evident that people continued to build small cabins along the Bloodvein River for use as a trapping base and they still are used today (Figure 5.14).

In 1896, geologist Coleman (1896:60-61) describes one of the two HBC posts open on Lac Seul, of which one is at White Pine Narrows:

> The first glimpse of the Lonely lake post across the narrows is a great surprise. After all the wilderness of lake and woods, and after the picturesque but humble log cabins of the Indians, one suddenly sees a thoroughly civilized group of buildings, one of the houses a handsome summer cottage in appearance, standing on a yellow sandy shore or among shapely evergreens with wooded hills for a background. Beside the Hudson Bay post with its buildings, a Church of England mission with its pretty church and house gives the place the look of a trim summer resort, and indeed but for the tedious portages of the canoe journey it might very well serve that purpose if western Ontario were not so well provided in other quarters with summer play grounds. There are no Indian inhabitants except one or two employees of the company; but a considerable number live in villages on

Figure 5.14. Drying rack near this traditional style trapper's cabin (in the background with OMNR employee Michelle Schlag) at Paishk Lake. We found these drying racks (not always at cabins) quite often in the WCSS, indicating a continuation of Anishinaabe traditional hunting and food preservation practices. There were moose and bear bones near this rack, likely indicating the meat that was drying on it. The main structure of the rack consists of four thin, stripped tree poles held together with black twine. This style was typical to those seen in Pikangikum's territory also (which is logical since this trapper is from Pikangikum but lives in Red Lake).

the two reserves just south of the lake, and at Sunday service the little church is crowded with a well-behaved audience, only half a dozen of whom are white.

The Hudson Bay post, which is an important center of distribution, is in charge of Mr. Jabez Williams, who takes much interest in the mineralogy of the region, and especially in its gold deposits. The bales of fur collected during the winter are shipped from this post in large, well-built York boats, half a dozen of which were drawn up under a shed on the beach. These boats, which are built here by halfbreed carpenters, carry a sail and a crew of seven or eight and are said to be good sea boats. They are dragged across the portages on a line of skids, two crews uniting to draw a single boat. The planks of which they are built, some of them twelve inches wide, are cut with a whip saw from logs obtained a short distance northwest of the post.

So much information is presented in these two passages about this pre-flood time frame at Lac Seul. Along with the HBC presence is the mission house and church already established in the late 1800s, which may have been the one that Dewdney (1997) later describes in the 1920s and that the majority of people attending church are Indigenous. The post is apparently quite busy with York boat building by 'halfbreeds', which is a fairly rare observation for this area. It is clear that there is a market for furs from this post and that there are significant numbers of them in bales.

Indian Affairs (1903) suggests that most people at Pikangikum were employed by the HBC in that community at the beginning of the twentieth century (being much smaller in population than presently). Red Lake Post Narrows, Lac Seul, and Hudson posts were doing very well due to the gold rush at Red Lake starting in 1926 (Parrott 1964). One such trader was Peter Pekangekum who established an outpost at Poplar Hill in 1895 (still noted on Douglas' 1926 map) and later in 'Pekangekum' (Dunning 1959:14; Unknown Author 1940:15). This pattern changed in 1946, when a non-Native took over the post there and significantly altered trade into something more consistent with a retail store (Dunning 1959). More recently, the ubiquitous Northern Store, known to so many communities in Canada's north, is open at Pikangikum, nearby Poplar Hill, Little Grand Rapids, and nearby Pauingassi. These stores remain both a blessing and curse to local residents, since they provide goods in remote communities but their goods are also expensively priced (e.g., $20.00 for a 10 pound bag of potatoes at Pikangikum's Northern Store). Of course, transportation to more remote locations are more costly but this scenario is similar to the old HBC post policies that enabled trappers to become indebted to them quite easily due to high prices.

Mining, Surveys, and Changes to Anishinaabe Economies

It is apparent that many Anishinaabe people from the Bloodvein River headwaters and Red Lake area continued to assist or work for Euro-Canadians when surveyors, prospectors, mappers, foresters, government agents, and others started moving to or visiting the area during the Frontiers of "New Ontario" Period (J.G. Taylor 1994). Burwash (1923:3) notes that in completing the Manitoba/Ontario boundary survey: "In the course of the work, covering about three months, a considerable number of unmapped lakes were surveyed, and in some cases where good Indian or other previously-given names were not available, names were assigned to them. The remainder are indicated on the map by numbers". Thus, he was actually collaborating with local Anishinaabeg in trying to distinguish the many lakes in this area and was likely being guided by the same people. He describes hiring two Anishinaabeg guides from Bloodvein River, leaving from the HBC post and needing to make 30 portages in two days: "We were told by the Indians that the Bloodvein for some distance above this [Sasaginnigak Lake along the Bloodvein River in Manitoba] inlet is full of rapids, and owing to the difficulty of navigation is not used as a route by the trappers" (Burwash 1923:51).

Many geological surveyors became interested in the area given the Canadian Shield location but also more specifically for greenstones belts and granites that turned out to host gold (e.g., Bruce and Hawley in 1927). Bruce and Hawley (1928:2) describe the early Euro-Canadian view of Red Lake (and nearby headwaters of the Bloodvein River):

> A post, known as Red Lake House, was established during the seventeenth century by the Hudson's Bay Company. Red lake is marked on Arrowsmith's map of 1795-1802, and Gullrock lake is shown as Prince of Wales lake. As it is located off the main travel routes of those days, none of the naturalist explorers of the great fur companies visited it; and it was not until 1893, when the late D. B. Dowling passed through the lake on his exploration from the English river to Berens river, that there is any mention of the geology or physical features of the region north of the English river. Prompted by Dowling's description of sedimentary rocks at Red lake, a geological party of the Ontario Department of Mines, working along the English river, visited Red lake in 1922, and the preliminary mapping of the basin was completed in 1923.

Lonn (1966:120) mentions that a man named Norman Davis was looking near the present day site of the Howey Mine at Red Lake in 1912 and went "with an Indian" to take a few samples. This guiding by local Indigenous people happened quite regularly, so that many nearby Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg were taking part in the mining boom and many moved to Red Lake (Parrott 1964) from the Bloodvein River and other nearby locations. The many employment opportunities resulted in several settlements at Red Lake and on the outskirts of the town as observed by Dewdney (1997) during a canoe trip in the 1920s. The Anishinaabe population was cleared out of all of these locales, although "Keesic Bay" remains near Forestry Point (Joe Keesic, personal communication 2004; Sanders 2011). In addition, some descendants of the Paishk/Keesic/Kejick families still reside in Red Lake. Dewdney (1997:61) explains the dichotomy of the Red Lake gold rush for the Anishinaabeg in the larger area:

> For example, the gold rush created many jobs. Young men from the reserves worked seasonally on survey crews, construction projects, prospecting parties. They worked as guides, rodmen, and general labourers. At the same time, the rush of "progress" demanded a hydro dam at Ear Falls, the outlet of Lac Seul.

Although the initial gold rush and subsequent industries, such as commercial fishing, would create an ongoing economic base for Bloodvein River and other Anishinaabeg people in this area, the dam would destroy the early community of Lac Seul from which many of them had originated. Christina Keesic (Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting 2009) explained that her family's cabin was flooded and they had to move to higher ground to build a new one, which caused great hardship for her parents.

Due to the prospecting and mining boom in the Red Lake area, commercial airlines began operating in the town starting in the 1920s. Since that time, they have remained a fixture of the community. Patricia Airways from Sioux Lookout and Western Canada Airways from Hudson serviced Red Lake in the early twentieth century (Bruce and Hawley 1928). Later, commercial operators with outposts on remote lakes starting setting up in the Red Lake area and remain the focus of the tourist industry there. The archaeological surveys discussed here travelled with these local operators, due to Ontario Parks' ongoing relationship with the operating businesses in Red Lake, since it would have been too expensive for flights into and out of the WCSS.

Related to air services coming to Red Lake, this allowed the commercial fishing enterprise to flourish in the 1950s through the 1970s in particular (see Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012). Some remnants of that time were found in archaeological sites along the Bloodvein River on Larus Lake (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a). Several of the Paishk/Keesic family members told us that the mid-century site that we found was this type of business, which was related to servicing the mining, forestry, and tourism ventures found in Red Lake (e.g., Peter Paishk, personal communication 2007). This type of fishing became an opportunity for Anishinaabeg to turn their traditional skills and economic modes into a larger enterprise, while still being sustainable in this low populated region. After the 1980s, many Anishinaabeg went to work at Forestry Point as fire fighters or other types of employment. Sanders (2011:62) recounts that:

> As Whitehead Moose (Nov. 12, 2008) recalled, there was also nothing in the way of 'support', or social assistance, during his early fire career. Most people were still mostly engaged in a kind of 'bush' economy, including subsistence harvest, fur production, and commercial fishing". When it came around, summer fire fighting work fit well with the seasonal round of 1940s Anishinaabeg who were engaged in trapping and fishing (commercial and subsistence) over the fall, winter and spring. As Whitehead noted, pay was the main reason Anishinaabeg started working on fires.

In the early 1900s, many Anishinaabeg in northwestern Ontario adapted to new economic opportunities such as commercial fishing, forestry, mining, guiding, and others to maintain their families. Prices for furs varied greatly, being poor in the years before World War I and rising considerably after the conflict ended (Gray 1996). The Spanish influenza epidemic (ca. 1918-1920) also killed many people at this time in the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, and Berens River regions as well as in larger northwestern Ontario (Gray 1996; Richthammer 2007). Many people, including the families discussed in this chapter along the Bloodvein and Berens river systems made a living from the trap lines in the mid-twentieth century. They used dog sled teams for travel in the winter and boats in the warmer months.

Presently, developments such as forestry and mining are becoming ever more prevalent, even in more remote regions of northern Ontario. These factors ultimately resulted in people moving to Red Lake and other towns but also not living year round along the central and eastern portions of the Bloodvein River. As these new opportunities came available, many Anishinaabeg quickly altered from the established network of trading posts, summer and fall gathering places, and winter trap lines of the Fur Trade Period (Sanders 2011).

Potato Gardens

In terms of different economic options during the Postcontact Period, Anishinaabe people started growing potato gardens (sometimes also other hardy species such as turnips) in the late 1800s in the study area. This additional food source was important in the Bloodvein River region, as indicated through places that we were taken on the archaeological surveys (see Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012:124 for a discussion about two of these places on Knox Lake and Barton Lake on the Berens River). Lac Seul Elders Josephine King and Peter Paishk took us to a "Potato Island" on Knox Lake where her parents and his grandparents had grown this crop. Mr. Paishk explained that it would be left for long periods of time since the island offered more protection from animals eating the plants. In addition, we were able to find a precontact occupation when we excavated a 50 cm x 50 cm test pit near the old garden plot, indicating a longstanding preference for this island location.

Gardens may have been instigated by the HBC and/or the federal government trying to push Indigenous people to plant gardens to supplement other food sources. Since the signing of Treaty 5 in 1875, the federal government was obligated to supply agricultural foods and implements to community members (Government of Canada 1875). Dunning (1959:32) notes that in Pikangikum, "Birchstick claims his father brought into the country (about 1875) seven potatoes from his place of birth. With these the old man continued to grow potatoes continually, and leave enough seed from the original to keep his camp in potatoes to the present time". Thus, if people had not been growing them already as related to HBC gardening practices, many Anishinaabe started growing root crops of potatoes and sometimes turnips or other hardy species. While completing a geological survey in 1925, Douglas (1926:23) notes, that potatoes and turnips were still being grown even far north in the boreal forest of northwestern Ontario:

> Potatoes grown by the Indians make a fair crop at Pikangikum and Deer lake. At Little Grand rapids, in Manitoba west of Moar lake, potatoes will be dug about October 6. On July 30, at Pikangikum, potatoes were just blossoming and 18 inches high; turnips 9 to 12 inches high.

Slightly later in the 1930s, Hallowell (1992:47) records on his map of Pikangikum that potato crops were still being grown there (Figure 5.13). Dunning (1959) describes that in the 1950s gardens there were smaller than original 7.5 acres from reserve survey in 1888, but that there were many still maintained there with individual plots being owned by gardeners. He also explains that some people started to fence these plots, perhaps to keep the deer from eating them, and that practice caused some tensions between community members. Jean Keesic (personal communication 2014) related to me that one can still see the location where the gardens were located at Pikangikum;

also potatoes are no longer grown there due to the higher deer populations, that cause damage, and that it is difficult to achieve a crop now. The majority of the reserve site of Pikangikum has thick, former glacial Lake Agassiz clay deposits (Boyd et al. 2005), which also makes horticulture and digging of any type quite challenging.

Similarly, Burwash (1923:56) states, "Good crops of potatoes were to be seen at the Hudson Bay Company post on Family lake [Little Grand Rapids], and at the Indian Reserve on the north end of Fishing lake [Pauingassi First Nation]". He suggests that the best soil is the stretch along the Bloodvein River east of the boundary line, which would be near Artery Lake.

Of the Lac Seul community, Coleman (1896:60) explains: "These Indians are the thriftiest we have seen. They have luxuriant, well weeded gardens, in which corn, turnips and potatoes were growing; and their houses are built of squared timber, with a roof covered with bark, and a chimney". Since Lac Seul is much farther south than Red Lake, the Bloodvein River, Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids, it provided a better climate and soils for achieving successful crops. However, obviously oral history and ethnographic records indicate that potatoes, turnips and other gardens were quite successful even in the farther north in the central Canadian boreal forest during the time after HBC and NWC amalgamation up until just before the Modern Period.

Summary

As a result of completing archaeological surveys with community members from Lac Seul, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids, some oral history and situations of the last families to live for long periods of time on the Bloodvein River in Ontario could be included in this study. This information describes the later and contemporary culture history of this region, aiding in addressing both of the research questions and the second of four objectives (see Chapter One). In essence, the more recent cultural-historical information reviewed here likely addresses what happened to the Selkirk Composite peoples, who were early Algonquian speakers and most likely became known as some of the Anishinaabeg in this region. Traditional technology and lifeways have persisted in this region for many generations (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012).

The first section of this chapter outlined pertinent information about the Modern Period (1945-present in Rogers and Smith 1994) and the geographical situation of Anishinaabeg research partners from Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum to provide context for discussions in this and subsequent chapters. An outline of the various Algonquian languages spoken in northwestern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba provides clues about earlier time frames, such as how long have the Algonquians, particularly the Anishinaabe, lived in this area and how much time did it take for the various dialects to evolve. The Severn Oji-Cree dialect to the north is interesting since the dialect is literally a fusion of Ojibwe and Cree languages indicating a likely lengthy time of cultural contact.

Atikaki Provincial Park and the WCSS are dedicated protected areas that now encompass the entire Bloodvein River system along with it being recognized as a Canadian Heritage River; this area is also part of a larger UNESCO World Heritage site nomination (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2012). It is important to emphasize that individuals and families still travel all along the Bloodvein River to stay there, trap, hunt, fish, and continue traditional activities that have been occurring along this river system for millennia (BFN and Manitoba 2012; Ontario Parks 2007) and as demonstrated by archaeological research (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 2006a). The Paishk/Keesic/Kejick, Strang, Comber, Duck, and Moar families are still associated with the central and eastern Bloodvein River area, as outlined briefly here, having cabins along the river that are often used in different seasons (Figure 5.14). In addition, the teaching of enduring Anishinaabeg values and traditions to the younger generations still continues out on the land and at home.

Details about Anishinaabe reserve lands, set up by government surveyors during the late 1800s, provides context for their larger traditional territories that were assigned to the communities during the land use planning phase that is occurring in northwestern Ontario at present but began with trap line boundaries being established in the late 1940s. Although there is an artificial nature to these government assigned boundaries, they do at least reflect the recognition of Anishinaabeg traditional lands similar to their antecedents.

Perhaps the most obvious evidence of recent cultural change along the Bloodvein River is the factor that no Anishinaabeg live on the central and eastern portions of the river any more, although the Bloodvein First Nation is a permanent community located on the Lake Winnipeg. It is mainly due to families being drawn to economic opportunities in centres such as Red Lake, Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum that this has occurred. Important individual Bloodvein River Anishinaabe people were also discussed in this chapter, in order to learn more about what specific cultural changes occurred prior to modern times and about traditional Indigenous viewpoints. By having the opportunity to work with the Paishk/Keesic in the WCSS, they were able to explain how their family had lived at Knox Lake and other points along the river until the 1950s when their parents and grandparents Flora and John Paishk moved to Red Lake to obtain work. It was at about that time that the idea began of the Bloodvein River region becoming part of a park. Trap lines were also implemented during the late 1940s, which caused some people to not be on their original traditional lands anymore and mostly in a provincial government regulated capacity of dealing with the ‘meat bosses’ (Macfie and Johnston 1991).

Many Bloodvein Anishinaabeg chose to live outside of Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, or Pikangikum in Red Lake, where they were integrated more with the larger non-Indigenous community and had new economic opportunities with fire fighting, mining, working in a saw mill, commercial fishing, forestry, railway work, and other occupations (Sanders 2011). Social integration between some Bloodvein River Anishinaabe individuals and the larger Euro-Canadian community occurred more during the mid-twentieth century. There is no doubt that this was forced in part due to prejudices towards Indigenous people and those of mixed ancestry (see a discussion about this issue regarding firefighters at Red Lake in Sanders 2011). It is also not well known to what degree most Bloodvein River Anishinaabe families desired or sought social integration. However, some level was pursued and achieved in order to provide a better income for themselves with the decline in trapping economic values and increase in mining related activities in Red Lake.

In terms of trying to learn the most about the Anishinaabeg living along the eastern and central Bloodvein River from Late Woodland Selkirk Composite times until the present, this chapter investigated primary and secondary sources within that region for later ethnohistoric time frames after HBC and NWC amalgamation in 1821 and includes some traditional knowledge from local Anishinaabe peoples. It is evident that people lived along the Bloodvein River but were also associated with Lac Seul, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids families, some of whom were noted by Hallowell (1992) in the 1930s and Dunning (1959) during the 1950s but still have trap lines and traditional use areas in the region (Figures 5.4, 5.5).

During the time frame after Treaties 3 and 5 were signed, the Anishinaabe were faced with many new challenges during the Frontiers in "New Ontario" Period (1890-1945) as discussed by J.G. Taylor (1994). Missionary activities, beginning at the mouth of the Bloodvein River and Berens River moving eastward, also caused many Anishinaabe people to give up their traditional spiritual beliefs, some of which were discussed. There has been much debate about the antiquity of such ceremonies as the *Midewiwin*, dog feast, drumming, sweat lodge, Shaking Tent, Teaching Lodge, and traditional healing practioners by Hallowell (1936) and others. Christianity seems to have been adapted by many Anishinaabeg in Pikangikum only by the mid-twentieth century. However, blanket statements about the *Midewiwin* and other ceremonies disappearing must be tempered by the reality that the Canadian government outlawed these ceremonies and many had to go underground, literally in some cases as was illustrated by Pikangikum community members having to bury some of their sacred items for protection a few decades ago (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012).

After Confederation and Treaty negotiations, many Indigenous people were pressured to spend more time on reserves and to put their children in school (residential or on some reserves like Berens River, where missionaries had built them). Bloodvein First Nation did not receive one because there were too few people living on the reserve during early times after treaty signing in 1875. People were still pursuing a traditional pattern of living off the land. Related to further Euro-Canadian interventions in First Nation communities, the Residential School systems resulted in the removal of many children, including some from the Bloodvein River area during the post-fur trade era. Some families, like John and Flora Paishk, were able to hide several of their grandchildren in order to continue their traditional Anishinaabe upbringing. However, many others were forced to leave their traditional lives behind, often suffering abuse at the hands of school officials, including some of the families that I worked with during this project.

Following the end of the competition period in the Fur Trade Period in 1821, Indigenous people in this region adapted to more changes after the demise of the NWC and retracting HBC ventures during the Northern Algonquian and HBC Period (1821-1890) as outlined by Rogers (1994) and Rogers and Smith (1994). Red Lake posts became fairly ephemeral and the Bloodvein River posts were all closed by the early 1800s, with the possible exception of Barclay Lake post in the early twentieth century (Lytwyn 1986a) as discussed further in Chapter 6.

Ultimately, these major changes resulted in the abandonment of the eastern and central Bloodvein River full time traditional economy for life in Red Lake or on reserves at Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum. This resulted in economic changes, even the adoption of potato and other types of gardening, which may have been a new venture for many Anishinaabe as documented on the eastern Bloodvein River, Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, and Lac Seul. Paishk family members also discuss how islands had been used for that purpose. The Bloodvein River Anishinaabe continue their traditional economic pursuits, belief systems, and culture despite the many changes that occurred during the postcontact periods discussed in this chapter after the Early Fur Trade Period, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: THE EARLY FUR TRADE PERIOD IN THE BLOODVEIN RIVER REGION OF LE PETIT NORD (CA. 1670-1821)

Introduction

This chapter traces cultural and technological changes of local Indigenous and newcomer European occupants along the Ontario Bloodvein River during the Early Fur Trade Period (ca. 1670-1821), addressing both research questions in this study. The second problem investigated within this project is the nature of the Selkirk Composite archaeological finds along the river, which may represent material culture left behind by the ancestors of the present Ojibwe, although many researchers have noted the similar correspondence between Selkirk Composite and postcontact Cree territories in other parts of central Canada (e.g., MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Russell 1987). Some of these sites date to the Protocontact and Postcontact periods during the fur trade (e.g., Arthurs 1986), so cultural continuity is a possibility. In addition to reviewing documents from this time frame to find out information about individuals, general Bloodvein River community residents, and newcomers, this chapter presents new archaeological results for the Fur Trade Period from the Bloodvein River surveys.

When discussing northern Ontario, Rogers and Smith (1994) divide the Postcontact Period into the Early Fur Trade (1670-1821), Northern Algonquians and the HBC (1821-1890), Frontiers of the "New Ontario" (1890-1945) and Modern Period after World War II (1945-present). Following their lead, the earliest division is the subject of this chapter, while the later time frames were discussed in Chapter 5. The Hudson Bay Company (HBC) was established in 1670 but people in the Little North likely did not become involved in the fur trade until much later (e.g., Hallowell 1955). After the HBC and NWC amalgamated in 1821, even more aspects of the Bloodvein River Indigenous peoples' lives changed, mainly due to more possible European influences, missionary activities, and changing economic times; clearly many cultural and technological changes took place after contact but change is expected through time as cultures and communities do not remain static (Rosenmeier 2011).

During the Fur Trade Period, the Bloodvein River and environs was known as the *"Le Petit Nord"* (The Little North) by the early French Canadian traders, specifically noted by Louis-Joseph Gaultier de la Vérendrye in 1729 (Burpee 1927:56) (Figure 6.1). This appellation referred to the large region east of Lake Winnipeg, north of Lake Superior to the edges of the Hudson Bay Lowlands and east to the divide between the Moose and Albany Rivers (Lytwyn 1986b). That term is distinguished from *Le Grand Nord* (The Grand North) trading area further to the west in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986b).

Several ethnohistoric themes were developed for the information available specifically about the Bloodvein River in Ontario: individuals living near the Bloodvein River identified in records;

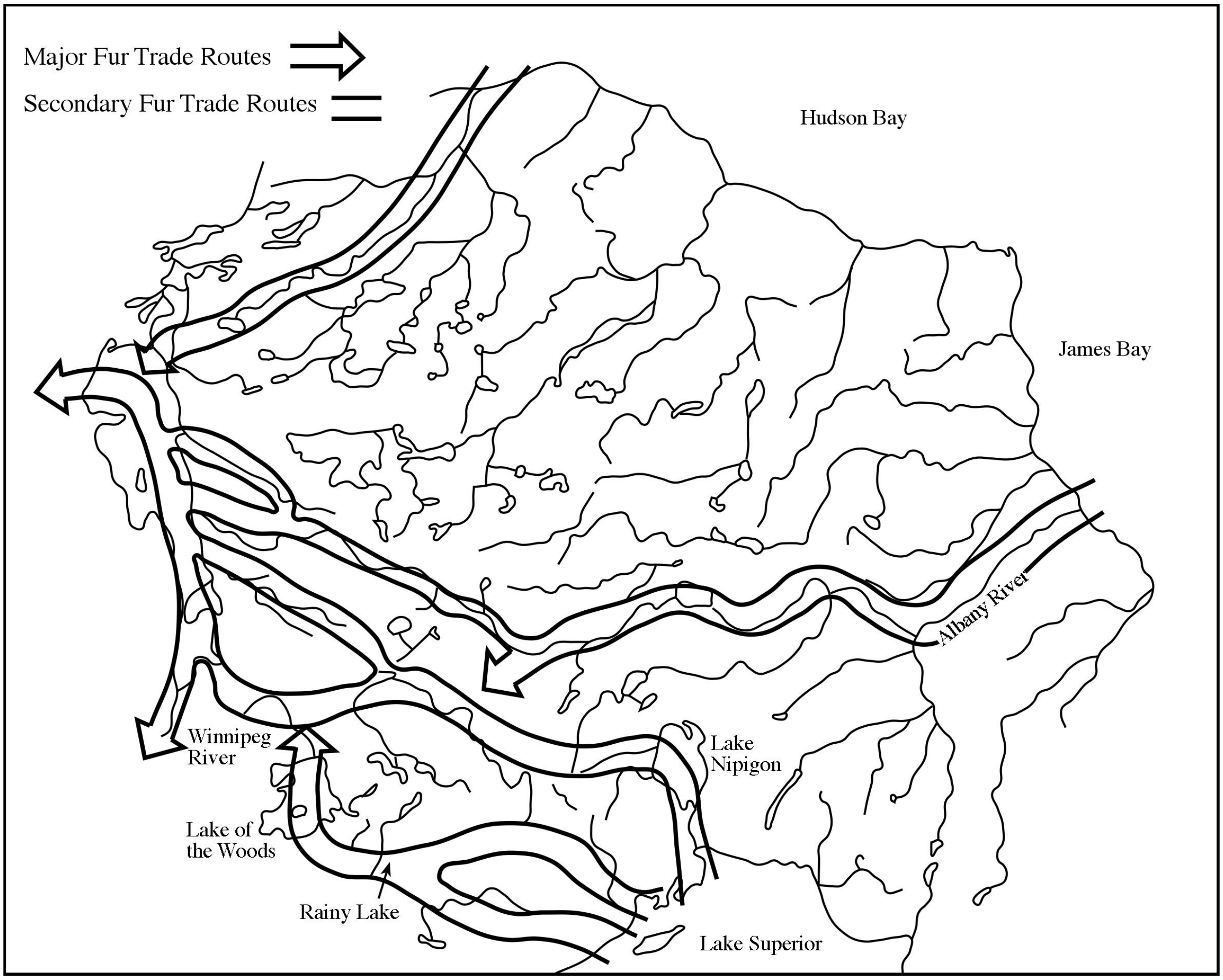

Figure 6.1. Major and secondary fur trade routes in the Little North (redrawn from Lytwyn 1986a:9).

examining early maps to determine when the Bloodvein River or nearby locations appear on them; how the naming of the river occurred and the information that provides about this time period; variations in the Ojibwe migration stories and discussing how long they have lived in the region as a means of interpreting ethnicity; and investigating details and proposed locations of short term posts such as the "Bad Lake" posts (Bad Lake journal HBC B.244/a). This portion of the study was undertaken through reviews of relevant HBC and other archival documents combined with literature searches of maps, older geological reports, scholarly ethnohistoric discussions, anthropological studies and local histories (see methods in Chapter 2). Primary sources were consulted where possible.

The new information about known postcontact archaeological sites or occupations of the Fur Trade Period along the Bloodvein River in Ontario is discussed within the chapter. Since Anishinaabeg would have been travelling to adjacent areas of the Berens River (Pikangikum and Little Grand Rapids), Red Lake, Trout Lake, and Lac Seul, as discussed in the previous chapter, that larger community will be discussed. Many people were and still are related in this area (Hallowell

1992) (Figure 5.5). Since that period is known to be a time of great change for Indigenous peoples, those few sites have important implications for the Selkirk Composite peoples and what became of them. Given the rather late radiometric dates associated with some of these sites in Ontario (e.g., Arthurs 1986), it is a possibility that the people who left behind Selkirk assemblages were still there when Europeans arrived.

Previous Research

To begin with, a brief review of previous research is included to indicate the state of knowledge for the Lake Winnipeg east region. In terms of the study area and environs, Lytwyn (1981, 1986b, 2002) has researched extensively the Fur Trade Period in several areas of the eastern Subarctic from a historical geography and ethnohistorical perspective; he also completed a report for the WCSS and Ontario Parks about this time frame regarding the Bloodvein River (Lytwyn 1986a). Hackett (1999, 2002) completed an exhaustive overview of the epidemics that occurred in the Little North and their effects on people during this time. As a brief summary, he notes that acute infectious disease affected people in the Little North as early as the seventeenth century, the first epidemic in the northwest relating to smallpox occurred from 1779-83, and then an epidemic transition happened from the 1830s to 1840s, whereby more epidemics in new forms occurred (Hackett 1999). These episodes indicate some results of both direct and indirect contact with Europeans in this region. More recently, Schweitzer (2012) reviewed briefly some information about the Little North for the time period often known as the competition era (ca. 1779-1821 for the Bloodvein River region) before the HBC and NWC amalgamated.

Others have written ethnohistorical and ethnographical studies of nearby areas of northwestern Ontario (e.g., Bishop 1974; Dawson 1987b; Dunning 1959; Hickerson 1970; Rogers and Black 1976; Rogers and Black Rogers 1978; Winsor 1889) that provide potential analogies for the Bloodvein River area. The Berens River region to the north has been the subject of extensive research, mostly through ethnohistorical and ethnographical studies by Hallowell (e.g., 1926, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938a, 1938b, 1940, 1949, 1955, 1960) and subsequent publications by Brown and others (e.g., Berens and Hallowell 2009; Brown 2006; Gray 1996, 1999, 2006; Hallowell 1992, 2010). Essentially, some Berens River people were also Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg and vice versa, so these sources were invaluable. Although an extensive search of the HBC archives similar to these earlier studies is beyond the scope of this thesis, it was important to gather information from that time frame to reconstruct events during the Early Fur Trade Period of the Bloodvein River area and provide a context for post-Selkirk Composite Indigenous peoples (crossing the contact-precontact divide as described by Rosenmeier 2011). It is possible that they are the same cultural group in this area. With this study, there is also new information to discuss resulting from the archaeological surveys and research.

Some discussions about the Lake Winnipeg side of the Bloodvein River for the Postcontact Period are included, since there is more information available from there due to the presence of the Bloodvein First Nation reserve community. Also, there is evidence that Europeans have accessed this area for much longer than the eastern side with Louis-Joseph Gaultier de la Vérendrye going there in the early 1700s (Burpee 1927). In addition, individuals are identified in the ethnohistoric record who are also culturally connected to the entire Bloodvein River system. There is also a much larger record and more research about the Berens River, which is the next system about 80 km to the north and includes from west to east, the Berens River, Little Grand Rapids, Poplar Hill, and Pikangikum communities. Two of these communities include the southern portions of their traditional territories along the Bloodvein River, so some information collected about the Berens River will be used to enhance this study.

Brief Overview of the Early Fur Trade Period in Northwestern Ontario

The Postcontact Period was a time of many changes for both the Indigenous inhabitants and European newcomers. Trading first began on a small scale in the St. Lawrence River area of Canada in the 1500s (Bishop 1974). Some of the Indigenous people from this area would have been Ojibwe (Dunning 1959). Then, a series of complex events including exploration, warfare, territorial expansion, epidemics, and fur trade rivalries began occurring through the next several hundred years in Canada and the northern U.S.A. Table 6.1 provides a comprehensive list of the key Postcontact Period events relevant to the Indigenous peoples of the Bloodvein River; however, only the critical and more local events will be discussed in this chapter.

On May 2, 1670, Charles II of England granted Rupert's Land to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay otherwise known as the HBC"; they became the colonial power of land that was once solely Indigenous territory (MacNeil 1982:2). The Protocontact Period is regarded generally as the transitional time between the first appearance of European goods by Indigenous inhabitants of a region, which signifies the end of the Precontact Period, and the arrival of Europeans in the area that marks the beginning of the Postcontact Period (Ray 1978). The general viewpoint is that the Protocontact Period represented a comparatively slight change in material culture from the Precontact Period and that the extensive replacement of traditional technology by European goods did not occur until trading posts were established locally (Ray 1978). However, it is difficult to define the exact Protocontact time frame in the study area because: (1) there are comparatively few historic records that refer to the Bloodvein River specifically although there are inland records and some for the river mouth region; (2) the locations of the inland posts at "Bad Lake" are uncertain; (3) available oral history does not provide many specifics for that time frame; (4) it is difficult to know exactly when and where Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg first made contact with Europeans; and (5) it is uncertain when people began to

Table 6.1. Brief postcontact timeline of pertinent dates for the people of the Bloodvein River and adjacent areas (compiled from Hackett 1999, 2002; Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b; Ray 1974, 1978).

1610: Henry Hudson finds Hudson Bay but is later set adrift by his mutinous crew and never seen again; Etienne Brule is the first European recorded to see Lake Superior;
1649: Iroquois disperse the Huron and that impacts the Algonquian groups in that area;
1659-60: Radisson and Groseilliers venture south of Lake Superior; they later explore Hudson Bay in 1661;
1668: English ship *Nonsuch* reaches Rupert River James Bay where the crew builds the first HBC post;
1670: May 2 - Hudson Bay Company granted charter by King Charles II and Sault Ste. Marie fort built by French;
1676: Fort Severn built on Hudson Bay;
1677: Moose Factory built on Moose River, James Bay (French);
1683: Fort Albany built by HBC; Duluth builds fort at Kaministiquia River;
1686: French build at Moose River;
1713: Treaty of Utrecht signed between English and French; all Hudson Bay posts then controlled by English; ends Queen Anne's War;
1720s: French trading houses again on Lake Superior;
1720: first smallpox recorded at York Factory (Hackett 2002:55);
1731: La Verendrye built Fort Pierre at Rainy River;
1737-1738: smallpox all over; no records of Bloodvein River people (Hackett 1999 suggests population movement);
1738: La Verendrye built Fort la Reine and Rouge, goes to Lake Winnipeg;
1740: Mandans begin to trade horses; Assiniboine bring these animals to near Lake Winnipeg;
1744: Henley House built on the Albany River;
1750: Date often cited as to when Ojibwe emerged as a distinct amalgamation of smaller groups;
1763: Royal Proclamation of 1763 established colonial governments as a result of the Treaty of Paris, whereby Britain was given control over ceded lands from the French; some Indigenous lands were given special protection but title is still under dispute;
1779: NWC started by group of Scottish traders;
1779-80: HBC worker George Sutherland counted 17 Canadian houses east of Lake Winnipeg at this point (Hackett 2002:85). Beginning of the competition era in northwestern Ontario that ends in 1821;

Table 6.1. Continued

1782-83: devastating small pox epidemic in south part of Little North; "it is impossible to know if this reached the Bloodvein/Red Lake area" (Hackett 2002); Hackett (1999) suggests population movement during this time;
1784-1819: smallpox epidemics all over the Little North (Hackett 2002:119);
1790: James Sutherland established the first known post on Red Lake, Ontario. There may have been earlier independent trading there but there are no known records for this (Lytwyn 1986a:13);
1794: Jay's Treaty settled disputed boundary between British and USA territories;
1798: XY Company, led by Simon McTavish, started;
1804: XY absorbed by NWC;
1812: First of Lord Selkirk's Scottish settlers arrive at a new colony at Red River;
1816: June 19 - Seven Oaks massacre near Winnipeg where Selkirk settlers were killed by Métis and Indigenous people;
1817: July 18, Selkirk treaty signed at the Forks;
1819-1820: Hackett (1999) suggests population movement caused during this time;
1821: Amalgamation of HBC and NWC; Berens River House still in place;
1829: Lac Seul epidemic (Hackett 2002:175);
1844: Scarlet fever - Berens River people devastated by this (Hackett 2002:188);
1846: many illnesses all across the Little North (Hackett 2002:201);
1850: Robinson Treaties signed;
1867: British North America Act is passed by Britain to allow Confederation;
1870: Manitoba joins Confederation;
1873: Treaty #3 signed; and
1875/1908: Treaty #5 signed

adopt some aspects of European technology in this area, particularly when some of the traditional technology was still being used. Examples of the continuation or modification of traditional technology is discussed in Chapter 7. Much of the available information about this time frame is dominated by Fur Trade Period activities, with the recordings made mostly by HBC and North West Company (NWC) employees of European, Métis, or First Nation descent. However, it is not clear how important these economic pursuits were to Indigenous residents of the inland Bloodvein River in Ontario. As Rogers (1962:6) suggests of the Round/Weagomaw Lake people, "At almost every point, understanding of their way of life is only possible when it is viewed against a backdrop of Euro-Canadian contact . . . . It is foolhardy to attempt to study these people as though they lived in a vacuum". Although it is true that the Anishinaabeg did eventually make direct contact with newcomers, they did have the choice about if and when they wanted to be involved with Europeans and the fur trade. Thus, the Fur Trade Period forms an important bridging time frame between the more recent traditional land use of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg people and the archaeological Selkirk Composite occupations.

The French had used the route from the St. Lawrence Valley and Great Lakes to Lake Nipigon in the 1600s (Lytwyn 1986b; Ray 1974) but English people moved into the Little North from James Bay and the Albany River much later (Figure 6.1). French traders started expanding inland into Manitoba during the 1730s and to Saskatchewan in the 1750s (Lytwyn 1986a). Most of these explorations were made with Indigenous guides and assistance so that the Europeans would be able to survive the new environment in which they were living. This factor is a key point in the early Postcontact Period. Eventually, maps started to be made and much of this information, with some mistakes included, was transferred from person to person over several hundred years (Schweitzer 2011).

There were a number of differences between the French Canadians and HBC employees. For example, most French Canadians had been in Canada for several generations, whereas the British HBC men were typically first generation recruits from the Orkney Islands and other places in Scotland (Lytwyn 1986b; Ray 1974). Another aspect that is often cited as a different mode of operation between the British and French Canadians is that the HBC men preferred initially to stay on the Hudson and James Bay coasts, whereas the Canadians moved inland to trade *en derouine* (see Henry 1897:166) or directly with Indigenous people at their encampments and hunting grounds. This method eventually changed when competition between the companies started to increase and HBC employees had to move inland in 1744, establishing Henley House on the Albany River, to compete with the French and independent traders. The building of this post was quite important to Lac Seul Indigenous people since it apparently caused more people to use this route from there to the Albany River and established Lac Seul as a major thoroughfare (Lytwyn 1986b).

Later, Lord Selkirk (1816:24-25) presents one perspective about these differences, implying that the HBC used this trading practice for conservation purposes:

> If the old system of the Hudson's Bay Company has been generally condemned, it is owing to the subject not having been clearly understood, nor the effects of that system duly appreciated. It is true that the North-West Company, in assuming merit for their own commercial exertions, have accused the Hudson's Bay Company of great negligence in not having established trading houses in the interior at an earlier period. — But there is no solid foundation for this charge. — It is well known that the best season for hunting all the fur-bearing animals is in winter. In summer the fur is universally of inferior quality, and this too is the season when they rear their young. For both these reasons it is desirable that the hunting should be suspended during the summer months, and this was effectually secured, when all the best hunters, all the young and active men of the Indian tribes, were engaged in a distant excursion. There was therefore a material advantage in requiring them to

> leave their hunting grounds in summer, and come to the factories on the coast for a supply of European goods. While this was the practice, no furs were brought home, but of prime quality: and as the beavers and other valuable fur-bearing animals were protected from injury during the most critical time of the year, the breed was preserved, and the supply was plentiful. Now that the traders remain constantly in the interior, the Indians are tempted to continue their hunt throughout the year. They are too improvident to abstain from killing the breeding animals, or the young brood. The cub is destroyed with the full-grown beaver; and the natural consequence is, that these valuable animals, formerly so numerous, are rapidly approaching to the point of complete extermination. Districts in which they once abounded, and from which large supplies were formerly obtained, now produce few or none.

It is well known that Lord Selkirk (1816:119) was biased towards the HBC and against the NWC, given the latter was at the centre of the Seven Oaks Massacre in his Red River Colony during 1816: "It seems, therefore, to have been a fixed determination in the conclave held by the North-West Company's partners at their rendezvous at Lake Superior, to effect the destruction of the settlement by one method or another, before it should arrive at maturity". However, being Scottish, Lord Selkirk also likely had rather strong feelings against the primarily English HBC, given that he was delivering Scottish settlers out of the squalor created from the eighteenth and nineteenth century Highland clearances (Selkirk 1987) where farming communities were removed by wealthy English landowners to be replaced by sheep. Even considering these biases, he does make some interesting points. The early HBC trade setup was perhaps less disruptive to Indigenous people's lives in that they were not invading the interior and trying to disrupt established social and economic patterns about seasonality and conservation, which would have been pertinent to more inland peoples along the Bloodvein River. Obviously, some Aboriginal people were making long trading journeys and acting as 'Middlemen' between Europeans and their own groups. However, the HBC eventually ceased gifting and selling perhaps the most destructive trade item, which was alcohol (Lord Selkirk 1816). Lord Selkirk (1816) was likely concerned about the treatment of Indigenous people by all traders and their welfare, since Chief Peguis had saved his Scottish settlers on several occasions; thus, a treaty was signed with the local Ojibwe and Cree peoples. Given that the Bloodvein River flows into Lake Winnipeg just north of what was the Red River Settlement near present day Winnipeg (Figure 3.1), it is likely that Ojibwe people from that area would know about Lord Selkirk and his early treaty.

Although the most sought after fur came from the beaver, mainly due to the demand for fashionable beaver felt top hats in Europe (Lytwyn 1986b), other desirable species included otter, mink, muskrat, lynx, marten, and fisher (Bishop 1974). "Made Beaver", or the value of a finished, winter-caught large beaver skin, became a unit of currency with the HBC during the fur trade. Some of the most common trade goods comprised tobacco, blankets, beads, guns, ammunition, cloth, knives, kettles, tools, and liquor (Peers 1994; Ray 1974). Rogers (1986:207) also discusses this important point that Indigenous people were not just hunting and preparing hides: "The production of trade items which were desired by traders was certainly significant. Some of these items included waterfowl quills, castorum, sturgeon roe, swan feathers, caribou hides and meat, hare hides, and wild rice".

Persisting Traditional Technology

Older anthropological and historical literature often portrays Subarctic peoples as rapidly adopting European technologies and abandoning their own time-honoured traditions, as shaped by the newcomers (Guindon 2009). However, there is evidence to indicate otherwise from the Bloodvein River region and that traditional technology persists much longer than once thought by researchers. Supposedly, many of the trading, forest-dwelling Indigenous peoples had forgotten how to use bows and arrows by 1716 in the York Factory area (HBCA B.239/a/2/p.22) with them instead using firearms for hunting attained through European trading companies (Ray 1974). The York Factory and Fort Albany gun trade was also at its highest level at this time (Ray 1974), suggesting that many inhabitants in those areas were likely using guns at least part of time. English and French manufacturers developed trade guns for use in North America in the Early Fur Trade Period but these early guns required repairs and maintenance, so much that there was an employee dedicated to fixing them at York Factory during the trade season (Ray 1974). Once a problem developed, many Indigenous and Europeans could not fix these guns and thus had to take them to the nearest post, leaving them without use of the firearm. The adoption of newer technologies such as guns depended upon availability and embarking on trading for the gun and then items such as powder, balls, flints, and other parts to keep using them.

As an alternative, bows and arrows could be made from local forest materials and people have been making them in northwestern Ontario for thousands of years (Dawson 1983a). Elder Peter Paishk explained how his grandfather showed him to make a bow and arrows out of alder and other materials gathered in the forest when he was a child in the 1950s; whereupon, he was taught how to hunt rabbits with them (Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting in Red Lake 2016). This knowledge provided a backup plan if modern examples, such as firearms, failed. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the Anishinaabe would have given up completely bow and arrow technology in the early 1700s when this persisted into the mid-twentieth century along the eastern Bloodvein River. In the 1740s, HBC trader Isham (1968) mentions Indigenous people still using bows and arrows for hunting on the land and also noted that flintlocks would often freeze in the winter in the cold interior climate. So, these reasons may explain why people had not actually given up the traditional bow and arrow technology. Even later, Henry (1897:178) mentions several times that arrows were still being used in the prairies near Winnipeg in the early 1800s by the Saulteaux, Sioux, and Cree and specifically that iron tipped arrows were used. The parkland and prairie Indigenous people were likely still utilizing bows and arrows to hunt bison, since there would be no disadvantage to doing so in more open spaces as compared to the boreal forest ecozone of Ontario. Coleman (1896:51) also describes an elaborate child's burial including a bow and arrows near Helldiver Bay at Shoal Lake near the southern Manitoba/Ontario border: "Round the foot of the second tent were all the appliances for the unknown voyage; the tiny toboggan, canoe and paddles, hatchet, bow and arrows, and bunch of birch bark and firewood with a box of matches, needed for the journey". Closer to the study area, Skinner (1911) discusses the Lac Seul and other Saulteaux still using bows and arrows even later in time, with many Bloodvein River peoples actually being from Lac Seul (including Mr. Paishk). Waugh (1919) took several photographs of Lac Seul members using bows and arrows during the same decade. Even later in the 1930s, Hallowell (2014) recorded two boys practicing with bows and blunt arrows in Little Grand Rapids and he mentions that Chief Berens' grandfather Bear had still used them to hunt moose and his great grandfather had used them to shoot partridge and muskrats (Hallowell 1992). All of these examples are much later than researchers have attributed the use of bows and arrows in northwestern Ontario and adjacent areas (e.g., Ray 1974). Rogers and Smith (1981) note that this technology is gone by the 1950s in Severn Ojibwe areas. It seems logical that most Indigenous people used both European and earlier technologies as they wished and that adapting newer technologies varied from place to place in the central Canadian boreal forest. Certainly, people are still manufacturing and using some forms of early Indigenous technology such as bone tools, pine needle basketry, drums, rattles, hand-sewn blankets, alder and birch bark baskets, quillwork, and moose hide/beaded objects, which I have seen in use by people from the communities of Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, Pikangikum, and other Anishinaabeg from northwestern Ontario.

Pottery also seemed to be used by Lac Seul Saulteaux much later than anthropologists thought, as documented by Skinner (1911, 1923). Some Lac Seul community members have indicated that their relatives still knew how to make pottery in the late twentieth century (Christina Keesic, personal communication 2010; George Kenny, personal communication 2013). See Rogers and Taylor (1981:234-235) for a list of material culture and manufactured items made by the Severn Ojibwe that they track from the early Postcontact Period through the Modern Period.

Indigenous - Newcomer Interactions

It is important to recognize that many generalities exist about the Fur Trade Period in Canada. The number and timing of Europeans moving into different areas of northwestern Ontario varied a great deal, particularly in a place as large as the Little North and the Bloodvein River corridor. Indigenous people had control over their own destiny during this time, as they do in present day circumstances. Some early portrayals suggested that Europeans exacted a colonial hold over all Indigenous inhabitants (Innis 1930), rather than the more accurate view that Aboriginal people had traditional knowledge of their own areas and furs that the Europeans needed as suggested in *Partners in Furs* (Francis and Morantz 1983). As Ray (1978) indicates, the Fur Trade Period should be viewed as an aspect of the larger Indigenous history with them being central. Eventually, changes occurred where a co-management scenario emerged in many areas with posts having Indigenous peoples living nearby. "For these people, there was no fur trade or Indian trade. Instead, it was what might be called a European-goods trade, and the ways in which native needs and beliefs shaped the process have yet to be fully explored" (White 1994:396). Ultimately, Indigenous people chose to be involved or alternatively not work with the Europeans. Anishinaabeg were also critical for the newcomers to the Little North, in that many provided knowledge of the furbearers, landscape information, routes to new areas, protection from starvation, central Canadian boreal forest technology, liaisons with other Indigenous peoples, and even ethnobotanical teachings (Hackett 2002; Hallowell 1992).

Lytwyn (1986b:i) describes the conditions that new arrivals faced in the Canadian boreal forest:

> The expansion of European fur traders into the Little North proceeding generally in an east to west direction along the rivers and lakes that were the highways of the trade. Often the complex topography afforded no simple or clearcut routes, but the value of the furs they sought encouraged the traders to follow Indian guides and travel routes through the rugged and uncharted shield country. Their passage was impeded by dangerous rapids and waterfalls, and by long stretches of shallow water where laborious portages were necessary. In the larger lakes storms could leave them windbound for days, and in small lakes they were often mired in thick swamp. By the 1790s a few Montreal-based and Hudson's Bay Company traders finally crossed into the Lake Winnipeg basin and built posts along the rivers draining westward into the lake.

These river highways were long used by the original inhabitants of the Little North and they had also created their own portage trail systems long before the various Europeans arrived. Early geologists also relied on these trails and information from locals as indicated by this statement: "there is a canoe route said to lead westward to the Bloodvein river, but this route leaves the western part of Pipestone bay by a portage three-quarters of a mile long" (Bruce and Hawley 1928:4-5). This information would also have come from the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg. Although some Euro-Canadians believe the idea that: "Until white men penetrated into the wild, vast forested areas of Canada in search of fur, to make money for themselves and for the European nations which were expanding their colonial empires, the New World remained a shadowy unknown" (Russell 1987:15). This belief is incorrect since Indigenous people had established routes, trails, and portages for thousands of years before Europeans arrived. For example, Indigenous people traded lithic materials during different periods in northwestern Ontario, Minnesota, and adjacent areas (Bakken 2011). The Europeans required guiding assistance from local peoples, so most fur trade routes were formed on the ancient travel corridors used by Indigenous people for their own trading in the Precontact Period. Many of these still exist in the WCSS park trail system, since the Park Superintendent has asked communities for their input as to where they are located, whether these trails were original, should they be moved, etc. (Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting 2009).

It is a relatively short journey from the headwaters of the Bloodvein River east to Red Lake, although there are several routes to arrive there. The late Joe Keesic (personal communication 2004), who lived in Red Lake and had a trap line nearby, informed me that people used to walk from Pipestone Bay (far northwest part of Red Lake) to Paishk and Knox lakes on the Bloodvein River (Figure 2.3, noted as an access via Lund Lake). The well-known canoe route described by him, Elder Josephine King (personal communication 2008) from Lac Seul, and Pikangikum community members is still in use (Taylor-Hollings Field Notes 2004) (Figure 2.3). Given the large territories that people had and moved back and forth within, it is also necessary to look farther afield to the Berens River, Lac Seul, Lake Winnipeg (where both the Berens and Bloodvein Rivers terminate) and areas in between. These locales are known to have current and long-standing close family ties going back at least four generations (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2009; Hallowell 1992:23). This idea was discussed in Chapter 5, which explores traditional land use of the Bloodvein River in Ontario.

The Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg and the Early Fur Trade

Another goal for this chapter is to explore evidence about the Fur Trade Period in order to ascertain more about individual Indigenous people living along the Bloodvein River system during this time since trading captains or leaders are sometimes referenced in documents. Some examples are available that are connected to the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, Lac Seul, Trout Lake (near Red Lake) and the entire Berens River (Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids and Berens River) as discussed in Chapter 5. Most archaeologists (e.g., Meyer and Russell 2007) agree that Indigenous people travelled across very large territories in this manner and they still do in this region albeit also using updated technology (planes, skidoos, and motorized boats). Hallowell (1992) and Dunning (1959) have established genealogical information that links these people in families and today many of these linkages remain (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2012). So, the Bloodvein River peoples can be traced by looking at a larger scale of geography, since Berens River people are Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg as well. As Meyer and Russell (2004) explain, studying the historically known Indigenous groups will also inform the interpretation of archaeological information relating to the centuries immediately preceding the fur trade.

As Rogers and Black Rogers (1978) state, it is important to cast a wide net for research in northwestern Ontario when discussing Indigenous people, who moved across large areas long before the reserve system was implemented. They still use very large territories (e.g., the Whitefeather Forest represents only part of Pikangikum's traditional area in Figure 1.4). Lytwyn (1986a:iv) also believes that the Bloodvein River had to be considered within the context of the larger region of the Little North:

> The history of the fur trade of the Bloodvein River can only be written from within the context of the greater surrounding region that stretches north to the Berens River, south to the Winnipeg River, and east to Lac Seul. This is in large part due to the paucity of surviving documents that relate directly to the Bloodvein drainage basin. It also reflects the nature and organization of the fur trade that penetrated this region. The main trading posts were located on the periphery, and these posts became the district headquarters from which most of the journals, reports, correspondence and accounts were issued.

It is also appropriate to study the situation regarding the amount that Indigenous people decided to become involved with the trade. In addition, this project also includes information from family members who live on or use this river system and the larger area rather than just relying on documents (see Chapter 5). All First Nations research partners have indicated that many families in Lac Seul/Trout Lake, Little Grand Rapids/Pauingassi, and Pikangikum/Poplar Hill/Barton Lake are related (see also Dunning 1959; Hallowell 1992:23). They utilized this larger area for many generations, often going back and forth during different seasons (for further discussion of these ideas see Chapter 5).

Certainly, the fur trade caused changes in the region but Indigenous people also had autonomy in an area like the Bloodvein River that was well away from the major trading centres. For example, Ray (1978) notes that in ca. 1700, the Lac Seul post was in the Albany River hinterland, whereas the Bloodvein/Berens River/Red Lake area was on the cusp of Albany and the York Factory hinterland (Ray 1978:29). This meant that people living in this region, including the Bloodvein River, had opportunities to use Lake Winnipeg routes to York Factory or the Lac Seul routes to Lake St. Joseph and on to Albany House. Both areas were also in the Middlemen trade zone, whereby individual Indigenous trade specialists could be involved as intermediaries between other Aboriginal people and traders (Ray 1978). Certainly, their Cree and Assiniboine neighbours were well known as Middlemen specialists in the early 1700s (Ray 1974). Some people worked with the St. Lawrence based French trade and other with the English HBC. By 1750, this area was within the expanded Fort Albany hinterland (Ray 1978) and the French trade was still in progress. This factor was important since relatively few Indigenous people actually travelled to posts at this later time (Ray 1978). The HBC remained near the coasts of Hudson and James bays until their French competitors forced them to move inland. After the establishment of the Albany posts, Lac Seul (and thus Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg) became even more important as a link on one of the main routes for the inland HBC trade (Hackett 2002). Lytwyn (1986a:3) also suggests that several nearby posts would have drawn the Indigenous peoples from the Bloodvein: "Fort St. Charles (1732-60), Fort Maurepar[s] II (1739-56), Fort Tete-de-Boeuf (1752-pre 1760), and Fort Lac à la

Carpe (1751-pre 1760). In addition to these posts, there were undoubtedly many small and ephemeral winter posts at other location[s] near the Bloodvein".

The very large Lake Winnipeg system was a point of direct contact between Indigenous and European peoples in the western Bloodvein River region. Henry Kelsey may have been the first European to see Lake Winnipeg in 1690 (Ray 1974). Another possibility, as early as the 1730s, could be the Frenchman La Verendrye who journeyed through Lake Winnipeg. Shortly thereafter, fur trade posts were set up at Fort Tete de Boeuf and Fort Maurepas II near the mouth of the Bloodvein River and to the south on Lake Winnipeg (Lytwyn 1986a).

It is more difficult to determine the time frame of direct contact for eastern Bloodvein River peoples but likely it occurred in the later part of the 1700s. Ezekiel Solomon, "Master Pedlar", a Jewish man from Montreal, controlled the French trade system for the Lake Nipigon area and later the Little North in the 1770s (Lytwyn 1986a:7). This area included Lac Seul and Red Lake and, beginning about 1777, is noted on his employee John Long's map of 1791 (Long 1791; Lytwyn 1986b) (Figure 6.2). Long's account of travels from the east inland are detailed and discuss many Ojibwe customs of the time, including the story of how Red Lake was named (Long 1791; see also Smith's 1981:26 version). The first HBC post at Red Lake was established by James Sutherland in

Figure 6.2. Early map of the Little North showing "Red L.", "L. le Saul" (Lac Seul), and different Indigenous peoples in the area (from Long 1791:18).

1790 (Balmer 1980; Lytwyn 1986a). His rival Solomon may have been operating a house in this region earlier in the 1780s but there are no documentary records to substantiate that idea (Lytwyn 1986a). Both Hackett (2002) and Lytwyn (1986a, 1986b) discuss the large-scale smallpox epidemic in 1782-3, which was so deadly that many Indigenous people perished and others were unable to participate in the fur trade. Thus, Solomon withdrew from the Little North fur trade in 1783 (Lytwyn 1986a), leaving the area open to the HBC, NWC, independent traders, and the remaining Indigenous peoples. A few years later, Duncan Cameron of the NWC started trading in the Red Lake area and eventually established a post there (Lytwyn 1986a:18). Another aspect of competition between the two rival houses run by James Sutherland and Duncan Cameron was gift giving, which is a long held practice among the Anishinaabe*g*. Thus began an intensive competition between the two rival companies (and later briefly with the XY company and perhaps independent traders). More information about this time frame is discussed in the section about Bad Lake on the Bloodvein River.

In terms of learning about Indigenous individuals in the Bloodvein River area, there are few references as compared to the European traders, who are named fairly regularly in the HBC records. John Long (1791:110), who was stationed at nearby *Escabitchewan* (Lake Tide) post recorded that in the fall of 1778 a large band of Indigenous people came in to trade led by "the old chief Mattoyash, or the Earth". Perhaps Long (1791) did not have the correct translation, or it has changed, since the modern Anishinaabemowin form is *aki* for earth. Lytwyn (1986a:12) explains more about this person:

> In the 1790s the HBC documents reveal that the prominent Indian of the Red Lake/Bloodvein region was named Metweass, or Metweash. The linguistic association seems clear, and indicated that the Red Lake Indians were actively participating in the fur trade during the [Ezekial] Solomon era of the 1770s and early 1780s.

Interestingly, *Metweass* was described "as a man of great power among all the Indians in this part of the country (HBCA, B. 78/a/15, fo. 4d.)" and helped James Sutherland choose the location of the HBC post on Red Lake (Lytwyn 1986a:18). *Metweass* had a large family of 28 including several wives (polygyny occurred in Ojibwe families as discussed by Hallowell 1938b), sons, daughters, and sons-in-laws as of 1786 (Lytwyn 1986a:18). The HBC named *Metweass* a trade captain and his brother *Tickematchewan* a Lieutenant, while another seven captains and two other Lieutenants were named in 1790-1 at Red Lake House (Lytwyn 1986a). Apparently, this post was quite large and lucrative for the HBC until the early 1800s (Lytwyn 1986a).

During the end of the competition period, much of the large game (moose, caribou) was depleted, possibly as a result of both Indigenous and European hunters driven by the demands of the fur trade (Lytwyn 1986b). Lytwyn (1986b:115) notes that there were 29 NWC traders and 10 HBC men in the Red Lake/Bloodvein River region in 1805/6 at the height of the competition period, all vying for furs from local Indigenous peoples. Clearly, many of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg could have been involved in trading furs during this very busy time.

A definite decline was recorded in several HBC journals about the Bloodvein River area around 1815 and particularly a drastic decline in the number of beavers (Lytwyn 1986a). The likely higher number of people in a given area than in the past, contrary to carrying capacities that had been followed and had worked for small Algonquian groups in the Subarctic for centuries, would have added to the problem. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, European provisioning also exacted a high demand on the area around trading posts (Rogers and Black 1976). Subsequently, Indigenous peoples and Europeans may have been forced to rely more on fishing and small game such as the hare. Rogers and Black (1976:39) explain that this was likely a widespread phenomenon for many decades during the post competition period:

> Although a fish and hare adaptation has been documented now for only the Osnaburgh House Indians (1820's to approximately 1900, per Bishop 1974) and the Weagamow Indians (1830's to approximately 1920), we can presume it was more widespread. The extent of its occurrence, and the question of whether this model of the subsistence strategy can be applied in other areas of northern Ontario or across the Subarctic, are matters to be investigated in the future.

Lytwyn (1986a, 1986b) did investigate documents for areas of the Little North and found similar results for many regions. Although the Bloodvein River area in northwestern Ontario had been a source of abundant, high quality furs as documented from several posts (e.g., Berens River post HBCA, B.16), there was a significant decline during the competition period between 1779-1821 (Lytwyn 1986a). However, by 1915, government surveyors in the Sioux Lookout district reported that "large game is very plentiful and moose, caribou, red deer and bear were seen daily during the progress of the work. Small fur is also very abundant and trapping is reported to be quite profitable" (Ontario Ministry of Lands, Forests, and Mines 1915:54). As some Aroland First Nation community members surmise, after the signing of treaties, "Our new [government] neighbours began to exercise their rights to take up tracts of land, eventually creating Ontario government acts, regulations, policies, and guidelines, such as contained in the *Municipalities Act* (2001), the *Mining Act* (1990), and the *Crown Forest Sustainability Act* (1994)" (LeBlanc et al. 2011:168).

During the early 1800s, some Europeans would bemoan the loss of revenue from furs but this had an impact on the Anishinaabeg in terms of either not being able to obtain credit at posts (having no furs to trade) or being unable to find as many large animals to provide food, clothing, shelter, tools, and other basic needs. Perhaps these changes were made as an adaptation for conservation - caring for their animal community members - rather than as it is often called 'resource management' (Kaaren Dannenmann, personal communication 2012). As Subarctic Indigenous peoples have done for thousands of years, perhaps the changes they made in hunting were not a result of no animals being left but as a way of conserving the numbers. Some Aroland First Nation community members (LeBlanc et al. 2011:167) explain:

> While some (e.g., Winterhalder 1983) rely on the notion that moose populations have consistently fluctuated due to climatic and anthropogenic influences as evidence of the continued occurrence of moose in our diet, others (e.g., Rogers and Black 1976, Hamilton 2002) reference the "Fish and Hare Period" to support the notion that there were times when moose were rare to non-existent and the dietary staples came from other sources, such as walleye (Sander vitreus), lake whitefish (Coregonus clupeaformis), caribou (Rangifer tarandus), ruffed grouse (Bonasa umbellus), snowshoe hare (Lepus americanus), and beaver (Castor canadensis). Our interpretation of the lack of moose in diets during the "Fish and Hare Period" is that it resulted from a need to seek continued sustenance while easing demands on some members of our extended community and allowing time for their populations to replenish.

As most Anishinaabeg would agree, Aroland community members (LeBlanc et al. 2011:167) state that "moose have forever been an important member of our community" rather than a commodity, as some Euro-Canadians might view them. This alternative interpretation gives more control and credit to the Anishinaabeg for looking after their relations/non-human community members and managing their traditional areas. These customary practices still exist (e.g., Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011; Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba 2012; LGRFN and OMNR 2011; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006).

There may also have been regional climatic factors that made this situation of animal shortages worse, such as during a colder period referred to as the "Little Ice Age" that lasted from as early as the 1300s to the mid-1800s across much of the northern hemisphere (e.g., Ma et al. 2012); Rogers (1986) voices this possibility but suggested a more restricted time frame for the "Little Ice Age" from AD 1500-1750. Fritz et al. (1993) note that HBC records for Osnaburgh House (near Lac Seul) record a cold period from 1810-1819. A period of prolonged aridity has been identified from lake sediment cores in the nearby Winnipeg River drainage basin from about AD 1625 to 1750 (Ma et al. 2012). That time frame coincides with the early arrival of Europeans to Hudson Bay and northwestern Ontario and would have caused periodic difficulties for both Indigenous and European inhabitants in terms of finding food, increased forest fires, and lower numbers of animals. It is interesting to note that many researchers suggest that the Ojibwe were migrating into northwestern Ontario during the mid-1700s (e.g., Hallowell 1992; Dunning 1959), and that would have been during the end of this cold and dry period.

Gleaning Contact Information from Early Maps of *Le Petit Nord*

Although Indigenous people had been living along the Bloodvein River for thousands of years, as evinced by archaeological finds and oral traditions (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 2006a; Wall 1980a), it is useful to determine when Europeans first became interested in the area through studying early maps, as another indication of culture contact aside from fur trade records. This process is useful because it indicates when exploration of the region took place and of course Indigenous peoples were guiding Europeans. As Schweitzer (2011) cautions, early maps often contain errors. Many of these would have been copied by other mapmakers, causing the errors to be perpetuated, until another person created a correct map. For example, HBC employee Long (1791:9) made a map which contained information from other people but was not verified by himself: "Lakes according to the reports of the Indian Traders" (Figure 6.2).

Parts of the Little North, particularly adjacent to Hudson Bay, were first known by Europeans as New South Wales, New York, and New Denmark on various early maps (e.g., Arrowsmith 1795). When the Little North became English territory, it was known as Rupert's Land, which was the vast area around the Hudson Bay and James Bay region granted by King Charles II of England to the HBC in 1670 (Russell 1987). Almost 200 years later, the newly created Dominion of Canada bought the area in 1869, just after Confederation (Russell 1987). The HBC received 300,000 pounds sterling, property rights for the land surrounding its posts, and land grants in the prairies (Russell 1987). In 1876, it became known as the Keewatin district of the North West Territories ("Northwest" Territories after 1909) and the West Patricia district of Ontario in 1888 (Richthammer 2007), which was named after Lady Patricia Ramsey (1886-1974) a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Although Manitoba was originally the Postage Stamp province, referring to the original Selkirk settlement area around the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, part of the Keewatin District was added to Manitoba in 1912 (Beattie 1988). Rogers (1926:1) also explains the creation of the Patricia District: "By Acts of the Parliaments of Canada (2 George V, Chap. 40, 1912) and Ontario (2 Geo. V, Chap. 3, 1912), a large tract of territory (146,400 square miles) bordering on James bay and Hudson bay was added to Ontario, increasing the area of the Province from 260,862 to 407,262 square miles or 56 per cent". All of these political changes caused mapping to progress in Ontario and Manitoba prior to areas to the west. Obviously, the study area underwent several iterations before becoming "Ontario".

Due to Hudson Bay and James Bay being explored by Henry Hudson and the French traders Radisson and Groseilliers in the 1600s, along with Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon being early areas of European interest and contact, these locations were the first noted on early postcontact maps of what is now northwestern Ontario (e.g., Figure 6.3). Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut (Duluth) built a post on Lake Nipigon in 1684 to trade with the Assiniboine and their Cree allies in opposition to the English trade on Hudson Bay (Ray 1974). Only slightly later, the large Lake Winnipeg (i.e., "Frenchman's Lake" or "Little Sea") is fairly prominent on maps as inland trading becomes more common (e.g., Graham 1772; Figure 6.4). Delisle's (1752) map shows the "Pais des Ouinipigon de Bourbon" but it is not very accurate in shape or placement. Dobb's (1744) map

Figure 6.3. Bellin's 1755 Map of eastern North America showing Hudson and James Bay, Lake Superior, Lake Nipigon, Lake Winnipeg, and various Aboriginal groups (taken from Historical Atlas of Canada).

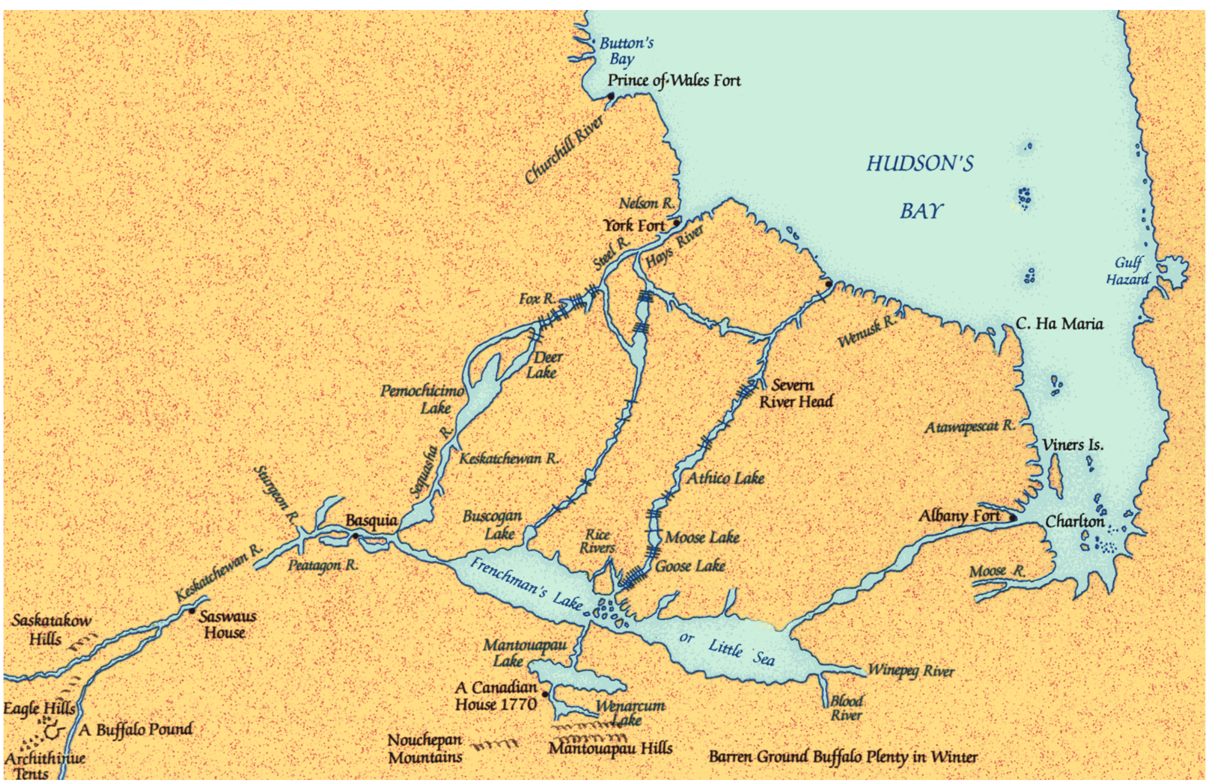

Figure 6.4. Graham's (1772) map of the Little North (taken from Historical Atlas of Canada Online Learning Project.).

shows “Great L. Ouinipique” and the “Cris or Cristinaux” quite far northeast of its actual location. Arrowsmith (1795) names it as Lake Winnipeg, notes the “Nena Wewack Ind.” to the east (north of Cat Lake) and records Red Lake in place. In 1775, Andrew Graham lists the Nenawewack as eight tribes of Ojibwe that are making the journey to Hudson Bay to trade with him. One of these is noted near the Bloodvein River as the *Mithquagomow* on the Red or Bloody River (Lytwyn 2002:50). Graham names the “Blood River” but it is shown in the position of the Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg, on his map of 1772 (Graham 1772). Similarly, the Cree Auchugah’s (1729) map for La Verendrye shows the “Riviére au Vermillon” flowing east out of Lake Winnipeg but it is the Red River. Nonetheless, these people are probably in the territory of the western Bloodvein River, since it is located nearby. This information again provides hints that some Anishinaabeg may have been following the river into Lake Winnipeg, where they travelled north to trade at the bay side posts.

Henry Kelsey was probably the first European to see Lake Winnipeg in 1690 (Ray 1974). He adopted the Cree name for the lake, *Winipek,* meaning “muddy waters” in English (Henry 1897). This freshwater lake was key to fur trade routing and provisioning from the prairies. It still is important to contemporary Bloodvein First Nation members, since they live there but was also used by Bloodvein and Berens River peoples during the fur trade, given that posts were accessible from this lake. The senior La Vérendrye referred to the lake as *Ouinipigon* when he built the first forts in the area in the 1730s and that spelling is often seen in later maps. The many different versions of this name are discussed by Henry (1897). In the early 1800s, Selkirk (1816:117) refers to the Red River colony as being “South of Lake Winnipic”, suggesting that it had come into common usage. Given the size, it became relatively well known as an inland sea and is on most early maps in some form (e.g., Figures 6.3, 6.4). Lake Winnipeg, into which the Bloodvein River flows, became a much sought after locale due to the high quality and quantity of fur bearing animals nearby and the many fishing sources (both subsistence and commercial).

In terms of trying to learn more about the culture history of the Fur Trade Period in the study area, it is useful to examine the available early maps to determine: (1) when the river itself appeared on maps; (2) when the “Blood” River starting being recorded; and then (3) when the “Bloodvein River” started to appear on European maps. This discussion will provide insight into when European visits had occurred in the region and also when it was considered ‘important’ enough to be recorded. Since most Europeans required Indigenous guides to navigate through new areas, it is likely that locals were providing this geographic information. For example, Camsell (1912) admitted that he and other geologists were literally lost without Indigenous guides and regularly hired them. Given the many sets of rapids on the Bloodvein River in Ontario (Newman and Gilmore 2007) or coming from the Manitoba side (Jackson 1998; Manitoba Conservation 2008), this would be important for the safety of early Europeans. Thus, these ideas about early mapping and travel in the study area also indicate cultural change and adaptation for both Indigenous as well as

European people during the Fur Trade Period. Secondly, it is useful to examine these early maps to determine which Indigenous groups were living near the Bloodvein River and larger region in the early European Contact Period (if it is noted). Early maps also often indicate the locations of trading posts and sometimes Indigenous villages, which helps to inform how the landscape was being used when the map was completed.

From the previous section, it appears that the 1770s was a likely time frame for direct contact in the eastern Bloodvein River region, given its close proximity to Red Lake, where trading was first established. It was likely earlier on the Lake Winnipeg side, due to earlier Europeans travelling on the lake since the late 1600s or early 1700s (Ray 1974). Hallowell (1992) and Dunning (1959) thought that was the case for the Berens River people to the north and it was likely true for the Bloodvein River and the nearby river systems that drain westward into Lake Winnipeg:

> It is possible that the earliest local contacts of the Berens River Ojibwa with white traders date from the close of the 18th century, since there is oral tradition to this effect. It is said that these earliest traders represent the North West Company with whom the lineages inland may well have been in contact in the Lake Superior area before moving farther north (Hallowell 1992:24).

Jennifer Brown (as editor) suggests in Hallowell's (1992:112) volume, published six decades after his field work along the Berens River, that Hallowell had an exaggerated view of that 'acculturation gradient' that was fairly prominent in academe during the 1930s, which is partly true. However, there were and still are some fundamental differences between Lake Winnipeg Anishinaabe/Saulteaux and those farther inland that will be discussed in this chapter. This 'acculturation gradient' idea was generated from the fact that many more European visitors frequented (and still do) Lake Winnipeg than moved inland from other routes. Europeans are believed to have arrived at Lake Winnipeg in the 1730s (e.g., La Verendrye [Ray 1974]) much earlier than in the Red Lake area, which was in about 1790 according to Lytwyn (1986a). Rogers and Taylor (1981) note that the Severn Ojibwe to the north and west of the Bloodvein River also had European traders in their area by about 1740. Whether individuals participated in the Middlemen trade, is another question. Lake Winnipeg access leads directly to Norway House, instead of inland Indigenous groups having to go farther east (e.g., Albany House before the Red Lake houses were opened). Thus, early mapping and European movements also becomes important to understand more about the Indigenous people who were there.

One would expect to see the Bloodvein River (even without a name written near it) or "Blood River", as it was originally noted by John Best in the HBC Blood River post documents in 1794 (HBCA B.254/a/1), on maps from that general era. Graham (1772) actually notes the "Blood River" in his early map of northwestern Ontario but that appears to represent the Red River since the map is not all that accurate (Figure 6.4). Graham's (1772) "Blood River" is found south of the

Winnipeg River and Frenchman's Lake or Little Sea (Lake Winnipeg). Since both rivers were named for their red colour, newly arrived Europeans might easily confuse the two systems. He locates the mouths of several major rivers on the east side of Lake Winnipeg and one of these is in the right location for the Bloodvein River, although they are unnamed (Figure 6.4). Peter Pond's (1785) map of Lake Winnipeg also has the river mouth in the basic form but without any name; thus, he probably did not know what to call it. Peter Fidler's (1808) sketch map of Lake Winnipeg (in Ruggles 1991:145) indicates the mouth of the "Blood R" in the correct place (also in Lytwyn 1986b:Figure 24; HBCA, E.3/3). Explorer David Thompson (1814) notes the river as the "Blood Rivulet". Later, "Blood" River appears on Arrowsmith's (1822) map in the basic correct location (Figure 6.5). Apparently, that was due to knowledge of Donald Sutherland's (1819) sketch map of Lake Winnipeg northeast to the height of land in a report on the Berens River District where he drew an arrow and wrote "to Blood River" and "Bad Lake" posts in relation to the Berens River (Figure 6.6); Lytwyn (1986) notes that he names the river as Bloodvein in documents other than his map (HBCA, B.16/a/2, p. 9). Arrowsmith's (1854) map shows the "Blood River" in somewhat closer form to modern maps as does Stanford's 1901 map (Figure 6.7) showing a route from Red Lake downstream to "Bad L." with a gap between it and the west side of the "Blood R." at Lake

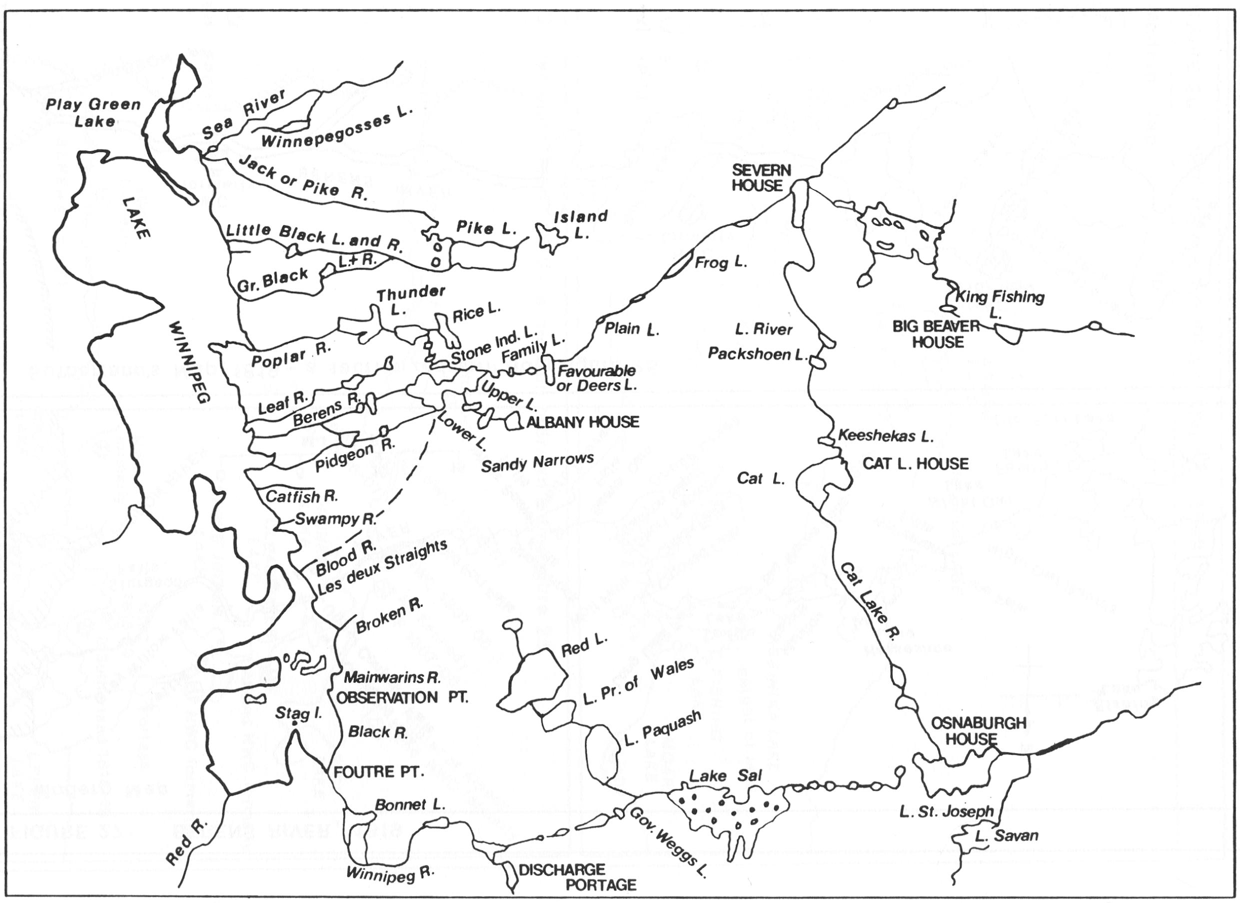

Figure 6.5. Section of Arrowsmith 1822 map showing the Little North (from Lytwyn 1986b:154).

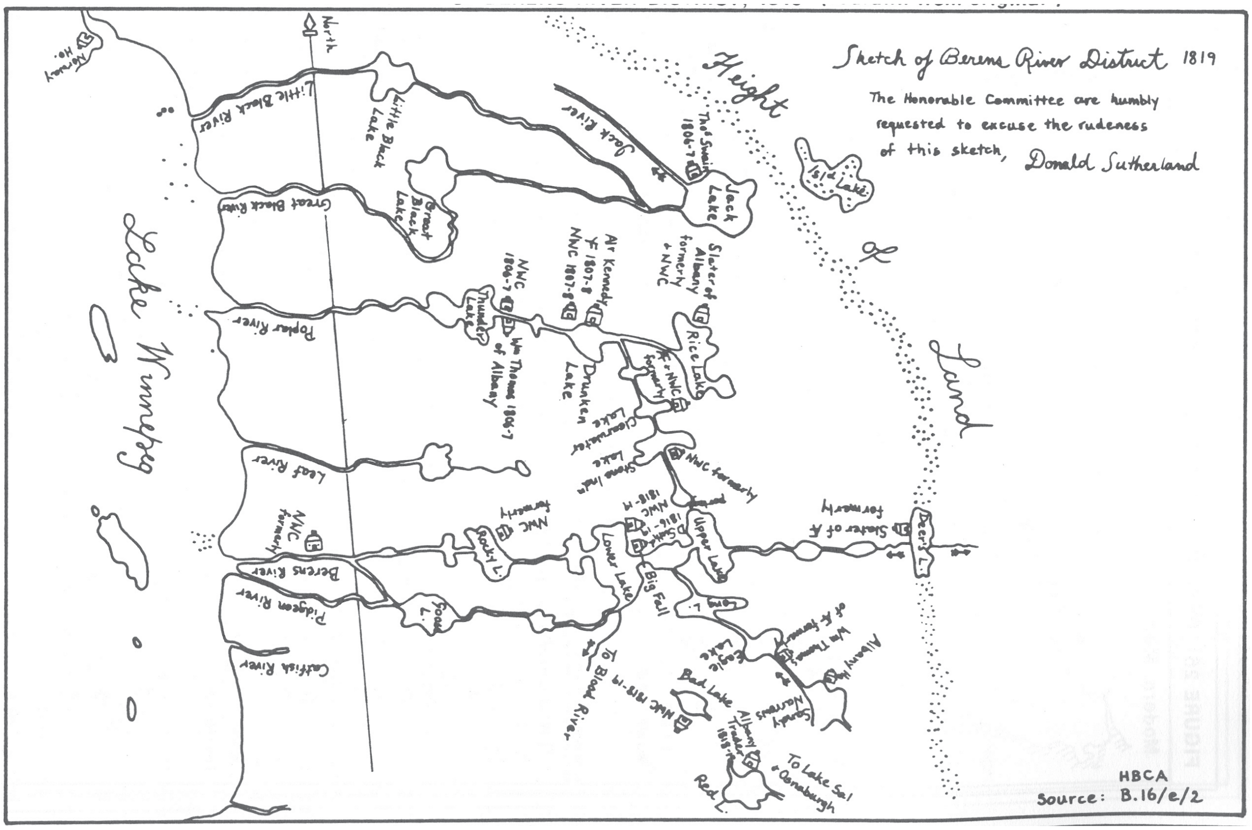

Figure 6.6. Donald Sutherland's 1819 sketch map of the Beren's River District and Lake Winnipeg (from Lytwyn 1986b:151).

Winnipeg. Stanford's (1901) map is informative because it still retains some of the old Indigenous names on rivers, lakes and "Nenawewhok Indns", as discussed earlier and recorded by Graham in 1775, who lists the Nenawewack Ojibwe as eight tribes that were making the journey to Hudson Bay to trade with him at York Factory (Lytwyn 2002:50). Still later, the "Bloodvein River" name and river appear in the right location on modern topographic maps from the early twentieth century. It is unknown why and when the full name took so long to be noted by Europeans and Euro-Canadians (perhaps Rickaby 1923 and Burwash 1923 were the first), particularly since many posts were operating along there and nearby during the competition period from the 1770s and onward. This evidence does suggest that the Bloodvein River was indeed a more 'secondary' fur trade route to the Europeans, as described by Lytwyn (1986a, 1986b). Perhaps a better phrase is a later fur trade route, since the Indigenous people living there would not have referred to their traditional area in economic terms or as being 'secondary'. Also, it does suggest that direct European contact in this region was later, as Hallowell (1992:8) had proposed for the inland Berens River people (although his explanation of his trip up river as an "excursion into the past" has to be taken in the context of being written in the 1930s). The Europeans knew about the Berens River earlier than the Bloodvein River, it was a larger route, and also more posts were located along that system (Lytwyn 1986b), reflecting the fact that it was closer to the Severn River trade route to Hudson Bay.

Figure 6.7. One of the few older maps with the “Red L.” route to the “Blood R.”, then “Bad L.” downstream, and “Albany Ho. & L.” on the way to Family Lake (Little Grand Rapids). I suspect that Albany House is now Barclay Lake where a small Fur Trade Period site was found and the one to the north is Musclow L. From this map, it would suggest Bad Lake is Mary’s Lake or Artery Lake, which are near the provincial border. Unfortunately, it is not that accurate since the “Blood R.” in Manitoba does not connect with the one in Ontario. Note the size of Manitoba as a postage stamp province with Keewatin and Ontario divided at this time. See “Indian Vill.” which looks like the Wenesaga Rapids Site (Hamilton 1981) location (map section from Stanford 1901).

Schweitzer (2011) suggests that the Little North was not accessed until much later in the Fur Trade Period compared with the coastal areas because it was not a sufficiently lucrative district when compared to other territories such as Athabasca and New Caledonia. She proposes three reasons for the limitations of growth in the Little North: the lack of cost-effective provisioning as compared to the prairies that were abundant with bison; difficult terrain access in the Canadian boreal forest; and relations with Indigenous peoples (Schweitzer 2011). Bison did provide an important amount of meat and pemmican for traders from the early 1800s (e.g., Henry 1897); however, fish provided an equivalent all season provision that was used in the central Canadian boreal forest, particularly sturgeon in the Rainy River area (Holzkamm et al. 1988); Rogers (1986) also makes the related point of the large size of sturgeon and lake trout. Northern pike are still large and common all over Ontario (Holm et al. 2009). Difficulties in accessing the terrain is certainly a theme repeated in the fur trade journals since Best (1794) discusses the 70 portages that had to be crossed to get from Red Lake to the mouth of the Bloodvein River (Lytwyn 1986b; Schweitzer

2011). In addition, Peter Fidler's (1808) sketch map of Lake Winnipeg (in Ruggles 1991:145) notes at the mouth of the Blood River, "4 Days jorny up this river, many rapids & bad". Clearly, his impression, whether learned through personal experience or informed by someone else, was that the Bloodvein River did not pose an easy journey inland. Traders had to work hard to build relationships with local people and presumably some chose to avoid interacting with fur traders (Schweitzer 2011).

Naming of the River

As a consequence of examining ethnohistoric and ethnographic information, I found many references about how the Bloodvein River, an unusual toponym, came into being. Since it is a central travel corridor and sustainer of life for many people over centuries, clearly the river itself is a key part of many Indigenous and later European peoples' cultural landscape. Thus, it was insightful to determine the different cultural associations and stories with this toponym. The name is attributed to several different possible origins. It was relatively late that portions or all of the actual Bloodvein River appear on European maps and even later that the name appears. As far as can be determined, the name "Blood River" was first recorded on a map in 1772 by Graham (1772). However, that appears to be the Red River since he located it south of the Winnipeg River and Frenchman's Lake or Little Sea (now called Lake Winnipeg) where the Red River is found. Both rivers have red coloured (tannic) water, so this was an early alternative name for the Red River as well. Later, John Best was probably the first to record the name "Blood River" as part of an expedition along the river in 1794-95 (Lytwyn 1986b). It is also the title given to a Hudson Bay Company post located at the mouth of the river, where it existed from 1794-95, during which time Best was the Inland Trader and Master (HBCA B.254/a/1). So, why did Best name it that way? Lytwyn (1986a) notes that Best recorded witnessing 30 canoes of people gather at the Blood River mouth post on Lake Winnipeg to head south and go to war with the Sioux in the spring of 1795. The slightly different English toponym "Bloodvein River" was recorded in the Berens River, Manitoba Hudson Bay Company post journal by Donald Sutherland for 1818-19 (HBCA B.16/a/2, p.9) (Lytwyn 1986b) but that did not persist and it was known as the "Blood" River until the twentieth century. In early European government documents, it is known fairly early as the Blood Vein or Bloodvein River, somewhat earlier than on maps (e.g., Government of Canada 1875, 1877). It is unknown how long the Indigenous people referred to the river as *Miskweyaabiziibee* (Bloodvein River) in the Lac Seul dialect from Elders who lived in the Eastern area, *Miskwi Isipi* from the west side of the river at Bloodvein First Nation (Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team 2011; Leach 1971), or *Miskoósi·bi* as told by Berens River peoples to Hallowell (2010:404) in the 1930s.

One hypothesis for the initial appellations derives from oral history of Indigenous accounts of a fierce, riverside battle between the Saulteaux along with their Cree allies, and another group (perhaps the Sioux?); many people were killed and the name *Miskwi Isipi* or Blood River was attributed to that story (Leach 1971; Lytwyn 1986b). Leach (1971:21), an Oblate missionary lay brother teaching at the Bloodvein River Reserve in 1920 and later, describes how he learned of the name: "An old Bloodveiner told me that his grandfather had told him that many years ago the Saulteaux and Crees had fought a battle against another tribe, near the river banks, during which a number were killed; from then on for a number of years it was called *Miskwi Isipi*, Blood River, later changed to *Kiskowisipi*". This later Anishinaabemowin name seems to have been abandoned for the original one. Another option for the origin of the name Bloodvein River may be attributed to fur traders noticing the red and pink, iron oxide stained sections within the granites along the riverbed and banks (CHRS 2012; Lytwyn 1986a). However, Hallowell (2010:404) provides another alternative: "*Miskoósi·bi*, a name which is said by the Indians to have reference to personal decoration with red paint . . . ". It may also refer to the dark, reddish-brown colour of the tannin stained water of the river since nearby Red Lake may have been named by Europeans for the same reason (but see the complex oral tradition of the Anishinaabe naming of Red Lake as related by Long 1791). Perhaps the best explanation comes from a combination of stories from the only permanent residents along the river at Bloodvein First Nation: "Legend tells us the Blood River was first named for an ancient tribal battle, and Bloodvein River was named for the red and pink veins in the rock along the river – to remind us of fallen warriors" (Bloodvein First Nation et al. 2007). Of course, the name may also derive from a combination of these origins. Ultimately, the toponyms and associated stories about the Bloodvein River provide many examples of cultural change during the Fur Trade Period from Anishinaabe and European perspectives: Best recorded the name as Blood River, likely acquired from the story that has been repeated about an ancient battle that turned the river red; different versions of the Anishinaabe language reflecting different dialects; and to natural perspectives about tannic water and coloured bedrock. Later in 1818, HBC Donald Sutherland recorded it as the Bloodvein River (HBCA, B.16/a/2, p. 9; Lytwyn 1986a).

Investigating Indigenous Groups in the Little North

One of the major themes of historical geography is to note which Indigenous groups are recorded on early maps to aid in determining who was living there at the time the map was made. These notations are subject to critical evaluation since the Europeans making the maps often received secondary information, many did not know the languages spoken by Indigenous people in the Little North, or were sometimes misinformed (see Greenberg and Morrison 1982). Despite those limitations, it is interesting to note that there is some conformity among early mapmakers in the region northwest of Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon (also noted as Lake Alemipigon, Lake Alimibeg, Lake Ann).

During the mid- to late 1600s, the competition between earlier French traders and newly arrived HBC posts on James and Hudson Bay started to escalate. Witgen (2007:639) argues about the fluidity of how the French identified Algonquian groups, particularly the northern "Ojibweg" (descendants of the people called by the French as Sauters) who were at different times known as Cree, Muskego, Gens des Terres, Monsoni, etc., causing inaccuracies in which groups were actually in northwestern Ontario during the early Fur Trade Period. This idea, along with Greenberg and Morrison's (1982) views, has implications for a one-time Ojibwe migration to northwestern Ontario and relatively late arrival in the mid-1700s (e.g., Hickerson 1970) or even as late as the 1770s (Bishop 1976). However, there are HBC documents that indicate that the Ojibwe were interacting with traders directly in the 1770s, so it seems unlikely that they only arrived with the traders and no earlier. Witgen (2007:639) also illustrates how the early Jesuit Relations' maps were used for French empire building, via assigning labels to various Algonquian groups near Sault Ste. Marie and other French centres during the mid-1600s:

> It suggests that the practices of empire, such as renaming people and places and then mapping the newly imagined entities both cartographically and through diplomatic protocol, represented native peoples from an exclusively imperial vantage point. This overly determined perspective obscures the extent to which native social formations in the Great Lakes and western interior operated and evolved independent of their relationships to the empires of the Atlantic world.

Bishop (1976) suggests that groups of Indigenous people, including the Ojibwe, were gathering for ceremonies and trading at Sault Ste. Marie during the summer months by about the 1620s. Witgen (2007) also discusses an interesting premise regarding confusion caused to the French by the various Algonquian peoples in that area and in northwestern Ontario during the mid-1600s, suggesting that Indigenous people changed their identities as necessary, perhaps that their true identities were mistaken by the French, and that Jesuit mapper Claude Dablon's lumping of all the peoples into the "Ottawa" territories was done for political purposes:

> For the French, the murkiness of Sauteur [Saulteaux] identity and the unknown nations to the north muddied the imperial map; with Saint Lusson's ceremony, the colonial government intended to fix identity in space and thus create coherence. The Jesuits published [Jesuit Claude] Dablon's map, cartographic narrative, and description of the ceremony in the Relation of 1670–71 to establish the "Outaouac territories" as a national space, and to validate their possession by New France through the French connection to the Ottawa. . . . This was, however, something beyond the ability of texts to achieve. Like the ceremony itself, Dablon's texts represented a European version of empire that would have to be negotiated between Indians and Europeans (Witgen 2007:649).

The ceremony mentioned above was used to unite the Algonquian peoples at Sault Ste. Marie together under the 'protection' of the French, thereby hopefully enticing the Indigenous groups to keep trading with them as opposed to the English. "The various peoples from the North, elsewhere identified by Dablon and others as the Cree and Gens des Terres, shared—along with the Sauteur—this pattern of movement between the Sault and their winter hunting grounds, at least since their first contact with Europeans" as explained by Witgen (2007:651). Again, this suggests that there were Ojibwe people north of Lake Superior well before European contact and perhaps earlier.

Researchers have often stated that Cree or early Cree speakers were the first people encountered by Europeans in northwestern Ontario. For example, many maps indicate the various spellings of "Kilistinons", "Cristanaux" (Figure 6.3), and "Gens des Terres", interpreted as the Cree (Ray 1974) were living in a large area east of Lake Winnipeg. Henry (1897) also explores the many other names used to refer to the early Cree. The "Ouchipiwies" or "Chippeways" (Long 1791) and various spellings that are interpreted as Ojibwe speakers, are typically identified at Sault Ste. Marie (hence "Sauteurs") just north of Lake Superior in early maps (Figure 6.2). Although the present day Anishinaabeg, Ojibwe speakers (sometimes called Saulteaux) live in the Bloodvein River area, many scholars believe that their arrival was fairly recent (e.g., in the 1700s as per Bishop 1970; Hallowell 1992, 2010; Hickerson 1970).

Ray (1974:6) discusses the presence of the Assiniboine in northwestern Ontario as recorded in the Jesuit Relations in 1658, noting that they lived about 35 leagues from Lake Alimibeg (Nipigon); they were called the *Assinipoualak* (Warriors of the Rock). He interprets this as being somewhere on the Pigeon River on the northwest shore of Lake Superior. *Assin* means "rock" in the Ojibwe language (see Ningewance 2004) with the Assiniboine thought to be named after their habit of cooking with hot stones. Whether this is a true account or a compounding of errors is something that we will never know (see Greenberg and Morrison 1982 for alternative views). An interesting early reference to the Saulteurs comes from Frenchman Nicolas Jérémie (1926:32-33), who lived at York Factory from 1694-1714:

> A hundred leagues further to the west south west [of Michinipi or Big Water - Lake Winnipeg] or, following along this [Bourbon] river, another lake occurs which they call Ouenipigouchib, or little Sea [Winnipegosis]. . . .The country is nearly all the same as the preceeding one. Assinibouels, Crees, and Sauteurs occupy the regions near this lake.

So, presuming that Jérémie identified people 'correctly', he notes some Saulteaux to the west of Lake Winnipeg near Lake Winnipegosis already by the early 1700s. As late as 1731, the Assiniboine were probably still living in the Lake of the Woods area, since the lake was still referred to as the Lake of the Assiniboines (or *Assinipoils)* on several early maps (Ray 1974). Greenberg and Morrison (1982) provide the account of La Verendrye, who was the source of the Assiniboine references (although actually from Indigenous person Auchugah's map of 1729) but he also discusses Saulteurs being encountered all along the route to Lake of the Woods in the early 1700s, so the Ojibwe were living there at the time (and this would be included in the Protocontact Period). Ray (1974) believes that the Ojibwe were present at Lake of the Woods by slightly later in 1765. The *Gens de Terre*, *Tetes de Boule*, and *Nation de bois* are all early French references for Indigenous people inland.

According to Arthur Dobbs, with information from Joseph La France, the "Eagle-Eyed Indians" lived on the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg at the "Lake of Eagles" with the "Sturgeon Indians" north of the "Lake of Woods" (Bishop 1994; Dobbs 1774 map). Perhaps these refer to the main clan groups in these regions at the time. La France had travelled from Lake Superior to York Factory via Lake Winnipeg (Ray 1974). Nicolas Jérémie (1926) and James Isham (1968), of the HBC, both agreed that there were Assiniboines present. Ray (1974) interprets them as being in the vicinity of the Poplar River north of the Bloodvein and Berens Rivers but it is difficult to determine that from the La France information (Dobbs 1774 map), as it could also be the Berens River. Fittingly, the Assinika River appears on modern maps as being a tributary in between those two rivers, suggesting a reference to the Assiniboines. All of these accounts could be correct, as the Assiniboine and Cree were joined by some Ojibwe speakers to conduct war raids on the more southerly Sioux (Ray 1974). Lytwyn (1986a:30) notes that John Best, HBC trader at the Blood River mouth post on Lake Winnipeg, witnessed 30 canoes of people gather to head south and go to war with the Sioux in the spring of 1795. Ray (1974:12) explains their suggested relationship "In brief, the initial contact with the westernmost Cree groups suggest that they bordered on the Assiniboine territories throughout northern Ontario and Manitoba. Of considerable significance, the record also shows that the two groups were living together rather peacefully". Therefore, there is some evidence in the form of primary sources that some Assiniboine or Cree had lived in northwestern Ontario. To the south, in western Wisconsin and north-central Minnesota, the Ojibwe and Dakota had mostly warlike relations, with brief breaks in hostilities during the French Contact Period (ca. 1660-1760) (Holzkamm 1981). Ray (1974:61) notes that in the tallies of canoe numbers recorded at York Factory from 1757-1759 and 1761, the groups most recorded were Cree and Assiniboine with 12 per cent Ojibwe traders. However, does this mean that the Ojibwes of those accounts were only late arrivals as posited by many scholars (e.g., Hallowell 1955; Hickerson 1970)?

It is noted that there are many general references to the Cristinaux or Kilistinons on early maps of northwestern Ontario but there are some specific references to them in early documents (Rogers and Taylor 1981). For example, Ray (1974) notes that the Jesuit Relations of 1658 (Thwaites 1896-1901, vol. 44) suggests that the Western Cree were centred in the Lake Nipigon and James Bay area (the latter of which is still home to Cree speakers today). The Jesuit Relation of 1658 (Thwaites 1896-1901, vol. 44:245-249, 324-325) discusses 10 new nations that were known to the French at that time in and around the eastern Great Lakes area including: the Poulak (Sioux) in Eastern Minnesota; Assinipoualak (Assiniboine) living west of Lake Nipigon and northwest of Lake Superior; and four groups of Kilistinons (Cree) living near Lake Nipigon and west of James Bay as detailed by Father Gabriel Dreuillettes. He notes that there were about 2,500 Cree who "are not very stationary" (Thwaites 1896-1901, vol. 44, p. 249). Dreuillettes also mentions the *Nadouechiouek*, 35 leagues or so from Lake Nipigon called the Nation of the *Assinipoualak* or "Warriors of the rock" (eastern Sioux). In 1688, Jacques de Noyon went from Kaministikwa (near Thunder Bay) to Lake of the Woods and noted meeting the Cree and the Assiniboine near Rainy Lake (reporting that it was called Lac des Cristinaux) and Lake of the Woods (Lac des Assiniboils) (Ray 1974). The Assiniboine occupied the territory west to central Saskatchewan in the Touchwood Hills as recorded by Henry Kelsey in 1690 (Ray 1974). Just before the HBC was established in 1670, the Assiniboine and Western Cree were linked to the Ottawa-French trade network (Ray 1974). This may have led to many Ojibwe moving westwards to participate in the new trade business and also avoid the increasingly hostile Iroquoians (Ray 1974). Apparently, the Nipissing Indigenous people were also compelled to move into northwestern Ontario for the same reasons: "The Nipissiriniens formerly received instruction from our Fathers who sojourned in the country of the Hurons. These poor people, many of whom were Christians, were compelled by the Incursions of the Iroquois to flee for refuge even to Lake Alimibegong [Nipigon], only fifty or sixty leagues from the North Sea" (Thwaites 1896-1901; Relation of 1666-67, Vol. 51, Chapter 15, p. 63).

Hallowell (1955:115) provides one of the best overall explanations of where the appellations of the Ojibwe, Saulteaux, Chippewa, and Bungee were derived from as exonyms:

> All these Indians represent migrant branches of an ethnic group which had occupied a comparatively restricted region in the seventeenth century. The Ojibwa were first reported near the Sault Ste. Marie, at the eastern end of Lake Superior, and in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in the Jesuit Relations (1640). This early association with the Sault is the source of one of their major ethnic appellations for over a century—Saulteurs given to them by the French traders. It persists today in the Anglicized form Saulteaux. One of the earliest forms of the name given to them was Baouichitigouian, the equivalent of the modern Ojibwa báwáctigowiníniwak, literally "Rapids People" or "People of the Falls or Rapids." In some other Indian languages a similar designation for them was employed, while in others they were called "Leapers" or "Jumpers," probably an incorrect rendering of Saulteurs. Outchibouec, the source of the later English Ojibwa, is also an early name for them. It appears as a synonym in the seventeenth century, its meaning usually being rendered as "to roast until puckered up." This refers to the puckered seam of their moccasins. Chippewa is actually a corruption of Ojibwa and was officially adapted in the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology many years ago. A further synonym Bungi was current at the beginning of the nineteenth century and probably did not originate much earlier. In 1808, the

> younger Alexander Henry, who was trading near Pembina writes: "The Ogeebois are commonly called by the English Algonquins, by the Canadians Saulteurs and by the Hudson Bay Company servants Bungees." And one of the early settlers of Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony (Manitoba) says: "In the early days of the writer the Ojibeways living in the vicinity of the Red River and Portage [La Prairie, Manitoba] Settlements were usually called Bungees, for the reason that when they asked or begged for anything, they invariably commenced their petition with the word Pungee, a little. The settlers noticed this and so dubbed them Bungees."

Although this is a very long explanation, there are many variations of these stories related to how the Ojibwe, Chippewa, and Bungee were called by outsiders. It is important to note how close the Plains Ojibwe (or Bungi) are to the Bloodvein and Berens rivers, being just south of Lake Winnipeg. It would reasonable to assume that some Anishinaabeg moved onto the plains from this area, as Blackduck Composite peoples did earlier in the Late Woodland Period (see Hamilton et al. 1981, 2007, 2011; Syms 1977). Dawson (1987b) even directly associates the Blackduck Composite peoples with the postcontact Ojibwe. Hallowell (1955:115; 2010:26-27) explains further about how the endonym of Anishinaabe came about:

> When referring to themselves, Ojibwa use the term änicinábek, men (singular, änicinábe [änicinábekwe for woman]) This carries a highly provincial connotation since Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans received generic appellations of their own—they were not änicinábek. Thus the Ojibwa of the Berens River, and linguistically and culturally related groups in the Province of Manitoba and elsewhere in Canada, retain a derivative of one of the old French forms of their name [Saulteaux] that still carries overtones of the rapids of the St. Mary's River, now so far away. On the other hand, Indians speaking the same language and with the same aboriginal cultural background are known in the United States as Chippewa or Ojibwa, although this designation for them is not entirely unknown in some parts of Canada.

Hallowell (1992) was probably referring to the fact that some of his colleague William Berens' family, specifically his paternal great-grandfather Yellow Legs (~1750-1830), was from the west side of Lake Winnipeg.

Ethnicity

The Indigenous people who use and once resided in the Bloodvein River region of northwestern Ontario and remain in Manitoba at the river mouth are Anishinaabeg. Their ancestors also lived here for many generations but the question of how long the Anishinaabemowin speakers lived in northwestern Ontario and Manitoba is a long debated and contentious matter (e.g., Benton-Benai 1988; Bishop 1970, 1974, 1976; Dawson 1974, 1987b; Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Hallowell 1992; Hickerson 1970, 1988; Pettipas 1996b, 2014b; Rhodes and Todd 1981; Rogers 1963; Rogers and Black Rogers 1976; Warren 1885; Witgen 2007; Wright 1965, 1981, etc.). This raises one of the more challenging questions that I have considered during this study when addressing culture change along the Bloodvein River. Were *all* the Anishinaabe fairly recent arrivals in the mid-eighteenth century or was it the case that some Anishinaabeg "people lived there a *long* time ago"? Some scholars believe that the Anishinaabeg have only been in northwestern Ontario for several hundred years and after contact (Bishop 1974; Hallowell 1992; Hickerson 1970, 1988):

> I also became aware that the Ojibwa were relatively recent arrivals in the region east of Lake Winnipeg. The realization of this historic fact brought me face to face with the problem of population movements in the Lake Winnipeg basin, which, instead of presenting questions that could be left to the archeologist, were events of the last two centuries, involved with the impact of the fur trade (Hallowell 1992:5).

Contrary to Hallowell's (1992) viewpoint about this "historic fact", archaeology may answer some of these questions about population movements in the Lake Winnipeg basin prior to the last two centuries, during the Fur Trade Period, and how that may pertain to the Anishinaabeg. Bishop (1976:45-46) states categorically the popular view that the Cree were in the area right before the Ojibwe moved into the Berens River area:

> For example, the Hudson's Bay Company trader, George Sutherland, wintered with a family of six Ojibwa in the Berens River area in 1777-1778 (HBC Arch B3/a/73). Their small size, however, was not a function of ecological adjustment, but rather was due to the fact that emergence of northern Ojibwa families from different lineage groups to the south and east had moved into the area, which had only recently been vacated by the Cree during the 1760s and early 1770s. In 1770, there were perhaps no more than 700 Northern Ojibwa north and west of Lake Superior belonging to perhaps twelve to fifteen bands.

This view even contradicts Hallowell's (1992) genealogical and ethnographic work that Anishinaabe people had arrived in the Berens River area in the early to mid-1700s. Despite Bishop's (1976) and Hallowell's (1992) contentions that all Ojibwe were recent arrivals in the Berens River area, there are many alternative viewpoints to consider (cf., Benton-Benai 1988; Dawson 1974, 1987b; Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Pettipas 1996b; Rogers 1963; Rogers and Black Rogers 1982; Warren 1885; Witgen 2007; Wright 1965, 1981, etc.). Many scholars believe that the Ojibwe have been well inland in northwestern Ontario at least before European contact (Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Rogers 1963; Rogers and Black Rogers 1976).

An even more complicated query is how does this relate to the 'archaeological culture' of the Selkirk Composite, most often argued as the material remains of Cree speakers (e.g., beginning with MacNeish 1958), which persisted beyond European contact in northwestern Ontario? Although this works well for Alberta, Saskatchewan, and parts of Manitoba where contemporary Indigenous people who occupy the same area as Selkirk Composite sites are typically Cree speakers, that does not fit with this region of northwestern Ontario where there are now mainly Ojibwe and Oji-Cree speakers (although Cree speakers reside in the Hudson Bay Lowlands and across much of the north where the Selkirk Composite is also found) (Figure 1.2). In the 1980s, Dawson (1987b:15) wrestled with the same issue with trying to determine who were the descendants of the Selkirk Composite peoples in northwestern Ontario:

> 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.

In trying to learn more about the sometimes contentious question of how long the Ojibwe have been in the study area, it seemed logical to inquire about this the people themselves. Foremost in my mind was to ask the Lac Seul (Red Lake/Bloodvein River), Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum people how long they have lived in the area. This idea became all too apparent when working with the Anishinaabeg from the eastern Bloodvein and Berens River area. This informal querying of different Anishinaabeg (Elders, community members, friends) resulted in three different viewpoints about how they came to live in the area east of Lake Winnipeg and northwest of Lake Superior: (1) some Anishinaabeg believe that they have been there since time immemorial; (2) others agree with the oral histories of the great migration from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Superior several hundred years ago (e.g., Benton-Banai 1988; Warren 1885); and (3) some do not know but remember perhaps three to four generations back and often to a male ancestor. Elders from Pikangikum explain that their families have been there since time immemorial (e.g., the late Elder Whitehead Moose, Taylor-Hollings Pikangikum Meeting 2005; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006). The late Elder Whitehead Moose recounted a story about when Pikangikum's land had no trees and giant animals roamed the area (Taylor-Hollings, Pikangikum Meeting 2005). Furthermore, "Pikangikum Elders teach that in ancient times, there were no trees in the Whitefeather Forest [just to the north]; this was a time before Ahneesheenahbek were placed on the land by the Creator, a time when Thunderbirds used stones to make their nests" (PFN and OMNR 2006:88). These references seem to coincide with thousands of years ago during the early to mid-Holocene changing environment and suggests that some oral history has been transmitted for a very long time about this region. Mr. Moose was not alone in knowing stories from the distant past with the oral tradition being so important in all Anishinaabe communities (e.g., PFN and OMNR 2006). MacLeod (1992) discusses varied, early perspectives about this idea from Anishinaabeg writers Francis Assikinack, Andrew Blackbird, George Copway (*Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*), Peter Jones and William Warren, who lived during the eighteenth century but from more southern Ojibwe (Chippewa) viewpoints.

Anishinaabe writers (e.g., Benton-Banai 1988:94; Johnston 1982, 1990; Warren 1885) have shared information about the *chi-bi-moo-day-win´* (Anishinaabeg migration) as beginning at the Great Salt Water Ocean, or the Atlantic, after prophets of the Seven Fires appeared to the people. Seven is still a significant number to the Anishinaabeg, such as the Seven Grandfathers and Teachings (Benton-Banai 1988; Warren 1885). One of the migration stories is illustrated (Figure 6.8) and discussed briefly here, since they are very important to Anishinaabeg and the detailed oral histories of the Ojibwe have also helped inform anthropologists about when and where some of these people arrived in different locations including the northern Ojibwe groups (Figure 6.8).

Later, and perhaps the most pertinent stop for the study area, was the fifth stopping place at *Baw-wa-ting´* (Sault Ste. Marie) where people settled again and the Water Drum had a home (Benton-Banai 1988). At this point, some people stayed put, while others went north and some went west, as also iterated by Warren (1885), which is key to understanding when and how at least *some* Anishinaabeg arrived in northwestern Ontario. Both Anishinaabeg groups, along with the Cree and Assiniboine, fought with the *Ba-wahn´* (Dakota Sioux) (Warren 1885). The northern group carved *muz-i-nee-bi´ah-sin´* (petroglyphs) on the cliffs of the great water and marked sacred places on the rock walls; they also found the food that grows on water, wild rice, which is regarded as the sacred gift of Anishinaabe chosen ground and has never failed, despite more recent challenges (Benton-Banai 1988). Spirit Island, near present day Duluth, became the sixth stopping place. The

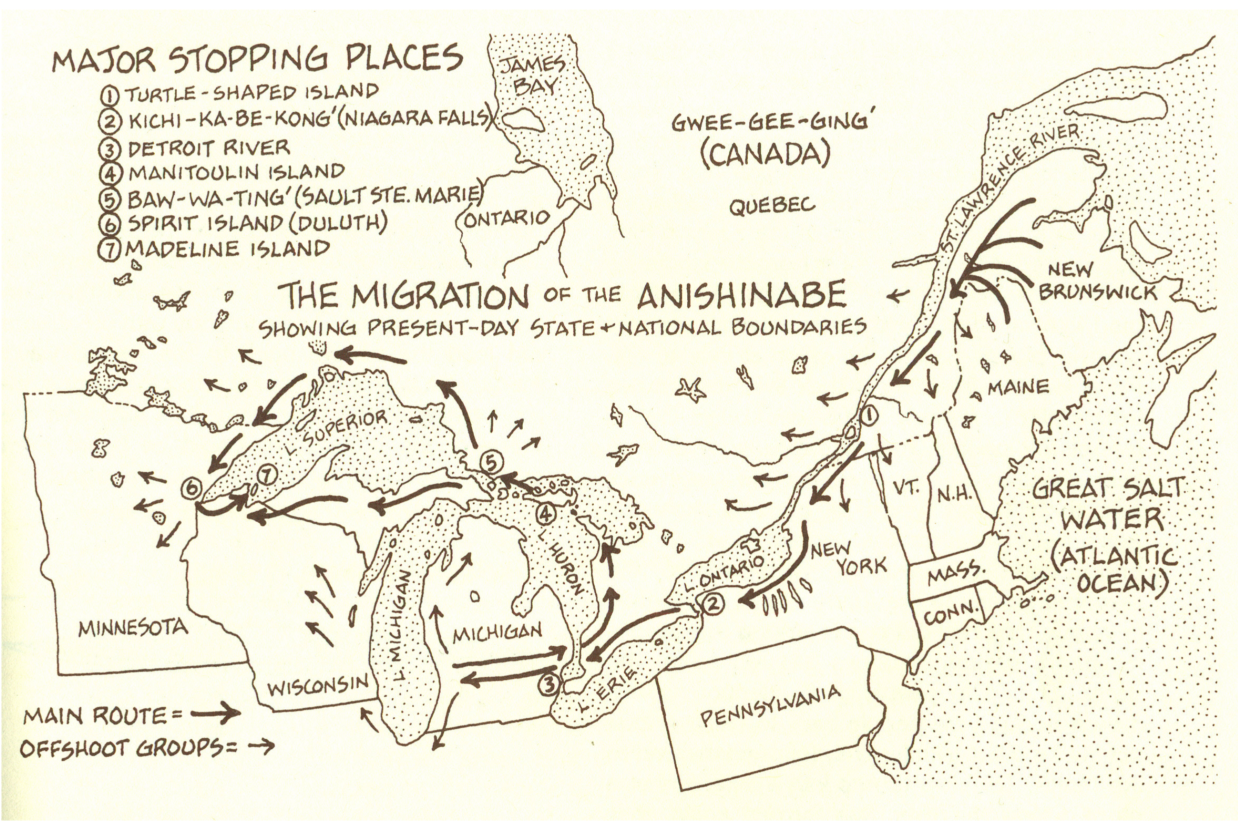

Figure 6.8. The migration of the Anishinaabe (from Benton-Banai 1988:99).

final stop, according to this migration story, was *Mo-ning-wun΄-a-kawn-ing* (place that was dug) or La Pointe (now named Madeline Island) on Lake Superior in far northern Wisconsin, where the main body of Anishinaabeg became strong and powerful people. Interestingly, Benton-Banai (1988:102) states the time frame for the migrations: “It is thought that the migration started around 900 A.D. It took some 500 years to complete. It is amazing that the Sacred Fire could be kept alive for so long. The dream of the original seven prophets was carried for many generations”. Indeed, Anishinaabeg still honour the Sacred Fire through *Midewiwin*, at powwows, and other ceremonies.

Certainly, there are many oral traditions and a series of Ojibwe migrations from the east is well documented in *Midewiwin* and other related contexts (e.g., Benton-Banai 1988; Dewdney 1975; Warren 1885). Benton-Banai (1988) points to the main migration taking place during the Precontact Period beginning around AD 900 and lasting until about AD 1400. This would place the Ojibwe in northwestern Ontario during the Late Woodland Period whenever the fifth stop took place at Sault Ste. Marie (Figure 6.8) but also when Selkirk Composite peoples were occupying sites along the Bloodvein River. Warren’s (1885:91) description of these migrations from Elders’ information suggests that the Northern Ojibwe arrived into the area north of Lake Superior in about AD 1530 and that this had taken about two centuries. Warren (1885:91) even states that “they were living in a primitive state, when they possessed nothing but the bow and arrow, sharpened stones, and bones of animals wherewith to kill game and fight their enemies”. Using *Midewiwin* birch bark scrolls, Canadian Potawatomi Elder *Shup-Shewana* (Howard Lahurreau) dated the formation of the Council of Three Fires to approximately AD 796 (Loew 2001:136). Following that line of information, some Ojibwe migrated westwards near that time, suggesting earlier Late Woodland entries into Ontario. Warren (1885:85, 90) states that the northern division of Ojibwe separated from the southern groups at Sault Ste. Marie “now upwards of eight generations”, which would be about 320 years (if one calculates a generation at 40 years like Warren) before the time he lived (b. 1825-d. 1853). He also determined that it was 360 years, or nine generations, since people first arrived at La Pointe (Warren 1885:91). Again, that would indicate that particular migration of Anishinaabeg took place during the Precontact Period in northwestern Ontario. Rogers (1963) also believed that the Weagamow Lake Severn Ojibwe people, whom he worked with, had been there before contact in a much farther north location than the Bloodvein River.

In terms of determining the arrival of at least some Ojibwe people in northwestern Ontario, considering other lines of evidence such as linguistics is useful. Rhodes and Todd (1981) suggest the Cree and Ojibwe split from the “Proto-Algonquian” and moved north from southern Ontario at some point by about 900 BC or approximately 2850 BP. Another important factor is that the Severn Ojibwe, found north of the study area, had to be in that area long enough for their distinctive Cree-Ojibwe dialect and cultures to develop. Rogers and Black Rogers (1978) discuss Cree-Ojibwe genealogies going back about 200 years or in the later eighteenth century. Much of their work was also tied to HBC and Anglican Church records, which along with ethnography, and the late date of Treaty 9 signing in 1930 generally limited those records (Rogers and Black Rogers 1978). Some researchers (e.g., Rogers and Black Rogers 1978) suggest that missionaries like coastal Cree William Dick, who lived in Weagamow Lake from 1889-1918, also had an influence on bringing the Cree language to Ojibwe inhabitants of this region during that time. In addition, Hallowell (1938a) discusses the possibility of whether the Cree-Ojibwe admixture was recent or much longer in development. Although languages may change relatively quickly, there are also the cultural factors such as distinctive traditional artistic items that make the Severn Ojibwe different to the more southern Ojibwe along the Bloodvein River and other areas east of Lake Winnipeg, where European contact occurred later. For example, Steinbring (1981) suggests that the Lake Winnipeg Saulteaux/Ojibwe had *Midewiwin* ceremonies, the use of bone sucking tubes in healing ceremonies, totemic clans through patrilineal descent, and the use of wild rice unlike their more northern counterparts. Thus, several researchers (e.g., Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Rogers 1963) offer an alternative that the Severn Ojibwe were the latest inhabitants of Ontario before contact. Lytwyn (2002) discusses that idea in detail citing many document references of the Cree and Ojibwe intermarrying. Linguistic evidence is supportive of this idea, given the many Oji-Cree (Severn Ojibwe) dialect speakers in present day Northwestern Ontario (Figure 1.2).

Greenberg and Morrison (1982) propose that "northern Ojibwa" were always in northwestern Ontario but have only been identified as such since Europeans arrived. Their suggestion that many (particularly early contact) French, English, and other Europeans were not able to tell the difference between Cree and Assiniboine languages, never mind Cree and Ojibwe speakers, seems logical. This factor would lead to misidentifications of individuals and groups encountered by the Europeans. Most people who do not have familiarity with these languages could not distinguish the differences now, never mind in their presumably early forms. Of course, some traders did learn Indigenous languages (e.g., Long 1791, who was also initiated into the warrior society of the Chippewa). In addition, as discussed in this chapter, most European mapmakers of the time copied other people when they were unsure of territories. Rogers (1986) echoes a similar perspective when questioning the veracity, cross-cultural views, and objectivity of the European recorders; Witgen (2007) particularly criticizes early French mapmakers for simplifying the cultural situation of northwestern Ontario. Also, as Bishop (1994) suggests with the problems associated with historical records, was the name written on a map an exonym or ethonym? There is the additional issue of only having so many Europeans that made references to Indigenous peoples. When dealing with such a vast area and very mobile populations, it is possible that Europeans missed recording many people, especially those that did not want to trade or interact with the newcomers or in less accessible 'secondary' trading areas like the eastern Bloodvein River.

Other researchers (e.g., Bishop 1974; Hallowell 1992; Hickerson 1970, 1988) argue that people migrated to northwestern Ontario from southern Ontario only a few centuries ago, since most of the fur trade and map references (as reviewed previously) refer to the "Cree" and "Assiniboine" in various forms. Hallowell (1992) believed that Chief Berens and other people from Berens River, who he worked with and who had provided family genealogies, explained that all of their families had moved from other places since about the mid-1700s. There are a number of issues that could have influenced that view including the epidemics occurring throughout this region after the arrival of the Europeans that had a devastating affect on local peoples (Hackett 2002). These outbreaks undoubtedly influenced people to move out of areas where infections were more prevalent. In 1819, a family of the Kingfisher clan from near the Bad Lake post on the Bloodvein River was nearly all lost (Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986a). Lac Seul was also much more populous and affected by more epidemics (Hackett 2002), so it is quite likely that people moved from Lac Seul to the Berens River. However, Anishinaabeg had been going back and forth between these places for centuries (e.g., Hallowell 1992), much like the pattern that continues today.

Dawson (1987b) discusses solving these ethnicity dilemmas by reviewing a large amount of archaeological site literature across northwestern Ontario. He determined that the Ojibwe were the predominant language group before European contact based on sites with Blackduck and Selkirk premissed as representing the Northern Ojibwe, only Selkirk indicating the Cree, and Sandy Lake representing the Siouan/Assiniboine (Dawson 1987b). As discussed in Chapter 4, Sandy Lake Ware is typically attributed to Siouan speakers based on some late dating occupations and the association of Dakota material culture with the *Psinomani* and some Oneota wares (Participants 1987; Taylor-Hollings 1999). Dawson's (1987b) reasoning only works if the proposed ethnicity is actually appropriate. For example, modern and decades old Anishinaabeg camps have been recorded at the same locations as Selkirk Composite assemblages at some sites, indicating that Indigenous inhabitants used the same locations over hundreds of years (e.g., Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Taylor-Hollings 2016 in review). Perhaps the best explanation for Selkirk Composite ethnicity is that they were northern Algonquians, including some that later became known as the Cree (Meyer and Hamilton 1994) and Ojibwe speakers in the early Postcontact Period (Greenberg and Morrison 1982). Several vessels found in this region and in northern Saskatchewan (Young 2006) have typical attributes of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware combined with some of those of Sandy Lake Ware verifying that idea that people were exchanging ideas about pottery manufacturing (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Also, both distinctive wares have been found together in the same sites in northwestern Ontario (Arthurs 1986; Taylor-Hollings 1999) (see Chapter 7 for further discussions about pottery).

Archaeological Evidence of the Fur Trade in the Region

It is difficult to determine if the people who left behind Selkirk Composite material remains continued to use and live on the river either through material culture studies with limited radiometric dating, ethnohistory, or oral traditions. Despite the many changes that occurred during the Postcontact Period, it is reasonable to assume that some of these people did continue to use this region (Dawson 1987b) and there is conclusive evidence that certain Late Precontact archaeological sites were occupied later by Anishinaabeg groups, suggesting that continuity (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 2006c). Several Selkirk Composite/Sandy Lake Ware (*Psinomani* culture) occupations in Ontario have been dated to the Protocontact Period, such as at the Long Sault Site on the Rainy River and several in the Lake of the Woods (e.g., Arthurs 1982; Participants 1987; Reid 1984). Some Europeans recorded information about this area, so it is possible to derive information about people living in the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, Berens River, and Trout Lake areas through ethnohistory; typically the information is fairly late compared to other areas of Ontario.

It is useful to provide an overview of events that occurred in this time period along the Bloodvein River when examining cultural change through time. Although historians and ethnohistorians have studied the Fur Trade Period for many decades, these viewpoints do not always consider archaeology, the Precontact Period before Europeans arrived, and the more nebulous protocontact era. This study is able to provide some information about those time frames, which aids in building the culture history of the area and learning more about what may have happened to the people who left behind assemblages of the Selkirk Composite. Given the evidence of numerous precontact occupations along the Bloodvein River as discussed further in Wall (1980a) and Chapter 7, it is important to consider those data to determine if cultural continuity is evident. Currently, there are two known sites of the Fur Trade Period including EhKr-1 that was previously reported by Wall (1980a:75) and the Knox Lake Portage Site found by survey teams during the latest projects (Taylor-Hollings 2006a). There were also other more recent Postcontact Period sites, likely associated with the Anishinaabe and perhaps early tourist outposts, found on the surveys but they did not yield specific Fur Trade artifacts. Other items were observed at many sites include tin cans (Figure 6.9), glassware, metal containers, construction materials and other items. These were often scattered around cabin sites but they were not collected. It is estimated that these items may have dated back as early as the 1920s; however, some of these sites may date to the late 1800s to early 1900s as well, which would correspond with the later fur trade in the Red Lake area since the Post Narrows HBC locale would be in operation at the time (Balmer 1980). These postcontact materials will be useful in documenting processes of culture change from a time when traditional technology and foodstuffs were slowly replaced with European commodities.

The EhKr-1 Site is located on Barclay Lake at the outlet to the Musclow River to the north, which leads to Musclow Lake (Figure 1.4). Douglas (1926) plotted a rectangle on the same spot with “H.B.Co.” beside it on the map that he created for Red Lake to Favourable Lake in Manitoba. Obviously, he knew about this post in the 1920s and the only other ones that he records are the HBC Post Narrows at Red Lake and several further north on the Berens River (Douglas 1926). Burwash (1923) apparently did not go as far as Barclay Lake to the post or did not record it on the provincial boundary survey that he was completing in the about the same time frame. Wall (1980a:75) describes the location as a possible HBC trading post but then states: “however, no H.B.C. posts have as yet been reported for the western Bloodvein area of Ontario according to archival data collected in the historical/archival portion of the Project”. This comment was made without the benefit of more open access to HBC records and Lytwyn’s (1986a, 1986b) later studies being available; in fact Lytwyn (1986a) states that this was a twentieth century HBC post but does explain why he believes that idea. It is an unusual location, since Barclay Lake (Figure 2.3) is quite far east of Red Lake, south of Little Grand Rapids, and being only relatively close to the Bloodvein and Berens River Anishinaabe for clients. So, it is curious that the HBC chose to place a small post there, when one was also open in nearby Little Grand Rapids in that time period (Schuetze 2001).

Wall (1980a:75) reports that “the outline of the building has been established and its floor measurements are 6.24 x 4.94 metres. It appears to have been recently burned, although some portions of the building floor are already covered by vegetation and humus deposits”. Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) excavated one test pit in the middle of the building outline and found 66 seed beads, seven wire nails, a burnt glass shard, and one burnt bone fragment (Wall 1980a). There is no record of a forest fire going through this area since before the 1920s (Figure 3.7), however, a small fire might not have been recorded. Sometimes old cabins were deliberately burnt down by Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources employees, decades ago, if they were not registered or un-

Figure 6.9. Two cans collected from the surface of EhKr-1 site on Barclay Lake (Wall 1980a).

safe (Doug Gilmore, personal communication 2010) but hopefully earlier park management would recognize a historic structure.

Two survey members and myself were able to visit the EhKr-1 Site very briefly in 2009 (Taylor-Hollings 2013). It was readily apparent, from surface finds of hole in cap (or open top) tin cans (Figure 6.9), that this was the correct location for a possible Fur Trade Period site. Both cans are quite rusty but bare metal is visible in small sections. Regarding the smaller can (Figure 6.9A), it is 85 mm in diameter and 112 mm tall with a 69 mm opening. Its bottom is still attached as one unit and the body is one piece with a single seam although there are several holes and it is dented in the side; no solder is visible. The second larger can (Figure 6.9B) has a diameter of 105 mm, is 140 mm tall, and has an opening of 85 mm. It was made by the same manufacturing process as the other can, with a one piece body and a single seam. The lids, which would be separate pieces of metal to fit on top of the large opening, are missing from both cans. These cans were manufactured from about the late 1800s until the early twentieth century (Sutton and Arkush 2002; Scott Hamilton, personal communication 2010) providing an indication of when this post was in operation.

We did not dig any test pits at EhKr-1, since we had very limited time on this lake and wanted to concentrate on finding new sites in this area. The EhKr-1 Site would be an interesting location to investigate further to determine if it is indeed a: (1) HBC trade post in the twentieth century as indicated by Lytwyn (1986a); (2) whether there are both Indigenous and European items at this location suggesting trading interactions; and (3) if there is also a precontact component at this high potential location.

On this same trip, we also investigated a north facing point on Sabourin Lake (Figure 1.4), since the outpost owners had referred to it as "Hudson Bay Point". It is unlikely that this is a random toponym but we did not find any definite surface artifacts or features. There were a few depressions there but they could also have easily been the bottom of former tree throws. There was not enough time to test at this site but clearly this would be an opportune place to explore in order to potentially learn more about the Fur Trade Period.

During two separate surveys of Knox Lake and Peisk Lake (now Paishk Lake), the crew completed testing at the Knox Lake Portage Site including test pits, and a one metre by one metre square (Figure 2.4) (Hamilton et al. 2007; Taylor-Hollings 2006c). Information had been provided from Pikangikum First Nation Elders before the first trip and we later found out that the Paishk family of Lac Seul First Nations knew this area quite well, having resided there. Peter Paishk, a Lac Seul band member who lives in Pikangikum, still uses this region as do other Red Lake residents of both Lac Seul and Pikangikum First Nations. The Knox Lake Portage Site is located where there appeared to be the perfect locale for a fish weir at a set of narrow rapids. It is a multi-component site including a likely Laurel occupation, Blackduck Composite, Postcontact Fur Trade, and recent use (Hamilton et al. 2007; Taylor-Hollings 2006c, 2012c) (see Chapter 7 and 8 for further information about the precontact archaeology). Particularly relevant for this chapter were two Fur Trade Period items found at the Knox Lake Portage Site (Taylor-Hollings 2006c): a small piece of blue-green glass that is likely from a pharmaceutical container or vial (Scott Hamilton, personal communication 2006); and a brownish-black glass trade bead fragment (VanStone and Townsend 1970). The glass fragment has a blue-green patina but is only about 7 mm in size, so there is no specific diagnostic information that is interpretable (Figure 6.10). Regarding the bead, it is broken, about 6 mm in size, and exhibits an amber colour inside but a brownish-black exterior (Figure 6.10). The wire-wound internal component has been exposed by the break. Unfortunately, neither of these artifacts is particularly diagnostic outside of the range of Fur Trade Period but nevertheless is important in providing information for the region.

Other more recent postcontact items found in the one by one metre unit at Knox Lake Portage Site include: two round wire nails; two .22 caliber cartridge shell; one "Dominion Canuck No. 12" brass shotgun cartridge casing; one modern can lid; a tack; and two small deteriorating plastic items (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). The firearm related items are probably associated with different generations of the Paishk family using this location (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2009), since hunting is not allowed in the park except for Indigenous people with regards to Treaty rights (Ontario Parks 2007). The Dominion Arsenal was established in 1882 at Quebec and was the first government cartridge and shell factory in Canada; in 1945, it amalgamated with other plants after WWII ended to become Canadian Arsenals Limited (Harris 2014). Thus, the 12 gauge shotgun shell with the "Dominion Canuck No. 12" stamp on it is obviously of Canadian manufacture and dates from about 1882-1945. The other recent items may have been left behind by the Paishk or other Ojibwe families or perhaps canoeists using the portage trail.

Figure 6.10. Trade bead and glass fragment from the Knox Lake Portage Site on Knox Lake.

Pikangikum Elders identified the K4 site (EhKo-2) on Knox Lake to be a former cabin locale for their people (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). No cabin remnants were noted in the dense thickets along the shore but a scatter of large mammal bones, glass bottles, cans, a crushed aluminum wash basin, and a complete patent medicine bottle was noted in the forest litter. This bottle was collected because of its raised relief decoration and wire closure are likely temporally diagnostic of the occupation. The "Scott's Emulsion Cod Liver Oil with Lime & Soda" bottle is aqua coloured glass and likely dates from about the 1900s to 1920s, given the seamed construction and wire closure (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). Wendt (2010) explains that Scott's Emulsion was first developed in 1876 by Alfred B. Scott and Samuel W. Bowne in New York City but is still produced for the Asian and Central/South American markets. The characteristic "man with the fish on his back" on this bottle first appeared on Scott's Emulsion around 1884 and became Scott and Bowne's trademark in 1890 (Wendt 2010). By combining research and manufacturing evidence from this bottle, it was likely produced between 1890 to the 1920s, which would be within the late Fur Trade Period in the Red Lake area.

At nearby Red Lake, Wall (1980b) explains that Koezur (in reports on file at the Archaeological Survey of Canada) found several Fur Trade Period occupations during her earlier work at Red Lake in the early 1970s. Balmer (1980) discusses one HBC (ca. 1790-1794) and two NWC posts (one ca. 1790 and another unknown) listed to have existed on Red Lake. She examined those three locations and Post Narrows (at least 1900-1928) during an archaeological survey but only was able to find the remains of structures due to the locations being disturbed by developments. However, she did find more information about the more recent Post Narrows (Balmer 1980). This location operated as an outpost in the early twentieth century and now functions as a burial ground for local residents (Balmer 1980), typically for the Red Lake Anishinaabeg; it has been used since at least 1918 for victims of epidemics according to Richthammer (2007). Wall (1980b) notes that this fur trade post is located at the northeastern part of Red Lake, recorded as EgKk-1, where precontact lithics were also found. Wall (1980b) reports that the artifacts from Koezur's collections there were stored at the Archaeological Survey of Canada and he does not discuss them.

The EgKn-5 Site has two postcontact components, including a readily identifiable HBC glass artifact (with "Hudson Bay Company" on it) and what is thought to be the remnants of a trapper's cabin (Wall 1980b:90). It has also has multiple precontact components (Wall 1980b).

The very large extent and multi-component nature of EgKl-1 or the Forestry Point Site was first recognized by Koezur and later excavated by Pelleck (1983). Wall (1980b) lists this site as having a Fur Trade occupation but it was also a settlement for the extended Keesic family before it became the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources Fire Headquarters (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2009; Sanders 2011). Apparently, "Cameron's 'old house' was located on the south shore of the entrance to Red Lake according to the Hudson Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), B.

177/a/2” (Richthammer 2007:33). Although Forestry Point is found on the south shore, it is not in the right location to be ‘Cameron’s old house’.

In addition, nearby Trout Lake (not Big Trout Lake on the Fawn River) also has two Fur Trade Period archaeological sites including EgKh-1 located by Pelleck (1980b). Lytwyn (1986b:155) suggests that the outpost at “Big Lake” was probably present day Trout Lake, which is in fact very large relative to surrounding area lakes. The rather obvious modern toponym “Hudson Bay Point” denoted as a different post on a map by Dowling (1896:44) as “Old H.B.Co Post” is the location of an HBC post. The exact location was not known on this very large point until our survey with *NamekosipiiwAnishinaapek* (Trout Lake Anishinaabeg also Lac Seul community members) when we found some Fur Trade Period artifacts (Taylor-Hollings 2008). Interestingly, Rogers (1926:4) also notes one of the “H.B.Co.” posts at Trout Lake on his map of Ontario but does not label the Red Lake posts from which he was working at the time. We found an outline of the later dating post at EgKh-1 and some artifacts on the surface without doing any excavations. Pelleck (1980b) had noted looting when he visited there and that was also evident to us when we stopped at this site; clearly visitors or someone from the nearby tourist lodges have disturbed this site. These locales were important to the inhabitants of the nearby Bloodvein River system and still are important to *NamekosipiiwAnishinaapek* and Lac Seul band members, who would have likely been trading at these HBC posts (Taylor-Hollings 2008).

Pelleck (1980a) reports two postcontact sites to the north of the Bloodvein River on the Berens River in Ontario. EkKi-2 is a Fur Trade Period site where 85 bone fragments and two copper percussion caps were recovered indicating “a terminus *post quem* for the site of circa 1820” (Pelleck 1980a:31). Interestingly, Dowling’s (1912:40) map of the Berens River includes “Old H.B.Co. Post” much farther east of EkKi-2. Pelleck (1980a) notes that EkKk-2 is a postcontact site with lead and clay pipe bowl fragments as well as having a precontact component and recent usage by Pikangikum community members as a camping spot. Douglas’ (1926) map also indicates one “H.B. Co.” post on the southeast part of the Pikangikum reserve and one at Poplar Hill First Nation to the northwest. He acknowledges a “Mr. Douglas, Factor at Berens River Post” who was described to be of the great assistance with his early survey (Douglas 1926:22) and thus working in the area during the 1920s.

Red Lake Posts. The Red Lake posts were larger operations than the Bad Lake and river mouth ventures on the Bloodvein River, since the lake is large enough to be a travel hub much like Lac Seul (Hyslop 2009). Both types of structures provide indications of how trade was being conducted with local Indigenous peoples and some effects that resulted (Hackett 1999, 2002; Lytwyn 1986b). Since Red Lake is close to the headwaters of the Bloodvein River and Indigenous people from there still use that area for traditional practices, it is important to consider the Red Lake posts as known and probably used by the Anishinaabeg living on the eastern portion of the Bloodvein

River in particular. The Berens River and Lac Seul trading posts were likely also utilized by people from this region. Red Lake managers, companies, and posts came and went but Red Lake House was set up by the NWC in 1786 (Richthammer 2007). James Sutherland was the first known HBC trader to set up there in 1790 (Lytwyn 1986b:167). The numbers of furs brought into that post were about 2000 made beaver each year from 1790-1795 with even more value given in gifts to the "Red Lake Indians", thus suggesting that the business model was not working well during the competition period (Lytwyn 1986a:21, 24). There were also periods when the Red Lake post was apparently abandoned such as 1806-1820 (Lytwyn 1986b:167), and thereafter for about 100 years since there are no archival records indicating a post there (Richthammer 2007). The Post Narrows location is mentioned in a report for 1918, in which the Red Lake Anishinaabeg were growing tired of bringing their furs the longer distance to the Lac Seul post; also independent George Arthur Swain set up a post near Gull Rock that enabled them to trade furs with him (Richthammer 2007). In 1926, Red Lake was the focus of a gold rush akin to a smaller version of the Klondike, so that the HBC was now having to outfit people with prospecting equipment (Richthammer 2007). The outpost was expanded and moved into the town of Red Lake in 1933 and was later enlarged again in 1970; HBC had a company mine store in Madsen from 1950 to 1972, and from 1953 to 1997 the HBC operated a store in nearby Balmertown (Richthammer 2007). Essentially, the HBC formed a very important part of the Postcontact Period for Red Lake and neighbouring Anishinaabeg. Many of them ended up moving to Red Lake for employment with mining (Rogers 1964), forestry, fire fighting, and other industries (see Chapter 5 for further discussions).

Solving the Enigma of the "Bad Lake" Post Locations

There is an intriguing conundrum involving the locations of some posts on the Bloodvein River during the Fur Trade Period. Recently found archaeological evidence may have helped to solve this enigma since, "Only future archaeological research can determine the exact whereabouts of the Bad Lake posts" as explained by Lytwyn (1986a:27). From ethnohistoric records, it appears that from 1791 until 1819, there were various HBC and NWC posts along the Bloodvein River (Figure 6.11). In the HBC archives post journals (HBC.B.244/a), there are records for "Bad Lake" posts from 1805-1806 and there were other brief periods of usage. Hackett (1999:289) suggests that Bad Lake was also known as another lake: "Lake St. Charles was said to be sixteen days by canoe or ten days walking from Lac Seul (HBCA B.107/a/12: 3)". However, it is not clear exactly where this was located since no lake bears that name at present and the Lac Seul Elders have not heard of "Bad Lake" or "Lake St. Charles". This reference is intriguing since there was a Fort St. Charles set up by La Verendrye on Lake Winnipeg, as mentioned. Bad Lake is distinguished in the HBC archives from the Blood River House (HBCA B.254/a) at the mouth of the river on Lake Winnipeg. Rivalries from the NWC that are recorded in those journals and others from nearby

Figure 6.11. Map of trading posts in the Little North from 1760-1821. Note the posts located on the Bloodvein River, including the hypothesized location of the Bad Lake posts. Also noteworthy are those on the Berens River, Red Lake, Trout Lake, and Lac Seul (from Lytwyn 1986a:31).

Red Lake, provide a microcosm of events occurring along the Bloodvein River that are similar in many other areas of the Little North in the late 1700s and early nineteenth century. Lytwyn (1986b) explains that the exact location of the HBC Bad Lake post is uncertain but that it might be present day Larus Lake, Murdock Lake, or Knox Lake (Figure 1.4).

Regarding the "Bad Lake" trading posts located somewhere on the Bloodvein River, probably the Ontario side, there is information to be learned from post records. In 1791, independent and NWC trader Duncan Cameron, who had set up the Red Lake post, hired Jean-Baptiste Rousette to go to Bad Lake that summer; he took six men and trading goods in a large canoe (Lytwyn 1986b). Thus, there is information to support that there were also NWC posts on the Bloodvein River and at Bad Lake. Sutherland's (1819) map also notes that Bad Lake is close to Red Lake and had a later NWC post from 1818-1819 (Figure 6.6). He also records that the lake was small but very deep (Lytwyn 1986), which would be appropriate for Paishk and Knox Lakes.

There is limited information about the Bloodvein River and specifically the Bad Lake posts but it is useful to consider this in light of understanding the timing and nature of direct European contact in the study area. In the fall of 1791, HBC employee John Best led two bateaux from the Albany River area (Lytwyn 1986b). Duncan Cameron returned to Red Lake late in the fall so that Bad Lake had to be abandoned for the year (Lytwyn 1986b). Apparently, rivals Best and Cameron did not get along well (HBCA, B.177/a/2, fo. 12d) and signaled the beginning of a period of intense competition in the Red Lake area and other inland places for the HBC in 1791 to 1792. Interestingly, Lytwyn (1986b) notes that both HBC and French Canadian traders based in Red Lake sent parties to intercept Indigenous traders coming from Paquash (Pakwash or Shallow) Lake to the south, which is presently Lac Seul traditional territory. Cameron and his colleagues sent a large outfit to Bad Lake in the 1792-1793 season. Perceiving the threat of competition, Best decided to build beside the other Bad Lake post (Lytwyn 1986b). Simon Beaugrand, a former Canadian trader, was Best's assistant at Red Lake was then asked to winter at Bad Lake with Donald Thomson, John Scarth and John Valiant (HBCA B.177/a/3, fo. 2d). Apparently, Beaugrand's lack of English speaking skills did not help him run the post and he was only able to secure nine small fur packs compared to Rousette's NWC result of 16 (HBCA B.177/a/3, fo. 13; Lytwyn 1986b). Also at this time, Jean-Baptiste Turcot was a competing trader (former HBC employee) who caused considerable concern for the HBC traders and likely prompted more expansion into the Little North (Lytwyn 1986b). Cameron also set up a post at the mouth of the Bloodvein River near Lake Winnipeg, which served to divert many Indigenous people from going to Red Lake where Best was the trader. Cameron also did not have any large canoes and did not outfit the Bad Lake post in 1793-94 (HBCA B.3/d/104, fo. 49; Lytwyn 1986b). However, Best was determined to build a post at the mouth of the Blood River (as it was called then) near the NWC post, so "they reached Bad Lake on 1 October 1794 after ten days and twenty-seven portages. From there it took them two weeks and fifty portages to reach Lake Winnipeg" (Lytwyn 1986b:75). This figure of 27 portages from Red Lake, with current portages, would place Bad Lake in Manitoba, since there are currently 19 to Barclay Lake (where there was definitely a post as indicated by archaeological evidence presented by Wall (1980a) and a recent survey as discussed in this chapter). Perhaps the water levels and portages were slightly different well over 200 years ago. Apparently Latour and Chevalier did their best to disturb Best's trade but ended up moving to the west side of the lake at *Weijack* (Fisher) River (Lytwyn 1986b). The Indigenous people persuaded Best to stay where he was, even though provisioning was difficult and the locals were supplying their food of venison, fish, and wild rice.

Apparently, the trade at the HBC Blood River mouth post was quite lucrative (Schweitzer 2011). One principal Indigenous person trading at this time is noted to be *Matchey Huggemaw* [*Ogema*] (which translates to Bad Governor or Bad Leader) (Lytwyn 1986b:103). He and other Anishinaabe speakers got along with the HBC but not typically with the NWC. In 1796, Best returned to find that Blood River House had been burnt to the ground by the NWC (Lytwyn 1986b). Slightly later in 1803, Thomas Vincent took control of the Red Lake District and constructed a post for the HBC at Bad Lake "on the headwaters of the Bloodvein River" to counter competition between the two other rival companies (Lytwyn 1986b:103). The headwaters are located east of Paishk Lake (Figure 1.4). Thomas McNab Jr. (son of York Factory's chief factor) was placed in charge of that post. Six men from the NWC were sent to winter beside McNab (B.177/a/7, fo. 5; Lytwyn 1986b).

The Manitoba Historical Society (2013) listing of HBC post journals suggests Bad Lake is now called Knox Lake but it is listed as being in Atikaki Provincial Park that is actually in Manitoba, while Knox Lake is on the east side of the WCSS in Ontario (Figure 1.4). HBC archives also refer to Bad Lake as being in Manitoba. However, that would not work with Thomas Vincent's (Lytwyn 1986b) view that Bad Lake was on the headwaters of the Bloodvein River (east of Paishk Lake in Figure 1.4). There are several possibilities as discussed previously but the consensus is that Bad Lake was located on the Ontario side of the "Blood" River (Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b).

Stanford's (1901; Figure 6.7) map of the region shows a route from Red Lake downsteam on the "Blood R." and clearly locates "Bad L." near the provincial border. However, it is difficult to discern exactly where it is located due to errors in the locations of other waterways. The location of Bad Lake on his map suggests that it is may be Mary's Lake or Artery Lake (Figure 1.4) near the provincial border. The one name "Albany Ho. & L." may be Barclay Lake, since there is an HBC post site on that lake as marked on Douglas' (1926) map and an archaeological site was found there by Wall (1980a). Furthermore, during our short visit to Barclay Lake we also found Postcontact Period artifacts at that location. This lake is also found near the Manitoba/Ontario border as shown on Stanford's (1901) map; the lake north of "Albany Ho. & L." looks like the lake connected to Barclay named Musclow Lake, which is quite large, round, and even named Round Lake by Little

Grand Rapids people who use it for trapping (Richard Duck, personal communication 2009). Family Lake, where Little Grand Rapids is located, is also the next lake noted on the map in the 'route'. Thus, Stanford (1901) provides a clue that Barclay Lake may have been an HBC (Albany) post.

There was a HBC post located at Bad Lake in 1792 (Lytwyn 1986a), one was set up by the NWC, and later Charles Mackenzie (previously from one of the Lac Seul posts) set up a post there in 1819 (Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986b). Perhaps that is where the secondary name of "Lake St. Charles" originates for Bad Lake? Lytwyn (1986b:143, 150) describes how in 1819, a group of five men journeyed from Lake Winnipeg to Bad Lake post and made 70 portages. Using the present day Woodland Caribou Provincial Park portage map (Ontario Parks 2013), it is difficult to interpret that journey, given that there are many possible routes. Although many of these portages are based on traditional Indigenous portages (and perhaps fur trade routes), many of them are also modern. Lytwyn (1986a) also consulted Ontario Parks' employees to calculate the portages now present and found that there were 62 from Lake Winnipeg to Knox Lake and Paishk Lake. He concludes that Knox may be the more likely candidate since "Peisk Lake would be the other 'small lake' beyond which they cross 'the height of land to the rivers falling into Red Lake'" as indicated by John Best (Lytwyn 1986a:68). This course is still a well-used route to Pipestone Bay, which leads into Red Lake. It was also used by the Paishk and Keesic family for "a very long time" since their trap lines, camping places, cabins, and even birth places were in this area (Joe Keesic, personal communication 2008). So, it is very possible that Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg guided Best on that same route from Red Lake in the late 1700s.

Interestingly, news from the Bad Lake posts on the Bloodvein River was carried to Lord Selkirk (1816) in the early 1800s. He discusses incidents occurring between the HBC and NWC traders at the Bad Lake posts on the Bloodvein River, a fair distance north of the Red River colony (Lord Selkirk 1816:68-70):

> In May 1806, Mr. William Corrigal, a trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, was stationed with a few men at a place called Bad Lake, within the limits of the Albany Factory, (in the Hudson's Bay Territory,) and near a post occupied by a much larger number of men, commanded by Mr. Haldane, a partner in the North-West Company. Five of the Canadians in his service, watching their opportunity, broke into Mr. Corrigal's house about midnight, when he and his men were in bed. The villains immediately secured all the loaded guns and pistols they could find. One of them seized Mr. Corrigal, and, presenting a pistol to breast, threatened to shoot him if he made any resistance. The others in the mean time rifled the store-house, and took away furs to the amount of four hundred and eighty beaver. Mr. Corrigal went immediately to Mr. Haldane (whom he found up and dressed), and demanded that the stolen property should be restored. Haldane answered that "he had come to that country for furs, and that furs he was determined to have." His men were allowed to carry these furs as their own property, to the Grand Portage, where they were sold to the North-West Compa-

> ny, and formed a part of their returns for that year. A similar robbery took place at Red Lake in the same spring, at another trading house, also under the charge of Mr. Corrigal, and which was forcibly entered by eight of the Canadians, armed with pistols and knives, who threatened to murder the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who were there, and carried off furs to the amount of fifty beaver. Not long after this, they again forcibly broke open the same warehouse, and robbed it of a considerable quantity of cloth, brandy, tobacco, ammunition, &c. &c.

This account suggests that at this time, outright robbery and hostility was taking place by NWC employees on HBC posts and that there was little that could be done to stop this behaviour. Also, competition had become so intensive that lawlessness had prevailed. Lord Selkirk (1816) also details an attack made by NWC personnel on William Corrigal at the Eagle Lake post (either on Berens River or near Lake of the Woods) in 1809 whereby he and his men were attacked resulting in one NWC agent being killed. Given the remote locations of all of these places, no law enforcement was available for hundreds of miles. Lytwyn (1986b) also discusses these events suggesting that the union of the NWC and XY Company allowed for a surplus of workers and they outnumbered the HBC crews, perhaps causing some of the tensions to escalate.

Dr. George Holdsworth noted that the Bloodvein River was not navigable in larger boats but that canoes would be useful. He also specified the directions to Bad Lake (Lytwyn 1986b:143): "In proceeding up the river after a voyage of four days we are now at a small lake called the Bad Lake, where the traders from Albany some years since had a Post. Beyond the Bad Lake, another small lake is met with, canoes may be conducted from these waters over the height of land to the rivers falling into the Red Lake" (HBCA B.16/e/fo.1d). Bad Lake was the only place where beaver were taken in 1816-17, as the Red Lake area and others farther south were depleted (Lytwyn 1986b). Lytwyn (1986a) views that Bad Lake was Knox Lake does makes sense in this light, since one travels to the small Paishk Lake and then through the headwaters to Pipestone Bay and Red Lake (Figure 5.4).

Ironically, the location of Bad Lake is not a new mystery. As it turns out, even the HBC traders in 1816 could not find Bad Lake to provide competition to a NWC post. Perhaps they should have employed the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg to show them the route. Apparently, James "Slater was unable to send an outfit alongside them because "none of us knows the road to Bad Lake" (HBCA, B.177/a/10, fo. 8d)" (Lytwyn 1986b:147). The Nor'Westers returned there in 1818 to 1819 but Slater was unable to follow them and suffered a loss in furs because of that problem. Donald Sutherland sent James Robertson to Bad Lake in the fall of 1819 with four men and goods in a large canoe from Norway House (Lytwyn 1986b:150) but here again, there is a lack of knowledge demonstrated about this location:

> The York men knew virtually nothing about Bad Lake, save that it lay near the headwaters of the Bloodvein, and that Canadians and Albany men had formerly win-

> tered there. Robertson's journey up the Bloodvein River was slow and hazardous, just as John Best's had been in 1794. The trip required over seventy portages and Robertson described the country as: "swamps, and High Mountains of Rocks, there is small Lakes, in with in, throw (through) the country" (HBCA, B.16/e/3/, fo. 1).

During one of the field surveys conducted at Knox Lake (Figure 2.3), some postcontact artifacts were recovered at the Knox Lake Portage Site. There were no indications of buildings or outlines of them. Another obvious possibility is Barclay Lake, where there was a small building outline found by Wall (1980a) and archaeological evidence of a postcontact occupation is still present (Taylor-Hollings 2013a). Lytwyn (1986a) suggests that the Barclay Lake house was a HBC post that operated in the twentieth century. Stanford (1901) indicates the location of Bad Lake as being close to the Manitoba border, which could mean that it was Artery Lake or Barclay Lake (Figure 6.7). However, these lakes are well away from the height of land and the headwaters described near the location of Bad Lake by George Holdsworth (Lytwyn 1986a).

Interestingly, Hackett (2002:142) locates Bad Lake on a map in the vicinity of Knox and Paishk Lake on the east end of the Bloodvein River. However, there is no indication of where he derived this information. Both Hackett (2002) and Lytwyn (1986a, 198b) discuss a measles epidemic that took the lives of many Indigenous people from Bad Lake in 1819. Lytwyn (1986b:155) notes that "William Harris [NWC], who was in charge of Bad Lake, reported that almost all of the Indians there (numbering about seventy) died in the epidemic during the fall of 1819 (HBCA, B.16/e/3, p. 26)". Hackett (1999:296) notes that during that year, the master of the HBC Berens River post, Donald Sutherland, records that the people of Little Bloodvein River "were all very badly the Course of the Summer" (HBCA B.16/a/2:8). Hackett (2002:146) explains that "According to Donald Sutherland of the HBC, the Bad Lake area was inhabited by the Kingfisher, and during this epidemic they lost their chief, his eldest daughter, and five other men". Hackett (2002) believes that, as indicated in HBC documents, the spread of that epidemic originated with Charles Mackenzie's men travelling to the Lac Seul post, where two thirds of the Anishinaabeg died (76 people), and then the traders moved on to spread the disease elsewhere including the Bad Lake post. Rather inappropriately, Mackenzie laments the loss of furs because of the deaths of Indigenous people (Lytwyn 1986b). In the 1930s, Hallowell (1992) notes the presence of Kingfisher clan members on the Bloodvein River (Figure 5.5) and Deutsch (2013) indicates that there are still Kingfisher clan members in Pikangikum with one of their trap lines located just north of the Bloodvein River in the Whitefeather Forest. Thus, there are still Kingfisher clan members connected with the Bloodvein River region, despite the devastating epidemics that affected Anishinaabe people in the 1800s.

Unfortunately, this measles outbreak was only one example of the many different types of epidemics such as small pox, influenza, dysentery, whooping cough, and tuberculosis that occurred in the Little North during the early and later Postcontact Period (Hackett 1999, 2002). Hackett (2002) provides many details about these unfortunate events such as information about Berens River, Lac Seul, and Red Lake posts. He also noted that within the Little North, "population movements of varying extent followed the epidemics of 1737-38, 1779-83 and 1819-20" (Hackett 1999:491). Whether this caused people to move into or out of the Bloodvein River corridor is unknown; however, the 1779-83 epidemics did coincide with more traders moving into the Red Lake area.

Near the Knox Lake Portage Site, where the Fur Trade Period component was found on one of the more recent Bloodvein River surveys, there is also one known and one possible burial locales nearby (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). One locale was known to Paishk family members, even in terms of who was buried there by name (Josephine King, personal communication 2004) but the more western set of likely burials (EhKo-7) was not known to them, suggesting perhaps greater antiquity (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). The crew found this location and noted many elongate depressions. Perhaps this is related to the deaths of people near the "Bad Lake" post and reason to provide this European toponym?

A third locale, which may represent a burial site, is well known in the oral traditions of Pikangikum and Lac Seul Elders. It is also located on the north end of Knox Lake but further away from the other two locales. Pikangikum Elders told us about this place amongst others (Taylor-Hollings Pikangikum Meeting 2004), when we had asked about locales where we could look and where we should not go, before the first Knox and Peisk lakes survey (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). The late Joe Keesic (personal communication 2004) of Red Lake and Lac Seul had also told me about this location that had many holes dug along the shore and he had been told as a child to not go there (described as possible pottery holes). He and his father had gone to that region to hunt grouse. Joe, along with Peter and Joe Paishk took our survey crew to this location when we returned to Knox and Paishk lakes a few years later (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). Peter and Joe Paishk also remembered being told by their grandparents not go to this place and that it was a burial place (Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting at Red Lake 2016). There were many depressions at this location with many being almost square.

There is no further indication in Fur Trade records or from oral histories about exactly where the Bad Lake post was located although there are some clues as discussed in Lytwyn (1986a, 1986b) and Hackett (2002). Combining the archaeological evidence found at the Knox Lake Portage Site and, now knowing about three potential burial locales nearby, with the knowledge that a terrible measles epidemic killed many people at Bad Lake, this seems to be the logical location. The potential location of Knox Lake is in accord with Lytwyn's (1986a) and Hackett's (2002) location of Bad Lake in the Bloodvein River headwaters region although it is uncertain as to the latter's reasoning for choosing the location of Knox or Peisk (now Paishk) Lake in that area of the Bloodvein River. When I inquired with Paishk and Keesic family members if they had heard of the name "Bad Lake", none had heard of this place. They are fluent Anishinaabemowin speakers and some referred to Knox Lake as Round Lake (*Weagomow-zaaga'igan*) not the Ojibwe translation of Bad Lake that would be *Maji-zaaga'igan or Maanzhi-zaaga'igan* (Ningewance 2004).

The other question remaining is what was the Fur Trade Period site on Barclay Lake that was found by Wall (1980a) and earlier by Douglas (1926) if it is not Bad Lake? Judging by information on the Stanford map (1901), it is apparently an HBC post as noted with "Albany Hse & L." Alternatively, this was a post run by an independent trader or other smaller fur trade company outpost that was not recorded in the HBC nor NWC documents, which is what Wall (1980a) surmised.

Summary

From ethnohistoric information, there is evidence that several posts were set up on a short-term basis along the Bloodvein River during the competition era during the Early Fur Trade Period from 1670-1821 (Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b). Direct contact between Bloodvein River Anishinaabe and Europeans likely occurred in the late 1700s, after NWC and HBC posts were established in Red Lake (Lytwyn 1986a). The lengthy time period after European contact is one of great change and sometimes hardship for these and other Anishinaabe peoples. After 1670, many more of the Indigenous people of what is now Ontario started participating in the European Fur Trade. Although that happened sooner in areas of first contact around Hudson Bay, eventually most people had to decide if they wanted to become involved with different aspects of fur trading, even much farther inland from Hudson and James Bay. Since European contact eventually affected the people who lived in and nearby the Bloodvein River, it is important to discuss the major events of this time period to determine how much the lives of people were altered. Europeans often struggled to sustain themselves after moving to the Subarctic and frequently required assistance from local populations (Ray 1974). This led to long-term relationships between traders, Indigenous people, and Middlemen who brought furs from other Indigenous people to posts to trade with the HBC (Ray 1974). From Long (1791) and HBC records we learn about a Chief *Metweash*, who was from the Red Lake/Bloodvein River area and had traded with the French during the Ezekiel Solomon era in the area before the 1770s but also at Red Lake House and Escabitchewan (south of Red Lake) (Long 1791; Lytwyn 1986a). Thus, some people from this area were likely involved in the Middlemen trade. After about the 1780s, more traders from the HBC, NWC, XY Company, and independents moved into the Red Lake and Bloodvein River region, who would be interacting directly with the Anishinaabeg. They would also have been going to the numerous Berens River posts, as Donald Sutherland (1819) mentions, dealing with people from the Bloodvein River (Hackett 1999). Unfortunately, that would have affected local residents by Europeans transmitting acute infectious diseases of various forms. The Kingfisher clan of the Bloodvein River suffered great losses in particular (Hackett 1999, 2002; Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b), although they are later noted in the region during the 1930s by Hallowell (1992), and some present day Anishinaabeg are Kingfisher clan.

Although Lytwyn (1986b, 2002) and Hackett (1999, 2002) have reviewed the primary documents and looked at the Little North region as a whole, it was important to focus on the Bloodvein River area for this project. Lytwyn (1986b) also wrote about the Bloodvein River posts but I have been able to update and amplify that information with archaeological information, other historic maps, and some information from present day Bloodvein River associated Anishinaabe*g*. As Indigenous people have very large traditional territories in this region, even presently, it was also necessary to examine adjacent areas of the Red Lake, Trout Lake, Berens River, and Lac Seul, with the last areas having more posts and records available. These choices were informed by the oral traditions of the research partners in this project.

Although there may have been people from the Bloodvein River working as Middlemen in the fur trade either at Albany House, or through Manitoba posts on Hudson Bay, it is difficult to determine with somewhat anonymous archival records in the early postcontact time frame (typically referenced as "Indians" or perhaps "Nakawawawak" or "Ouchipeway"). Relatively few HBC and NWC records exist for the Bloodvein River area in particular; however, they do provide some useful information about the individuals, Indigenous peoples' movements, and European newcomers living along that river system after European contact. Specifically, there were two groups of fur trade posts at "Bad Lake" and the mouth of the Bloodvein River near Lake Winnipeg with rival companies setting up near each other. There is also a record of aggressive and violent behaviour of some traders, as learned from these documents during the competition period (see more information in Lytwyn 1986b and Lord Selkirk 1816). It is uncertain how the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg were treated by these aggressive newcomers.

Given the archaeological focus of this study, it was also important to examine the evidence of Postcontact sites from this region including the nearby Berens River, Red Lake, Lac Seul, and Trout Lake. Although there are only two known Fur Trade era sites along the Bloodvein River in Ontario, they do provide some evidence for this time frame; there are also other Postcontact sites found on the surveys but they did not yield specific Fur Trade artifacts. Of course, there are more undiscovered sites within the WCSS and the Bloodvein River mouth where different iterations of Blood River House (HBCA B.254/a) was located in the 1790s.

In terms of ethnicity, Europeans recorded accounts of Cree, Assiniboine, Gens de Terre, Eagle-Eyed, Sturgeon, and other people being present in the area east of Lake Winnipeg in the early 1700s. Jérémie (1926) notes that the Saulteaux, Cree, and Assiniboine were present in the Lake Winnipegosis area in early 1700s, so how do we account for them being there before the much discussed mid-1700s migration(s) of the Ojibwe into northwestern Ontario? Hallowell (1992) states that all of the Berens River people had moved into that area, as traced by his interviews and genealogies. However, he also mentions that the Berens family came from the west, meaning that they had to have been even farther west much earlier. In my view, we can use the multiple available lines of evidence since this is huge territory and there are hundreds of years of postcontact cultural change. This informal discussions with different Anishinaabeg (Elders, community members, friends) resulted in three different views about how they came to live in the area east of Lake Winnipeg and north of Lake Superior: (1) some Ojibwe believe that they have been there since time immemorial; (2) others agree with the oral histories of the migration(s) from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Superior several hundred years ago (e.g., Benton-Banai 1988; Warren 1885); and (3) some are unsure but remember perhaps three to four generations back. Perhaps some early Algonquian Cree/Ojibwe or early Ojibwe speakers *have* been in place in northwestern Ontario long before the Europeans arrived, as per oral history from some Elders (the late Elder Whitehead Moose, Taylor-Hollings Pikangikum Meeting 2005; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006).

Many researchers have the viewpoint that the early Algonquian Cree/Ojibwe or early Ojibwe speakers were in northwestern Ontario at least before contact (Dawson 1987b; Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Rogers 1963; Rogers and Black Rogers 1982; Steinbring and Elias 1968; Witgen 2007; Wright 1981). Loew (2001:136) discusses an account of translation of birch bark *Midewiwin* scrolls and songs by Canadian Potawatomi Elder *Shup-Shewana* (Howard Lahurreau) who dates the Three Fires Confederacy to about AD 796. Ojibwe migration stories recorded *by* Anishinaabeg (Benton-Benai 1988; Warren 1885) indicate precise locations and general time frames suggesting that migrations may have started as early as perhaps AD 1320 (Warren 1885); thus, this has them being in place well before Europeans arrived too. I must disagree with researchers (e.g., Bishop 1970, 1988; Hallowell 1992; Hickerson 1970) who suggest that Ojibwe people were only present in northwestern Ontario after contact, which was comparably late in this area, since this goes against the oral traditions and other ethnohistoric interpretations discussed here. In addition, there may have been multiple migrations of early Ojibwe speakers so that some ethnohistoric records only reflect information about the latest people who moved in the area; Witgen (2007) also argues that there were political motivations for the French to alter the recordings of different Indigenous groups of the early Fur Trade on their maps, so that it generalized the multiplicity of the groups.

Postcontact Indigenous people, whether they be direct descendants of the Selkirk Composite people who left their material remains at sites along the Bloodvein River or not, may have chosen not to participate in the fur trade at all. Although declining numbers of beaver, large game and other fur bearing numbers would have been problematic to these people during the competition period in the late 1700s and early 1800s, they could have avoided dealing with the Europeans. When the HBC and NWC started setting up posts along the Bloodvein River in the late 1700s that changed the situation for the Indigenous people in this area. They were now forced to acknowledge that Europeans had arrived and would literally be in their ‘back yard’. Even if people had managed to avoid interactions with Europeans before this time, it was almost inevitable that people would come in contact with one another along the Bloodvein River. Unfortunately, that often resulted in transmission of European diseases as Hackett (2002) has discussed in detail for the Little North. In particular, he notes the overwhelming regularity of different diseases affecting Lac Seul (or Lonely Lake) post. The last five generations or more of the families living on the east end of the Bloodvein River have ties to Lac Seul as formal band members in the twentieth century. They were undoubtedly affected by epidemics originating from that post (although other places before that) and also the nearby Red Lake post (Lytwyn 1986b).

A lengthy discussion about the Bad Lake posts and the mystery about where they were located was undertaken since those posts provide the most direct evidence about the likely eastern Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg during the Early Fur Trade Period, although there is certainly ample evidence of the Red Lake, Berens, Trout Lake, and Lac Seul districts being very active (Lytwyn 1986a). Unfortunately, there is limited oral history information about the early Postcontact time frame but the Anishinaabeg do have a very extensive and detailed oral tradition for later Postcontact times as was discussed in the previous chapter.

From the conclusions that can be drawn with combining the different forms of information now available after this study, Lytwyn's (1986a) suggestion that the Bad Lake posts were located on Knox Lake (based on various ethnohistoric references) is now supported through some archaeological and oral history evidence. Several Fur Trade Period artifacts were found at the multicomponent Knox Lake Portage Site (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). It is located near a known cemetery (as described to us by the Paishk family where some of their relatives are interred), a suspected set of burials due to many elongated depressions found there during a surface survey and recorded as EhKo-7 (Taylor-Hollings 2006c), and a possible cemetery reported through oral history of several Pikangikum and Lac Seul community members. Therefore, it may indeed be the Bad Lake, where many people passed away from diseases, as described in the HBC archives and interpreted by several authors (e.g., Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986a). Due to the small size of the structure at Barclay Lake, and the fairly remote inland location, which is not anywhere near the headwaters as was described for Bad Lake location (Lytwyn 1986a), this may have been an independent trader's cabin as suggested by Wall (1980a). However, Stanford (1909) mapped this location as an H.B.C. Co. post and there were several late 1800s can found there during a survey (Taylor-Hollings 2013). Inferences generated for earlier cultural change from mainly precontact archaeological evidence, including the Selkirk Composite, will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY RESULTS FROM THE BLOODVEIN RIVER

> These are the dwellings of human beings, but not those living today or yesterday. They lived long ago, when *wisakedjak* was living here, too. In those days these Indians did not use the articles you see them using today. They made everything themselves. They got nothing from the white man. They lived just like the *atsokanak* [anthropomorphic characters occurring in stories; of these, *wisakedjak* is one of the most important].

-Berens River Anishinaabe *Kiwitc* (Alec Keeper) explaining a story written on birch bark about the *Kete* Anishinaabeg (Ancients) and *djibaiayak* (ghosts) to Hallowell (1955:161) in the 1930s.

Introduction

The archaeological sites of the Bloodvein River in Ontario and Manitoba contain the material culture of past peoples in the region and represent a long tradition of Indigenous occupation, as reflected in the quotation above. This chapter reviews both the general and some specific results from the 10 recent archaeological surveys that have been completed along the Bloodvein River in Ontario (Table 7.1). It assists with addressing the first research question in this thesis by reviewing evidence of the Precontact Period and building on the early culture history. Much of the information focuses on the Selkirk Composite in the latter part of the chapter since that is the subject of the second research problem for this project. First, a brief overview about sites found along the Bloodvein River in Manitoba is included to provide some context for the recent discoveries on the Ontario side (see Chapter 4 for a review of other previous research completed in both provinces). Although these surveys ended at the limit of Little Grand Rapids' traditional territory, which happens to be near the Ontario/Manitoba border (Figures 1.5, 7.1), earlier Indigenous peoples knew no provincial borders.

Although it has been customary in the past to describe and illustrate very specific locations of archaeological sites in theses and reports, I have decided not to do that in this study because of more recent open Internet access for digitized dissertations (Theses Canada, Library and Archives Database). First Nations individuals and the Park Superintendent involved in this work were also concerned about providing specific site locations in such an easily accessible electronic document as all of us have been working together to protect these places in perpetuity. Korejbo (2011) also discusses following the same practice as mandated by the Saskatchewan Archaeological Resource Management Section for his similar archaeological study. By making that decision, the possibility of people locating these remote sites and collecting or looting them is minimized. The Bloodvein River sites are found within the dedicated protected area of the WCSS and are thus safe from most

Table 7.1. Individual archaeological surveys completed on the Bloodvein River system in Ontario.

Locations, Year, and Project Info. (Locations from east to west)	Traditional Territory	Reference
Earlier Research By Others		
Pictograph surveys only at: Murdock Lake, Musclow Lake, small lake west of Barclay Lake, Artery Lake and in Manitoba	Lac Seul, Pikangikum, & Little Grand Rapids	Dewdney and Kidd 1967**
Larus Lake west to Artery Lake	Lac Seul, Pikangikum, & Little Grand Rapids	Wall 1980a***
Three previously recorded pictographs visited at Artery Lake: EiKr-3, EiKs-1 and 4	Little Grand Rapids	Pelshea 1980***
Taylor-Hollings and Colleagues		
Knox/Peisk* Lakes 2004 (partly funded by SSHRC)	Lac Seul/Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2006c
Knox/Paishk Lakes 2008	Lac Seul/Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2006c
Murdock Lake 2008	Lac Seul/Pikangikum	Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a
Larus/Murdock Lakes 2007	Lac Seul/Pikangikum	Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a
Larus Lake Stage 1&2 Assessment of Potential Cabin Site 2008	Lac Seul/Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2009
Thicketwood Lake 2008	Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2016 (in review)
Sabourin/Simeon/Barclay Lakes and Bloodvein River 2009	Trap line was owned by non-Indigenous person; now Little Grand Rapids	Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012b
Musclow Lake 2010	Little Grand Rapids	Taylor-Hollings 2012b
Artery Lake 2009	Little Grand Rapids	Taylor-Hollings 2012b
Artery Lake UNESCO Adjudicators' visit 2012	Little Grand Rapids	Taylor-Hollings 2012b

-All of the Taylor-Hollings et al. projects were funded by WCSS/Ontario Parks with University of Alberta supplementary funds except where noted
*Peisk Lake was officially changed to Paishk Lake in 2008
**These authors mention receiving assistance with finding pictographs from John Macfie, who was a Lands and Forests employee. He took many photographs and documented the changes taking place with people living in northern Ontario during the middle twentieth century (Macfie and Johnston 1991). Thomas Paishk is also acknowledged in that book as helping Dewdney and Kidd. He is a relative of the Paishk and Keesic families from Red Lake
***Wall (1980a) wrote the report but Ann Balmer and Nancy Schindelhauer did the survey. There is no reference in Wall's (1980) or Pelshea's (1980) reports that they worked with any First Nations' community members. However, Wall (1980) does mention learning some information from a Parks employee. I found out that Lee Gerrish worked at the Red Lake District OMNR office and he provided information about the EhKp-1 Site on Larus Lake. Pelshea (1980) and Lambert (1985, nd) both visited the EiKs-1 pictographs on the Bloodvein.

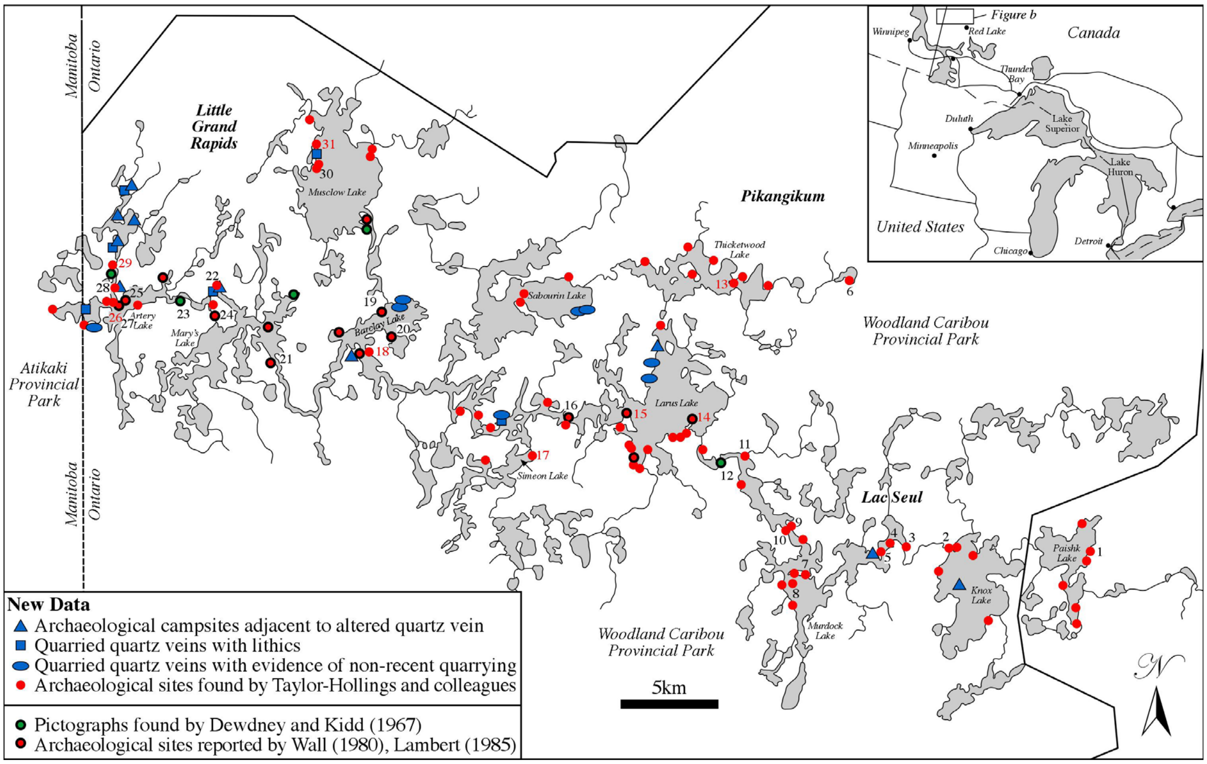

Figure 7.1. Map showing sites discussed in text: 1) P4, 2) Knox Lake Portage, 3) Meeting Place, 4) 1960's Cabin, 5) Pictograph Point, 6) Oliver's Smokehouse, 7) Wiigwaas Beach, 8) Joe's Island, 9) Comber Dock, 10) D and H Lunch, 11) Painting Rock Narrows, 12) EhKp-2, 13) Billie Joe's Place, 14) EhKp-1, 15) EhKq-1, 16) EhKq-9, 17) Simeon Lake Tree Throw, 18) Barclay Tree Throw, 19) EhKr-1, 20) EhKr-3, 21) EhKr-5, 22) Mary's Lake Portage, 23) EiKs-1, EiKs-6, 24) EhKs-2, 25) EiKs-2, 26) EiKs-3, 27) Fred's Old Cabin, 28) Helen's Place, and 29) Artery Tree Throw, 30) Duck Campsite, and 31) Duck Spot. Red numbers correspond to Selkirk Composite occupations.

developments. However, despite having relatively low numbers of visitors, many of these remote sites are vulnerable to both cultural transforms and natural erosion (see Ives 1985). Park visitors often find artifacts and many do report them to the Park Superintendent and other employees. Other archaeologists who have worked in this region (Pelleck 1980a; Smith 1980; Wall 1980a) have also reported people collecting and looting, which is still a concern at frequently used campsites, portages, shore lunch sites, and other exposed locations. Petch (1991) notes this problem on the western portion of the Bloodvein River, where there is considerably more 'traffic', and more so nearer to Lake Winnipeg. If archaeologists or community members want to learn more, I will assist with sharing that sensitive information. It is also available from the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport (in the database and reports) and an archive is located in the Department of Anthropology at Lakehead University.

Archaeological Sites Along the Bloodvein River in Manitoba

To investigate the number and type of archaeological sites found on the western or Manitoba portion of the Bloodvein River (Figure 3.11), the Historic Resources Branch of Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Tourism was contacted for information from their database (n=44 sites). This inventory lists 21 sites along the Bloodvein River, 17 on the Sasaginnigak River (slightly to the north but adjoining the Bloodvein), and six on the Gammon River to the south that joins the Bloodvein River in Manitoba (Figure 3.11). Some of these sites occur on Lake Winnipeg near the river mouth at Bloodvein First Nation. Of those 21 sites on the Bloodvein River proper, there are the following different types: eight pictographs; two petroform sites; six campsites; one workshop (lithic presumably); one "kill site" (although only lithics were found there); one isolated find (a single flake); and two are categorized as "uninterpreted" (a cave and lithic scatter). One of these sites, EhKt-6, is a small Selkirk Composite site found along the Bloodvein River and four of 23 sites on the Sasaginnigak and Gammon Rivers (Figure 3.11) were identified as having Selkirk Composite components, which indicate that Late Woodland peoples also used the western portions of the Bloodvein River. The EhKt-8 and EhKu-5 sites have been identified as each having a Woodland affiliation from pottery surface collected along the Bloodvein River. Four of the total 44 other sites are of "Woodland" affiliation that may be Laurel, Blackduck, or Selkirk Composite (*Psinomani* or Rainy River Composite have not been identified in this area to my knowledge) and two have Blackduck Composite components. A quartz Oxbow Type projectile point, found in a multi-component site, was also reported on the Sasaginnigak River (Figure 3.11) that joins the Bloodvein River in Manitoba (Manitoba Historic Resources 2003; *Pimachiowin Aki* 2012). Thus, the wide variety of archaeological sites found thus far on the Manitoba side represent a lengthy time frame of occupations from at least Middle Period times and later (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2012).

Petch (1991) found most of these sites along the Bloodvein River in Manitoba with several others being found by Kelly (1986), Lindsey (1979), Kulchyski (Borden forms from Manitoba Historic Resources 2013), and Danziger (Borden forms from Manitoba Historic Resources 2013). Some other pictographs were documented previously by Dewdney (1965, 1978; Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967) and Steinbring (1991; Steinbring and Elias 1968) in Manitoba. The pictographs located on both sections of the river are significant in number and style, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Overall, there is very limited and minimal published archaeological research from all along the Bloodvein River (Petch 1991).

Results of the Ontario Surveys

This archaeological study was focused on one or a few lakes during each survey trip along the Bloodvein River system from Paishk Lake west to Artery Lake (Figure 7.1; Table 7.1). These projects took place along the river over a period of eight summers as funding, time, and availability of different colleagues allowed, commencing before this PhD project was initiated. The surveys include the following lakes, moving from east to west as the river flows (Figures 1.4, 7.1): Knox and Peisk/Paishk near the headwaters (two trips - Taylor-Hollings 2006a; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009); Murdock (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009); Larus and Murdock (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings

2008a); Larus assessment (Taylor-Hollings 2009); Thicketwood (Taylor-Hollings 2016 in review); Sabourin/Simeon/Barclay and in between (Taylor-Hollings 2012a); Musclow (Taylor-Hollings 2012b); and Artery (two trips - Taylor-Hollings 2012b). I wanted to be pragmatic about creating at least an initial inventory in the WCSS, so that necessitated not concentrating too much time at one location. However, we chose one or two of the most promising sites to test during each survey, such as: the Knox Lake Portage Site (Hamilton et al. 2007) during the Knox and Paishk Lake surveys (Taylor-Hollings 2006c); the Meeting Place Site on Murdock Lake (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009); and the Duck Spot Site on Musclow Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2012b). This study provided me with an opportunity to examine new examples of material culture in this region and make inferences about past peoples in this region.

Wall (1980a) reports on an 11-day canoe-based survey of Larus Lake west through to Artery Lake where new sites were recorded and pictographs previously recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1962, 1967) were viewed. Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) completed these surveys as two separate trips from Larus to Barclay and Barclay to Artery lakes, which were reported subsequently by Wall (1980a). Dewdney and Kidd (1962, 1967) had recorded individual pictographs at Murdock Lake, Musclow Lake, a small lake west of Barclay Lake (which is the pictograph at Mary's Lake discussed in Wall 1980a), and two at Artery Lake (Figure 7.1) about which they had been informed by local residents or the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests workers. Pelshea (1980) also visited three previously recorded pictographs on the Bloodvein River. The recent surveys in nearby areas of northwestern Ontario, such as Pikangikum's Whitefeather Forest, are discussed in Chapter 4 (Figure 1.4; Table 7.2) and serve as comparative information for this chapter.

The artifacts found by Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) during the Bloodvein River survey, as part of the West Patricia Archaeological Study (reported by Wall 1980a), and other nearby survey collections were borrowed from the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport office in Thunder Bay (see Table 7.3 for compilation of this data). Ministry staff also located some of the West Patricia Archaeological Study field notebooks and photographic slides. Unfortunately Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer's (1978) notebooks contains minimal information about where they found artifacts, how many test pits were excavated and where, and so forth. There were only a few photographic slides that we could find from the original survey and most of these were documenting the large pictograph sites. According to Wall (1980a), most recoveries were not diagnostic except for one Blackduck rim sherd found at the EhKq-1 Site on Larus Lake and a few artifacts from the Fur Trade Period post (EhKr-1) Site at Barclay Lake. Upon examination of these artifacts, I identified a few more diagnostics and included them with the more recent survey results (but have credited the original researchers' work in each case).

The Bloodvein River is accessible only by floatplane or boat at certain locations in the WCSS (Figure 2.3). Boat surveys were conducted with stops made at locations that had high archaeolog-

Table 7.2. Other archaeological research and assessment projects completed near the Bloodvein River in Ontario within the WCSS and Whitefeather Forest by colleagues and myself.

Locations, Year, and Project Info.*	Traditional Territory	Report
#Olive Lake, Northern WCPP, 2003	Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2004a
#Kirkness/Stormer Lakes, Whitefeather Forest, 2004 (P.I. Scott Hamilton, partly funded by SSHRC)	Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2006a
#Roderick Lake, Whitefeather Forest, 2004 (partly funded by SSHRC)	Pikangikum	Taylor-Hollings 2006b
#Pikangikum First Nation, Whitefeather Forest, 2004 Geoarchaeology trip	Pikangikum	Boyd et al. 2005
#Pakwash/Bruce Lakes, 2005 (P.I. Scott Hamilton, partly funded by SSHRC)	Lac Seul?	Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2007
#Barton Lake, Whitefeather Forest, 2005 (P.I. Scott Hamilton)	Pikangikum	Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008b
Trout Lake, Red Lake District, 2006 (requested by Trout Lake Anishinaape, funded by OMNR)	*Namekosipiiw Anishinaape* (Trout Lake Anishinaape)/ Lac Seul	Taylor-Hollings 2008
#Lund Lake, WCPP, Stage 1 Assessment, 2007	Lac Seul	Taylor-Hollings 2007
Berens River/Dog Rib Falls Crossing, Whitefeather Forest, Stage 1 Assessment, 2010	Pikangikum	Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2010

-Unless "Assessment" is stipulated, each project was a research trip.
#Funded or partially funded by Woodland Caribou Provincial Park/Signature Site

ical potential, that the community members identified as being important, or may have involved a park planning issue. Thus, while completing reconnaissance, we could determine the site numbers and significance of a lake system or two with each trip and spend some of the time at a few more important sites to gather larger samples. Essentially, by putting 'dots on a map', it provides a basic inventory and more territory could be covered, to find out about more ancient sites and whether they coincided with postcontact traditional use sites (or not). It is hoped that future endeavours may allow for further testing at the archaeological sites that were found.

A detailed overview of the theoretical perspectives in mind and methods used during the surveys are discussed in Chapter 2, so they are not reviewed here. Although there was a very limited amount of time available for each survey (Table 7.1), all of this fieldwork offered a unique opportunity to learn more about the ancient people and more contemporary past of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg. The Ontario Parks partnership enabled funding for these projects (linked through

Table 7.3. Sites found previously on the Bloodvein River with all except 20 and 21 discussed by Wall (1980a); pictographs were recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1962, 1967), Lambert (1985), and Pelshea (1980).

Site and Lake	1978 Finds and Affiliations	Context	Site Type	Other Information	Condition/Comments	Updates
1 EhKp-1 Larus Lake (Larus)	Unknown Prehistoric - 7 qtz. Flakes	SC	Habitation	Campsite; 8 possible pieces, 1 for sure; found under tip up about 15' from water's edge; flakes	Fair, some water erosion; further tests necessary to determine extent of site and culture	Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk affiliations identified from Lee Gerrish's collection.
2 EhKp-2 Bloodvein River 1 (Murdock)	Dewdney's #154 pictograph; described in Wall (1980a)	Pictograph	Pictograph; flint knapping station	Pictograph, flintknapping	Good condition, fairly clear morphs one metre above water level; complete recording of site to be done. Prerecorded by Dewdney	Did not find flakes described here in the Ministry of Culture collections.
3 EhKq-1 Larus West (Larus)	Blackduck Brushed with possible Selkirk - 2 Blackduck rim sherds, 40 corded body sherds, 11 fabric impressed sherds, 50 unanalysable sherds, 1 qtz. scraper; 19 flakes (rhyolite and qtz.)	Test units; artifacts found 6-9 cm DBS	Habitation	Campsite	Fair to good. Little erosion. Further testing required	Blackduck vessel is not brushed but textile impressed.
4 EhKq-2 Larus Rapids (Bloodvein b/w Larus and Barclay lakes)	Unknown Prehistoric - 2 biface tool fragments (quartzite, rhyolite), 2 flakes (quartzite, chert)	Shovel tests	Habitation	Campsite	Good. Possibility of disturbance by campers. Further testing with possibility of rescue excavation	
5 EhKq-3 South Larus Lake (Larus)	Unknown Prehistoric - 1 qtz. biface or core fragment	SC	Habitation		Good	
6 EhKr-1 Floorburnt (Barclay)	Historic possible HBC post - 66 beads, 7 wire nails, burnt glass, bone fragment	One test pit dug in building outline	Habitation	Old trading post: round nails, glass, beads, bone	Fair, a structure which appears to have been burnt; further testing to determine structural significance	
7 EhKr-2 Tip-up (Barclay)	Undifferentiated Woodland - 2 water worn sherds, 1 qtz. flake	SC	Habitation	Campsite, flakes, body sherds; other record says 2 pottery sherds, 1 flake under tip up	Fair, some water erosion; further testing required	
8 EhKr-3 Poplar High (Barclay)	Unknown Prehistoric - 1 qtz. flake, biface/projectile point frag	Shovel tests	Habitation	Campsite, flakes, projectile	Good, very little erosion as site is back from lake; limited test to determine cultural affiliation	
9 EhKr-4 Barclay West (Barclay)	Unknown Prehistoric; 12 qtz. flakes, one bone fragment, red ochre nodule	?	Habitation	Campsite, flakes, bone	Good. Site is buried and back from water's edge; limited test	
10 EhKr-5 North Bulge Crossing (Mary's)	Undifferentiated Woodland - 2 body sherds in bad condition, 6 flakes (5 qtz., 1 rhyolite)	Test pits	Habitation	Campsite, flakes, bone, pottery sherds	Good. Site is on a flat area behind a bedrock beach landing; limited test	
11 EhKs-1 Bloodvein Shoal (Mary's)	Unknown Prehistoric - few flakes (1 rhyolite, 1 qtz. block flake), 1 qtz. scraper, tool fragments (1 chert tool frag), burned	Test pits	Habitation	Campsite	Fair, some erosion; further test required	

Table 7.3. Continued.

Site and Lake	1978 Finds and Affiliations	Context	Site Type	Other Information	Condition/Comments	Updates
12 EhKs-2 Artery Rapids East (Artery)	Late Woodland with *possible* Blackduck & Selkirk - 1 corded body sherd, 14 fabric impressed body sherds, 3 unanalysable sherds, 3 qtz. Flakes	SC out of eroding areas disturbed by portage path and tent pads	Portage/Habitation	Campsite	Fair, water erosion. Modern camping and portaging. Immediate salvage excavation necessary	
13 EiKr-1 Musclow Isthmus (Musclow)	Unknown Prehistoric - 3 qtz. and 1 chert flake	?	Habitation	Flintknapping station also; flakes	Good. Some erosion. Further test required	
14 EiKr-2 Musclow Lake (Musclow)	Dewdney's #207 - Dewdney and Kidd (1967:121)	Pictograph	Pictograph		Fair to good. Complete recording of site to be done. Prerecorded by Dewdney	
15 EiKr-3 Barclay Lake West (Mary's)	Dewdney's #212 - also Pelshea (1980)	Pictograph	Pictograph		Good, clear morphs. Recording complete. Prerecorded by Dewdney	
16 EiKs-1 Bloodvein 1 (Artery)	Dewdney's #60 - divided into three faces; also discussed by Pelshea (1980) and Lambert (n.d.)	Pictograph	Pictograph		Good, clear morphs. Minimal recording due to size of site. Further recording necessary. Prerecorded by Dewdney.	
17 EiKs-2 Artery Junction 1 (Artery)	Late Woodland, probably Selkirk but possibly Blackduck component also - 14 fabric impressed sherds, 1 corded sherd, 15 unanalysable sherds, steatite pipe fragment, Knife River Flint scraper, 4 utilized flakes, 28 flakes (mainly qtz., Selkirk Chert, rhyolite, HBL chert), red ochre nodule	?	Habitation	Campsite	Good, some erosion. Heavy use by campers. Immediate salvage excavation necessary. "Surface erosion due to the use of the area by campers has resulted in a significant amount destruction."	
18 EiKs-3 Artery Junction 2 (Artery)	Probably Selkirk - 30 fabric impressed sherds, 1 corded sherd, 35 unanalysable sherds, 15 bone fragments, 11 qtz. flakes	?	Habitation	Campsite	Good, some erosion. Heavy use by campers. Immediate salvage excavation necessary.	Still heavy usage by modern campers; many artifacts found on the surface and test pit excavated. Excellent faunal preservation. Laurel and Selkirk Composite identified.
19 EiKs-4 Artery Lake 1 (Artery)	Dewdney's #211 - also discussed by Pelshea (1980)	Pictograph	Pictograph		Fair, some of morphs are faint. Recording complete. Prerecorded by Dewdney	Still in good shape.
20 EiKs-5 Artery 2 (Artery)	Pictograph recorded by Lambert (1985)	Pictograph	Pictograph		Faint and very faint paintings - close to water line; photographed	Could not see it in 2009; water was high though
21 EiKs-6 Bloodvein II (Artery)	Pictograph recorded by Lambert (1985) that had been numbered as a different panel of EiKs-1	Pictograph	Pictograph		Good; Recording complete. Prerecorded by Dewdney	Still in good shape.

various initiatives), plus they provided assistance and expertise with the surveys, since they are some of the most knowledgeable people about the WCSS other than the local Anishinaabeg. A SSHRC Northern Studies Grant aided with part of one of the trips to Knox and Paishk Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). Our colleagues from Lac Seul, Pikangikum, and Little Grand Rapids also approved of us working together on their traditional lands, aided with important long-established knowledge, and helped with the surveys.

Information is presented from all 10 Bloodvein River surveys from the newly found sites (see Appendix 1 for a list and description of these new sites). Many of those locales also have been frequented by Anishinaabe and/or park visitors as campsites or activity areas. Some of the site recoveries only consisted of one or two pieces of debitage and these may represent small, activity area scale locales. However, we did not have time to test all of the locations. We chose one or two sites with the most potential on each trip to spend time testing them, typically wanting to investigate those with diagnostic artifacts or features.

The recent survey information resulted in many 104 sites being recorded with 24 quartz quarry locales. Dewdney and Kidd's (1967) designated pictographs only (n=5). Lambert (1985) recorded a different pictograph and split EiKs-4 into another site (named EiKs-6). Wall's (1980a) reporting of 14 sites, and the Manitoba data (n=44 with 21 on the Bloodvein River proper, 17 on the Sasaginnigak River, and six on the Gammon River that meets the Bloodvein River) indicates that there are now 169 recorded archaeological sites along the entire river corridor at this time.

Diagnostic Artifacts and Updating the Culture History

Since there were so many sites found during the recent Bloodvein River projects and many did not have diagnostic artifacts, the data are summarized for each of them in Appendix 1. However, all of the diagnostics are discussed in this chapter, since they provide the most specific archaeological information generated from the surveys and help to situate the sites within a regional and larger context. Lithic items were, by far, the most common artifact found during the Ontario Bloodvein River surveys, followed by pottery sherds, examples of faunal remains, and collected postcontact items (see Appendix 1). Mid-twentieth century middens or can dumps were fairly commonly seen during each lake survey, usually representing commercial fishing, outpost, or Indigenous middens associated with older cabins. However, most items were not collected from these locations but instead were noted in field notebooks and often photographed.

Lithic Materials

Lithics are also the oldest material class recovered along the Bloodvein River surveys, being found dating to the Early Period (as indicated by projectile points discussed later) through to protocontact times (e.g., Skinner 1912). Of the various lithic materials identified at archaeological sites in the study area, quartz was the most common material (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a). Examples consist of milky, clear (rock crystal), yellow, smoky, rose, and green coloured forms. It is found in pebbles, cobbles, and in veins in the Canadian Shield. Small amounts of 'Green Recrystallized chert' (as named by Reid, ed. 1980), rhyolite, quartzite, jasper, chalcedony, silicified wood, Swan River chert from Manitoba, and Jasper Taconite or Gunflint Silica from the Gunflint Formation in the Thunder Bay area were also identified at these sites. Hudson Bay Lowland chert and siltstones, similar to those found on Lac Seul (Fisher 2002; Hyslop 2003), were relatively common. Fisher (2002) recorded a siltstone quarry site on the west side of that lake. Hyslop (2003) notes that many of the tools found during surveys of Lac Seul are made from siltstone. For example, he notes that just over 50% of the lithics recovered from a surface collection of 154 lithics at EaKa-1 on Lac Seul were made of that material along with Hudson Bay Lowland chert (27.9%), quartz (11.0%), Jasper Taconite (1.3%), Gunflint Silica (1.9%), and other (7.1% ground stone) (Hyslop 2003).

As Herz (2001:459) so aptly states: "Confusion reigns supreme in the archaeological literature on the terminology of the siliceous chemical sediments". The existing lithic material nomenclature is complicated and hinders comparisons on a regional scale between adjacent northwestern Ontario, Minnesota, and eastern Manitoba. Sometimes people use different terms for the same materials (e.g., Green Recrystallized chert in Ontario, West Patricia Recrystallized chert in Manitoba, and West Patricia chert in Minnesota). However, there is a general consensus amongst local archaeologists about distinctive lithic materials found in northwestern Ontario that pertain to the study area. Although some are still unknown, the primary and secondary sources of these lithic materials are important as this generates behavioural inferences about preferences for certain lithic raw materials used during different archaeological periods (e.g., Jasper Taconite was often preferred during the Early Period in the Thunder Bay area as per Julig et al. 1990). Mulholland and Menuey (2000) discuss lithic materials and sourcing in Minnesota. Bakken (2011) and Mulholland (2002), using geoarchaeological perspectives, compiled considerable information about northern Minnesota lithic materials and associated literature references. Some of these materials are also found in northwestern Ontario and southeastern Manitoba but the main focus for them is Minnesota occurrences.

Hudson Bay Lowland chert is sourced along the Severn and Albany Rivers in the Hudson Bay Lowlands of Ontario (Fox 2009; Pilon 2002; Pollock and Noble 1975) but has been glacially re-deposited across the western part of the province and even into northern Minnesota (Bakken 2011). I collected several cobbles from the Ogoki Post First Nation region, where they are found all over the community. Hudson Bay Lowland chert cobbles have been collected in glacial lake outwash deposits in the Lac Seul moraine at the west end of Lac Seul (Fox 2009; Rajnovich et al. 1982) but may also be found along the English River (Rajnovich 1983:15). Similarly, quartzite, jasper, chalcedony, and silicified wood likely derive from tills.

In an overview of cherts found in Ontario, Fox (2009:358) describes a form that he identifies in the Lake of the Woods area, which Reid (1977:19) had divided previously into felsite, rhyolite, and chert:

> Cherts ranging in colour from white mottled with green, to a homogenous dark green recovered as debitage on Lake of the Woods archaeological sites were dubbed "Lake of the Woods chert" by the writer, with the latter colour phase grading into a material very similar to silicified siltstone from the Knife Lake Group to the southeast (Fox 1980:136, Ojakangas 1972 and Nelson 1992). The source of these cherts has not been well studied and these materials may derive from a variety of formations in the Wabigoon subprovince, such as the South Kakagi Lake formation (Blackburn et al. 1991:329 and Fig. 9.10). Subsequent researchers, in consultation with geologists, have subdivided this material into felsite, rhyolite, and chert.

In addition, there are some areas along the eastern Bloodvein River where greenstone belts occur in the Uchi Domain (Hollings 1998) that may be potential lithic material sources. The Uchi Domain occurs just south and east of the Berens River Domain, geological unit of the larger Superior Province in which the Bloodvein River in Ontario occurs (see Chapter 4 for more information). For example, extensive high silica rhyolites have been reported from the Red Lake area (Hollings 1998). Wall (1980a:73) appears to have been thinking about these very issues when he explains that "Lithic resources of potential use to prehistoric flint-knappers in the western half of the Bloodvein System consist mainly of quartz and cobble cherts from glacial deposits. Red Lake is the nearest known source of jasper, chert, and rhyolite in the contest of shoreline exposures". I found some labelled samples of rhyolite collected in the Red Lake area that were left in the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport office in Thunder Bay collected by someone, likely Wall (1980b) or perhaps Smith (1981), during the West Patricia Archaeological Study: grey "Red Lake Chert" from EgKl-5 on Red Lake (Wall 1980b found this site); grey "Red Lake Rhyolite" noted to be from UTM VG 416604; and "Red Lake Jasper" recorded as being from UTM VG 318546. Wall (1980a:77) identified quartz, rhyolite, quartzite, chert, Selkirk chert, and "knife river chert" reporting about the West Patricia Archaeological Study survey along the Bloodvein River. The more recent surveys likely yielded similar materials but there were no descriptions given for some of these forms (rhyolite, quartzite, "knife river chert"). I was able to examine the artifacts that Wall (1980a) reported about to try and determine his characterization of lithic materials to compare them with the more recent findings (so as to use consistent terminology).

Another material found was the so-called "Green Recrystallized chert" as named by Reid (ed. 1980) in the Lake of the Woods area and believed to be sourced in the Lac Seul Region or north of that (Fox 2009; Hamilton 1981; Reid and Rajnovich 1991). Rajnovich (1987:15) explains that

Green Recrystallized chert was also known by another name: "West Patricia chert is a green recrystallized chert with the appearance of green quartz, outcropping on North Caribou Lake north of Lake St. Joseph and occurring as erratics throughout West Patricia District, the vast area north of a line running from Red Lake through Lac Seul and Lake St. Joseph to the Albany River". It is actually quartz that may have some chlorite causing the colour to be green, as per the suggestion of geologist Peter Hollings of Lakehead University (personal communication 2012). However, it has not been chemically analyzed, to my knowledge. Reid and Rajnovich (1991:202) describe this material as ranging "from the northern portion of Northwestern Ontario (Lac Seul northward)". Hamilton (1981) also notes that it is typically found in archaeological sites near Lake of the Woods and to the northwest. Although it is quartz, it is a distinct from other quartz and readily identifiable by its light to medium green colours with clear pockets (Figure 7.2). Sometimes it exhibits a similar glassy texture to quartz but it is highly variable having other consistency similar to rhyolite. Individual crystals are often seen in a matrix of finer material.

In the study area, one very large cobble of petrified wood (2610.0 g) was collected on the beach at the Nighthawk Site on Paishk Lake, which is on the east side of the Bloodvein River (Figure 7.1); a large flake of the same material was found right beside the cobble, indicating that someone had tried to flake the rock. It was lying on the surface at the edge of a bay with a long sandy beach where the site is located. This find is quite unusual in this region, so it must have been a manuport and/or glacially transported. Only a few flakes of this material were found across the whole survey area (Appendix 1) and evidently appears to have been rarely used.

In terms of the previous literature about lithic material sourcing, there are only a few examples that discuss different raw materials from northwestern Ontario in any detail. Hamilton (1981:Appendix 1) describes some of them and discusses potential sources, whereas most other archaeologists just identify that a given lithic material was found at a site. Rajnovich (1983:17) explains where some of the lithic materials from the Spruce Point Site were probably derived and lists local chert, local quartz, Hudson Bay Lowland chert from glacial origins, local rhyolite, West Patricia chert/Green Recrystallized chert, local steatite, Swan River chert from Manitoba, Gunflint silica from the Thunder Bay area, local granite, local diabase, and local schist. Nelson (1992) deals with sourcing and geological contexts of Knife Lake siltstone in comparison with Lake of the Woods chert. Julig and associates (1992) analyzed geological and archaeological samples of Hudson Bay Lowland chert and visually similar materials such as Knife River flint (North Dakota) and "Gunflint chert" (Thunder Bay area) using Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis; they were able to indicate that these materials are chemically distinctive so that non-destructive methods may be used to differentiate comparable materials. A similar study by Long and colleagues (2001) used Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy to differentiate Hudson Bay Lowland chert from several others. Several geoarchaeological studies have also been completed about specific sources Thun-

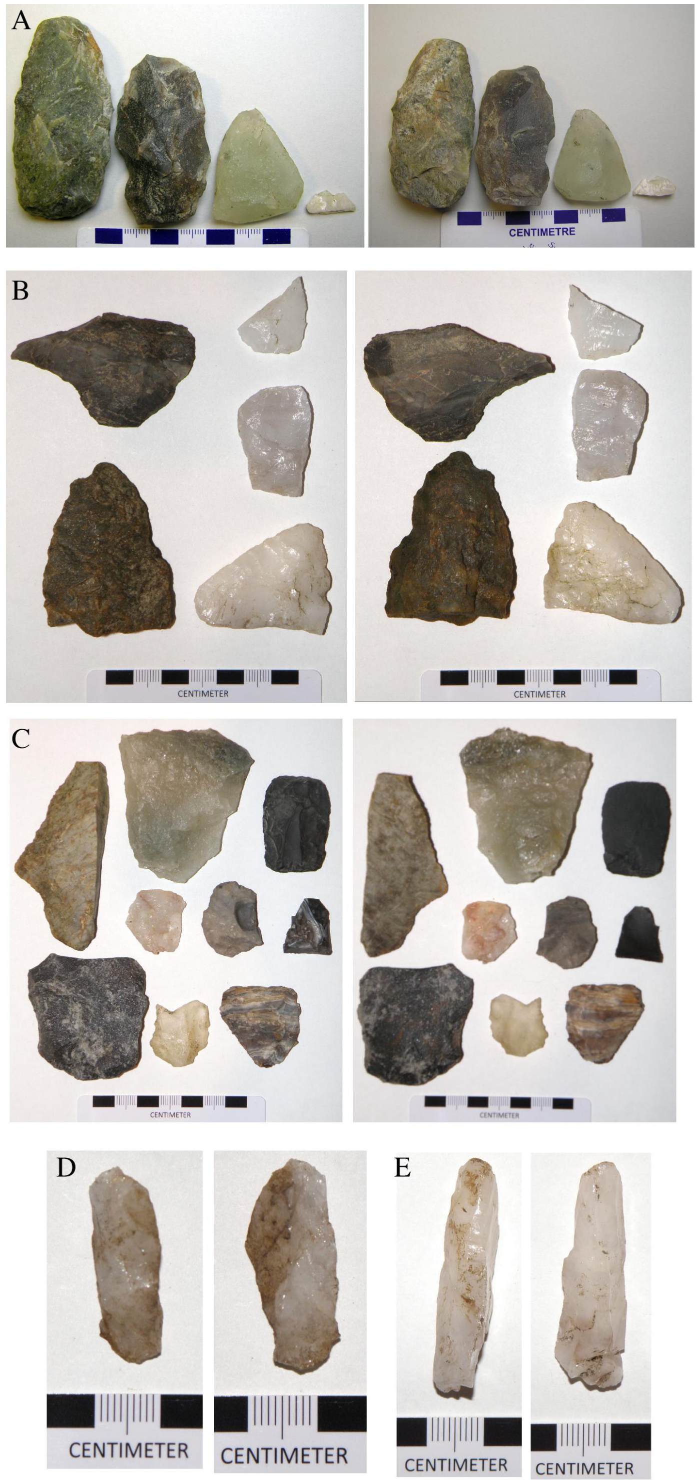

Figure 7.2. Representative sample of lithic tools and materials found during the Bloodvein River surveys: A) bifaces of Green Recrystallized chert, Gunflint Silica, and Green Recrystallized chert; white quartz Late Woodland projectile point base (D and H Lunch Site - Murdock Lake); B) Biface fragments of green and brown rhyolite and milky quartz (Meeting Place Site - Murdock Lake); C) unifaces (from top left) of rhyolite, Green Recrystallized chert, black siltstone, quartz, grey rhyolite, brown Hudson Bay Lowland chert, smoky quartz (lower left), yellowish quartz, and petrified wood (lower right) from the Meeting Place Site; D and E) quartz bipolar cores (EiKs-3 and Artery Tree Throw sites - Artery Lake).

der Bay region (e.g., Hinshelwood 2004; Julig et al. 1990), which provide some analogies for material found along the Bloodvein River, if indeed they are the same materials, as they appear to be in hand specimens. Overall, there is a need for more detailed and geochemical studies about sourcing lithic materials in northwestern Ontario. Therefore, it is surprising how seldom the actual lithic raw materials and sourcing have been considered in this region, with little input from geologists or geoarchaeologists; one exception is Fox (2009), who did consult geoscientists. Often this results in many different names for the same material as defined by geological attributes; for example, Mulholland (2002) explains that Knife Lake Siltstone has been identified in Minnesota as argillite, argillite-quartzite, silicified shale, basalt, felsite, metagraywacke, and Lake of the Woods chert.

To my knowledge, a lithology of northwestern Ontario lithic material sources pertinent to the study area has not been published since Hamilton's (1981) partial one. Therefore, I have compiled that data to provide better comparative parameters for the lithic material that I categorized for other researchers. The information were collected by the following methods: (1) reviewing the published (e.g., Dawson's 1984 review; Reid, ed. 1980) and 'grey' archaeological literature; (2) discussing the subject with experienced archaeologists and geologists working in northwestern Ontario; (3) undertaking archaeological fieldwork in northwestern Ontario since 2001; (4) examining all collections and comparative lithic source samples at the Thunder Bay office of the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport; (5) looking at many collections and all comparative lithic source samples at Lakehead University (which now has a sizable and comprehensive collection from Ontario and adjacent areas due to research by Clarence Surette); and (6) participating in many Lake Superior Basin Workshops since 1997 to discuss classification issues. Based on that knowledge, Table 7.4 has been compiled describing archaeological lithic raw materials found in the study area and their lithologies, including those named in various literature sources and described more informally by local archaeologists.

Quartz Quarries

Even from the first survey (Taylor-Hollings 2006a), evidence suggested that the most common lithic material used in this region was quartz and this proved to be the case for other areas of the Bloodvein River in Ontario (e.g., Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Taylor-Hollings 2006a, 2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2016 in review; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009; Wall 1980a) and in the Whitefeather Forest to the north (Taylor-Hollings 2006b, 2006c). Artifacts were found in macrocrystalline rock crystal, milky, yellow, and smoky forms. Given that knowledge, it was obvious to ask where was the quartz derived? After spending considerable time examining the shorelines, quartz veins were fairly common within the mainly granitic bedrock along the Bloodvein River shores, which offered the possibility of being the mineral source (Figure 3.2). These consisted of mostly ones interpreted to be hydrothermal veins, where pure quartz occurs in the bedrock, with

Table 7.4. Lithologies of named archaeological raw materials from the study area (samples examined by author except where noted by *).

Lithic Material	Colours (Not the Best Indicator)	Texture	#Hard-ness	Lustre; Light Transmission	$CaCO_3$?	Comments
Bird Lake Rhyolite	Black, dark grey, light grey	Coarse crystals often visible macroscopically	?	Vitreous; opaque	No	Buchner (1978) and Carmichael (1979) call this ‘rhyolite’; similar material to Lake of the Woods Rhyolite
*Felsite-Dacite	Grey, black	Fine-grained, cryptocrystalline	?	Dull; ?	?	Info. from Hamilton (1981); little is known about this material from an archaeological viewpoint
Green Recrystallized Chert	Vivid light green to dark green w/ white, brown and black inclusions	Coarse crystals often visible macroscopically	7	Vitreous; sometimes translucent in thin pieces	No	Often has phenocrysts and veining; isolated pockets of opaque green chert-like material in a matrix of colourless quartz; some form of green quartz probably
*Green Quartzite	Green	Fine grained	?	Vitreous, ?	?	Info. from Buchner (1978); may be Green Recrystallized Chert?
Gunflint Silica	Highly variable - dark grey, dark brown; white, light grey, tan, bluish black	Coarse - crystals often visible macroscopically; smooth homogenous or granular (Mulholland 2002)	7	Vitreous, translucent	No	Is translucent with many small inclusions of magnetite, hematite, and fossilized organics (Mullholland 2002); Ethno-archaeologist Romano 1991a) notes that heat treating works well
Hixton Silicified Sandstone	White, beige, brown, red	Sugary; is an ortho-quartzite; visible crystals	7	Vitreous; translucent in thin pieces	No	May have been heat treated
Hudson Bay Lowland Chert	Highly variable; honey brown, red, yellow, black; chalky cortex	Fine-grained - microcrystalline	7	Waxy; opaque; shows a distinctive reddish colour when held in front of transmitted light (Bakken 2006)	No, but cortex may weakly react	Extremely variable and widespread across a large area
Jasper Taconite	Highly variable; red, purple, dark grey, black; cortex is often dark grey to black; iron rich	Fine-grained but also some with coarse grained	7	Waxy; opaque	No	Exhibits a wide variety of characteristics; Romano (1991a) suggest that heat treating renders the material useless but does work better than Knife Lake Siltstone; Mulholland (2002) suggests that small inclusions in this material are hematite and magnetite; these may cause internal fracturing
Kakabeka Falls Chert	Grey, brown, blue, purple; cortex is typically chalky beige	Fine-grained – microcrystalline; banded	6-7	Waxy; opaque	No, but cortex may weakly react	Romano (1991b) suggests it is made up of alternating layers of greyish chert (carbonate origin) and blue-black chalcedony; in nodules sometimes
Knife Lake Siltstone	Grey, dark grey, black; often has a brown (oxidized?) powdery cortex	Fine-grained (silt sized particles)	7	Dull to slightly vitreous; opaque	No	Varies in texture; Romano (1991c) notes that it is difficult to work and heat treating did not improve knapping characteristics

Table 7.4. Continued.

Knife River Flint	Characteristically honey brown with beige, chalky cortex; beige patination	Fine-grained microcrystalline	7	Waxy; Translucent in thin pieces	No, but cortex may react weakly	Tabular form typically; is exotic to the study area; sometimes confused with brown Hudson Bay Lowland Chert
Lake of the Woods Chert (really Knife Lake Siltstone)	Grey, green, black	Fine-grained microcrystalline	7	Waxy to dull; opaque	No	C.S. Paddy Reid named this material; Nelson (1992) proved that petrographically it is the same material as Knife Lake Siltstone; is a finer-textured, black variation (Nelson 1992)
Lake of the Woods Rhyolite	Dark grey, black, greenish	Coarse grained	6-7	Dull; opaque	No	Similar material to Bird Lake Rhyolite; fracture lines infilled with silica; "poor quality chert with darker, amorphous inclusions" with poor workability (Romano 1991d)
Obsidian	Black, dark grey, white, red, brown	Very fine-grained microcrystalline	6	Vitreous; transparent in thin pieces	No	Volcanic glass; is exotic to the study area
Quartz and rock crystal	Highly variable depending upon impurities; white, grey, beige, yellow, purple, pink, green, dark grey (smoky); crystal (clear)	Coarse grained to fine-grained (crystals); poor cleavage planes	7	Vitreous; translucent to transparent (crystal) in thin pieces	No	Within one source, quartz can vary tremendously; crystals can be transparent; majority is milky white and opaque; in veins or crystalline/massive; conchoidal to sub-conchoidal fracture
Quartzite	White, grey, pink, yellow	Sugary	7	Vitreous; translucent in thin pieces	No	Typically in rounded cobbles
Red Lake Chert	Grey		6-7	Waxy; opaque	No	Found in MOC office; likely collected by Wall (1980b)
Red Lake Jasper	Red		6-7	Waxy; opaque	No	Found in MOC office; likely collected by Wall (1980b); recorded as being from UTM VG 318546
Red Lake Rhyolite	Grey		7	Dull to slightly vitreous; opaque	No	Found in MOC office; likely collected by Wall (1980b); noted to be from UTM VG 416604
Siltstone - Lac Seul	Dark grey, grey, greenish	Fine-grained microcrystalline	?	Dull to slightly vitreous; opaque	No	Fisher (2002) recorded the Fireside Lodge quarry on Lac Seul
Selkirk Chert (a.k.a. Cathead, Red River, Limestone Chert)	White, beige, light green, brown; beige chalky cortex	Fine-grained microcrytalline	6-7	Waxy to dull; dull cortex; opaque; sometimes fossiliferous	Yes and cortex may react weakly	Buchner (1978); Manitoba archaeologists also refer to this as Cathead chert (found in nodules redeposited by glaciers); Minnesotans call it Red River chert (Bakken 2006)
Swan River Chert	Highly variable; white, beige, pink, yellow, brown	Fine-grained microcrytalline except for vugs	6-7	Waxy; opaque	No	Extremely variable and widespread across a large area; known to contain vugs; cortex typically is weathered and pitted

Table 7.4. Continued.

*Unnamed chert and rhyolite from Lake of the Woods region	Unknown - not examined by author	?	?	?	?	May be Knife Lake Siltstone (Lake of the Woods chert) or Lake of the Woods Rhyolite?; info. from geologist Peter Hinz
*Woman Lake Rhyolite	Grey with darker grey bands; small green crystalline inclusions; banding may be white	Fine-grained; foliated or banded	6-7	?	?	Info. from Hamilton (1981) - described as foliated or banded; Buchner (1978:159) illustrates this material but refers to it as 'rhyolite'

some occurrences of quartz with other minerals such feldspar and biotite that were deemed to be coarse-grained pegmatites. With careful consideration of these different locations and contexts, there was evidence of 24 precontact quartz quarrying sites; some of which are located beside other archaeological sites (Figure 7.3; Appendix 1).

The long-established WCSS dedicated protected area presented me with an opportune locale to investigate quartz vein quarry sites, compared to many other areas of northwestern Ontario that have been subject to long term mineral prospecting and exploration (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a). Since geologists and prospectors use large metal hammers and typically require a large sample of rock with more than just the quartz (Peter Hollings, personal communication 2012), that type of sampling usually appears quite different from Indigenous use that closely follows the higher quality quartz veins in the bedrock, with people not typically wanting the surrounding granite or feldspar for tool making. However, given the proximity to the gold rush (ca. 1920s) and mining centre of Red Lake to the east, I was compelled to investigate further the geological history of the park (also see Chapter 3). Geological mapping has been limited (Corfu and Stone 1998a, 1998b; Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mining 2002; Rickaby 1923; Stone and Crawford 1993). One known biotite tonalite location (N5682600/E371400 UTM) was sampled, has been dated to 2.705 Giga annum, and was geochemically assessed for research purposes (Corfu and Stone 1998a, 1998b; Henry et al. 2000; Stevenson et al. 2000; Stone and Crawford 1993).

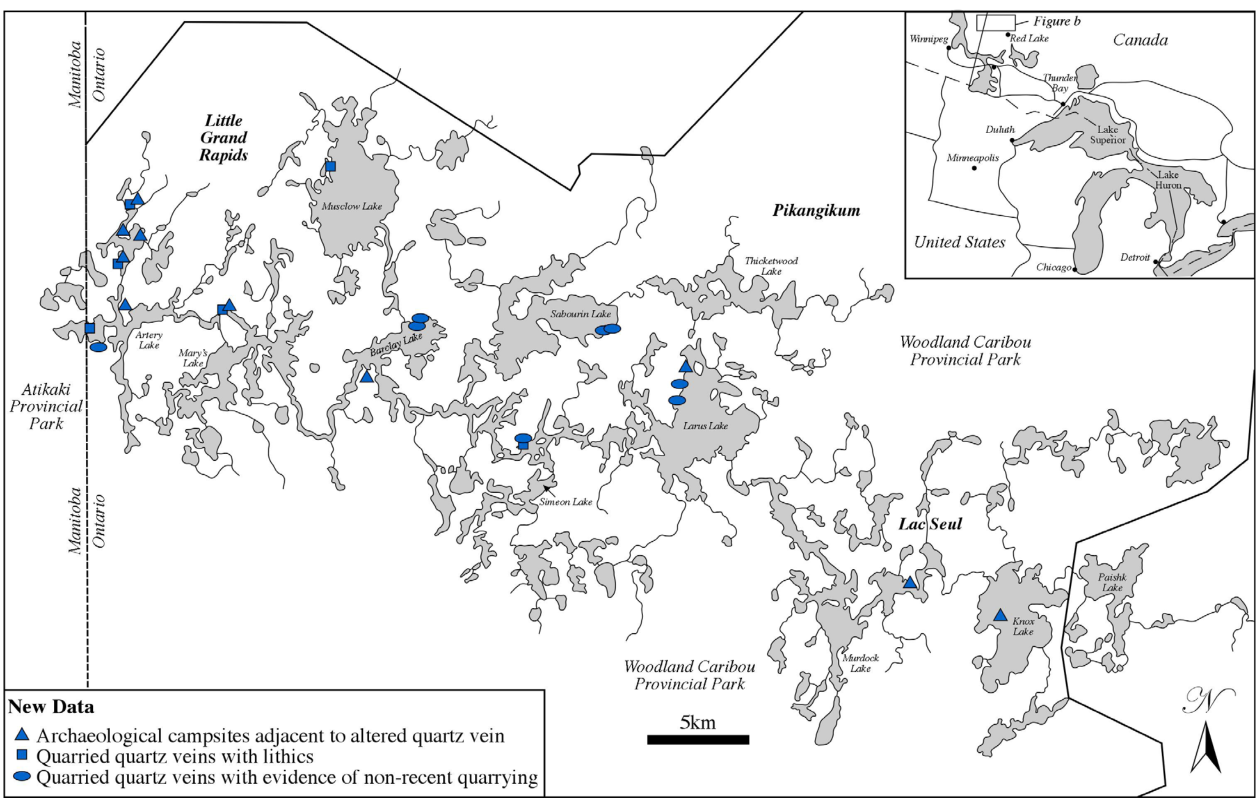

Figure 7.3. Bloodvein River quartz quarry sites of differing types found during these surveys.

About 130 soil samples were collected from glaciofluvial and till deposits located to the north of the Bloodvein River (Stone and Crawford 1993). Thus, the Bloodvein River area apparently had little evidence or records of either sampling, prospecting, or staking (Regional Resident Geologist Andreas Lichtblau, personal communication 2012) since:

(1) there are currently no claims on record with the Ontario Ministry of Mines and Development for the Bloodvein River, many of their records date back to the 1940s, and staking mineral claims was prohibited in 1977 (Taylor-Hollings 2012a);

(2) although mineral prospecting in the Bloodvein River area may have occurred after the gold rush in Red Lake during the mid-1920s, the underlying granites would not have garnered much interest from prospectors since they are not of economic interest; rather, the focus is on finding and interpreting greenstone belts (see Chapter 3);

(3) this area is part of a park where provincial land protection began very early, in the 1940s (OMNR 2004), relative to many other parts of northwestern Ontario and it became an official park in 1983 (OMNR 2004) that was enlarged into a signature site in 2007; and

(4) no examples were found of quartz veins that had been sampled in modern times for prospecting purposes.

Subsequent weathering and/or lichen growth (Figures 7.4, 7.5) indicates that the quarrying is older

Figure 7.4. Good bedrock landing spot and modern campsite along the Bloodvein River proper (not on a lake). Quartz quarry location where veins have been partially removed and it has infilled with lichen and sediment over time. Near the trowel in the photo, there were several flakes and core fragments found under the lichen.

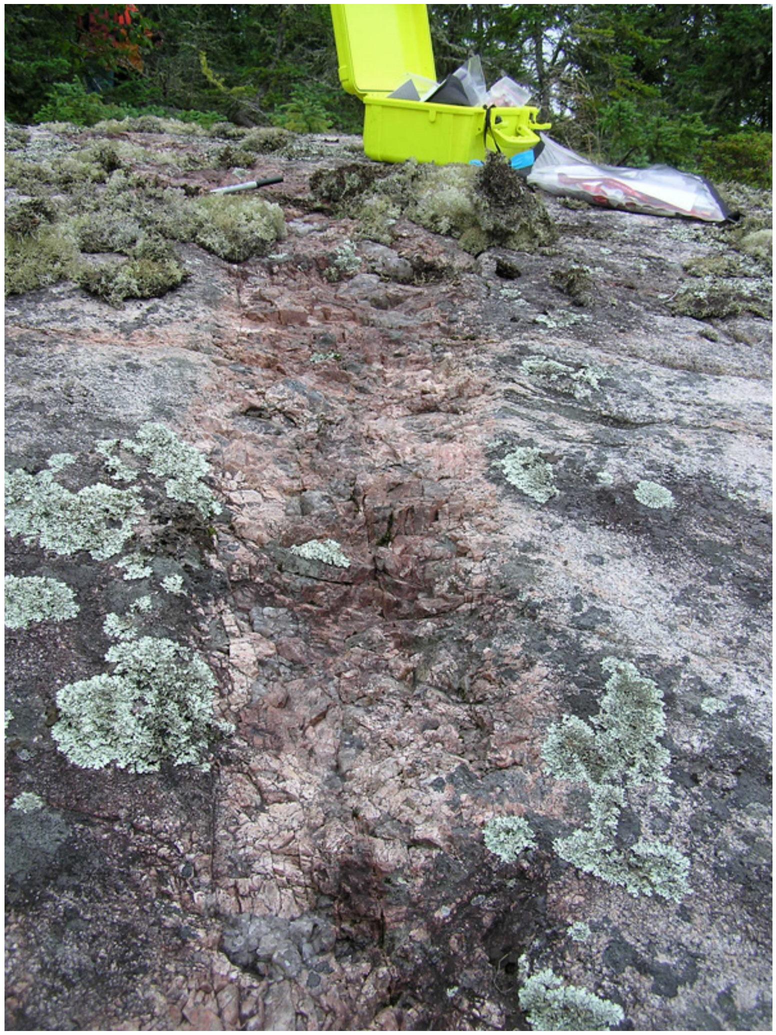

Figure 7.5. Bloodvein River quartz quarry site where most of the quartz (some smoky) has been mostly removed from the pink granite. With permission from the park superintendent, we lifted some of the sediment/lichen mat to follow the vein, whereas the area at the bottom of the photo was near the water and more exposed (likely due to ice damming). Where the quartz has been removed, the rock is weathered and covered with a thin layer of black lichen. Several flakes were also found.

rather than being caused by mineral prospecting before this region was a park decades ago (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a). However, it is impossible to know the actual time frame that Indigenous peoples removed quartz from the various veins. Many of these locales are found along the river's edge, so some artifacts are now in the water and several sites are found below the highest water level in some warm weather seasons.

Evidence that precontact Indigenous quartz vein quarrying, rather than recent prospecting, was found in the Bloodvein River area included the following criteria (Taylor-Hollings 2012a):

(1) tools and/or debitage found in or adjacent to hammered quartz vein;

(2) vein found adjacent to a known archaeological site which typically had quartz artifacts;

(3) weathering of the hammered quartz had occurred since time has passed, whereas recent

prospecting would evince metal hammer percussion (typically on a much larger scale) and no to limited weathering being present;

(4) sediment/soil cover developed on top of a modified quartz vein (that may have been revealed by animal/human/natural disturbances when we were there); and

(5) lichen and/or moss growing on hammered quartz vein that may have been revealed by human or animal disturbances and natural transforms such as erosion or tree throws

Minimal pebble quartz secondary sources were found during these surveys but they may be present in tills within this region and are likely important. The Bloodvein River section near Murdock Lake has an extensive band of till (Figure 3.6) that would make that region have a higher potential for lithic material sourcing.

Few archaeologists have reported quartz vein quarrying sites previously in northwestern Ontario, although quartz artifacts are found at many sites there and in northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Minnesota. Several exceptions are one quartz vein quarry from Lac La Croix (Bakken 2011; Romano 1991), one beside the Fisk Site at Lake of the Woods (Rajnovich et al. 1982), and Gordon (1988b) reports a utilized quartz vein near the Blueberry Site in the Lake Temagami area. In northern Manitoba, a group of large quartz quarry sites was recorded by Kevin Brownlee of the Manitoba Museum and colleagues (ten Bruggencate 2013). Korejbo (2011) notes several and Pentney (2002) reports four small-scale quartz quarries in the boreal forest of Saskatchewan. Also, Bakken (2011) discusses the Fat Quartz quarry in northern Minnesota along with the problematic nature of having so many artifacts and sites with this material but little knowledge about where it is derived.

Bakken (2011:85) describes quartz as "probably the single most important raw material in the southern half of the [north central Minnesota] region – [sic] after the Paleoindian period". It is difficult to know which lithic materials were favoured during the different precontact periods in the study area, since there is one Early Period and four Middle Period sites identified at present in the Ontario Bloodvein River region. Middle and Late Woodland sites contain a large variety of lithic materials (Figure 7.2).

It seems logical that the many quartz sources in the Bloodvein River region might be used for more expedient lithic material sourcing. The veins vary in size and quality but do represent an important local source for precontact Indigenous people in this region. They were using quartz more often than higher quality exotic types, except that finished tools are often better quality or different materials such as Green Recrystallized chert (which is actually an unusual form of green quartz), siltstone, rhyolite, and Hudson Bay Lowland chert (Figure 7.2).

Bakken (2011:123) explains that "Romano (1991d:6) calls the quartz of east-central to northeastern Minnesota "a very difficult material to knap". Based on my own informal experiments, the flaking quality of some quartz can be quite irregular due to impurities and subconchoidal fracture.

Many pieces shatter on impact into small bits and are then unworkable because of the crystal structure. However, rock crystal is better, allowing some very fine flakes and tools to be manufactured. Some pieces will produce sharp flakes and a core can sometimes be bifacially reduced to a projectile point or other tool. There were many quartz tools found during the Bloodvein River surveys (e.g., unifaces and bifaces in Figure 7.2). Occasionally, small bipolar cores (see Low 1997; Le Blanc 1992) and very finely worked small cores where tiny flakes had been removed from rock crystal were recovered (Figure 7.2). So, despite some quartz being quite challenging to work with, both as a flinknapper and analyst, it was used extensively by people living along this river.

As a starting point to finding stone tool sources, the Indigenous partners in these projects were consulted to see if they knew of stone tool sources in their region. Although they did not know about specific sources, all had found lithics and archaeological sites in the past, which was obviously helpful for the archaeological component of these projects. One particular quartz quarry site on Murdock Lake was the birthplace of Joe Paishk, one of the Elders that worked on several projects along the Bloodvein River. Additional information included the existence of Anishinaabeg words: *Asin* for rock, which is described in other ways; *asiniins* (small rocks); *msehkawaabikak asin* (hard rock); and even specifically *wiininwaabik* for quartz, etc. Lac Seul Elders Peter Paishk and Joe Paishk (personal communications 2010) informed me that *wiininwaabik* means 'fat rock' due to its resemblance to moose or other fat; Bakken (2011) was also informed about this word and meaning for white quartz by Minnesota Ojibwe speakers (e.g., Fat Quartz quarry site). Toponyms associated with specific locations also indicate the prominence of rocks in Canadian Shield terrains such as "Grandfather Rock", "Moose Nose Rock", etc. (see also Hallowell's 2010 comments on how Anishinaabeg view rocks and stones). Most Anishinabeg from this region (Ojibwe speakers) view many rocks, water, and other natural phenomena as being animated and of utmost importance to past and present lifeways. Chief William Berens (1866-1947) from Berens River described this viewpoint: "The stone and everything else in nature is made by God and for this reason can be used by man in various ways helpful to him" (Berens and Hallowell 2009:90). Clearly, even small quartz veins in a single rocky landing location were important to Indigenous occupants of this landscape. Boreal forest archaeologists may consider that viewpoint for the central Canadian Shield landscape and all of its lithic resources. For example, although better known, large scale quarries were excellent for obtaining good quality materials (more often for tools in this region), it is important to consider that the mainstay of lithic sourcing - at least in the Bloodvein River region - was the numerous quartz veins that exist there. Trading was undoubtedly done for lithic materials but quartz veins offered a locally-derived alternative, which was a reliable source that could be used almost any time, once people knew the locations. Unfortunately, there are no radiometric dating results for quartz quarry sites or associated locales in this region, so they may be of any precontact age. However, these locales are important because they indicate repeated usage of very local quartz veins for lithic material extraction. In summary, three types of 24 small-scale quartz quarry sites were found and documented along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS in northwestern Ontario (Taylor-Hollings 2011, 2012a) (Figures 7.3, 7.4, 7.5):

(1) ancient utilized quartz veins located near other archaeological sites typically with quartz artifacts (n=10);

(2) quarried quartz veins with quartz artifacts directly in or beside them (n=6); and

(3) mined quartz veins with evidence of non-recent quarrying (n=8).

It is also important to consider how these site types relate to other nearby sites in the cultural landscape (Figure 7.3). For example, several quartz quarry sites were found near the pictograph EiKs-4 and large campsite EiKs-3 on Artery Lake (Figure 7.1). Perhaps the sites were occupied by people who were collecting that material for making stone tools or visiting the pictograph. The Ontario Bloodvein River quartz quarry sites provide a better understanding of these locales for their importance and as they were used across the cultural landscape (Figure 7.3).

Tools, Cores, and Debitage

Quartz comprised the majority of lithic tools, cores, and debitage (Appendix 1). However, a representative sample of bifaces, unifaces, and quartz bipolar cores made of different lithic materials found during the surveys are illustrated in Figure 7.2. For cataloguing, the flintknapped materials were sorted into tools, cores, and debitage with many subdivisions (as discussed in Chapter 2). Tools were divided into bifaces (points, drills, knives, preforms), unifaces (side, end, side/endscrapers), retouched flakes, other lithic tools, utilized flakes, and several iterations of those classes. I categorized flakes as debitage, while shatter was catalogued as “other flake” to differentiate. Shatter was considered to be a lithic artifact without flake landmarks but was produced in the reduction stages and was particularly pertinent with quartz flintknapping sequences (Bakken 2011). As Bakken (2011:24) also notes, “It is hard to determine classic flake morphology on quartz”, particularly during the field work. I also noted if each lithic item was complete or broken and if cortex was present, to indicate the amount of core reduction that had taken place.

In terms of the debitage types, flakes of primary, secondary, and tertiary forms were recovered during the surveys (Appendix 1). Quartz shatter was fairly common, which is not surprising in this Canadian Shield context, since many veins were available to access this material (see quartz quarry section for more information). Cores, and more commonly core fragments, were found across the study area. Most cores were made of quartz, although there were also several consisting of Green Recrystallized chert and siltstone. Also, quartz bipolar cores were recovered from sites along the Bloodvein River corridor and were often tiny pieces remaining from reducing the original core (Figure 7.2). A bipolar split chert pebble tool (see Le Blanc 1992; Low 1997), which is an unusual manufacturing technique for the study area, was found at the Meeting Place Site on Murdock Lake (Figure 7.1; Figure 7.2 middle photos, upper right).

Other lithic items recovered at the Bloodvein River sites included fire-cracked rock (FCR) generally and also associated with several hearth features. For example, one was excavated in a 1x1 metre unit (Figure 2.5) at the Knox Lake Portage Site (Taylor-Hollings 2006c).

Projectile Points

Beginning with the Early Period (ca. 9,000-7,000 BP), no artifacts were discovered from that time frame by the recent survey teams. However, upon re-examining the first Bloodvein River survey collections made by Ann Balmer (1978) and Nancy Schindelhauer (1978), as reported by Wall (1980a), I identified a Plano Tradition projectile point base made from Green Recrystallized chert from the EhKr-3 Site on Barclay Lake (Figures 4.2, 7.6; Table 7.5). The original site description is as follows: “The site is located on a high, flat area behind the beach line on a rocky point on the south side of Barclay Lake and overlooks the shore. One rhyolite bifacial tool or projectile point fragment and one quartz flake were found in shovel tests. Cultural affiliation remains unknown” (Wall 1980a:76). The artifact was not photographed nor illustrated, so as to indicate that it was a spear point base, and no Early Period sites were identified from those surveys (Wall 1980a). The only other artifact found was a quartz bipolar core. This location on a relatively high elevation is logical given the inferred higher Early Period water levels. The identification of this Plano Tradition projectile point changes the culture history of the entire Bloodvein River system, since none have been identified on the Manitoba side either (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 2013 data). It is also one of the northern most discoveries of a Plano Tradition projectile point (Figure 4.2).

It is possible that water levels were higher during the Early Period, due to the rapidly changing post-glacial environment, and that some other sites from this time frame have been eroded. Comparison with data compiled about the northeastward retreating Laurentide Ice Sheet (Figure 4.2) indicates that the EhKr-3 Site location was free from ice at about 12,500-12,200 radiocarbon years BP. However, the possibility of habitation also has to be tempered with the retreat of glacial Lake Agassiz to the northwest (Figure 3.5). Teller and Leverington’s (2004:732) models indicate that the study area was likely free of glacial Lake Agassiz between the Upper Campbell Beach stage and completely open during the Emerado stages (Figure 3.5). The radiometric dates for each indicate the Upper Campbell Beach was deposited at approximately 9,400-8,800 years BP with an average

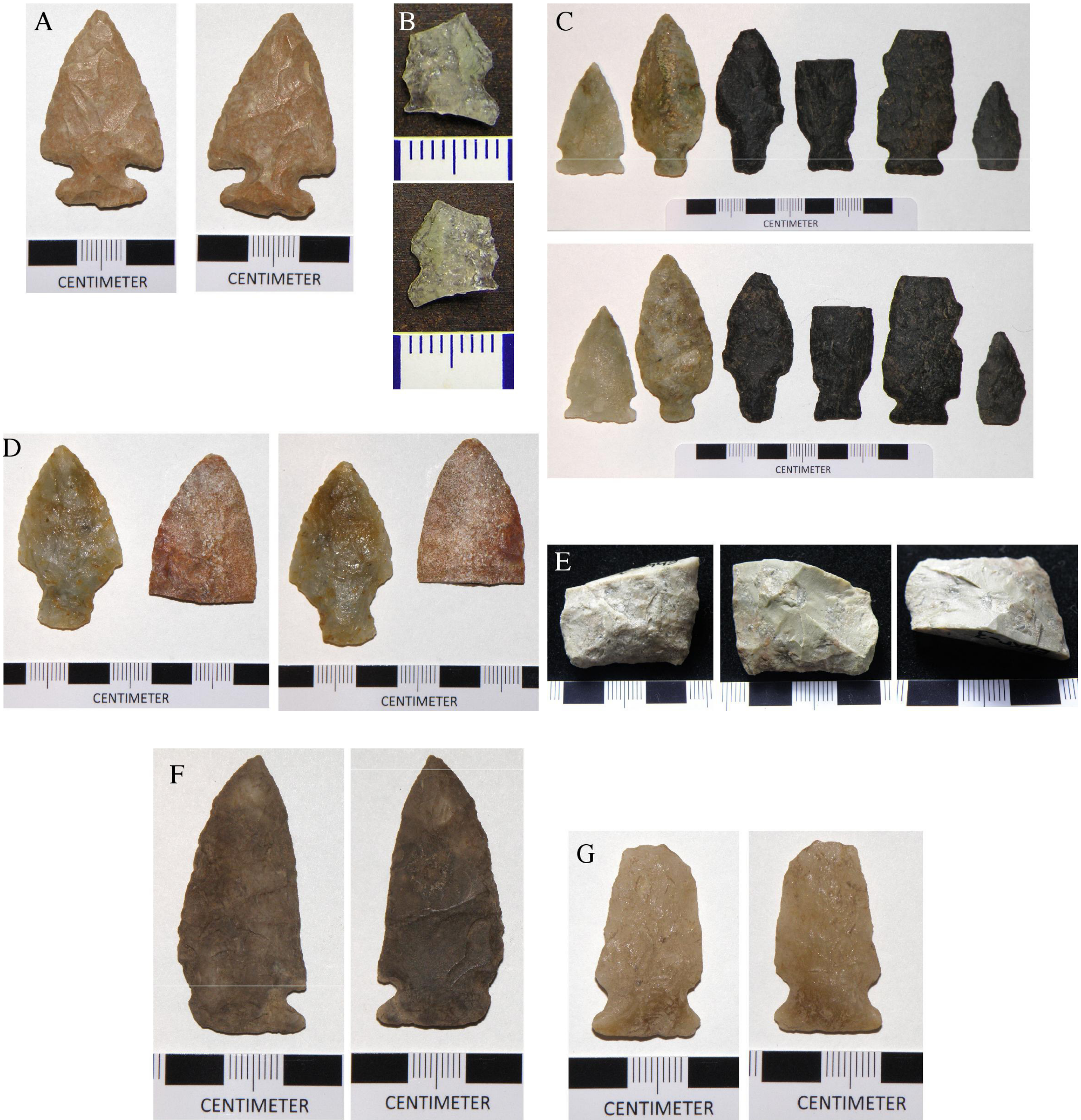

Figure 7.6. Projectile points from the Bloodvein River surveys: A) P4 (Paishk Lake); B) Comber Dock (Murdock Lake); C) Meeting Place (Murdock Lake); D) Wiigwaas Beach (Murdock Lake); E) EhKr-3 (Barclay Lake); F) Mary's Lake Portage; G) Fred's Old Cabin (Artery Lake).

of 9,840 year BP for the Emerado portion (Teller and Leverington 2004:732). See Pettipas (2011, 2012) for discussions about the early Holocene and cultural interactions in adjacent Manitoba.

Comparison with examples from northwestern Ontario and consulting with other archaeologists who specialize in the Early Period time frame (Hamilton 1996; Norris 2007; Ross 1995), suggests that the EhKr-3 projectile point is likely an Agate Basin Type, although Ross (1995) cautions researchers to be careful to be certain that it is that type and not overly specific about typology

Table 7.5. Metrics of the projectile points found during these survey (all measurements in millimetres).

Site Name (Lake) and #	Point Type	Lithic Material	Max. Length	Max. Width	Max. Thickness	Weight (g)	Notch or Stem Width	Notch Depth	Neck Width	Basal Edge	Comments	Affiliation
P4 (Paishk)	Corner notched	Hudson Bay Lowland chert	48.0	23.0	5.5	5.0	6.0, 7.0	6.0, 6.0	22.0	slightly concave, irregular	Close to corner notching; base is narrower than body	Middle Period
Comber Dock (Murdock)	Partial side-notched	*Green Recrystalized chert	11.0	9.0	3.0	0.5	4.0, 3.0	2.0, 1.5	7.0	broken	Tiny side-notched point fragment - tip and part of base missing	Late Woodland
D and H Lunch (Murdock)	Partial side-notched	White quartz	9.0	17.5	4.0	0.5	n/a	n/a	~11.0	straight	Lateral break - just base of small point	Late Woodland
Meeting Place (Murdock) #1	Side-notched	Green Recrystalized chert	37.5	22.8	6.0	5.7	5.0, 6.0	2.0, 2.0	18.5	Undulating due to flaking	Banded material; small notches	Middle to Late Woodland
Meeting Place #2	Stemmed (expanding)	Green Recrystalized chert (one side is rock crystal)	54.0	24.5	7.5	10.8	8.0, 9.5	3.0, 2.0	10.0	straight - almost a short stem	Cortex present on one side; slightly water worn	Middle Period
Meeting Place #3	Stemmed	**Black rhyolite	48.5	23.0	7.0	9.1	16.5, 17.0	2.0, 2.0	14.0	slightly convex	Very tip is missing	Middle Period
Meeting Place #4	Partial stemmed (expanding)	Black rhyolite	37.5	20.5	7.8	8.2	11.0, 12.5	2.0, 2.0	13.0	slightly concave but assymetrical	Lateral break; missing tip and part of midsection	Middle Period
Meeting Place #5	Partial side-notched	Black rhyolite	48.0	26.0	6.0	10.8	9.0, 8.0	3.5; 3.5	16.5	straight	Tip is laterally broken off; large chip out of side	Middle to Late Woodland
Meeting Place #6	Triangular	Black rhyolite	29.5	16.0	4.8	2.8	n/a	n/a	n/a	straight but broken	Base is laterally broken	Late Woodland
Wiigwaas Beach site (Murdock) #1	Stemmed (expanding)	Green Recrystalized chert	44.0	25.0	7.0	8.0	17.0, 15.0	4.0, 4.0	12.0	slightly convex	Small chip from one side of base; almost stemmed	Middle Period
Wiigwaas Beach site #2	Partial	Red, pink, & white Swan River chert	35.5	25.8	4.5	4.3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Lateral break; no base; small flake missing from tip-used?	Middle Period
EhKr-3 - found during West Patricia Arch. Study (Barclay)	Partial spear	Green Recrystalized chert (large part appears to be chert)	26.5	33.5	10.0	7.8	n/a	n/a	n/a	base width 27.0, base thickness 3.0; straight to slightly concave, thinned base; edges ground on two sides	Lateral break - just base and some mid-point; transverse shape is plano convex; collateral flaking	Early Period - Plano Tradition - Agate Basin Type?
*****Mary's Lake Portage**	Partial corner notched	Brown siltstone	47.0	19.0	6.5	7.0	4.0, n/a	2.5, n/a	15.5	straight but broken	One corner of base is missing; made on flake blank	Middle Period
Fred's Old Cabin (Artery)	Partial side-notched	White milky quartz	31.5	18.0	5.5	3.7	5.0, 5.0	2.0, 2.5	13.0	straight	Tip is laterally broken off; was retouched on end after	Middle to Late Woodland

***This is a lithic material name long established in the literature in northwestern Ontario (but it is clear to green quartz and chert).**
****Lake of the Woods rhyolite is a name long established in the literature but this could easily be 'rhyolite' found nearer to the WCSS because of the greenstone belts nearby.**
*****Found by Assistant Park Superintendent Claire Quewezence on a park maintenance trip.**

with Plano Tradition artifacts. It is laterally broken and likely was not completely finished before breakage occurred. This artifact is manufactured from Green Recrystallized chert and has many characteristic attributes of Plano Tradition projectile points: likely lanceolate shaped; edge grinding on the base and each lateral side; a biconvex longitudinal shape; oblique (on an angle from the base) collateral (side by side) flaking; slightly concave base; and basal thinning (Ross 1995).

Using the Syms (1977) archaeological taxonomy, Ross (1995) formulated the Interlakes Composite for similar assemblages of Plano Tradition sites in northwestern Ontario and Minnesota, as divided into the following regional complexes: Lakehead near Thunder Bay (Fox 1975); Reservoir Lakes in Minnesota; Quetico/Superior for the Quetico park international border area; and Lake of the Woods/Rainy River (Figure 4.2). Although EhKr-3 is found well north and west of these complexes (Figure 4.2), that assemblage is part of the larger Plano Tradition. The closest Early Period site is the Bear Site at Rowdy Lake within the WCSS (Figures 4.2, 4.5); the overall attributes between these two projectile points are similar and McLeod (2004) refers to the quartz Plano Tradition projectile point as an Agate Basin Type (Figure 7.6). Both of these sites are situated relatively near to the Sinnock Site on the Winnipeg River in adjacent southeastern Manitoba, which is included in the larger late Early Period Caribou Lake Complex (Buchner 1981, 1984). Although some researchers suggest that the Sinnock Site is instead representative of the early Middle Period (e.g., Wright 1995), Buchner (1984) identifies Agate Basin Type projectile points there. Perhaps the trihedral adzes recovered from there indicate an additional Middle Period component. It is likely that EhKr-3 should be included with the Caribou Lake Complex, which Bill Ross (personal communication 2016) would likely add to the Interlakes Composite. Also located relatively close to the Bloodvein River are the Allen Site (Pilon and Dalla Bona 2004) near Lac Seul and also several additional surface finds of Plano Tradition projectile points along that lake (Hyslop 2003; Pettipas 2014a) (Figure 4.2). Radiometric dating is limited for this time frame and the Interlakes Composite sites.

Two First Nations colleagues also reported finding long spear points at two different locations along the Bloodvein River. Peter Paishk, a Pikangikum resident and Lac Seul member, mentioned the finding of a spear point when he was a child living along the Bloodvein River in his traditional territory on Murdock Lake (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2008) (Figure 7.1). However, his grandfather placed it back where it had been found. Mr. Paishk guided us to that site and we attempted to find the spear point again to examine it but were unsuccessful due to the thick ground cover and vegetation. He described the point as being very long (perhaps 15 cm long as per his information) as compared to the Middle Period dart points and Late Period arrow points that we had found previously together. I also showed him a drawing of a spear point to confirm what was meant by his description. Similarly, Pikangikum community member Billy Joe Strang (personal communication 2010) also mentioned finding a spear point when he was a child at Thicketwood Lake

(Figure 7.1), where he is now the Head Trapper and has spent considerable time. We discussed Mr. Strang's memory of the artifact using drawings, which indicated that the point was likely of some antiquity. Unfortunately, it was lost a long time ago. Thus, I have not been able to view either of these artifacts in order to identify the exact types of other spear points that had been found along the Bloodvein River corridor. However, these two Anishinaabe men's oral histories are helpful in learning about the archaeology of the study area and indicating that there are likely other Early Period sites along the eastern Bloodvein River.

In terms of the Middle Period (ca. 7,000-2,200 BP) assemblages identified on the Bloodvein River, Wall (1980a) did not report any sites of that age. However, the more recent surveys did result in four sites attributed to that time frame based on seven projectile points that were found (Figure 7.6; Table 7.5). One corner-notched point was discovered by the late Elder Joe Keesic at the P4 Site on Paishk Lake (Figure 7.1). On two of the surveys at Murdock Lake, Middle Period projectile points were discovered at the Meeting Place (n=3 stemmed) and Wiigwaas Beach sites (one stemmed and one partial point) (Figure 7.1). On a park maintenance trip at Mary's Lake, Assistant Park Superintendent Claire Quewezence found one corner-notched point at the Mary's Lake Portage Site. The Meeting Place Site was visited on two separate trips, one test pit was excavated there, and considerable time was spent surface collecting at this multi-component location (Middle Period, possible Middle Woodland, and Late Woodland in Table 7.5). Unfortunately, there is a considerable amount of erosion affecting this low-lying site, so artifact exposures were numerous. The Middle Period is not well understood in northwestern Ontario, so hopefully further research at the Meeting Place Site can be done to learn more about this time frame.

Two projectile points have wide and shallow side-notches on a relatively long body akin to Besant/Sonota projectile points found in the prairies and parklands (e.g., Hamilton et al. 2011) (Figure 7.6; Table 7.5). With that logic, it is likely that they date to the Middle (ca. 2,200-750 BP) to early Late Woodland (ca. 1,250-250 BP) periods. Two such examples were found at the Meeting Place Site on Murdock Lake and another at Fred's Old Cabin Site on Artery Lake (Figure 7.1). Unfortunately, all of the projectile points were surface collected except for the one at Fred's Old Cabin Site, which was found *in situ* within a 50 cm x 50 cm test pit. The Late Elder Fred Moar from Little Grand Rapids had a cabin at this location, which had fallen down. On his last trip to Artery Lake, he suggested that we go to that location and examine it, giving us approval to excavate a test pit there. We only had time for a single test pit, which yielded the one quartz projectile point and some fire-cracked rock, but we did view most of the island with a quick surface survey.

Another occupation found at EiKs-2 on Artery Lake may date to the Middle Woodland or Middle Period (Figure 7.1). Wall (1980a:77-78) reports this site as having likely Selkirk Composite and possible Blackduck Late Woodland affiliations (Table 7.3). After stopping there for a surface inspection of the site during the first field trip, the main part of it was inundated with water, because of an unusually wet summer in 2010. Thus, it was decided to excavate a test pit on the much higher second level, flat ground well behind the known site area on the beach. We found two separated cultural levels. The upper one yielded a concentration of quartz debitage, while the lower contained only rhyolite debitage. Since there was a clearly demarcated stratigraphic separation by about 10 cm, it is likely that the lower level represents either an earlier Laurel Configuration or perhaps Middle Period occupation. Since the soil and sediments are not very deep at this site, nor along most of the Bloodvein River corridor in Ontario, 10 cm likely represents an extended period of time. This testing also identified a separate, but likely related, part of this site. On the same large peninsula, located on the west end, Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) also found the EiKs-3 Site (Wall 1980a). They identified a likely Selkirk Composite component and the more recent survey has verified that affiliation and thus added Laurel Configuration and Blackduck Composite identifications as well (see pottery discussions). The two sites are close together and probably used regularly as aggregation sites, as they are located near to several sets of pictographs and people camping at one spot could see others at EiKs-2 very readily. Also, the space in between is suitable for occupation but it has not been tested for archaeological materials; at least there is no record of Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) doing that. Thus, it is probable that these sites were occupied during the Middle Period as well as the Middle and Late Woodland periods.

One triangular Late Woodland Period projectile point of black rhyolite was found at the Meeting Place Site on Murdock Lake, adding to its multi-component affiliations (Figures 7.1, 7.6). A few textile impressed body sherds were also discovered on the surface of this site, so that further affirms a Late Woodland occupation. Two tiny projectile point fragments were also found during the first survey of Murdock Lake at the Comber Dock and D and H Lunch sites (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a). One is manufactured from of quartz and the other of Green Recrystallized chert (Figures 7.1, 7.2, 7.6).

Regarding the suite of projectile points found along the Ontario Bloodvein River corridor, there is an interesting factor in lithic material selection that was also noticed with other formed tools vs. debitage. This contrasts with the majority of debitage being quartz of various forms. Fourteen projectile points were recovered from eight different sites along the Bloodvein River and are made of a variety of local and non-local materials (Table 7.5). The majority are manufactured from Green Recrystallized chert (n=5), followed by black rhyolite from the same Meeting Place Site (n=4), quartz (n=2), Hudson Bay Lowland chert (n=1), brown siltstone (n=1) and Swan River chert (n=1). Green Recrystallized chert was used across all time frames from the Early Period to Late Woodland and similarly black rhyolite is represented from the Middle Period through the Late Woodland periods. One Middle Period point from the Wiigwaas Beach Site (Figure 7.1) is manufactured from Swan River chert, which is found all over Manitoba and Saskatchewan but is rarely found in Ontario. This tool appears to have been heat treated, due to its red/pink colour and altered texture (Grasby et al. 2000), although it is possible that a forest fire may have altered the material *in situ*. It is derived from one known primary source in the Devonian Carbonates of the Souris River formation at the Mafeking quarry near the northwest side of Lake Winnipegosis in west-central Manitoba; mostly Swan River chert is found in gravels and tills west of that lake (Grasby et al. 2002). From northwestern Ontario secondary sources, there is one Middle Period Hudson Bay Lowland chert point and another unusual brown siltstone example (similar to some siltstones that I have seen from Lac Seul collections but the source is not certain). The Meeting Place Site shows that occupants preferred black rhyolite in making their stemmed projectile points. Although there is a limited sample, the choice of lithic materials used for projectile points seems to indicate that Indigenous peoples preferred using higher quality (meaning easier to flintknap) lithic materials than the local quartz, which was more commonly found as debitage and flakes. These results also indicate preferred use of non-local material for formed tools and suggests possible trading for these items, or more probably, significant mobility by the people who curated them. The likely local quartz examples represent more expedient use of lithic materials and for projectile points in the Late Period.

Ground Stone Tools

Five ground stone tools were found during the most recent Bloodvein River surveys (Figure 7.7; Table 7.6); none were recovered during the earlier survey as reported by Wall (1980a). Only one of these tools is unbroken, which indicates that they were all used in the past (Cinq-Mars and Le Blanc 2008).

One ground stone adze preform (Figure 7.7A) was found at Billie Joe's Place Site on Thicketwood Lake, which is not along the main channel of the Bloodvein River (Figure 7.1). This lake is in the same system and is culturally connected with the river through recent usage by Pikangikum and Lac Seul community members. The adze was found along the wall of a 50 x 50 cm square at the test pit at the same level as a Clearwater Lake Punctate Type rim sherd, quartz flakes, as well as burnt and calcined bone fragments. The clear association between the rim sherd and ground stone tool suggest that it is a Selkirk Composite adze. Many have been reported at other Selkirk Composite sites (e.g., Meyer and Russell 1987). The adze is made of lightly vitreous dark grey siltstone with some iron oxide staining. It is roughly trihedral, although asymmetrical in the transverse cross section form. Also, the adze has been initially chipped roughly and then was ground on all of the edges; this latter feature has been reported elsewhere for the Selkirk Composite ground stone tools (Hlady 1971; Meyer and Russell 1987). It has been lightly polished all over but the tool seems to have been abandoned during manufacture. There are rough step fractures on the proximal end and one side also has a partially broken edge. Obviously, this is one example of a Selkirk Composite site being found at the location of a cabin site used by Anishinaabe families.

Another ground stone tool was found at the Joe's Island Site on Murdock Lake and it is a preform (Figures 7.1, 7.7B; Table 7.6). This site is so named because Joe Paishk, one of the Elders that worked on several projects from Red Lake/Lac Seul, was born on this island. Since this preform was discovered at a small-scale quartz quarry site, it fit with the lithic tool manufacturing mode of this locale. Thus, this location had both precontact and postcontact Indigenous occupations. The material is a rough, dark grey slate with elongated crystal forms throughout the matrix of the artifact. It has only been roughly shaped by some lateral edge flaking all around the edges into an approximate pear shape. At the distal end, where it is widest, there is wear and some layers have spalled off with usage. In terms of function, this may have started off as a preform to be pecked and ground further but it was likely decided by the person manufacturing the tool that the material was too rough to work. Instead, it was either abandoned as a tool, or perhaps it was used as a wedge to split wood (e.g., Cinq-Mars and Le Blanc 2008), which is not the same as a wedge or pièce esquillée such as described by Le Blanc (1992) and Low (1997).

Three ground stone tools were surface collected from the Wiigwaas Beach Site at Murdock Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.7C; Table 7.6) during two different survey trips (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings

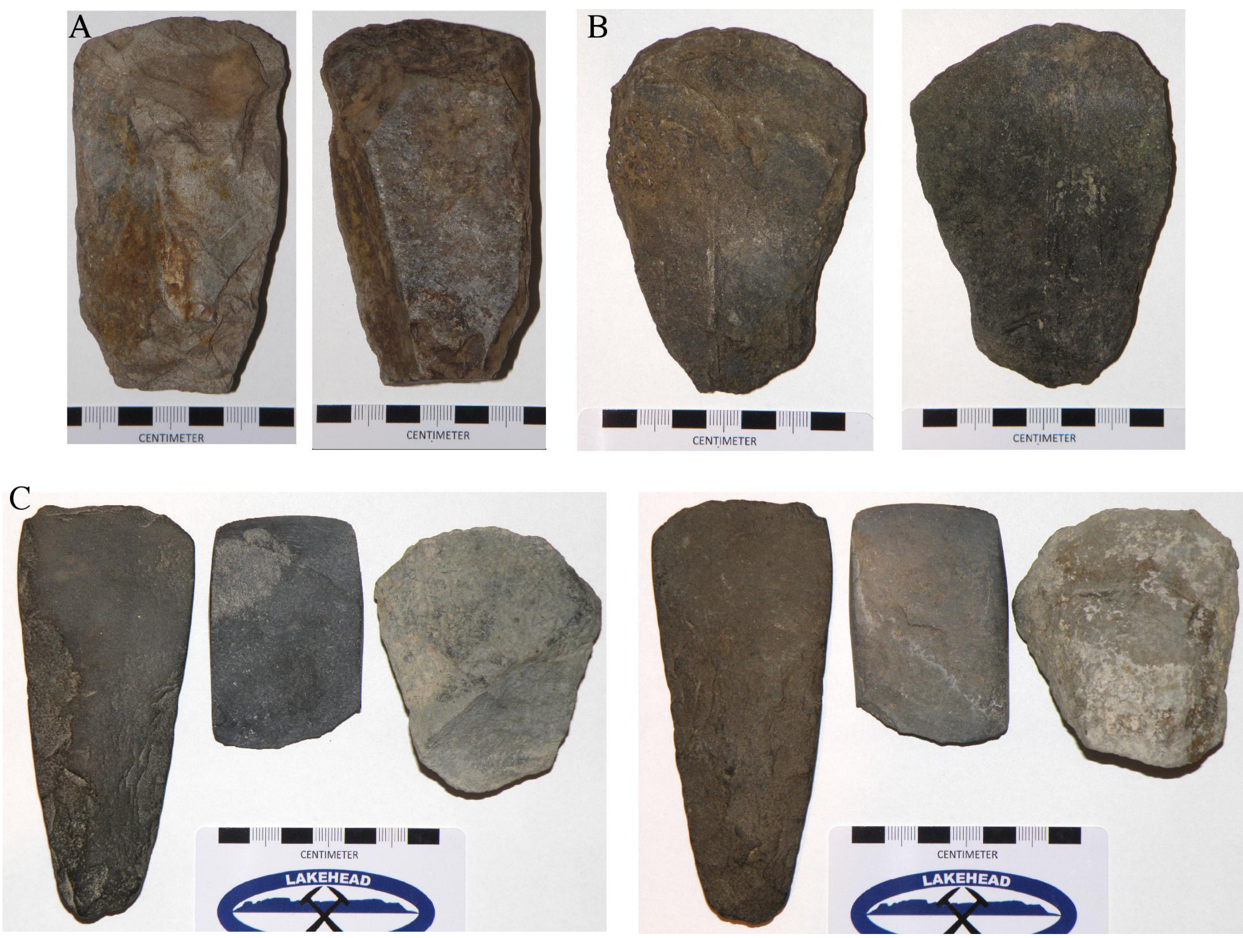

Figure 7.7. Ground stone tools from the Bloodvein River surveys: A) Billie Joes's Place, Selkirk Composite (Thicketwood Lake); B) Joe's Island (Murdock Lake); and C) Wiigwaas Beach (Murdock Lake).

Table 7.6. Ground stone tools found during these surveys.

Site and tool	Max. length (mm)	Max. width (mm)	Max. thickness (mm)	Weight (g)
Billie Joe's Place adze preform	103.0	59.0	29.0	220.1
Joe's Island dark grey preform (perhaps wedge?)	105.0	72.5	16.0	174.9
Wiigwaas Beach dark grey axe	126.0	53.0	16.0	138.5
Wiigwaas Beach dark grey adze fragment	72.0	48.0	12.0	72.9
Wiigwaas Beach grey-green adze fragment	82.0	68.4	25.0	145.9

2008a; Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). The first one is thin, finely made complete axe head (symmetrical along the longitudinal view) that was initially bifacially chipped, then ground on the lateral edges and end; it is the only complete ground stone tool found. It is also thinned and polished heavily on the distal end or blade (Figure 7.7C - left). There are a few chips out of the blade, so presumably the tool was used or perhaps dropped. It is made of dark grey siltstone and triangular in shape. The two lateral sides are lightly ground and there are some areas of polish on both surfaces. Both lateral edges have been heavily ground and both surfaces bear evidence of lighter polishing. The bit has been carefully ground to produce a fairly sharp cutting edge.

A second ground stone tool from the Wiigwaas Beach Site is a broken adze head (asymmetrical along the longitudinal view) but was probably nearly finished or complete (Figure 7.7C - centre; Table 7.6). It is made from dark grey basalt and nearly all of one side has broken away except for the blade end. This adze head is highly polished and the distal end retains a sharp edge.

The third ground stone tool from the Wiigwaas Beach Site is a partial adze (asymmetrical along the longitudinal view) and trapezoidal in transverse cross section (Figure 7.7C - right; Table 7.6). It is broken transversely along the ventral side leaving the middle and distal end. It is lightly ground along the unbroken edge and sharp along the blade end. A large laminar piece has been bifacially flaked on the lateral edges and the distal (wider) edge. The material is a dull, medium grey-green siltstone that has some flaws that were exposed with the flaking.

Skinner (1911:132) reported useful information about material culture from Lac Seul, which sounds similar to the ones found on the Bloodvein River:

> . . . Prior to the advent of the Europeans, the Saulteaux used stone axes, probably of the celt type, for apparently the grooved ax was not known to them. A model stone ax of the celt type was shown to the writer at Lac Seul. It was hafted in a split stick and bound above and below the blade with split willow root. In the olden times, when stone axes were used, and later when metal axes of European make were first introduced, they were so valuable that a family rarely possessed more than a single ax. It is claimed that stone axes were pecked into shape with another stone.

This statement is interesting because clearly Skinner (1911:132) was asking Lac Seul Anishinaabeg about a precontact tool, they knew about them, and even had an example to show him. The interviewee knew about how to haft the axe or celt, which is typically not known by most people (other than perhaps archaeologists). Ground stone tools take many hours to days to make using the old techniques of grinding, pecking, polishing, and then hafting (Boydston 1989), so it is reasonable that the person or persons speaking with Skinner (1911) may have made the comment that axes were quite valuable and perhaps curated the item. Since some of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg are from Lac Seul, this provides an interesting premise of the value of these items. One ground stone adze was found at the Billie Joe's Place Site, which is the cabin location of a Pikangikum community member (Billie Joe Strang) who often brings his family out on the land. Three ground stone tools were found at the Wiigwaas Beach Site (Table 7.6). If following Skinner's (1911) logic, then our findings would indicate that at least three families lived at this site. Since there is evidence that people lived there since at least the Middle Period (Table 7.5), it is reasonable to assume that many families have stayed there periodically over the last several thousand years. Ground stone tools are often associated with Middle Period archaeological sites in northwestern Ontario (e.g., Wright 1981).

Furthermore, Skinner (1912:392) explains that, "The Saulteaux Ojibwa used stone celts, hafted like Cree grooved axes. They were considered hard to make, and were very scarce, usually only one being in the possession of a single family". Other possible functions for ground stone tools include woodworking in production of snowshoe frames or numerous other items that were necessary to survival in the Subarctic; stone adzes and axes may have also been used for processing frozen carcasses (Cinq-Mars and Le Blanc 2008). Skinner's (1912:392) explanation of how the Cree told him about grooved stone axes is also insightful:

> The Eastern Cree still hold in memory the days when they used grooved stone axes. The blade was set in a handle, split at one end to fit the groove, and the haft was then bound above and below the split with deerskin. Fire was not used by the Cree as an aid to chopping. Stone celts were fastened in wooden handles, the haft being at right angles to the blade as in an adze. These were used to chisel ice. The Cree of Moose Factory say that some axes, used especially to cut firewood, were made of moose, deer, or caribou shoulder blades, or beaver rump bones.

Thus, at the time that Skinner (1912) was meeting with Saulteaux and Cree peoples, they both remembered how to make and use them, and some had examples of the older traditional technology of ground stone axes. Considering the time frames of his publications (e.g., Skinner 1911, 1912), they were likely making and using these types of ground stone tools considerably later (late 1800s?) than archaeologists have traditionally believed. For example, Rogers and Taylor (1981) do not list these types of tools at all, in their discussion of the introduction, continuity, and disuse of material technology for the Postcontact Period but perhaps that tool type had gone out of use in the Severn Ojibwe areas where they documented these technological changes. Since steel axes are usually more efficient for woodcutting and working activities than stone blades (Mathieu and Meyer 1997), it is noteworthy that some Anishinaabe and Cree people did not shift immediately to the newer technology, or at least did not abandon the older technology. Perhaps some insight can be learned about why ground stone tools continued to be used from the importance that Anishinaabe people still view some natural objects as having their own power. In a posthumously published essay, *Rocks and Stones* in Hallowell (2010:45), he explains about these Berens River Anishinaabe views:

> The portable types of stones which evidence animate properties or magical potencies one does not acquire by a simple volitional act. Indeed, it would be worse than foolish merely to set out to look for one. It is only by means of spiritual guidance, revelation, that it is possible to find such a stone. This is the subjective selective factor which differentiates stones seen in the *wabanó* [ceremony] or in the possession of individuals from hundreds of boulders or pebbles having the same external appearance that strew the country from end to end.

In addition, Hallowell (1938a:130) discusses information about the Island Lake Saulteaux-Ojibwa in Lake Winnipeg, where he learned about a *Wisakedjak* (prominent Anishinaabe character often discussed in teaching stories) story about the hero's use of an axe and how that helped form the landscape:

> The Indians account for the many islands in the lake by an exploit of wisakedjak, their mythical culture hero. Many years ago he was hunting beaver and, finding a huge lodge, began to chop at it with his axe. What is now called Beaver Hill, between God's Lake and Island Lake, is all that remains today of this lodge. While wisakedjak was chopping, a strong wind from the north was blowing and the mud from the lodge was spattered southward and now forms the 3642 or more islands in the lake . . . . The rest of the tale relates how the beaver dived, but was finally killed with a stone and dragged from Beaver Hill Lake over the rocks, where traces of the animals blood can still be seen.

Thus, the stone and metal axe have an enduring importance to the Anishinaabe in their traditional teachings and associated with the *Wisakedjak* character. The finding of five ground stone axes and adzes in the Ontario Bloodvein River surveys helps to illuminate more about these rare tools and suggests a link between ancient and recent Anishinaabeg occupants.

Faunal Remains

During the Bloodvein River surveys, faunal remains were found occasionally in units, test pits, tree throws or otherwise disturbed surface exposures at sites during the survey (Table 7.7). Although there were some unburnt faunal remains, preservation was typically enhanced by them being burnt or calcined. Faunal remains are fairly uncommon in central Canadian boreal forest settings because of the coniferous trees causing acidic soils and sometimes poor preservation conditions (e.g., Reid 1988). Also, it may in part be due to Indigenous people's ritual disposal (e.g., Table 5.1) of some animal and bird parts, which is a venerable Algonquian practice (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Miller 2010; Rajnovich 1983; Rogers 1973). Some of the larger, multi-component sites such as Knox Lake Portage on Knox Lake, Billie Joe's Place on Thicketwood Lake, EiKs-3 (as reported in Wall 1980a), and Artery Tree Throw on Artery Lake were notable for having an array of faunal remains (Appendix 1). Part of this preservation may be due to the typical sediments and soils found along the Bloodvein River, which is clays and silts derived mainly from Lake Agassiz flooding the area in the early Holocene. The good preservation in these and several other locations (as evident from many burnt and calcined fragments) is useful, although there were few identifiable specimens from the fragmentary nature of the finds. I examined the bone fragments to determine if there was any bone smashing, burning, or boiling to indicate if faunal processing had been taking place. These modifications were evident in some of the examples. Also, following typical archaeological protocols, I inspected them for evidence of cut marks, tooth marks evincing chewing, polish indicating use or a tool fragment, or other cultural and natural modifications.

In terms of the few species that I was able to identify from the limited amount of bone fragments, they correspond to typical central Canadian boreal forest animals and birds that are still present in the ecozone and were hunted by Algonquian peoples: large ungulate/mammal (probably moose); woodland caribou; hare; beaver; muskrat; and one foetal large ungulate bone from EiKs-3 on Artery Lake (Table 7.7). Although this bone was found in a tree throw, it indicates that at least one occupation at this site (of the Laurel Configuration, Blackduck, and Selkirk Composite assemblages that are identifiable) was likely in the spring (cf., Playford 2015). As explained by Anishinaabe Elders in Davidson-Hunt et al. (2012:81): "Cow moose give birth on islands in lakes and swampy area where calves are protected from predators [in the *Meenokamin* or Breakup month]".

Further to the point of indicating late usage of traditional tools by Lac Seul and other Algonquians, Skinner (1912:393) discusses bone tools being used when he went to Lac Seul:

> One point in a recent controversy between two well-known writers on anthropology hinged on whether or not bone celt-like objects are used by the Minnesota

Table 7.7. Faunal remains found during the recent and earlier West Patricia Archaeological Study Ontario Bloodvein River surveys.

Site and (Lake)	Species and Identified Bone	Unidentifiable Fragments	Unidentifiable Burnt and/or Calcined Frags	Other Modifications	Context and Comments
Nighthawk (Paishk)		1	0		L3-TP3 (Line 3-Test Pit 3)
Resting Island (Paishk)	moose 5th metatarsal fragment	0	16	polished end of bone tool	TP2
North Paishk Camp (Paishk)	large ungulate lateral fragment of phalange	0	0		SC - found with artifacts
Knox Lake Portage (Knox)	immature beaver right proximal tibia diaphysis, right distal radius, right proximal scapula and possibly thoracic vertebrae body; large ungulate sesamoid and tooth enamel; large canid (dog or wolf) prox. phalange; mature medium mammal distal metacarpal; hare scapula and femur fragments; small mammal long bone, rib, and vertebrae fragments	10 (5 in 2004, 5 in 2008)	89 (77 in 2004, +12 in 2008)		one 1 x 1 metre unit, four lines of test pits, and few surface finds; most faunal remains found in unit with hearth feature; L1-TP1 test pit was expanded into the unit after a hearth was found; excellent faunal preservation here
		0	6		L4-TP3
K4 (Knox)	large mammal (likely moose) long bone fragment	0	0	cut marks	L1-TP2
LLJ6 EhKp-9 (Murdock)	possible large mammal rib frag?	0	0	partially replaced by grey green minerals	SC
1960s Cabin EhKp-17 (Murdock)	medium bird ulna; large fish vertebrae	0	2		SC
Pictograph Point (Murdock)	1 medium mammal proximal phalange	1	4		TP1
Pete's Firepit (Murdock)	moose complete ulna and radius found in the water just off the beach	0	0	bones well preserved and very dark brown - likely from tannic water	SC; known location used by Pikangikum and Lac Seul hunters also a precontact and quartz vein site
Painting Rock Narrows (Murdock)	medium mammal midshaft tibia	8	4		TP1

Table 7.7. Continued.

Billie Joe's Place (Thicketwood)	large ungulate tooth enamel; medium mammal proximal phalange; small mammal proximal ulna, proximal tibia, midshaft longbone, caudal vertebrae; 4 hare vertebrae frags (unburnt); immature small mammal carpal, proximal phalange, 2 diaphyses	7	611	medium mammal proximal phalange has cut marks; most ID bone is burnt/calcined	excellent faunal preservation at this site; TP1
Oliver's Smokehouse (Thicketwood)	duck ulna and radius (fairly recent from SC); medium mammal rib fragment (TP1)	2	7		TP1 and surface collected from tree throw
Caribou Bone (Thicketwood)	woodland caribou complete left metacarpal	0	0		surface collected with artifacts
***EhKr-1 (Barclay)**		0	1		West Patricia survey results
***EhKr-4 (Barclay)**		1	0		West Patricia survey results
***EhKr-5 (Mary's)**		2	2		West Patricia survey results
***EhKs-1 (Mary's)**		0	1		West Patricia survey results
Duck Camp (Musclow)	hare distal and proximal phalange, calcaneus; small bird bone	6	6		TP1 around hearth feature
	small mammal longbone midshaft fragment	11	9		TP2
***EiKs-3 (Artery)**	beaver midshaft femur; marten skull (SC); proximal phalange medium mammal (TP1)	10 (TP1)	5 (TP1)		excellent faunal preservation at this site; surface collections in tree throws and TP1
	four large mammal rib fragments	0	14		West Patricia survey results
Fred's Old Cabin (Artery)		0	4		TP1
Helen's Place (Artery)		2 (SC)	27 (SC) + 1 (TP1)		SC with Laurel pottery, TP1; none in TP2
***Site found during West Patricia Archaeological Study (Wall 1980a)**					

> Ojibwa. Just north of Minnesota, in Canada, I have collected bone beaming-tools made from the shin-bones of moose, caribou, and deer, and used in removing the hair from deerskin; and toothed and plain fleshers and scrapers, some of the plain fleshers having celt-like blades. Among the Eastern Cree all these types are found, and, in addition, a small celt-like bone implement used as a wedge to push back the hide is employed in skinning deer. Possibly there is some truth in the oft-repeated tradition which calls the stone celt a "skinning knife"; very thin celts certainly could be so used. The Cree toward Labrador formerly used stone and bone celts fastened perpendicularly to long wooden handles to chisel ice.
>
> In addition there are still in use among the Winnebago and Menomini long, thin bone needles with a central perforation, made from the ribs of some large animals such as the buffalo, and designed for sewing together reeds to make wigwam mats, while smaller needles for weaving snowshoe webs are found among the Menomini, Ojibwa, and Eastern Cree. I have also obtained a bone hook and a hollow bone needle-case from the latter. Beads made from hollow bird-bones, cut in sections, exactly like those found on prehistoric Eastern sites, may still be seen among Winnebago and Menomini, and from the Ojibwa of Sac [sic should be Lac] Seul I have collected one small needle, made of the perforated penis bone of the martin and used in sewing garments.

Clearly, there is evidence to indicate that people from the study area and nearby are using traditional technology much later than supposed. This information from Skinner's (1912) interviewees also mentions the traditional way of brain/smoke tanning that was so prevalent at that time. Steinbring (1966) documents some of the process and related tools with the Black River Anishinaabe on Lake Winnipeg, who were still using the traditional brain tanning methods at least until the mid-1960s. People in the Keesic family still know how to complete that process of naturally tanning hides, despite it not being used as often any more by Indigenous people in northwestern Ontario, since it labourious and time consuming. For example, Jean Keesic (personal communication 2014) from Pikangikum explained in detail how her mother had taught her to prepare moose hide by traditional methods. Many Anishinaabeg have switched to either sending hides to commercial tanning facilities or buying already tanned hide to make moccasins or other items. However, these methods are still known and used by some Anishinaabe people today.

Organic Technologies

Le Blanc (2009) presents a compelling case for archaeologists to reconsider their 'lithocentric' views of Subarctic assemblages and think about organic technologies. Part of the logic in this argument is that boreal forest dwelling peoples had an unending source for wooden and osseous tools, rather than the more limited lithic materials (Le Blanc 2009). Apparently, we have still not learned this lesson, since Skinner (1912:395) chastised archaeologists over 100 years ago:

> One fact that most archeologists do not seem to realize sufficiently is that stone was not the only material worked by the aborigines of the "stone age". Take, for example, the bowl carved from a knot, the woven bast or hemp bag, the specimen of porcupine quillwork-each is also a survival of the "stone age". As a matter of fact, the use of stone was comparatively limited. Edged tools, hammers, ornaments, and some weapons were the principal articles made of this material, whereas the bulk of the property in the hands of the savage was constructed of wood, clay, skin, or fabric.

Part of the attraction for me in studying Late Woodland pottery is the rare evidence that is preserved in the surface finishes of vessels in the form of the negative impression of woven fiber bags. These items were clearly very important to Late Woodland potters because almost all Blackduck, Winnipeg Fabric-impressed, Sandy Lake, Duck Bay, and Bird Lake Wares have these fabric impressions in various forms. For the more recent time frame at Lac Seul, Skinner (1911) discusses the weaving of these fibers into baskets, carrying bags, nets, snowshoe netting, and pack handles.

Le Blanc (2009) brings up an important related point that archaeologists are not considering that woven technology may have been relied upon for many other purposes such as snaring, fiber lines, and sinew for sewing or hafting. Snares are very important Subarctic technologies that are still widely used in the study area for capturing hare in particular. During one of our survey projects, one Pikangikum community member set up several small snares near the outpost camp where we staying to catch some hare for his mother-in-law, who was having dental related difficulties at the time and needed soft food. We were able to go out for the day and survey while the snare did its work. Le Blanc (2009) also illustrates this point of snares being passive hunting techniques allowing the person to complete other activities at the same time, are easy to make, and lightweight to carry. Lac Seul Elder Jennie Angeconeb (personal communication 2012) also told me that she and others still go snaring outside of the community quite regularly to obtain *waboose* (hare) and conveyed it to me in the typical Anishinaabe joking mode: "I'm eating Bugs Bunny tonight". She also explained that younger community members will often bring her and other Elders traditional foods as gifts (as an enduring practice from long ago). Having access to traditional Subarctic fare is very important and considered to be medicine towards the ever increasing cases of Type II Diabetes in communities.

Having worked together with Anishinaabe people for the last decade, it became quite apparent to me just how much of the picture we are missing in the archaeological record. Some Western Subarctic sites (e.g., Le Blanc 1984) have permafrost conditions that allow the preservation of organic remains but this is not the situation for the study area. As Le Blanc (2009) suggests, consulting with Indigenous people, the older material culture literature, and ethnographic examples provides another option for trying to learn more about what is missing from the archaeological record. In this region, the Red Lake Museum has some ethnographic artifacts from the larger area such as Fair Wind's drum (Hallowell 1992), as discussed in Chapter 5, but there are also many examples documented from other Ojibwe/Chippewa groups (Densmore 1979, 1987; Hallowell 1938a, 1992; Macfie and Johnston 1991; Skinner 1911, 1912, 1914, 1923; Speck 1914, 1941; Waugh 1919).

Culturally modified trees are another important organic artifact that archaeologists, outside of British Columbia and Yukon, have not given much consideration. This factor became apparent when working with Anishinaabe community members inside and outside of the WCSS, who recognized tree blazes (small swaths taken from the bark of a tree with a sharp tool) as being their marks for portages or alternatively those from Ontario Parks employees. When working with the late Elder Joe Keesic at Paishk Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2006c), he pointed out how birch trees were marked with slashes to indicate trail markers and also good trees for potential bark harvesting. We also found several small axe cut trees (as opposed to those felled by beavers) that formed short platforms for sitting (see Cinq-Mars and Le Blanc 2008 for other examples).

Features: Pictographs, Petroforms, Lichenoglyphs, Fish Traps, and Caches

Pictographs

Few written records survive from the precontact and early postcontact periods in the WCSS but there were other ways of recording information such as pictographs, petroglyphs, petroforms, birch bark scrolls, ceremonial traditions, other oral traditions, and oral histories. Some of these features were found during the Bloodvein River surveys and help document the ancient and more recent cultural landscape of the three communities. Bohaker (2010) discusses how some of the early Anishinaabeg used pictograph writing of their *doodemag* (clans) to sign treaties and other documents, when they could not write in English. This example may provide insight into how other pictographs formed mnemonics and messages for local peoples. Birch bark scrolls were also important portable records of information (Kidd 1965; Pauingassi First Nation 2012; Vastokas 2003) that sometimes use similar symbols as seen on the pictographs (Dewdney 1975). These items are often associated with the *Midewiwin* society (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) of the Anishinaabeg (Dewdney 1975). Kidd (1981) was able to date one of the hundreds of birch bark scrolls found in a small cave at Burntside Lake in Quetico Park, located south of WCPP. The result was an uncalibrated radiocarbon age of 390±70 years BP or about AD 1,560 (GaK-1489) according to Kidd (1981:41). This finding is particularly interesting since it would further support the hypothesis that the *Midewiwin* is a precontact society (Kidd 1981) unlike Hickerson (1970) and others have argued. Since there is such a strong connection between the *Midewiwin*, birch bark scrolls, and the Anishinaabeg, the dating of this scroll also provides evidence that some proto-Ojibwe or Ojibwe were already present in northwestern Ontario, long before Europeans arrived in that part of Ontario with the arrival of the La Verendryes in the 1730s (Lytwyn 1986a).

Rock paintings are very important in northwestern Ontario culture history (e.g., Boyle 1908; Colson 2006, 2007; Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Dewdney 1978; Lambert nd, 1985; Pelshea 1980; Pettipas 1991; Pufahl 1990; Rajnovich 1989, 1994; Steinbring 1987; Steinbring and Elias 1968; Vastokas 2003; Whelan 1983). They are typically found on spectacular, vertical cliff faces at the water's edge, adding to the impressive nature of these places. Often, habitation or other types of archaeological sites are also located nearby (e.g., Reid 1979). Reid (1980a) suggests that pictograph sites tend to occur on straight shorelines or waterlines that were not broken into portions by bays, islands, or points that the creators preferred; rock faces that face in a south to east direction are also more common.

Hundreds of pictographs have been documented at 41 locations across the larger *Pimachiowin Aki* UNESCO nominated area with the Bloodvein River waterway containing the most numerous and varied cluster of pictographs in Canada according to Petch (2010). Lambert (nd as cited in Colson 2007) suggests that they have the largest numbers of animal representations north of the Winnipeg River drainage basin and suggested that hunting magic was important in this region. Two sets of pictographs at the EhKp-2 Site along this river on Murdock Lake and EiKs-1 Site on Artery Lake (Figure 7.1) are likely of international significance for being some of the largest on the Canadian Shield (Rajnovich 1994) and for the sheer number of individual paintings along several sections of spectacular cliff faces (Figure 7.8). EhKp-1 was first recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1967) but was also discussed by archaeologists who viewed it later (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Lambert nd as cited in Colson 2006; Wall 1980a). The EiKs-1 Site was also recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1962, 1967) but Lambert (1985, nd) also split this large site into one additional Borden number (EiKs-6) in order to divide the rock faces into more manageable parts (Colson 2007).

The Paishk family of Pikangikum and Lac Seul First Nations has lived on Murdock Lake for many generations, so Peter and Joe Paishk guided archaeologists to the EhKp-1 sacred place in their traditional territory within the WCPP (Taylor-Hollings et al. 2009). There are numerous human hand prints, animals, canoes, snakes, and other symbols (see Dewdney and Kidd 1967). Of particular interest is one painting that depicts a *Mide* person (perhaps a shaman) and distinctive *Midewiwin* sacred object of the *pinjigusan* or otter skin medicine bag (Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Rajnovich 1994; Whelan 1983). This provides a direct cultural link between the current Anishinaabeg and their antecedents who painted this figure, many of whom were part of the *Midewiwin*, a unique Anishinaabe and Algonquian traditional medicine society which persists today (see Chapter 5). Interestingly, another such pictograph (*Mide* with otter bag) also appears downstream as one of many paintings at EiKs-1, which is the large Bloodvein River pictograph site at Artery Lake, along with a bison (Figure 7.9). This *Mide* figure also has "power lines" radiating upwards, like some of the Woodland style art (e.g., Morrisseau 1965 who lived in Red Lake nearby the Bloodvein River;

Rajnovich 1994; Whelan 1983). The unusual bison, a typically prairie adapted animal, appears far north in the boreal forest: "The site is perhaps a hundred miles north of the parklands where the bison herds once roamed; but the artist shows a familiarity with the animal that suggests either frequent hunting excursions southward, or his own southern origin" (Dewdney and Kidd 1967:58).

In some cases, pictographs are interpreted as having been produced by Anishinaabeg to mark significant personal events or associations between certain clans and areas used for traditional land use and ceremony. Rajnovich (1994) illustrates a pictograph found at Sasaginnigak Lake (Figure 2.3) that shows two kingfishers, one of the Anishinaabe clans (*doodemag*) (*Pimachiowin Aki* 2015). This particular pictograph was most likely painted in the early 1800s by members of the Kingfisher clan who wintered at Sasaginnigak Lake and used this lake as part of their family harvesting area (Petch 2010). Kingfisher was also a chief who lived along the Bloodvein River during that time frame (Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986). Lytwyn (2002:46) explains that George Holdsworth, in charge of the HBC post on the Berens River in 1815, noted that the Indigenous people were divided into four bands of Pelican, Moose, and Sucker tribes east of Lake Winnipeg

Figure 7.8. Elders Joe Paishk, the late Joe Keesic, and Peter Paishk (left to right) in their traditional area at the larger set of panels at EhKp-2 first recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1967) on Murdoch Lake. Photo by author (taken and used with permission).

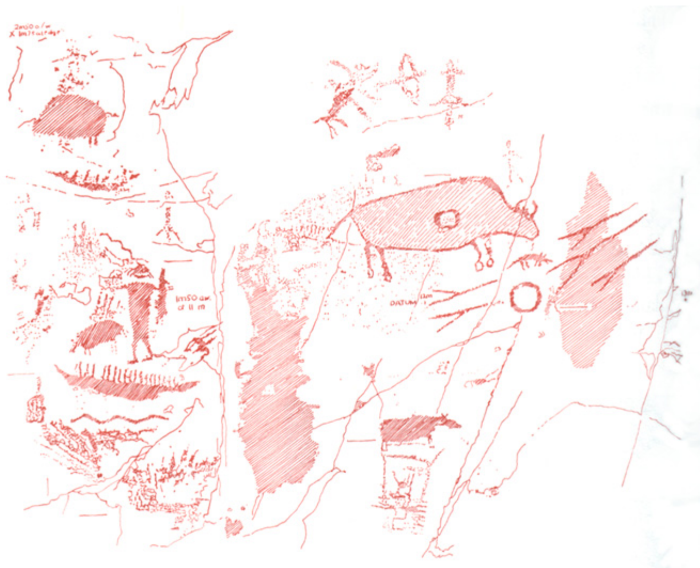

Figure 7.9. Drawings of the significant EiKs-1 Site on Artery Lake (first recorded by Dewdney and Kidd 1962). The "Bloodvein Shaman" (Mide with otter skin bag) is found above the canoe to the left. Note the bison painted in the middle of the boreal forest (from Rajnovich 1994:124).

and north of the Bloodvein River, whereas the Kingfisher tribe lived in the area around the Bloodvein River. Some of these *doodemag* (Pelican, Moose, and Kingfisher) are the same clans listed in Hallowell's (1992:23) ethnographic work from the 1930s for the same area (Figure 5.5).

Three pictographs, that were previously unrecorded, were found during the surveys. A single set of small glyphs was found and recorded at Thicketwood Lake by Taylor-Hollings and colleagues (2016 in press). It is quite small, several metres above the water, on a pink, weathered face (where other parts of the cliff are covered in lichen). Peter and Joe Paishk also showed us an unrecorded set of small pictographs of a likely canoe, abstractions, and animal (perhaps a deer and fish?) figures and on Murdock Lake (EhKp-6 in Appendix 1) that had not been found by Dewdney and Kidd (1967) nor during the West Patricia Archaeological surveys (Pelshea 1980; Wall 1980a). It shares the same lake as the very large sets of panels at EhKp-2. In addition, one small unrecorded glyph was found at Artery Lake (EiKs-9 in Appendix 1). Due to local family preferences, these pictographs are not illustrated herein; however, they have been recorded and more information is available upon request.

Pictographs in the central Canadian boreal forest usually consist of human or animal figures painted with red ochre (hematite) mixed with animal grease or sturgeon oil (Rajnovich 1994). Skinner (1911) suggests that there were two colours of red (ochre and hematite) paints used along with black made by the northern Saulteaux in pictographs. Interestingly, one of the pictographs from Artery Lake (Figure 7.1) along the Bloodvein River is painted with black paint (Dewdney and Kidd 1967). If Skinner (1911) is correct about this idea, then northern Saulteaux may have made that painting. He also discusses natural dyes for porcupine quills and birch bark but suggests

(Skinner 1911). Rajnovich (1989:180) describes how Maria Seymour (Lake of the Woods Ojibway Cultural Centre) was also able to replicate a durable paint with *wunnamin* or *onamin* (Anishinaabemowin for ochre powder) combined with oil and glue from sturgeon (perhaps isinglass?). Skinner (1911:130) also mentions other forms of paintings and their possible subject matter:

> Paintings were made on blazed trees, on birchbark, and on canvas. The latter were generally animal heads, such as caribou. The heads of clan animals or personal totems were [sic] favorites. There were formerly a number of rock paintings in the region of the Northern Saulteaux. One painting may still be found at Fairy Point on Missanabie Lake. It is supposed by some to represent a man's winter hunt but is more likely to represent some of the animals which appeared to the painter during his dreams, probably when he was fasting and dreaming for his spirit guardian. It is claimed that these drawings were made by the ancestors of some of the Saulteaux living near by.

Some of these paintings would not preserve typically since they were created on an organic 'canvas' rather than a rock face. However, some owners chose to keep birch bark scrolls, so that they would be safeguarded (Dewdney 1975; Hallowell 1992) at least until they decided to 'put them away' in the bush for only the spirits to view. Clearly, Skinner (1911:130) had talked with local residents about the meaning of the pictograph above and it is interesting that the interpretations reflect Anishinaabe traditional hunting practices and vision quests (e.g., Angel 2002). Although their true meanings would only be known to the original painters, or to those whom the message was intended, many researchers have tried to assign meaning to images in pictographs (e.g., Colson 2006, 2007; Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Lemaitre 2012; Rajnovich 1989, 1994). Rajnovich (1989) discussed the meaning of some pictographs with First Nations people and was able to learn about some of their meanings. Pikangikum Elder Jim Turtle (personal communication 2004) explained that some pictographs were meant as warnings to people. Many aspects of the *Midewiwin* society are likely depicted in some of these rock paintings, suggesting an Ojibwe affiliation (Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Dewdney 1975; Rajnovich 1989, 1994). These are special places to the present day Indigenous traditional knowledge holders and to many visitors to the WCSS. There are numerous pictographs in the WCSS (Pelshea 1980; Reid, ed. 1980), most notably along the Bloodvein (Wall 1980a), Gammon (Smith 1980), and Oiseau Rivers (Smith 1980). At both Artery Lake and Murdock Lake along the Bloodvein River, there are two very large pictograph sites consisting of several panels that may be of international significance in terms of the location, large numbers of paintings, and visual appeal. These sites were both initially recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1967).

Petroforms

In addition to the numerous pictographs found across the study area and in the WCSS, several petroforms have recently been found. Park staff were given information about a curious formation on Hansen Lake that resulted in recording a petroform there. This lake is found near the centre of the WCSS along the Gammon River system, which flows just south of the Bloodvein River and joins that river just west of the provincial border; there is a modern canoe route that links up the Bloodvein and Gammon rivers from Murdock to Royd lakes (Figure 2.3). Presumably people travelled that way in the past, given that many of the portage and canoe routes in the park are based on original Anishinaabe trails (Ontario Parks 2007). The petroform is comprised of small boulders and large cobbles arranged in a circle with an open area facing the lake (Figure 7.10). This larger circle of rocks has lichen covering most of the tops, suggesting that they have not been moved for a considerable period of time and a water line is visible on many of them, indicating that water levels have changed but the boulders remain in place. Its location on the beach, facing open water suggests that it might have been used as a food cache or fish trap, since smaller cobbles and perhaps wood could have been used to partially close off the end facing the water. During the time of recording in September, only the lower part of the circle had a small amount of water (the top remaining dry). Some of these loose, smaller cobbles have remained on the inside of the larger circle, perhaps moved by ice damming. This site may also represent a spiritual location such as vision quest locale (e.g., Carmichael 1979), a fasting place, or a hunting hide. Assistant Park Superintendent Claire Quewezence also found a quartz side-notched projectile point beside the feature when she was there, further suggesting that Indigenous people of this region created this petroform. There may also be a second circle of boulders beside this one on the same beach but it

Figure 7.10. Assistant Park Superintendent Claire Quewezence at a petroform at Hansen Lake where she found a projectile point. Photo courtesy of Claire Quewezence and used with permission.

is less structured in form (i.e., it has an open front to the water and part of the back nearer to the trees is also open).

The McGuffin family, who were park visitors, provided information to the Park Superintendent and Assistant Park Superintendent about a second Indigenous created petroform. It was found further from shore on a slightly elevated area, overlooking a bay in the southeast portion of the park on Aegean Lake (Figure 2.3). This petroform is a complete circle of cobbles, which have lichen and moss covering the top of most of them, suggesting that they have remained in place for a lengthy time (Figure 7.11). The boulders have been deliberately placed in a circle and their bases are covered by several centimeters of humus and soil, again suggesting that they have not been moved for a long time. This site may represent a spiritual location such as vision quest locale (e.g., Carmichael 1979), a fasting place, a hunting hide, or perhaps a cache to store food. It is located across from a pictograph site, which suggests that a spiritual component may be an important function of this particular petroform; Lemaitre (2012:23) also made this observation for the coincidence between rock art sites and Thunderbirds' nests, which he describes as "stone circles, one meter of diameter and one or two meters deep", but it is unclear where he found them together on the Canadian Shield. The previously discussed feature is located on Hansen Lake, where pictographs have also been recorded. Also, it could be a *pukaskwa* pit akin to those found in *Pukaskwa* National Park near Thunder Bay (Dawson 1984); however, the feature is not excavated into the

Figure 7.11. Petroform found on Aegean Lake in the WCSS. Photo courtesy of ©Gary McGuffin/themcguffins.ca and used with permission.

ground like many of those locations. These petroform features remain in place, undisturbed, as another aspect of the ancient cultural landscape.

During a research trip, a WCSS park warden documented another petroform in the eastern part of the park at a lake west of Dunstan Lake (Rudolph and Guimond 2008), which is located just southwest of Simeon Lake and the Bloodvein River (Figure 2.3). He and his colleague took several photographs and described it to the Park Superintendent. They were investigating a potential park campsite on a high bluff overlooking a small bay when they noticed several large cobbles that appear to be laid out in a circle, which indicated that it may be a petroform (Rudolph and Guimond 2008). Although I have not visited this location, the photographs did appear to indicate a circle of lichen-covered cobbles placed on top of a bedrock outcrop; Rudolph (personal communication 2013) explained to me that he has visited the Whiteshell Petroform Site in southeastern Manitoba, so is familiar with this type of archaeological site. In addition, Rudolph gained familiarity with basic artifact types while working in the WCSS, since employees are given basic orientations about this subject to aid with site protection and learning more about the ancient past (Claire Quewezence, personal communication 2012). Manitoba Historic Resources Branch archaeologist David Riddle (now retired) also identified a similar petroform at EhKu-10 on the lower Gammon River in Manitoba (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 2013). Petch (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 2013) also recorded two other petroform sites along the Bloodvein River in Manitoba; one is a Grandfather rock (single, glacial erratic that is of cultural significance to the people in this region) and another is a group of petroforms.

Rudolph and Guimond (2008) also note an unusual cairn that they found along the rocky shoreline at "Dinosaur Rock Lake" while looking for potential park campsites. They removed the piled rocks from the surface to find numerous small quartzite stones lying underneath (Rudolph and Guimond 2008). After realizing that they had disturbed something archaeological rather than natural, they carefully replaced the rocks. The likelihood of this feature being a tool stone cache or cairn is quite high, since quartzite is a non-local material (if the items are actually quartzite artifacts) and cairns are still used by Indigenous people in the area; however, I have not seen the cairn or a photograph of the feature.

Thunderbird Nests. Anishinaabeg describe Thunderbird nests as high, rocky locations where these important *manitoog* (spirit beings) perched when they are not flying across the landscape to create thunder (Hallowell 1992). Since those spirits were so important to the Anishinaabe, the associated nests are sacred locales. One Thunderbird nest is located south of Larus Lake along the Bloodvein River as reported by Elder Peter Paishk (personal communication 2012); however, we did not visit this location during surveys of that lake (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a; Taylor-Hollings 2009). Surficial geological mapping of the WCSS indicates a large till deposit located to the southeast of Larus Lake (Figure 3.6), which would be the scientific explanation for the location of the thunderbird nest. Another one is located near the east end of the study area in a traditional area that concerns both Pikangikum (Treaty 5) and Lac Seul/Trout Lake Anishinaabeg (Treaty 3) on the very steep, west side of Trout Lake (Figure 1.4) (Taylor-Hollings 2008; Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2008). Unfortunately, decades ago the only road north of Red Lake, called Nungesser Road, was built through part of that sacred place bisecting it (Figure 7.12) (Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012; Taylor-Hollings 2006a; Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2008). From a physiographic perspective, it is a large section of the Lac Seul Moraine in this region (see Chapter 3 for more details) and on the western shore of Trout Lake is a visible remnant of where the Thunderbirds live that Elders of Pikangikum and Lac Seul mention as part of their traditional landscape (Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2008). Although a portion of the site was damaged by the building of Nungesser Road, part of the moraine it is now protected by the WCSS, the Whitefeather Forest (PFN and OMNR 2006), and a Provincial Nature Reserve at Trout Lake (OMNR 2006).

This description explains some of the reasons for Pikangikum wanting to provide special protective measures for Kirkness Lake (Figure 1.4) in the Whitefeather Forest (PFN and OMNR 2006:88):

Figure 7.12. View of a thunderbird nest from Nungesser Road, north of Red Lake and east of the WCSS. Elder Tom Quill and Alex Peters of Pikangikum are leading the way to share the significance of this place (and the damage caused by the road building) during a field trip with a group of visitors.

> Wahshaygahmeeshiing (Kirkness Lake) is a very special lake that is the historical location of a summer village for Pikangikum people. Old cabins and tent frames from this village site can still be found there. Pikangikum Elders have guided archeological work that has led to the discovery of artifacts dating back thousands of years. The lake has many other historical and sacred places including islands where Pikangikum youth undertook vision quests. Pikangikum Elders teach that in ancient times, there were no trees in the Whitefeather Forest; this was a time before Ahneesheenahbek were placed on the land by the Creator, a time when Thunderbirds used stones to make their nests. There are Thunderbird nests located near the shores of Kirkness Lake.
>
> Kirkness Lake is also a historical crossroads for Pikangikum people and was an important geographic link in the fur trade. A cultural landscape waterway [lower Berens River] links the lake to Pikangikum; crossing a portage to the south links Wahshaygahmeeshiing to another cultural landscape waterway [Nungesser River] in the south that flows into Red Lake (Wunnimun Saahgaahigun).
>
> In addition to the general direction for all Cultural Landscape Waterways, the following specific direction is provided:
>
> . . . Management direction will reflect interests of a National Historical Site proposal on Kirkness Lake.

The archaeologists were able to examine several of these important locations as the Elders provided some mapped information (Taylor-Hollings 2006a). A large end moraine just north of Kirkness Lake is a visible remnant of the Thunderbird nest that Pikangikum Elders mention (Tom Quill, personal communication 2015) and is related to the one near Nungesser Road. Pomedli (2014:193) further explains:

> The Cree and Ojibwe "consider the thunder to be a god in the shape of a great eagle that feeds upon the serpents, which it takes from the earth". Peter Jones observed that the thunderbirds, brothers and sister to lightning, have their homes on high mountains and that in their nests are the bones of serpents.

In addition, the Anishinaabe consider the Thunderbirds as great *manidoog* (spirit beings) that are helpful to humans (Pomedli 2014) but are also revered and respected.

Lichenoglyph

This rare feature is created when a person scrapes lichen away to leave an image in the surrounding undisturbed plant material, typically on a cliff face. Sometimes they are naturally occurring but are enhanced by human alteration or people may keep the lichen from growing back in certain areas of the cliff. At Murdock Lake, the Elders Peter Paishk, Joe Paishk, and Joe Keesic showed us a lichenoglyph named 'Lunch Pail Man' (Figure 7.13). It was so named because it looks like a man carrying an old fashioned lunch pail. The lichenoglyph appears as a black figure (of the bedrock background) against the light gray lichen. It is located on a south-facing, relatively high rock face but not far above the lake water. The Elders indicated that this was a naturally shaped likeness formed in the lichen but it was several decades old, so has been maintained, although some branches are now covering over the upper part even since I was showed this place (Figure 7.13). It is a feature that has meaning in the Anishinaabe cultural landscape of the eastern Bloodvein River and particularly for the Paishk/Keesic family. Just to the west, there is a small set of pictographs (one of three separate sets on this lake), which also indicates the cultural significance of this part of the lake.

Pelleck (1980a) did not discuss the lichenoglyphs that he found along the Berens River; however, they are documented in the slides that he took while on this survey, now in the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport collections in Thunder Bay. They appear to be of a more recent age, given that most are initials of people or simple figures. Most likely they were created by inhabitants of nearby Pikangikum, which is located nearby on the Berens River system.

Figure 7.13. Lichenoglyph known as 'Lunch Pail Man' (black figure in centre) to the Anishinaabe Elders from Murdock Lake. Part of the glyph is obscured by the vegetation growing on the rock face; more was visible during my first trip to Murdock Lake in 2007. Photo taken and used with permission.

Colson (2007:11) explains that there were two lichenoglyphs in the Lake of the Woods area but one, DhKp-2, no longer exists having gone back to its natural state: "Lichenoglyphs become extinct when the lichen grows over [the] image or glyph, created by someone having scraped away the lichen growing on the rock's surface". She noted that only one site, DiKp-1, on Cliff Island in Lake of the Woods is still extant. Obviously, lichen growth has implications for pictograph visibility also. Peter Paishk and his aunt Josephine King (personal communication 2008) remember, from decades ago, a pictograph found much higher off the water on Paishk Lake but we were unable to see it on several trips to that lake. We concluded that lichen is covering up that pictograph now.

Fish Traps

A probable fish trap made from cobbles was found in a shallow section of rapids at a very narrow bend of the Bloodvein River (Figures 7.1, 7.14) at the Knox Lake Portage Site (Hamilton et al. 2007; Taylor-Hollings 2006c). A large channel of the river narrows at this point, where the portage is located. Just downstream from the narrowest point, there is a set of rapids. Numerous quartz debitage pieces were found near the fish trap and test pits near the portage yielded many artifacts (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). These findings also provide further inferences about the reason for multiple occupations of the site by people during the Middle Woodland (Laurel Configuration), Blackduck/Late Woodland, Fur Trade Period, and Postcontact Period by Pikangikum and Lac Seul community members (Hamilton et al. 2007). Peter Paishk (personal communication 2008) informed us that his family had often camped at this location due to the good fishing; Peter was able to quickly

Figure 7.14. Left: A likely fish trap composed of boulders and cobbles just below the surface of the Bloodvein River as it flows by the Knox Lake Portage Site on Knox Lake. Right: Just past the narrowest area where the fish trap is located, the river curves around and there is a small set of rapids where fish, beaver, and otters were often seen when we stopped at this locale.

catch several walleye at this location, when we stopped there for lunch, and we saw several beavers and an otter swimming in the water behind the rapids. More recent usage by Pikangikum and Lac Seul First Nation people as part of their cultural landscape further indicates the importance of the Knox Lake Portage Site and surrounding area. The site is near one cemetery known to Lac Seul Elders and just across from the portage is another likely cemetery recorded during our first survey of the lake (Taylor-Hollings 2006c) with another one reported by Pikanigkum/Lac Seul Elders. In addition, both Lytwyn (1986a) and I surmise that this site may be one of the Bad Lake post locations (see Chapter 6). Judging from the multiple components identified, the idyllic location, and the fish trap area, this locale may have been an in-gathering or aggregation site that was important in the past and remains significant to Anishinaabe and park visitors using the region now.

Caches

Peter Paishk showed some of the crew a stone cache that was located on a hillside towards the middle/west side of Murdock Lake (Figure 7.1) during one of our field trips to that lake; he said that tools and other items were stored there to be used when his family returned to that place. Malasiuk (1999) also discusses seasonal and various forms of cache sites, which are similar, that are as used by the Cree and Dené in northern Manitoba. This feature had been built by Peter and his grandfather John Paishk several decades ago but it was still left in place. It is located near a cabin, found on a high hillside (relative to the rest of the lake), which belongs to Peter's family and was used as a trap cabin. During the Bloodvein River surveys, we also found postcontact items like old boats placed under large trees or another shelter, wood saws left on high branches, a wild rice harvester, and other bulky items concealed in the bush. Today, people still use these types of caches for keeping items safe from animals and also leaving them in place for the return trip to a location, even throughout a winter season (Malasiuk 1999).

Bartleman (1921:28-29) describes another type of cache that would have been used by people and that he encountered near Little Grand Rapids in the early twentieth century:

> The journey is continued for another four hours and again we "boil the kettle." At this point a band of Indians meet us on their way home after visiting their traps and of course they join us in our meal. They tell us they have killed a moose on the trail and that we may "help ourselves" as we pass along. The next day we come upon the cache of moose meat which the Indians had carefully put up on a tree out of reach of the wolves and we cut off about fifteen pounds, which was about as much as we cared to take, as weight is a very serious item when travelling with dogs. After travelling three long days, we arrive at Little Grand Rapids post.

Anishinaabe Elder Joe Paishk (personal communication 2009) suggested that ancient Anishinaabe people probably cached slightly heavy or bulky items such as pottery, since his grandfather also did the same thing with more contemporary items while travelling from camping locales. Pilon

(2002) describes a Late Woodland lithic cache. These features were and remain an important part of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabe cultural landscape.

Putting Together the Pieces: Pottery from the Bloodvein River

> The clay (waabigwan) is important. We have to treat everything as important since it was created by the Creator. Even though the clay is under the ground it is important, it has a purpose (December 13, 2004). (The late Elder Whitehead Moose of Pikangikum as translated in OP and PFN 2010:28).

Along the Bloodvein River in Ontario, there is a great deal of Lake Agassiz basin clay available, just as Whitehead Moose discusses that material above. Pikangikum people, as indicated above, and other Berens River Anishinaabeg have noted the importance of clay, soil, and rocks (Hallowell 2010:44), as part of their cultural landscape. Clay was often seen along the banks of the Bloodvein River during the surveys. At such a location by Murdock Lake, Lac Seul Elders demonstrated to us a game they played as children, whereby wet clay was wrapped around a stick and thrown into the water, to see who could throw the farthest (Peter Paishk, Joe Paishk, and Joe Keesic personal communications 2007). This clay likely provided the material for pottery vessels for many generations of Indigenous families who lived in this region. I sampled some of the clay deposits along the Bloodvein River and found that those examples would be suitable for making clay pots. Sherds have been found near these sources, indicating a possibility that the clay source was used by early potters. Pottery enabled the storage of dry and wet goods, cooking as evident from carbonized residues (e.g., Boyd and Surette 2010), and represented an individualistic craft whose basic technology was passed down from generation to generation. Pottery forms, variation, description, and extent are the focus of the rest of this chapter, which deals with research problems regarding the Selkirk Composite in particular.

Aki (earth or land) forms the basis of *akik* or pottery as told to me by Pikangikum Elders Paul Moose and Jim Turtle (personal communications 2004), which was a revolutionary invention by Indigenous peoples in many parts of the world. Skinner (1923:429) also explains “Incidentally, the Algonkian names of “Kettle” are instructive. In Ojibway (Saulteaux) we have “*akik*,” in Cree “*askik*,” and in Menomini “*akax*,” all specifically meaning an earthen vessel, although the term is now applied to metallic utensils”. Lac Seul Elders (Taylor-Hollings Lac Seul Meeting 2009) have told me that they would use the word *piiwanuk* (bowl) for pottery when shown a replica of a precontact vessel. Since Pikangikum and Lac Seul community members have slightly different dialects of Anishinaabemowin (see Chapter 5), it is logical that might use different words for the same thing.

Archaeologists tend to use the terms pottery and ceramics interchangeably but that is rather inaccurate. The term ceramics may be viewed from a materials science (e.g., engineering, building materials, etc.) or art history and anthropology perspectives (Rice 1987). Rice (1987:5) explains that, "Given both the extremely broad technical meaning and the narrow art-historical meaning of the term ceramics, the bulk of low-fired, unvitrified material treated by anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists is more properly referred to as pottery". Therefore, it is the most appropriate term for low-fired, unvitrified terracotta (well below 1000°C firing) or earthenware (900-1200°C) vessels that were hand-made in central Canada by Indigenous peoples during the Late Period (Taylor-Hollings 1999). The technology is completely different to produce wheel-thrown ceramics (i.e., stoneware, porcelain, china) that are made of highly processed clays and fired at higher temperatures (usually vitrified) in built kilns (Rice 1987); they are products of the industrial revolution. To label precontact Indigenous vessels as 'ceramics' is thus rather inappropriate, given that ceramics are originally a European (and other Old World) technology associated with the Postcontact Period in Canada. Instead, Indigenous peoples of the central Canadian boreal forest adapted by using available local clays and inventing open firing techniques that work in their environment while allowing for a more mobilized lifeway.

Recent and Ethnographic Examples of Pottery Making and Use

Through combining ethnographic information and oral history from Lac Seul and Pikangikum Elders, I have been able to determine that pottery was still being made in the Lac Seul traditional area, which includes the eastern portion of the Bloodvein River, much later than typically thought by researchers (see Chapter 6). Most culture histories constructed for northwestern Ontario indicate the ending of Indigenous pottery manufacturing as having occurred several hundred years before present in the Protocontact or Postcontact periods (e.g., Dawson 1983a). For example, one of the latest radiocarbon dates associated with pottery in northwestern Ontario is from the Selkirk Composite and *Psinomani* components at the Long Sault Site and assessed at about AD 1750±100 (DIC 761) (Arthurs 1978:59, 1986). That date is still several hundred years before the present.

In order to explore further the idea of more recent pottery usage in the study area, I also looked for examples in early archaeology reports, ethnohistory, and ethnographies about the Bloodvein River and nearby. Syms (1977:59-64) provides an overview of ethnohistoric references about plains pottery and some different methods used to produce pots amongst different Indigenous groups in Canada. Many of these methods were also pertinent to ancient pottery makers from the central Canadian boreal forest. He suggests that: "Little information is available for most of the northern Algonquian groups since copper kettles preceded the fur traders and replaced ceramic vessels before traders actually entered the homelands of these groups" (Syms 1977:59). That idea suggests relatively early abandonment of pottery, which may be true for some groups close to the

Hudson Bay and James Bay posts. However, in the inland area around the study area, there are some compelling ethnohistorical and ethnographical examples that indicate very recent abandonment of pottery making techniques, a lasting knowledge about making pottery, and late adaptation to using copper and brass fur trade goods. Since the most numerous assemblages of the latest dating archaeological culture of the Selkirk Composite has usually been linked with later Cree speakers (e.g., Hanna 2004; Hlady 1971; MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Russell 1987), it is pertinent to look at Cree and Ojibwe examples. In addition, there is much evidence in ethnohistorical information and the modern Oji-Cree dialect to indicate that the two groupings of Algonquians shared territories (Dawson 1987b). It should be noted that *Psinomani* Culture (makers of Sandy Lake Ware) assemblages are also contemporaneous with the Selkirk Composite; they are often found at the same sites although less commonly identified in northwestern Ontario and attributed typically with early Siouan speakers (Taylor-Hollings 1999). There are sites in Minnesota where Sandy Lake Ware has been found in Protocontact and Postcontact period occupations (e.g., Cooper and Johnston 1964).

Fewkes (1937) first describes what is now called Winnipeg Fabric-impressed ware (MacNeish 1958) that Hallowell (1992) found in 1932 at an archaeological site at "Lake Pekangekum". This community is located just north of and culturally linked to the study area, as I have established in Chapters 5 and 6. Hallowell (1992:47) produced a map of Pikangikum in the 1930s, where he indicates the "Island on which pottery sherds were found" (Figure 5.13). Pelleck's (1980a) survey apparently did not investigate that archaeological site; in fact, he did not find any sites on Pikangikum Lake, which is interesting since Hallowell found one by just talking with community members. Surprisingly for this early publication date, Fewkes (1937:151) describes the sherds in great detail, provides illustrations, and discusses the suggested ethnicity:

> However, it cannot easily be assigned to a people of Algonkian ethnic affinity for, as Hallowell (MS) finds by research in native genealogies and traditions, as well as in historical records, the earliest Algonkian-speaking group in the area, the Cree-17th century-had no pottery; and it remains to be proved that the Ojibwe, locally known as Saulteaux, had any acquaintance with ceramics before or after they moved westward in the 18th century, since the contemporary groups have no tradition of the craft. On the other hand there is ample evidence to show that Siouan peoples of this area not only made pottery, but that the Assiniboine once occupied the region around the Lake of the Woods and along the southern portion of Lake Winnipeg. A sherd from Lake Pekangikum, Ontario (52° N. Lat., 94° Long.), obtained by Dr. Hallowell in 1932, represents the most northerly distribution of pottery yet professionally recorded in central Canada. Indians have picked up sherds here and there along the Berens River, 52° N., and even farther north.

This excerpt represents only part of the detail that this early researcher includes about the sherds. It is interesting that Fewkes (1937) suggests that Siouans were making pottery at a very late time frame and that the Cree were not (given their current association with Selkirk Composite pottery beginning with MacNeish [1958]). It is also intriguing that Fewkes (1937:145) had determined that the pots were being made by the molding process "with the aid of a firm form, such as one fashioned from wood; over a basket (?) or perhaps a contraption made of twigs especially for the purpose, over a sand-filled bag of raw hide; over a paunche, and so on". It would be many decades later before Saylor (1978) would discuss this idea in further detail for central Canadian boreal forest vessels and much later still that Goltz (e.g., 1991) would experiment with a wooden structure to suspend the textile bag in which to mold vessels. Clearly, Fewkes (1937:153) was well ahead of his time in terms of understanding some of the first archaeological materials recorded from northwestern Ontario: "In recording the sherds from around Lake Winnipeg I am motivated by a desire to call their existence to a more general attention than has hitherto been the case and to focus attention of those within reach of the field to its promising potentialities". Although ethnocentric in some of his comments, Waugh (1902, 1916) was also an early researcher of Ontario pottery and discusses how studying the paste indicates manufacturing techniques, how decorations were applied, and types of decorative tools. He would also later work with Lac Seul community members documenting their material culture (Waugh 1919).

Hanna (2004:134) explains how Downes (1938) determined that the Selkirk Composite artifacts were likely made by Cree speakers, several decades before MacNeish (1958) actually defined the Selkirk Focus for Manitoba contexts:

> First, there was the curious enigma of the presence of pottery in an area where there wasn't supposed to be any and in a culture that was thought to be "exclusively birch-bark-using" (Downes 1938b:8). When he interviewed Adam Ballantyne, a member of the Peter Ballantyne Cree band at Pelican Narrows, Downes asked him about pottery. Ballantyne described pots as "big round kettles for cooking from the earth, (clay), not very thick, but thin on the edge and around the top these were decorated with marks in it" (Downes 1938b:8). There is no indication if Downes was aware of Skinner's (1911:130) description of pottery making from the northern Saulteaux, but Downes eventually decided that the pottery was most probably Cree in origin. This was 20 years before MacNeish (1958: 79, 82).

Clearly, Downes (1938) was also able to speak with someone who had detailed knowledge about old pottery at that late date of the 1930s. Mr. Ballantyne's description fits with the globular, thin-walled clay pots with minimal decoration near the rim much like Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, which is one of the latest dating Late Period pottery found in that area. Thus, Downe's (1938) and MacNeish's (1958) early views that Cree speakers were associated with the Selkirk Composite pottery was likely valid for Saskatchewan and Manitoba respectively. However, Skinner's (1912:394) blanket statements about different peoples are interesting in light of Downe's (1938) work and Fewkes' (1937) later comments about the Cree not having pottery anymore:

> Pottery is no longer made by the Iroquois, and was never used by the Eastern Cree, who preferred stone vessels pecked into shape. The Seminole of Florida still remember when earthenware was used, and doubtless the old people know how to make it. Ojibwa from Cat Lake, north of Sac [sic - should be Lac] Seul, Canada, told me that they very recently made stone vessels and earthenware, for which they employed the coil process.' My Menomini notes tell a different story.

Contrary to Skinner (1912), the early Eastern Cree likely did make pottery in the form of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite, since many researchers consider that the Cree made that ware (e.g., MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Russell 1987). However, the point that Cat Lake (located about 70 km directly north of Lac Seul) community members had told him that they used both pottery and stone vessels recently, knowing about the somewhat idiosyncratic coil method, is very useful in relation to this study. Skinner (1911:30) further notes that:

> Pottery is unknown to the Eastern Cree who used vessels of steatite or soapstone. The form of these has been forgotten. These had the advantage of being able to stand the heat if placed directly on the fire. Such vessels were necessarily clumsy and heavy, and were not carried when traveling.

Although archaeologists also tend to think of pottery as declining in use fairly quickly after European contact in northwestern Ontario, that point is apparently variable depending upon the region in question. Skinner (1911:130) further elaborates about Lac Seul Anishinaabe:

> **. . .** Up to fairly recent times, pottery was manufactured by some remote bands. Selected clay was dug and tempered by kneading a fine gravel or coarse sand into it with the fingers. It was then made into rolls and the vessels were built up by the coil process, beginning at the middle of the bottom and winding the coils around outward and upward to make the sides, which were then smoothed over until the appearance of the coils was effaced. When complete, the vessel was dried beside the fire. However, the firing eventually took place when the vessel was used. In cooking, the kettle was set upright in the sand or propped up with stones and the fire built around it. Some Saulteaux from Trout River near Lac Seul still claimed to be able to make pottery in 1909, but when put to the test they did not succeed. Potsherds are found on some old camp sites in Lac Seul, notably at Manitou Island, but the writer was unable to obtain any at this place. Clay pipes were not used.
>
> Stone vessels were sometimes made of naturally hollow stones or when these could not be found, the natives worked them out by pecking and hammering from boulders of soft stone (steatite?). Water was generally boiled in these kettles by dropping hot stones in it. Birchbark vessels for cooking were unknown to the Northern Saulteaux.

Skinner (1911:130) is not correct about the vessel being fired while cooking something inside. Based on my own experiments, the pot would begin to fall apart and go back to its clay state if liquid was allowed to sit in the vessel, since it needs to be fired at a relatively high temperature to partially vitrify the pot (also see Shepard 1974). Precontact pottery is typically quite hard and durable, resulting from long-established, learned technologies of manufacturing procedures. Often a vessel will have different colours due to firing effects and thus would indicate that is was fired on an open hearth. However, Skinner (1914) does provide a very detailed description that someone from the early community across from the old HBC at Lac Seul had told him. So it is interesting that he was able to discuss this with people much later than archaeologists had believed. He decided that in times of scarcity the Saulteaux people might still make their own pottery (Skinner 1914) but I am uncertain why it would be in more lean times. Perhaps they could not or did not want to incur debt with the HBC on Lac Seul. Also, if someone was 'put to the test' to make a pot as he suggests in the previous quotation, they may not have wanted to have their knowledge challenged that way or perhaps not to share that old technology. Another idea is that people knew about how the pots were made from oral history but perhaps they had traded for more recent technology. Presumably, the Saulteaux knew about pottery manufacturing through oral history and/or experience and indicated that knowledge had endured quite late in the Postcontact Period. Skinner (1914:315) clearly identifies the Ojibway as making pottery in this statement:

> In a similar manner the main points of [Ojibway] Forest culture may be noted, taking for our purpose the Central Algonkin, and noting that nearly all the features to be mentioned are found among some group of the Ojibway proper. [sic]
>
> 4.--Sashes, bags, and quillwork woven; to the north, rabbit-skin blankets and garments. Pottery good and abundant. Industries of the women varied. . . .

In addition to him noting that forest dwelling Ojibwe were still using pottery, Skinner (1914:316-317) also records that the Plains Ojibwe, or Bungi, retained pottery making and weaving skills until quite late in the Postcontact Period, as he was informed by Long Plains First Nation people near Portage la Prairie in south-central Manitoba:

> While the art of weaving was absent from the Plains, the Bungi for a long time retained it, though it is obsolescent today. Bags of bark twine, reed mats, and rabbit-skin garments were all made, and a few examples are yet to be seen. Pottery they claim to have had, but evidence as to whether they made it themselves, or not, has not yet been gathered.

Furthermore, Skinner (1923:429) notes that some Long Plains First Nation people also retained memories of the use of pottery in the early twentieth century:

> The Bungi or Plains Ojibway, also called Saulteaux, at Long Plains, near Edwin, Manitoba, were also found in 1913 to possess a vague memory of the use of pottery, but none of the method of its manufacture, so that all knowledge or tradition of its existence and use is not lost among the northern Algonkians. In fact, among none of the

> Algonkian or Siouan tribes ever visited by the writer has so good an account of the making of native pottery been secured as from the Northern Saulteaux of Lac Seul, Ontario.

More recent oral history also correlates with Skinner's (1911:130) other observations that Ojibwe people knew how to make pottery later in time and possibly made it later than archaeologists had previously thought, particularly at Lac Seul, which is directly pertinent to the study area. At one of the many meetings I attended in Lac Seul with Paishk and Keesic family members, a Councilor, and other Elders interested in the WCSS, I showed them a replica of a small precontact style pot. I was surprised that they had a specific name for this pot - *piiwanuk* - which translates to bowl. However, it is also the name for the important Anishinaabe character Flint in one example described by Hallowell (2010). Since Flint is made of stone, the *piiwanuk* name may also relate to the "stone vessels" that Skinner (1911) mentions above. One of the Elders that I have worked with from Lac Seul, Christina Keesic (personal communication 2008), explained that she could remember her *Gookum* (grandmother) having an old pot like the one at the meeting in her back shed and had told her that she had made that pot many years ago. Christina would have viewed this pot, perhaps back in the 1950s, and her Grandmother could have made the pot even within the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Steinbring (1965:2) explains his views about pottery and the Northern Ojibway:

> There are archaeological evidences to suggest that as the glaciers retreated these people moved to the north. Quimby hints that Indian hunting groups of the Upper Great Lakes Region may be descendants of such a culture type. Whether or not one accepts such suggestions of antiquity for the Ojibwa, the nomadic hunting life in the sub-arctic conditions of the Canadian Shield points to an early type of adaptation. The general absence of pottery among the Northern Ojibwa tends to confirm this by reflecting a general absence of sedentary conditions. Pots were too heavy, breakable, and awkward to carry for people always on the move. Instead, basketry of birchbark and rushes, envelopes and bags of hide, the ingenious sturgeon skin "bottle", [6] and nettle fibre nets provided more easily transported containers.

He (Steinbring 1966) brings forth an important comment about how archaeologists could pay more attention to the organic technologies that Subarctic people used but we do not typically discover in archaeological contexts (see Le Blanc 2009 and Organic Technology section in this chapter). Ojibwe people certainly created an array of items from less durable materials that Steinbring (1965) mentions (see also Skinner 1911, 1912, 1914). However, his notion of pottery being too heavy, friable, and difficult to handle is unlikely since people made pottery in the Subarctic for approximately 2,200 years or longer. People have been using dog travois and building sleds for at least hundreds of years (Rogers and Taylor 1981) and pots would be easily transported in this fashion. They were sturdy containers and useful for cooking food. In addition, Elder Joe Paishk (personal communication 2008) solved these perceived problems when he suggested that people probably left some vessels in caches for when they would return to a site. This idea is illuminating, since that would allow people to even make extra pots, particularly for the cold seasons when pottery was much more difficult to make. An example of a postcontact cache used by the Paishk family was discussed previously in this chapter, so this would likely be an long-established tradition of leaving certain items behind for the return visit to a location, which archaeologists sometimes are lucky enough to find years later.

Pottery Analysis

Although it would be ideal to study only pottery reconstructions and large sherd vessel sections, most central Canadian boreal forest archaeologists do not have that option, as is the case with this study. Given the short duration of surveys completed along the Bloodvein River, there are actually many examples of diagnostic sherds to aid with addressing both research questions in this project.

Through replicative experiments of my own and learning from pottery ethnoarchaeologists such as Goltz (1991) and Budak (1985, 1991, 2012), it is possible to investigate many methods Indigenous potters used to create their wares. During the Middle Woodland Period, Laurel vessels (Figure 7.15) were manufactured from locally available clays by the coiling method (Budak 1991) with incorporated grit or sand temper; coil breaks are often seen on individual sherds. After drying for a lengthy period, the vessels were placed near a fire, while it was heating up (to reduce thermal shock). Then, the vessel was placed on the coals of a hot fire and the fire was built up on the open hearth. Pots were allowed to cool in the coals after the fire, in order to avoid further thermal shock. Late Woodland vessels were likely formed in textile bags, made of nettle and other fibres, that were typically twined or sprang woven (Goltz 1991; MacLean 1995; Saylor 1978; Syms 1977; Taylor-Hollings 1999). An alternative technique is the use of a cord wrapped paddle and anvil (smoothed stone) for creating the 'corded' exterior found on Sandy Lake Ware. These surface finishes provide diagnostic information for estimating more vessel numbers as evident from the survey results (Table 7.8). For further information about the methods of ancient pottery manufacturing and technology, several sources provide detailed information (Budak 1985, 1991, 2012; Goltz 1991; MacLean 1995; Mantey and Pettipas 1996; McKinley 2001; Rice 1987; Shepard 1974; Saylor 1978; Syms 1977; Taylor-Hollings 1999).

As is typical of precontact pottery analysis, I studied a number of commonly described attributes that may be compared and sometimes quantified to provide the most information possible to the archaeologist (Table 7.9). Recently, Syms and Dedi (2006) have created attribute forms for the Manitoba Museum, in order to synthesize descriptive terms for describing sherds and vessel portions. Although this has been attempted by other researchers (e.g., Malainey 1991; Taylor-Hollings 1999), this form is being circulated to many researchers across central Canada so that it may be

Figure 7.15. Laurel Ware from A) Painting Rock Narrows (Murdock Lake); B) enlarged images of two sherds from A) showing stamped decoration; C) EhKp-1 (Larus Lake); D) EiKs-3 (Artery Lake); E) EiKs-3; F) EiKs-3; and G) Helen's Place (Artery Lake).

Table 7.8. Additional Woodland vessels represented in the Bloodvein River surveys (numbers listed are sherds).

Site and (Lake)	Sprang, parallel vertical textile, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares	Fabric-impressed: may be Winnipeg Fabric-impressed or Bird Lake wares	Late Woodland: has indeterminant textile (could be corded or fabric impressions)	Woodland: indeterminate sherd - could be Middle or Late Woodland	
Knox Lake Portage (Knox)			2		
Tent Camp (Paishk)				***1	
P4 (Paishk)	3			1	
EhKq-9 (Larus)			1	1	
1960s Cabin (Murdock)	1			1	
Meeting Place (Murdock)	3				
Mary's Lake Portage (Mary's Lake)	1				
*EhKq-1 (Larus)	**40	11		50	
*EhKr-2 (Barclay)				***2	
*EhKr-5 (between Barclay and Artery)				***2	
*EhKs-2 (Bloodvein east of Artery)	1	14		9	
*EiKs-2 (Artery)	1	14		15	
Total added vessels	**6**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**n=14**

*Site and artifacts recorded by Wall (1980a)

**A Blackduck rim sherd vessel has already been counted for this site, so no additional 'corded' vessels have been added.

***This count is only added if no other vessels are represented at the site (which indeterminate sherds may be part of).

Table 7.9. List of pottery attributes, although not all are typically studied (based on Rice 1987; Syms and Dedi 2006 with additions).

Attributes	**Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware**	**Clearwater Lake Punctate Type of WFIW (Hlady 1971)**
Vessel Type	pot	pot
Vessel Form	globular	globular
Sherd Type	rim sherd	rim sherd (not vessel numbers)
Neck Form	constricted	constricted; two forms: sharply curving neck; gently curving neck to less pronounced shoulder
Lip Form	flat	flat
Profile	excurvate	excurvate
Shoulder Form	excurvate	excurvate
Base Form	rounded	rounded but a few are flattened
Surface Finish		
a) Exterior	textile impressed, extends over lip	same as WFI; "fabric covered paddle" with one smoothed over rim sherd (n=1/312)
b) Interior	smoothed	smoothed
c) Details	tightly intertwined	
Manufacturing		"likely paddle and anvil"; no coil breaks
Surface Markings	smoothing lines on interior	
Use Modification	repair noted	
Decoration		
a) Zones	lip/rim/neck/interior	lip/rim/neck/interior
b) Orientation		
c) Technique	punctates	Most have row of punctates but a few rims are Alexander F.I. and Sturgeon Falls F.I.
Appendages	no handles, tabs or fillets added	
Temper		
a) Type	grit	fine to med. sand or grit and med. To coarse crushed granite
a) Amount	much is visible; quantify	
Paste	compact, laminated	med. to coarse texture, paste is friable esp. at the shoulder
Condition of sherd	exfoliated or not	
Firing Effects	reduced firing conditions; multiple effects noticed	black to light brown
Residue		
a) Present?	Present on interior	
b) Amount?	Likely over 15 mg - useful for dating or analyses	
Measurements		
a) Lip thickness	7 mm	
b) Rim thickness	7 mm	
c) Neck thickness	8 mm	
d) Shoulder thickness	8 mm	
e) Body thickness	7 mm	
f) Base thickness	9 mm	
g) Decorations	4 mm apart; 5 mm below the lip	1.6 - 7mm punctate diameter; different shapes of punctates

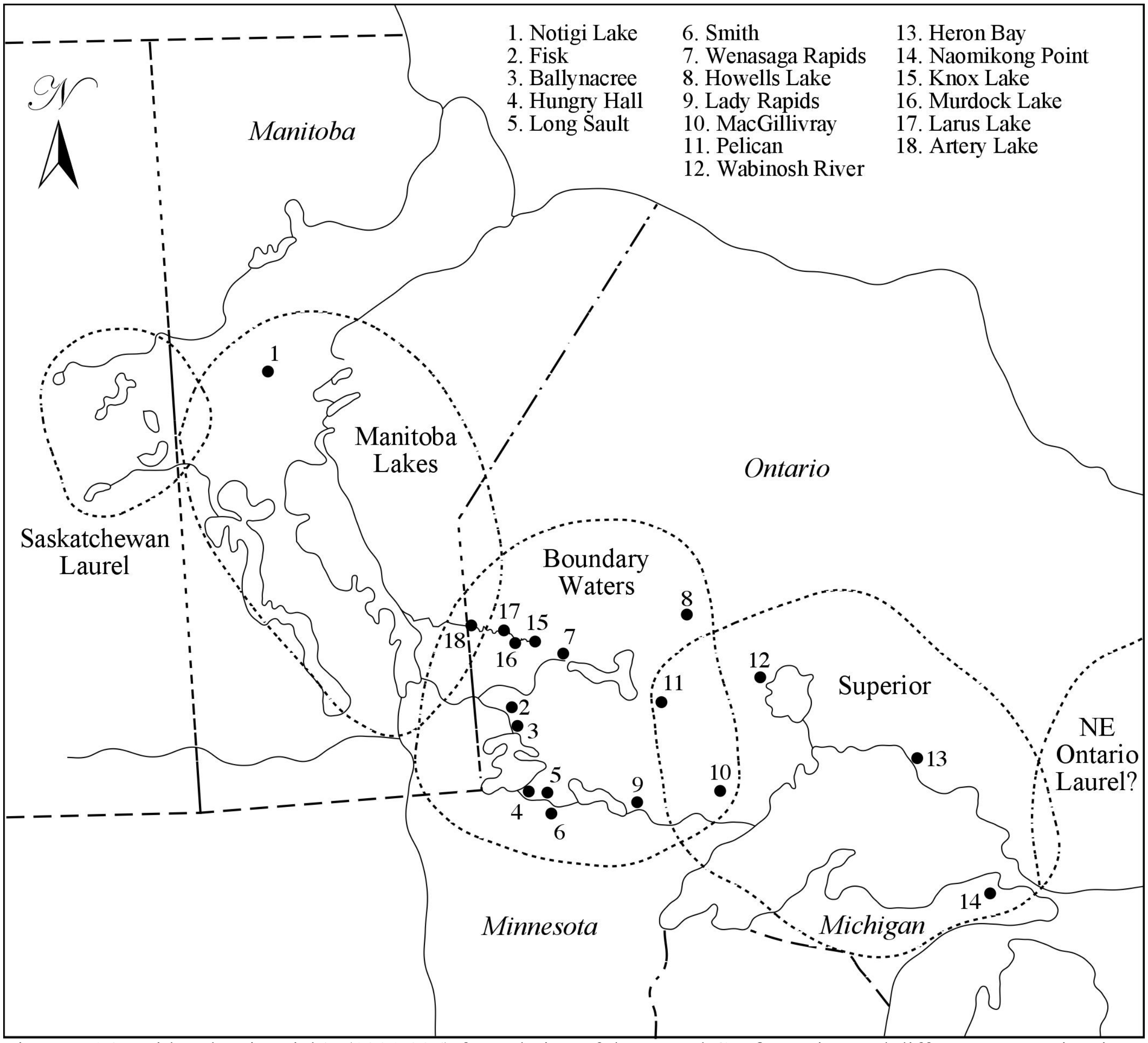

Figure 7.16. Reid and Rajnovich's (1991:226) formulation of the Laurel Configuration and different composites in relation to the Bloodvein River. Sites 15 through 18 are from this study (figure redrawn).

easier to promote the same descriptive terms (c.f., Le Blanc 1984). Hence, I have mostly adopted that format for consistency, with some additions from established regional terms such as Reid and Rajnovich's (1991) Laurel studies in northwestern Ontario (Figure 7.16).

Most pottery attributes are associated with the appropriately described 'anatomy of the vessel' consisting of lip, rim, neck, shoulder, body, base or indeterminate sections (Rice 1987) (Table 7.9). Once the vessel portion was identified, if possible, as many aspects of that sherd were described including: vessel type; pot form; profile or vessel shape if possible; surface finish(es); decoration types and application(s); added elements if present; temper type and relative amount; wall thickness; paste; and amount of residue present (if any). If petrographic studies are conducted to address a particular question, the mineralogy of pottery may also be determined (e.g., Hanna 1982; Shepard 1974) but this is a destructive method that I do not want to use with the limited numbers of sherds from the Bloodvein River surveys. One sample from this study was submitted for pottery residue analysis at Lakehead University (e.g., Boyd et al. 2006) and also to generate one AMS radiocarbon date. However, no other sherds had enough carbonized residue to complete those types of analytical measures; this is likely due to finding some of the sherds as surface collected examples whereby the residue has eroded away.

Discussion of Fabric/Textile Impressions

Preserved archaeological textiles and their impressions on pottery have been the focus of few studies in Canada and the USA (some exceptions are Kuttruff 1980; Maclean 1995; and Say-

Figure 7.17. Blackduck Ware: A) Knox Lake Portage; B) Pictograph Point (Murdock Lake); C) EhKp-1 (Larus Lake); D) Duck Camp (Musclow Lake); and E) Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type from the Artery Tree Throw Site (Artery Lake).

lor 1978). In the central Canadian boreal forest, textile impressions on Late Woodland pottery (e.g., Figure 7.17) are a diagnostic indicator separating them from earlier Middle Woodland Laurel smoothed surface finish wares (Hamilton 1981). Saylor (1978:49) explains that one can study surface finishes to try and determine different types of pottery within the Late Woodland array and also, “an additional advantage of analyzing fabric impressions is that information on some of the rather perishable items of a prehistoric culture can be ascertained”. These negative impressions of fabrics are often well preserved and provide a source of information about how textiles and pottery were manufactured. Of particular relevance is the work of several researchers who have studied the distinctive textiles on Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (MacLean 1995; Saylor 1978) but these impressions are sometimes complicated to describe and infer. Most archaeologists do not describe the surface finish of pottery in detail nor do they always provide photographs of artifacts that are comparable. That being mentioned, often one cannot tell what the surface finish of the original vessel was before it was broken, since the sherd is small or the neck and rim area often tend to separate at that juncture. This idea is important because fabric/textile impressed surface finished body sherds, rather than just rim/neck sherds, may actually be useful in narrowing down the vessel cultural affiliation. Bird Lake Ware (Figure 7.18) and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Figures 7.19, 7.20, 7.21) have distinctive textile impressions that are not usually vertically oriented but may represent interlinking or plaiting, twining, looping or simple linking types of

Figure 7.18. Bird Lake Ware rim sherds: Top - Oliver’s Smokehouse (Thicketwood Lake) and Helen’s Place (Artery Lake) sites.

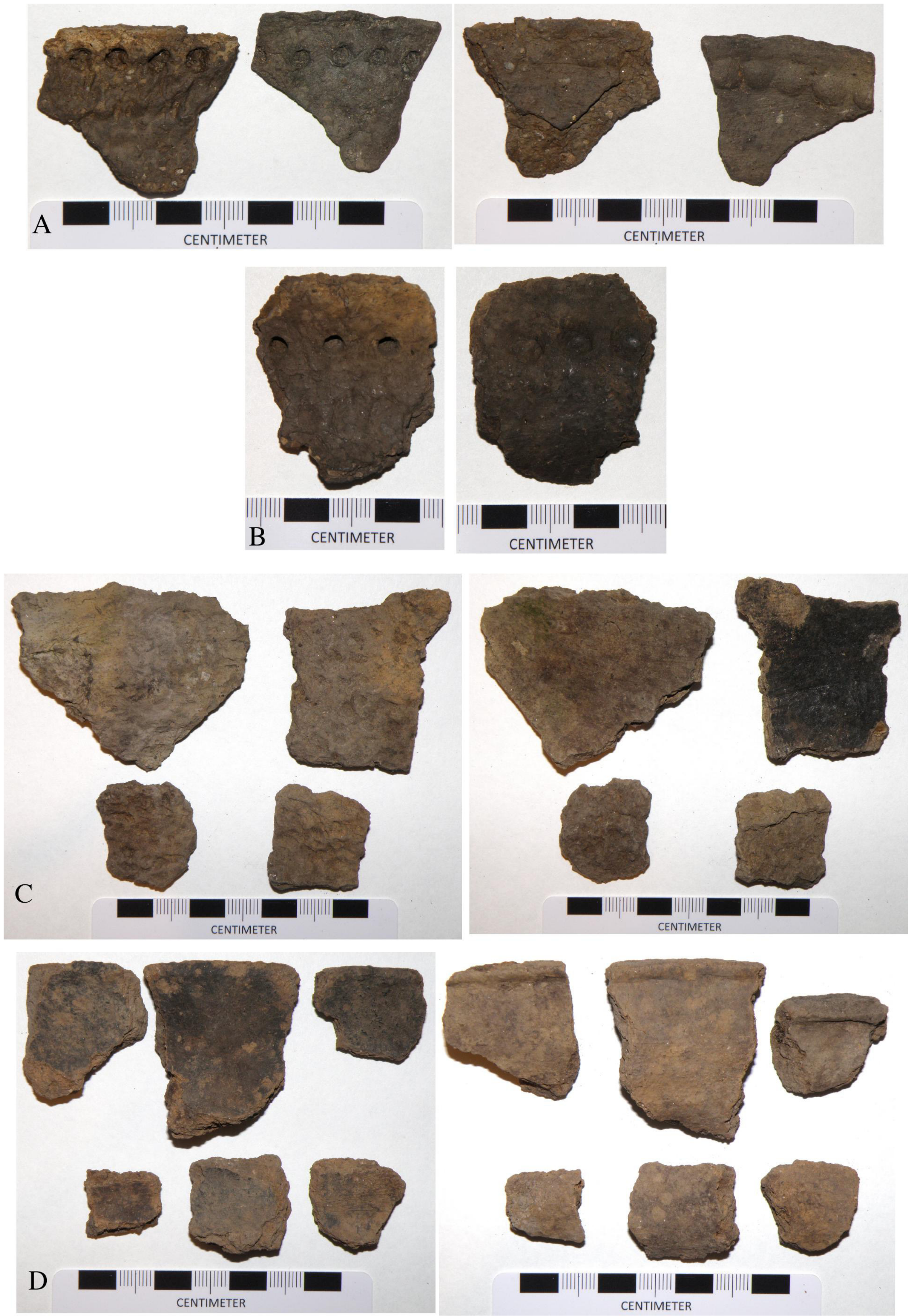

Figure 7.19. Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware: A, B) Clearwater Lake Punctate Type; C) Winnipeg Fabric-Impressed Ware; and D) Alexander Fabric-impressed Type. A) EhKq-1 (Larus Lake); B) EhKp-1 (Larus Lake); C) Simeon Lake; and D) Barclay Tree Throw Site (Barclay Lake).

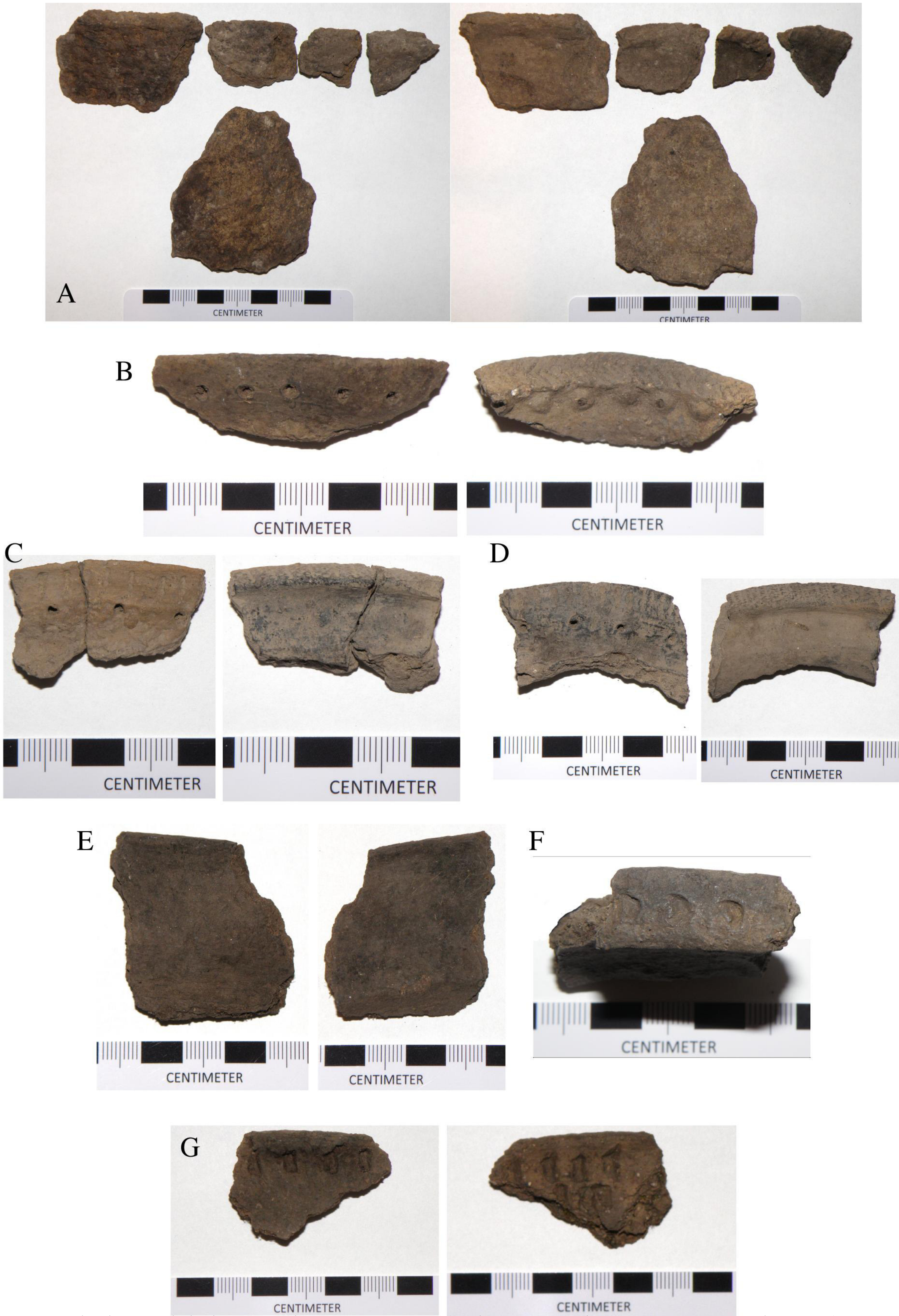

Figure 7.20. Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware: B, C, D, G) Clearwater Lake Punctate Type and A, E, F) Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type. Sites: A) Duck Spot; B) Billie Joe's Place; C, D) Artery Tree Throw; and E, F, G) EiKs-3.

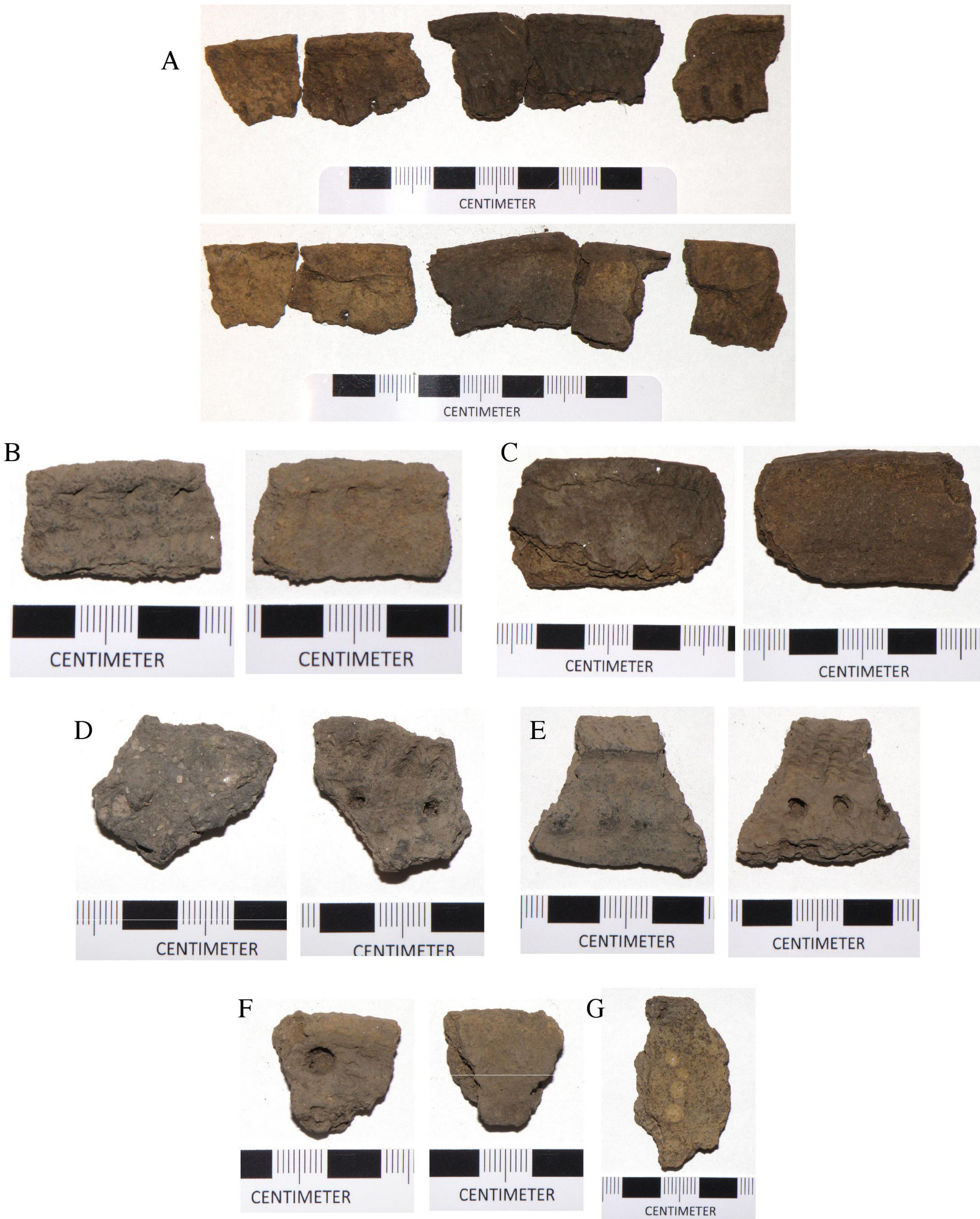

Figure 7.21. Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware: A, D, E, F) Clearwater Lake Punctate Type; B) Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type; and C) Alexander Fabric-impressed Type. Sites: A, C, G) EiKs-3 and B, D, E, F) Artery Tree Throw.

textile manufacturing (MacLean 1995; Saylor 1978). Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware is limited to fabric impressed, obliterated, and indistinguishable finishes, of which the vast majority is fabric impressed (Gibson 1998). Blackduck (Figure 7.17), Sandy Lake, and Duck Bay all typically have parallel vertical textile impressed or sprang surface finishes. Sandy Lake Ware and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware are sometimes found together in northwestern Ontario sites with some vessels exhibiting mixed traits from both wares (Taylor-Hollings 1999). I have studied this attribute in the temporally, and perhaps culturally, related Sandy Lake Ware (Taylor-Hollings 1999).

There are other terms for fabric impressed (MacNeish 1958) such as textile impressed (MacLean 1995) and corded (MacNeish 1958), which the latter now typically signifies parallel vertical textile impressed pottery. All of these terms suggest manufacturing pottery in a fabric/textile bag. Cord roughening or cordmarked and paddled (Lugenbeal 1979) is the terminology often used for a similar appearance of surface finish but implies that it was manufactured using a cord wrapped paddle and anvil (held inside the pot) with some changes of direction evident. From this variation, it is clear that with Late Woodland wares, the surface finish is sometimes helpful in assessing possible affiliations. There is also a certain amount of subjectivity in determining some of these attributes owing to the fragmentary nature of pottery, which typically uses a few sherds to represent a whole vessel (because that is all that is recovered). As I have done with this project, researchers can calculate a minimum number of vessels to describe the fragmentary finds in the most conservative way, not inflating the vessel numbers present at a site.

Laurel Ware

As a result of the 10 recent surveys of the Bloodvein River in Ontario, Laurel Configuration pottery was newly identified in the region (Figures 7.15, 7.16) since Wall (1980a) did not report any examples of that ware and no definite examples have been found on the Manitoba side, as discussed earlier (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 2013). At least six Middle Woodland components are represented by one or more vessels at each of these sites along the Bloodvein River in Ontario: Knox Lake Portage on Knox Lake (unknown type but found in two locations, so may counted as two vessels); Painting Rock Narrows on Murdock Lake (Laurel Oblique Type with stamped decorations); EhKq-9 on Murdock Lake (one smoothed body sherd); EhKp-1 on Larus Lake (Laurel unknown type base fragment plus one Laurel Oblique and a Laurel Dentate vessel); two and perhaps three vessels from the EiKs-3 on Artery Lake (one Laurel Dentate and a Laurel Pseudo Scallop Shell Type); and one from Helen's Place Site (Laurel Dentate Type) on Artery Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.15; Table 7.10). The Laurel Oblique Type vessel resembles one from the Ballynacree Site on Lake of the Woods (Reid and Rajnovich 1991:212). There are two vessels represented from the findings at EiKs-3 since one is Laurel Dentate Type (Figure 7.15D,F) and the other is the Laurel Pseudo-scallop Shell Type (Figure 7.15E); the sherds are significantly different in paste

Table 7.10. Main attributes of Laurel Ware found during these surveys (all measurements in mm).

Attributes	Knox Lake Portage (Knox) V1, V2	Painting Rock Narrows (Murdock) V3	Painting Rock Narrows	EhKp-9 (Murdock) V4	*EhKp-1 (Larus)	**EhKp-1 V5	**EhKp-1 V6	EiKs-3 (Artery) #1 - V7	EiKs-3 #2 - V8	Helen's Place (Artery) V9
Type of sherds found	one lip and 24 body/ other sherds (2008); one body (2004)	one rim described below and shoulder; five body	shoulder	one body sherd	one base sherd	one rim - but exfolitated interior; two body sherds also found	lip/rim but is partly exfoliated near top on exterior	two conjoining rim (no lip)	two glued lip/rim; one other lip/rim; four other rim	two glued lip/rim and two others; four rim; two body; seven indeterminate
Context	test unit (2004); test pit (2008)	test pit #1	test pit #1	surface collected	surface collected	?	?	surface collected	surface collected	surface collected - found together
Paste	compact, one coil break on one sherd found with this lip	somewhat laminated	coarse	compact	compact, fine, holes left behind from organics	compact	compact, coarse	laminated; broken at coil break	compact, fine, laminated	friable - many split and at coil breaks; coarse, dull
Temper	grit - large pieces leaving holes in paste; lots	very fine, fine and coarse grit - some quartz or feldspar (xstal faces); holes	very fine and coarse grit - some is quartz or felspsar (many xtal faces); lots	lots of coarse grit; some fine	fine grit	fine grit	fine and coarse grit; holes left by some	fine grit	fine and coarse grit; lots	fine grit
Exterior finish	smooth	smooth - slightly burnished; reveals fine grit (sparkly)	smooth - slightly burnished; reveals fine grit (sparkly)	smooth	smooth - interior has smoothing marks	smooth to reveal grit; slightly burnished	smooth	smooth - slightly burnished; reveals fine grit	smooth - reveals grit particles on interior	smooth - reveals some fine grit particles (sparkly)
Colour	oxidized	oxidized	reduced	redueed	reduced	reduced	reduced	reduced	oxidized	oxidized
Rim profile	straight	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	straight likely	straight likely	n/a	straight	straight
Lip profile	round	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	pointed	n/a	flat to pointed	slight ext. bevel

n/a = not available

*** Site found during West Patricia Archaeological Study (Wall 1980a) and this sherd by Lee Gerrish.**

****Site and artifacts found during West Patricia Archaeological Study (Wall 1980a).**

Table 7.10. Main attributes of Laurel Ware found during these surveys (all measurements in mm).

Table 7.10. Continued.

Lip surface finish	smooth	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	smooth	n/a	smoothed	dentates cover
Lip surface decoration	plain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	none	n/a	none	oblique - right to left dentates
Inner lip corner decoration	plain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	none	n/a	none	none
Outer lip corner decoration	plain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	edge of dentate pattern	n/a	none	none
Outer rim decoration	n/a	flat rocker stamped horizontal rows	rocker stamped horizontal rows that form troughs plus drag stamped across this (vertically)	n/a	n/a	two rows of rocker stamps with some spacing inbetween; tool used at right to left obique angle; tool had straight edge	four horizontal rows of right to left oblique applied dentates visible	widely spaced fine dentates (some triangular) in horizontal rows; start of right oblique row on one	pseudo-scallop shell horizontal rows	right to left oblique dentates over horizontal dentates rows; 4.5 mm deep x 3.0 wide punctates (10 mm below lip) at 12 mm apart
Inner rim decoration	none	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	none	none
Lip thickness (max.)	4.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4.0	n/a	3.0	5.25
Rim thickness (25 mm below lip)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10.0	6.25
Table 7.10 Continued.										

Table 7.10. Continued.

Thickness - max. and min.	4.5 and 4.0	5.5 and 4.5	6.5 and 4.5	7.0 and 3.0	16.0 and 10.5	6.5 and 5.5	7.0 and 4.0	8.0 and 6.0	10.0 and 3.0	7.25 and 5.75
Other comments	single body sherd (2004) counted as another vessel since excavated from different part of site (but not described here)	attractive paste due to maker smoothing to reveal crystal faces of grit	may be same vessel as #1 but subtle differences; not counted as another pot	most likely Laurel since a thicker, smoothed body sherd with coarse grit, but partly exfoliated	one spall from exterior; very thick wall; this base could be from other vessels, so not counted	could be same as base but counted as a vessel; paste not that similar though	could be same as base but paste not that similar to base or other sherds; counted as another vessel since two different decorations			quite different dentate decoration to EiKs-3 pot although sites near
Type	Laurel Ware, type unknown	Laurel Stamp or Oblique	Laurel Stamp or Oblique	Laurel Ware, type unknown	Laurel Ware, type unknown	Laurel Stamp or Oblique	Laurel Dentate	Laurel Dentate	Laurel Pseudo-Scallop Shell	Laurel Dentate
Table 7.10 Continued.										

and wall thickness to also aid with being quite certain of this determination. A third vessel (Figure 7.15E) may also be indicated at this site but it could also be part of the other Pseudo-scallop Shell Type rim sherds found at EiKs-3 because the paste is not distinctive enough to determine that with certainty. The Laurel Ware sherds from the Painted Narrows Site were found in a 50 cm x 50 cm test pit and the decoration is stamped, being typically known as the Laurel Oblique Type (Lugenbeal 1976; Stoltman 1973). It has also been named in the regional study by Reid and Rajnovich (1991:206) as "Dragged Linear Stamp" with other names used for describing stamped decorations such as dragged stamped (Dawson 1981), push pull, and stab and drag (Arzigian 2008).

In addition, at the Knox Lake Portage Site one small pottery sherd was found during the 2004 survey when a test pit and subsequent one metre square was excavated (Figure 2.5; Table 7.10) (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). It is smoothed, thick-walled and has no decoration. Therefore, it is likely a Laurel sherd representative of one vessel at the Knox Lake Portage Site (Table 7.10). An additional lip and other body/other sherds were found in a slightly different part of the site suggesting that there are two Laurel Ware vessels. One small, smoothed and plain sherd was found at EhKq-9, on Murdock Lake and is likely indicative of one Laurel Ware pot; neither of these body sherds were photographed since they are diminutive in size, plain, and partly exfoliated.

One Laurel base sherd was found at the EhKp-1 Site on Larus Lake. It is a thick-walled conical portion with a smooth surface finish of unknown type (Figure 7.15B). I was able to document the rest of that private collection of an Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources employee (Lee Gerrish, personal communication 2003). He also found five other artifacts at the site: a Blackduck rim sherd; Winnipeg Fabric-impressed rim/neck sherd; one quartz biface fragment; one quartz retouched flake; and a Hudson Bay Lowland chert end/sidescraper. Wall (1980a) had reported about this site originally, listing the recovery of seven quartz flakes. We visited EhKp-1 during one of the surveys and two textile impressed body sherds, two quartz flakes, and a possible fire-cracked rock were found there (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a). Although this would be an obvious choice for future testing, we decided to focus our efforts on other locations (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a). This site was also used for camping by the Paishk and Keesic families, indicating another more recent occupation of this location.

The Laurel Ware found during the Bloodvein River surveys (n=9 vessels in Table 7.10) does improve our understanding of this time frame, since none had been found previously. There are three identifiable Laurel types: Oblique (or Laurel Stamp) from the Painting Rock Narrows Site; Dentate and Pseudo Scallop Shell at EiKs-3 on Artery Lake; and Dentate from Helen's Site (Figures 7.1, 7.15; Table 7.10). The other three sherds represent three additional vessels since they are from different sites; they are devoid of decoration or plain, so they may be Laurel Plain or not, due to the small size of these sherds. Therefore, the examples from Knox Lake Portage on Knox Lake, as well as EhKq-9 on Murdock Lake and EhKp-1 on Larus Lake are indeterminate types of Laurel

Ware. There may also be an additional vessel from EhKp-1, since the base may not belong the two other pots. It is intriguing that these results indicate that people who made Laurel Ware left behind assemblages along the entire length of the Bloodvein River in Ontario (Figure 7.1).

In their Laurel taxonomy update, Reid and Rajnovich (1991:226) include the Bloodvein River region in Ontario and most of Manitoba within the Boundary Waters Composite of the Laurel Configuration, overlapping the Manitoba Bloodvein River region with the Manitoba Lakes Composite data to support that idea (Figure 7.16). Since there was only one northern Manitoba assemblage grouped in the Manitoba Lakes Complex and it is far removed from the study area, I have grouped the Bloodvein River sites with the Boundary Waters Composite. There are few vessel numbers and no radiocarbon dates. Reid and Rajnovich (1991) propose that the Boundary Waters region was the initial home of people who made Laurel Ware, with people moving out to different areas through the Late Period.

Blackduck and Similar Late Woodland Wares

The Blackduck Composite was also identified in the Bloodvein River corridor by Wall (1980a), who reports about a rim and other sherds at the EhKq-1 Site on Larus Lake (Figure 7.17). During the recent surveys, Blackduck Composite assemblages were identified from four vessels (rim sherds) at the following sites: Knox Lake Portage Site on the lake of the same name; Pictograph Point on Murdock Lake; EhKp-1 on Larus Lake (found by Lee Gerrish of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources); and Duck Camp Site on Musclow Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.17). The attributes of these sherds conform to those of Early Blackduck Ware (e.g., Anfinson 1979; Arzigian 2008; Evans 1961; Lugenbeal 1976; Wilford 1945) as discussed in Chapter 4 (Table 7.11) including: vertically oriented textile impressed (sprang) surface finish; wedge shaped lip; excurvate rim; constricted neck; thin walls; decorations consisting of cord wrapped object impressions as well as punctates; and grit temper. The four vessels represented seem to be most similar to Evans' (1961) Osufsen Cord and Punctate Type. Similar to the Laurel Configuration, Blackduck Composite sites are found along the length of the Bloodvein River.

Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type. Additionally, a new type based on Lac Seul assemblages named the Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type (Hyslop 2011) was also found. A rim sherd from the Artery Tree Throw Site on Artery Lake resembles a group of unique "Blackduck-like" sherds that I have viewed from Lac Seul which Hyslop (2011) has recently named the Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type (Figures 4.11, 7.17), as discussed in Chapter 4. This sherd has a purposely smoothed area on the neck exterior where large round punctates have been placed and small stamps are present below that smoothed area (Figure 7.17; Table 7.11). The vessel also lacks the cord wrapped object impressions applied in a horizontal direction (found on Blackduck and Bird Lake wares) with the smoothed area as a replacement for that mode (Hyslop 2011).

Table 7.11. Main attributes of Blackduck, Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate, and Bird Lake pots found on the Bloodvein River (all measurements in mm).

Attributes	***Blackduck:* Knox Lake Portage (Knox Lake)**	**Pictograph Point EhKp-16 (Murdock)**	***EhKp-1 (Larus)**	****EhKq-1 (Larus)**	**Duck Campsite (Musclow)**	***Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate:* Artery Tree Throw (Artery)**	***Bird Lake:* Oliver's Smokehouse (Thicketwood)**	**Helen's Place (Artery)**
Type of sherds found	lip/rim	lip/rim/neck	lip/rim/neck but partly exfoliated interior	two lip/rim/neck but exfoliated interior	two lip/rim sherds but exfoliated neck and many body sherds found together	lip/rim/neck	two conjoining lip/rim/neck	lip/rim/neck; some associated body
Context	test pit (2008)	surface collected; 1 lip sherd in TP1	surface collected	test units	three conjoining test pits	surface collected in tree throw	test pit	test pit 2
Rim profile	straight but broken	excurvate	excurvate - short rim	slightly excurvate	unknown	excurvate - very short rim	slightly S-shaped - short rim	outflaring - short rim
Paste	laminated	hard, laminated	hard, laminated	laminated	Friable - sherds delaminating so laminated	hard, laminated	hard, laminated	hard, laminated
Temper	fine grit	fine and coarse grit; lots	coarse and fine grit	fine grit	coarse and fine grit; lots	fine grit and a few med. holes	fine grit	coarse and fine grit; lots
Exterior finish	cannot see beneath decoration	brushed	sprang; raised areas burnished	smoothed over sprang	not visible of lip/rim sherds but all the rest are sprang	fabric/textile but hard to see under decoration; also smooth band	fabric/textile but hard to see under decoration	beginning of fabric/textile at neck but hard to see under decoration
Colour	reduced	oxidized	reduced	reduced	reduced	reduced	one reduced and one oxidized	reduced
Lip profile	wedge - slight bevel to interior	wedge with beveled interior	probably wedge but exfoliated interior	probably wedge but exfoliated interior	unknown	angled interior bevel	square with slight interior bevel	slight bevels to exterior and interior
Lip surface shape	flat	convex but cwoi creates crimping	generally rounded but cwoi creates crimping	generally flat but has cwoi	what is present is rounded but crimped from cwoi	angled towards interior	flat with ridges from cwoi	flat but angled to interior
Lip surface finish	decoration covers	decoration covers	decoration covers	decoration covers	decoration covers	smooth	decoration covers	decoration covers
Lip surface decoration	herringbone cwoi	deep left to right oblique cwoi; crimped	left to right oblique cwoi; crimped	cwoi slightly right to left oblique	left to right oblique cwoi	cwoi perp. to lip	left to right cwoi	left to right oblique cwoi
Inner lip corner decoration	none	none	exfoliated	unknown	unknown	none	none	none
Outer lip corner decoration	none	beginning of right to left oblique cwoi	exfoliated	beginning of right to left oblique cwoi	beginning of right to left oblique cwoi	none - smooth	beginning of right to left oblique cwoi	beginning of left to right oblique cwoi
Outer rim decoration	right to left oblique cwoi over horizontal cwoi rows	right to left oblique cwoi over left to right oblique cwoi containing one punctate; seems to be row of small stamps below this?	right to left oblique cwoi over two horizontal cwoi rows - in between these is row of stamps	right to left oblique cwoi then obliterated area upon which a row of punctates has been placed	right to left oblique cwoi; exfoliated below that	right to left oblique cwoi over plain band (smoothed) with a row of small stamps underneath on neck; row of punctates on plain band	right to left oblique cwoi over five horizontal cwoi rows over row of ovate stamps	left to right oblique cwoi over right to left (shorter) cwoi oval stamps forming herringbones; then three horizontal cwoi rows with three groups of vertical stamps in these; over neck stamps
Inner rim decoration	none	none	exfoliated	unknown	unknown	none	none	none
Lip thickness (max.)	10.0	11.0	6.5 but exfoliated interior	5.5 but exfoliated	6.5 but exfoliated interior	10.0	6.0	7.75
Rim thickness (25 mm below lip)	6.0	4.25	6.5 not exfoliated	3.0 but exfoliated	unknown	4.0 at 23.0 below lip	5.25	5.5 - occurs at neck flare
Neck decoration	n/a	small stamps?	cwoi, punctate	row of punctates	unknown	row of cwoi stamps	broke at neck juncture	row of oval blunt tool stamps - curved with neck
Punctate or stamp shape	round 3.0 deep x 4.5 wide	round forms hole (larger on exterior side) 5.5 deep x 4.5-8.0 tall x 6.0 wide; oval stamps 0.5 x 2.0 tall x 1.0 wide	round cwoi stamps impressed on right to left oblique 1.5 deep x 4.0 tall x 3.5 wide	slightly oval, left to right oblique 2.25 deep x 5.0 tall x 2.5 wide	none but fragmented	round 3.0 deep x 4.0 wide; stamps 1.0 deep x 4.5 tall x 1.0 wide	ovate stamps 1.0-2.0 deep x 5.5-6.0 tall x 1.5-2.0 wide	upper row: 1.5 deep x 5.0 tall x 2.0 wide; lower row: 2.0 deep x 5.0 tall x 2.0 wide
Distance from lip to top of punctates stamps	10.0	14.0	14.0	14.0	none but fragmented	8.0 punctates, 15.0 stamps	19.0	18.0
Type	Osufsen Cord and Punctate	Blackduck Brushed	Although this has 'stamps', it has a sprang surface finish and more Blackduck than Bird Lake ware attributes; Osufsen Cord and Punctate	Osufsen Cord and Punctate	These seem to be from the same vessel in terms of context, paste, textile, how they broke (friable), and colour; Osufsen Cord and Punctate	Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate	Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp - similar to Helen's Place site example	Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp - similar to Oliver's Smokehouse site example
***Site reported by Wall (1980a) but these artifacts from Lee Gerrish's collection.**								
****Site and artifacts reported by Wall (1980a:74, 81); rim illustrated in his report.**								
cwoi - cord wrapped object impressions								

This evolving typology represents pottery that does not conform to classic Blackduck attribute descriptions (e.g., Anfinson 1979; Arzigian 2008; Lugenbeal 1976; Wilford 1945), nor other Late Woodland wares. In particular, this rim sherd from the Artery Tree Throw Site is not one of the Rainy River Composite wares that are proposed to represent "late Blackduck" pottery (Lenius and Olinyk 1990) in northwestern Ontario, which are not supposed to have punctates and stamps together on a vessel. That finding represents a new type and an interesting precontact connection between the Bloodvein River and what is a regional Lac Seul type. This suggestion is particularly compelling given that there is also a Postcontact Period and contemporary link between Lac Seul community members and the Bloodvein River (see Chapters 5 and 6 for more information).

Bird Lake Ware. Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp Type (i.e., cord wrapped object impressed and stamp type) of the Bird Lake Complex within the Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990) was also newly identified in this region (Figure 7.18). In trying to identify one vessel represented at the Oliver's Smokehouse Site on Thicketwood Lake and another from the Helen's Place Site on Artery Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.18; Table 7.11), it was apparent that it does not conform to Early Blackduck Ware descriptions but are clearly of a similar form (i.e., not Sandy Lake, Duck Bay, or Winnipeg Fabric-impressed wares). These two vessels are very similar in vessel form, decoration, and paste, so much that there is a possibility that they were made by the same person (Figure 7.18, Table 7.11).

Bird Lake Ware has not been identified previously in the Bloodvein or adjacent regions, mainly since most of the fieldwork was completed before that complex had been identified by Lenius and Olinyk (1990). I consulted the original description for Bird Lake Ware and the limited other examples available for comparison (e.g., Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Mantey and Pettipas 1996; Peach et al. 2006[2010]) and suggest that these two vessels from Thicketwood Lake and Artery Lake are Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp Type. Updating some aspects of the Rainy River Composite for southeastern Manitoba, Peach et al. (2006[2010]:14-15) note some clusters of attributes in southeastern Manitoba sites which fit with one of these pots:

> In re-cataloguing the ceramics within the University of Winnipeg collections, additional traits and motifs were noted within the assemblages that, while not neatly slotting into the pre-existing Bird Lake Complexes, were clearly related. Seven of the traits and/or motifs are briefly described below. These may represent regional - or drainage based - variability. These traits are found in various combinations on vessels in the region. Some of these combinations may form the basis of new complexes with the Rainy River Composite.

Although it is interesting that Peach et al. (2006[2010]) determine certain replications of traits or motifs on various vessels, they have not suggested new types for these seven motifs; complexes consist of more than just the pottery in assemblages. Two of these motifs fit with the sherds found at Artery Lake: "oblique CWOI over stamp" and "pseudo-chevron (CWOI-stamp) on the vessel exterior" (Figure 7.18B) and the first motif fits with the other sherds found on Thicketwood Lake (Figure 7.18A). However, these decorative modes are described in the Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp Type definition by Lenius and Olinyk (1990) already. These two rim sherds do not have the typical attributes of Blackduck, Duck Bay, Winnipeg Fabric-impressed, or Sandy Lake wares (being the other Late Woodland affiliations) since they lack punctates and have stamps, so I have identified them as Bird Lake Ware. Clearly, there is a great deal of variability in the decorations on Bird Lake Ware, much like Blackduck Ware, which makes it quite complicated to delineate types.

It was also interesting to find these rim sherds because Lenius and Olinyk (1990) identify the Rainy River Composite with Ojibwe speakers. That idea of ethnicity has important implications in northwestern Ontario because so many areas have been occupied by the Anishinaabeg since at least the mid-1700s, if not much longer (see discussion about Ojibwe migrations in Chapter 6). These sherds were found on Thicketwood and Artery lakes, with considerable distance in between, but this would have been not that far in the scheme of Indigenous peoples' movements throughout their territory. Perhaps these vessels represent people bringing their pottery with them as they moved into the study area from the south, where Bird Lake Ware is more often found (Lenius and Olinyk 1990).

Trends. A particularly intriguing decorative trend was observed in the Blackduck and similar wares including Bird Lake Ware and the one Plain Stamp and Punctate Type rim sherd found during the Bloodvein River surveys. Although Blackduck Ware is well known to have a very large array of decorative applications, modes, and variants (e.g., Carmichael 1977; Lugenbeal 1976, 1979), the vessels found during the Bloodvein River surveys are very similar in decorative mode. Eight Late Woodland vessels, other than Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, were found at different sites along approximately 106 km of the river from Knox Lake through to Artery Lake (Table 7.8); of those, seven have the same or a very similar mode of decoration and the eighth is similar (Figures 7.17, 7.18). These sherds represent different vessels since they are distinguishable and either found at a different site or lake. At the top of all of these rims, there are cord wrapped object impressions applied from the top right to bottom left (oblique) and underneath this are rows of horizontal cord wrapped object impressions with a row of punctates/bosses or cord wrapped object impression shallow punctates. These combinations of decorations are also well known on classic Blackduck Composite vessels (Smith 1981). One of the Bird Lake vessels, from Artery Lake, has a slightly different mode of decoration in that the cord wrapped object impressions are at first going the opposite direction but then stamps are placed right to left below that forming a sort of pseudo-chevron (Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Peach et al. 2006[2010]) or herringbone pattern (Figure 7.18). Blackduck Ware (AD 500-1,000 or 1,450-950 BP in Lenius and Olinyk 1990) is generally dated earlier than Bird Lake Ware (thought to be AD 1,100-1,350 or 850-600 BP in Lenius and

Olinyk 1990) and there are no dates yet associated with the Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type, although definitely within the Late Woodland. An alternative is that the Late Woodland peoples in this area who made this pottery were related and shared a tradition of that very particular design mode but allowing for variations between individual potters. Given the relatedness of later Anishinaabeg people in this area that I have discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, this is a compelling evidence for suggesting continuity of occupations.

The possibility of similar Blackduck decorative modes being found on all of the pots from the Bloodvein River in Ontario led to a comparison with nearby vessels from the few available collections. It was particularly intriguing to check the regions where at least Late Postcontact and modern Anishinaabe family connections are established as explained in Chapter 5 (e.g., Red Lake, Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, Trout Lake, Lac Seul and in between [Figure 1.4] but only limited archaeological collections are available). Smith (1981) also identified six vessels of the Blackduck Ware from nearby Red Lake sites but also nine other vessels (Nett Lake Cord and Punctate is also similar from Evans' 1961 typology). Checking with the few other examples of Blackduck or related sherds, the rim sherd from the nearest archaeological survey on the Gammon River in the WCSS (Smith 1980), also has the same mode. The only two Blackduck vessels found at Trout Lake (Taylor-Hollings 2008) have this same decorative mode. From the Berens River to the north, Pelleck (1980a) reports a similarly decorated vessel from EkKi-3. In addition, Hyslop (personal communication 2014) has this trend for right to left oblique cord wrapped object impressions over horizontals with punctates at 87 of the 100 rim sherds that he has found at the Pelican Falls Site on Lac Seul (e.g., Hyslop 2009). Thus, although this decorative mode is common in some Blackduck Composite assemblages, there is also a great deal of variation found in Blackduck Ware. The appearance of so many similar modes of decoration on these vessels is significant for this region. Perhaps it may indicate earlier relatedness between makers of this pottery or at least a preference for this decorative choice on a regional scale.

Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite

A considerable number of rim or rim sections and several clusters of body sherds of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite were recovered during the Bloodvein River surveys (Figures 7.19, 7.20, 7.21; Table 7.12). In meeting the fourth objective of this project, there were 16 Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware vessels identified by rim sherds plus one more from Wall's (1980a) report (Figures 7.19, 7.20, 7.21; Table 7.12). Meyer and Russell (2006) have returned to using this initial terminology of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, so it is followed here since the initial type name should be retained when possible if it is a valid construct. Other vessels are represented by single finds of fabric impressed body or other sherds at certain sites (Table 7.8) that also add to the total vessel numbers and provide information about the people liv-

Table 7.12. Main attributes of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware rims found during recent and West Patricia surveys (all measurements in mm).

Attributes	*EhKq-1 (Larus)	**EhKp-1 (Larus)	Billie Joe's Place (Thicketwood) - Figure 7.20B	Simeon Lake (Simeon Lake)	Barclay Tree Throw (Barclay)	Duck Spot (Musclow)	*EiKs-3 (Artery) - Figure 7.20E/F	*EiKs-3 - Figure 7.20G	*EiKs-3 - Figure 7.21A
Type of sherds found	two lip/rim sherds; one is split vertically and other is partly exfoliated; Wall reports 11 WFI sherds	rim/neck; just very top lip is exfoliated	lip/rim/neck and some body	small lip/rim sherd, rim, neck, shoulder, and body; many found that seem to be one vessel	lip/rim/neck, shoulder, body; many found that seem to be one vessel	lip/rim/neck, shoulder, body; many found that seem to be one vessel	lip/rim/neck; many rim, neck, shoulder, and body sherds have WFI surface finish	lip/rim and perhaps associated sherds	lip/rim/neck, shoulder sherds
Context	surface collected	surface collected	TP1	surface collected in tree throw	surface collected in tree throw	TP1	surface collected	surface collected	surface collected
Paste texture	laminated	laminated	hard, laminated	hard, laminated	laminated	laminated	laminated	laminated	laminated; friable
Temper	much coarse grit (feldspar and quartz), some fine	much coarse grit (feldspar and quartz), some fine	fine grit	fine grit with some coarse pieces	lots of fine grit (smoothed over to reveal on lip, interior) some round pebbles	coarse and fine grit	lots of fine and some very coarse grit	large amount of fine and some coarse grit	fine grit
Colour	reduced	reduced	reduced	reduced	reduced	reduced; light core	reduced	reduced	some oxidized, some reduced
Exterior surface finish	WFI; neck area slightly smoothed	WFI; slightly burnished interior and raised areas on exterior	obliterated WFI	WFI - coarse fabric; interior has smoothing marks	obliterated, fine WFI with oblique left to right orientation	WFI - coarse fabric	obliterated, fine WFI with oblique left to right orientation	obliterated WFI	obliterated, fine WFI with oblique left to right orientation
Rim profile	straight to slightly excurvate	excurvate	excurvate - very short rim; small diameter also	excurvate	excurvate	straight to slightly excurvate	slight S - with longer straight section of rim before obvious neck angle	straight but only small portion of rim area	straight to slightly excurvate - short rim

Table 7.12. Continued.

Lip profile	slightly beveled exterior and interior	exfoliated	interior bevel and angled to interior	exterior bevel	slight exterior and definite interior bevel	small bevel on exterior and large bevel on interior	wedge -exterior and interior bevels	large exterior bevel and slight interior bevel	exterior folded over bevel
Lip surface shape	flat but angled to exterior	exfoliated	flat but angled to interior	flat and slightly lower in the centre	flat to rounded and angled to interior	highest point in middle because of decoration; rounded at edges	flat with slight dome in middle and rounded near lip edges	flat with rounded edges	flat with rounded edges
Lip surface finish	WFI	exfoliated	decoration covers	obliterated WFI	WFI set on a slightly right to left oblique angle; some exfoliated	decoration covers	obliterated WFI	obliterated WFI	very fine corded WFI with left to right oblique orientation on pot
Lip surface decoration	none	exfoliated	fine right to left oblique blunt tool impressions closest to lip exterior; left to right ones nearer to interior - forming a herringbone pattern	none	Seems to be none but difficult to see (obliterated)	left to right oblique nearest to exterior and right to left oblique cwoi forming herringbone meeting in centre of lip	row of crescent shaped impressions running down centre	widely spaced herringbone pattern of cwoi: right to left close to exterior and left to right close to interior	none
Inner lip corner decoration	none	left to right oblique cwoi	row of interior bosses formed by exterior punctates; every second one perforated on interior	mostly exfoliated	none	none	none	none	none
Outer lip corner decoration	none	none	none	none visible	none	none	none	none	tiny rectangular tool impressions but could be part of WFI

Table 7.12. Continued.

Outer rim decoration	one row of punctates	row of punctates	one row of punctates	exfoliated below the lip	none	may be a partial horizontal row of three round punctates where it broke at the neck juncture but more could be fabric/weave holes	none	row of rectangular punctates close to lip is only thing visible	row of vertical irregular to oval tool impressions; placed at a slightly left to right oblique angle on rim
Inner rim decoration	one row of corresponding bosses to exterior punctates	left to right oblique cwoi and one row of bosses matching exterior punctates	none	exfoliated below the lip	none	none	none	two rows of rectangular punctates close to lip is only thing visible	none
Lip thickness - max.	8.5	exfoliated	8.5	6.5	11.5	12.5	13	13.5	8.0
Rim thickness (25 mm below lip)	6.0 at 24 mm below; exfoliated below this	7.5	3.0 at 18 mm below lip	broken just below the lip; thin walled at the lip but quite thick at shoulder (11 mm)	7.8	5.0	9.0	9.5	5.5 at 22 mm below lip
Neck decoration	none	row of fingernail impressions perpendicular to	punctates	none	none	none	none - but interior bevel at neck	none	broken before neck
Punctate shape	irregular round - looks like small bone tool used - 3.0 deep x 4.5 tall x 3.0 wide	round - 6.0 deep x 4.5 tall x 5.0 wide	round - 4.0 deep x 3.0 tall x 3.0 wide	none	none	if they are punctates -round - 2.0 deep x 4.0 tall x 3.5 wide	none	exterior 2.5 deep x 6.0 tall x 3.5 wide; interior 2.5 x 7.0 tall x 3.5 wide	irregular oval tool used - 1.5 deep x 5.0 tall x 1.0 wide (but irregular); plano convex in shape

Table 7.12. Continued.

Punctate distance below lip	4.0-6.0	13.0 presently but very top is exfoliated	5.0	none	none	none	none	exterior 4.5; interior 4.0 and 11.0	5.0
Comments			small diameter of vessel compared to others; similar to two vessels from Artery Tree Throw site with short rims and tiny punctates	residue analyzed for phytoliths (result: maize) and AMS radiocarbon result: 590±30 BP with 2 sigma calibration of Cal AD 1295 to 1370 (Cal BP 655 to 580) and Cal AD 1380 to 1415 (Cal BP 570 to 535) (Beta - 373778)					
Type	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Probably Alexander Fabric-impressed	Alexander Fabric-impressed	Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed	Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate

***Site reported by Wall (1980a) but data from recent surveys**

****Site reported by Wall (1980a) but these artifacts found by Lee Gerrish**

*****Site and artifacts reported by Wall (1980a)**

WFI - Winnipeg Fabric Impressed Ware

Table 7.12. Continued.

Attributes	***EiKs-3 - Figure 7.21C**	***EiKs-3 - Figure 7.21G**	*****EiKs-3**	**Artery Tree Throw (Artery) - Figure 7.20C**	**Artery Tree Throw - Figure 7.20D**	**Artery Tree Throw - Figure 7.21B**	**Artery Tree Throw - Figure 7.21D**	**Artery Tree Throw - Figure 7.21E**	**Artery Tree Throw - Figure 7.21F**
Type of sherds found	lip/rim/neck with possible associated sherds	near lip/rim and few body sherds seem to be part of this vessel	rim//body/shoulder - three groups conjoin (large sherds); no neck visible	lip/rim/neck other WFI body from this site; many sherds from this site	lip/rim/neck	lip/rim/neck and possibly other body	lip/rim/neck; most of lip and interior exfoliated	lip/rim/neck	lip/rim/neck
Context	surface collected	surface collected	?	TP1	surface collected	surface collected	surface collected	surface collected	surface collected in tree throw
Paste texture	laminated	laminated	laminated	laminated	hard, laminated	hard, laminated	laminated	hard, laminated	laminated
Temper	lots of fine grit; smoothed interior reveals grit	fine and coarse grit	fine grit	fine grit, some rounded pebbles; grit revealed by smoothing	fine grit	fine grit	fine and coarse grit (feldspar and quartz) - lots; may be two areas of grog exposed	fine grit	fine and coarse grit
Colour	reduced	oxidized with small round patches	reduced	oxidized but dark interior	reduced	reduced exterior, oxidized interior	reduced	reduced	reduced
Exterior surface finish	WFI - obliterated in one spot	obliterated WFI; obvious interior smoothing lines and one groove	WFI - smoothed over	obliterated WFI near lip; coarse fabric below and near neck; slightly burnished	slightly smoothed over WFI	WFI; coarse fabric and rough to feel	WFI; coarse fabric extend all the way to the lip	WFI; coarse fabric slightly smoothed over near row of punctates	WFI; coarse fabric extend all the way to the lip
Rim profile	straight	straight	exfoliated	excurvate	incipient s - very short rim	excurvate - very short rim	excurvate - short rim	excurvate - short rim	incipient s - very short rim

Table 7.12. Continued.

Lip profile	exterior folded over bevel and slight interior bevel	exfoliated	exfoliated	slight exterior bevel; interior bevel; angled to interior; short rim	interior bevel and angled to interior	exterior bevel and slightly smaller interior bevel	slight exterior bevel, otherwise unknown	interior bevel and angled to interior	exterior bevel
Lip surface shape	flat with rounded edges of lip	exfoliated	exfoliated	flat, angled to interior	flat, angled to interior	rounded but decorated	exterior edge is rounded	rounded but angled to interior	flat with rounded edges
Lip surface finish	obliterated WFI	exfoliated	exfoliated	decoration covers	decoration covers	WFI	unknown	decoration covers	obliterated WFI
Lip surface decoration	none	exfoliated	exfoliated	close left to right oblique cwoi and fainter right to left oblique cwoi over the top of this but wider spaced	close left to right oblique cwoi and fainter right to left oblique cwoi over the top of this but wider spaced	left to right oblique cwoi	unknown	right to left oblique nearest to exterior and left to right oblique cwoi forming herringbone meeting in centre of lip	none
Inner lip corner decoration	none	exfoliated	exfoliated	none	none	none	unknown	none	none
Outer lip corner decoration	none	exfoliated	exfoliated	beginning of vertical cwoi	beginning of right to left oblique cwoi	none	none	beginning of right to left oblique cwoi	none

Table 7.12. Continued.

Outer rim decoration	none	row of small cwoi stamps	drilled through, very widely spaced punctates (perhaps quartering?)	row of vertical cwoi over obliterated WFI; below is row of punctates on ridge; then coarse WFI begins; farthest distance between cwoi is 6.5 mm	right to left oblique cwoi over row of small punctates; farthest distance between cwoi is 3.0 mm	one row of small cwoi stamps impressed with deepest part to left (left to right oblique); over few horizontal cwoi on the same level as one round punctate	deeply impressed right to left oblique cwoi over row of punctates	right to left oblique cwoi over one row of punctates	one row of round punctates
Inner rim decoration	none	exfoliated	none	row of bosses corresponding with punctates on exterior	row of bosses corresponding with punctates on exterior; also neck bevel on interior below them	row vertical slightly oval, irregular tool impressions		one row of corresponding bosses; fingerprints visible on two	none
Lip thickness - max.	8.5	exfoliated	unknown	8.0		8.5	unknown	10.5	7.0
Rim thickness (25 mm below lip)	7.5	6.5 at top of sherd	7.0	7.0 at 15 mm below lip where broken		5.0 at 21 mm below lip	4.5 but interior exfoliated	6.5	6.0 at 20.5 mm below lip
Neck decoration	none	none	seems to be almost no neck	none	one small right to left cwoi stamp visible just before neck break	horizontal cwoi but not in row	corresponding row of bosses	none	none
Punctate shape	none	irregular to oval cwoi - 3.0 deep x 5.0 tall x2.0 wide	round - 7.0 deep x 8.0 tall x 7.5 wide	round - 4.0 deep x 2.0 tall x 2.0 wide; 12.5 between each punctate	round - 3.0 deep x 2.0 tall x 2.0 wide; 12.0 between each punctate	1 visible round - 2.0 deep x 3.0 tall x 3.0 wide	round - 5.0 deep x 3.5 tall x 4.0 wide	round - 5.5 deep x 5.0 tall x 4.0 wide	round 4.0 deep x 4.0 tall x 5.0 wide

Table 7.12. Continued.

Punctate distance below lip	none	unknown because no lip	unknown because no lip	7.0	8.0	10.5	12.0	14.0	4.5
Comments	similar to 7.21 D that it was likely made by the same person; there are subtle differences which seem to indicate that they are two pots		some very large sherds; I was able to put together three groups - two have only one punctate (unusually wide spacing); similar shape to Berens River ElKn-2 pot	so similar to 7.20 D that it was likely made by the same person; there are subtle differences which indicate two pots; similar to vessel from Billie Joe's Place site with short rim and tiny punctates	so similar to 7.20 C that it was likely made by the same person; there are subtle differences which indicate that two pots; similar to vessel from Billie Joe's Place with short rim and tiny punctates; small hole on interior which looks like a narrow oval seed hole		similar to next vessel but not the same	similar to previous vessel but not the same	
Type	Alexander Fabric-impressed	Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware - not Alexander Fabric-impressed	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate	Clearwater Lake Punctate

***Site reported by Wall (1980a) but data from recent surveys**
****Site reported by Wall (1980a) but these artifacts found by Lee Gerrish**
*****Site and artifacts reported by Wall (1980a)**

ing along the Bloodvein River during the Late Woodland. The Selkirk Composite types identified include Clearwater Lake Punctate (n=9 + 1 from Wall 1980a), Alexander Fabric-impressed (n=2), and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed (n=3) according to MacNeish's (1958) and Hlady's (1971) original classifications. Although most are rim sherds, there were two sets of near rim sherds, from different sites found during these recent surveys, that constitute two additional Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware vessels but the type is not assignable with the available information. One of these vessels is represented by many near rim, neck, shoulder, and body sherds that have the characteristic amorphous fabric impressed exterior (and no stamps) and was recovered from a tree throw on Simeon Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.19C). Most of these pieces appear to be from the same vessel but unfortunately, no rim sherds were found (although they are from the neck and near rim). Although these sherds also have the same type of fabric impressed exterior surface finish as Bird Lake vessels, there are no stamps on the sherds and the shoulder is rounded not angular. Therefore, I conclude that this is a Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware vessel but cannot name the exact type without a rim/lip sherd.

Since there was a considerable amount of residue on the sherds from the Simeon Lake vessel, there was enough to complete phytolith analysis (completed by Surette, as per methods in Boyd and Surette 2008; Surette 2008). The resulting information indicated that maize phytoliths were present in this residue, making it the most northerly occurrence in Ontario thus far (Clarence Surette, personal communication 2013). Another Late Woodland sherd (not a diagnostic rim) at a similar northernly location of the Kirk 6 Site (EjKl-6) on Kirkness Lake (Figure 1.4) in Pikangikum's Whitefeather Forest (Hamilton et al. 2007; Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2008) also yielded one possible maize phytolith and two diagnostic wild rice phytoliths (Clarence Surette, personal communication 2013). It is most unlikely that the people using the pot on Simeon Lake had grown the maize, given how far north into the boreal forest this site is located; maize horticulture would not likely be possible due to the climate and soil conditions. Rather, it is more likely that people cooked maize that was traded or transported with them from southern Ontario or northern Minnesota where maize is known to have been grown in precontact times (Boyd et al. 2014).

The first and only AMS date from the Bloodvein River (and the entire area) is derived from pottery residue found on the Simeon Lake Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware pot; many of the sherds had this on the interior surface. Analysis resulted in a conventional radiocarbon age of 590±30 BP and 2σ calibrated result of cal AD 1295-1370 (cal BP 655-580) and cal AD 1380-1415 (cal BP 570-535) (Beta - 373778; carbonized residue; C13/C12 = -26.3o/oo) using the INTCAL13 database (Reimer et al. 2013; Talma and Vogel 1993). These date ranges are within the extent of typical ones from Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and Selkirk Composite assemblages (Meyer and Russell 1987).

An additional, distinctive near rim sherd from the EiKs-3 Site (Figure 7.21G), found along with a few body sherds, is also likely Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. It has smoothed over fabric impressions on the exterior surface and a straight profile, which is unlike the other possibility of Bird Lake Ware.

Seventeen Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware vessels were identified at eight different sites along the Bloodvein River in Ontario: EhKq-1; EhKp-1 (found by Lee Gerrish of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources); Billie Joe's Place on Thicketwood Lake; Simeon Lake; Barclay Tree Throw; Duck Camp on Musclow Lake; and EiKs-3 and Artery Tree Throw sites on Artery Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21; Table 7.12). Some of these were found in test pits (Billie Joe's Place, Duck Camp, and EiKs-3) and the others were discovered on the surface or in tree throws (e.g., Figure 7.22). Most of the eight sites are found on a different lake system except EhKq-1 and EhKp-1, which are both located on Larus Lake as reported by Wall (1980a) and revisited by our survey crew (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008a). The EiKs-3 and Artery Tree Throw sites are found quite close to one another on Artery Lake (Figure 7.1).

In addition, 11 other Late Woodland vessels and three other Woodland vessels (essentially indeterminate sherds that are exfoliated and could be either from the Middle or Late Woodland) were identified from different sites where no rim sherds were found to indicate a possible affiliation but pottery sherds were recovered (Table 7.8). This information is still diagnostic, narrowing the time frame from the Late Period to the Late Woodland Period. In summary, 48 vessels have been identified from the Bloodvein River surveys, including nine Middle Woodland, 36 Late Woodland (Blackduck, Bird Lake, Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate, and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware), and three generic Woodland pots.

Selkirk 'Complex-ities': Are There Clearwater Lake (North) and Winnipeg River (South) Complexes?

Following the compilation of new information about the Selkirk Composite in the study area and larger area of northwestern Ontario, objective four of this project was to examine the possibility of more than one complex for the Selkirk Composite in northwestern Ontario. Related to this goal, it is pertinent to address the taxonomic placement of the Winnipeg River Complex. In terms of the present state of the archaeological literature, there is considered to be only the more northern Clearwater Lake Complex of the Selkirk Composite found in the middle portions of northwestern Ontario but also in Manitoba and parts of Saskatchewan (Figure 1.5). Lenius and Olinyk's (1990) proposed change is that the southern Winnipeg River Complex (Figure 1.5) be included in the Rainy River Composite (of which details are explained in Chapter 4).

Archaeologists has long discussed this possibility of a north-south split of Selkirk Composite complexes in northwestern Ontario. For example, MacNeish (1958) noticed that in the southeast-

Figure 7.22. The late Joe Keesic searches for artifacts in a tree throw on the shore of the Bloodvein River. We often found them using this method.

ern Manitoba study area the most common Selkirk pottery type was Alexander Fabric-impressed and the least frequent were Sturgeon Punctate (now called Clearwater Lake Punctate Type) rims. With typical clarity in establishing baseline cultural heritage information, MacNeish (1958) suggested that this pottery dated later than AD 1,350. Eventually he agreed that Downes' (1938) collection in Saskatchewan was also part of the Selkirk Focus (Hanna 2004). Later, three researchers, Hlady (1970a, 1971), Mayer-Oakes (1970), and Wright (1971), worked in northern Manitoba where they also found Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. However, Hlady (1971) decided that the sherds he studied in northern Manitoba were sufficiently different to assign a new name for the northern Manitoba materials as the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type of the Clearwater Lake Phase. This decision actually affected the viewpoints of archaeologists in northwestern Ontario for several decades. Quantitatively, Hlady (1971) discusses there only being minimal numbers of Alexander Fabric-impressed (n=9 rims) and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Types (n=1 rim) out of 312 rim sherds (which are not counted by vessels but instead rims, which is not as accurate). So, there was a concentration of the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type but it should have retained MacNeish's (1958) name of the Sturgeon Punctate Type; Meyer and Russell (1987) caution that earlier published references should be given precedence since it may cause unnecessary complications. Researchers have continued to used Hlady's (1971) terminology of the Clearwater Lake (Type/Complex) within the Selkirk Composite and generally meaning the more northern areas of Manitoba and Ontario (Meyer and Russell 1987) (Figures 1.6, 4.7). However, Sturgeon Punctate and Clearwater Lake Punctate types are now recognized as the same (Hanna 2004; Meyer and Russell 1987). Although Hlady (1970a, 1971) also described another phase, Grass River, based on several vessels with particularly coarse (meaning thicker fibers were used) fabric impressions of a different style than Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware, it has not really been given much further study.

Also related to the proposed north/south divisions of the Selkirk Composite, Rajnovich and Reid (1978) published a brief article about the Lake of the Woods region. They proposed a 'demarcation line' between Clearwater Lake (north) and Selkirk pottery (south), which had been suggested by MacNeish (1958) and Hlady (1971):

> The very low frequency of Clearwater Lake ceramics further strengthens the hypothesis that this phase is a northerly one, a contention borne out by other Northern Ontario research such as the Potato Island excavations (Koezur and Wright 1976) near Red Lake which produced Clearwater Lake Phase materials, and Dawson's (1976) from the Howell's Lake Site on the Albany River. The "demarcation line" between Clearwater Lake and Selkirk ceramics should fall between Red Lake and Lake of the Woods, and this hypothesis will be tested out in 1978 (Rajnovich and Reid 1978:46).

This hypothesis was one of the reasons why West Patricia Archaeological Study testing occurred in and around Red Lake (Reid, ed. 1980; Reid and Ross 1981; Smith 1981; Wall 1980b). Smith (1981) was actually the first person to research this idea further in Ontario after one season of fieldwork and combining information from Wall's (1980b) project near Red Lake. She outlines northern and southern groupings of Selkirk Composite assemblages in northwestern Ontario (Figure 7.23), although she is not often cited for this research. However, Smith (1981:113) bases this result for the Red Lake area on the finding of only one rim sherd, which is a Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type at the Skookum Bay Site. Smith (1981) reports the discovery of four other Selkirk Composite components at Red Lake but none of these include rim sherds and are identified on the presence of fabric-impressed sherds. This factor is logical since there was not another Late Woodland ware with the same surface finish at that time but it does not indicate if there is a lack of the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type in the Red Lake area (some of the four Selkirk Composite sites may represent that type). Later, Pelleck (1983) excavated many units at the Forestry Point Site, which provided a few more examples of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware in the Red Lake region and are discussed later in this chapter.

Rajnovich (1983) examines Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware found in the Lake of the Woods region and compares them with nine other components (including some of the same data as Smith 1981). As discussed in Chapter 4, she proposes the Winnipeg River Complex as the southern version of the Selkirk Composite, based on vessel counts of the various types found there and noting more Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed types with few Clearwater Lake Punctate examples (Rajnovich 1983). Although she states that the Spruce Point site is single component, and "this factor allows for the first analysis and description of Lake of the Woods Selkirk community patterns, material remains, especially ceramics, and adaptive strategy free from stratigraphic interference" (Rajnovich 1983:i), it is not. There were also Laurel, Blackduck, and

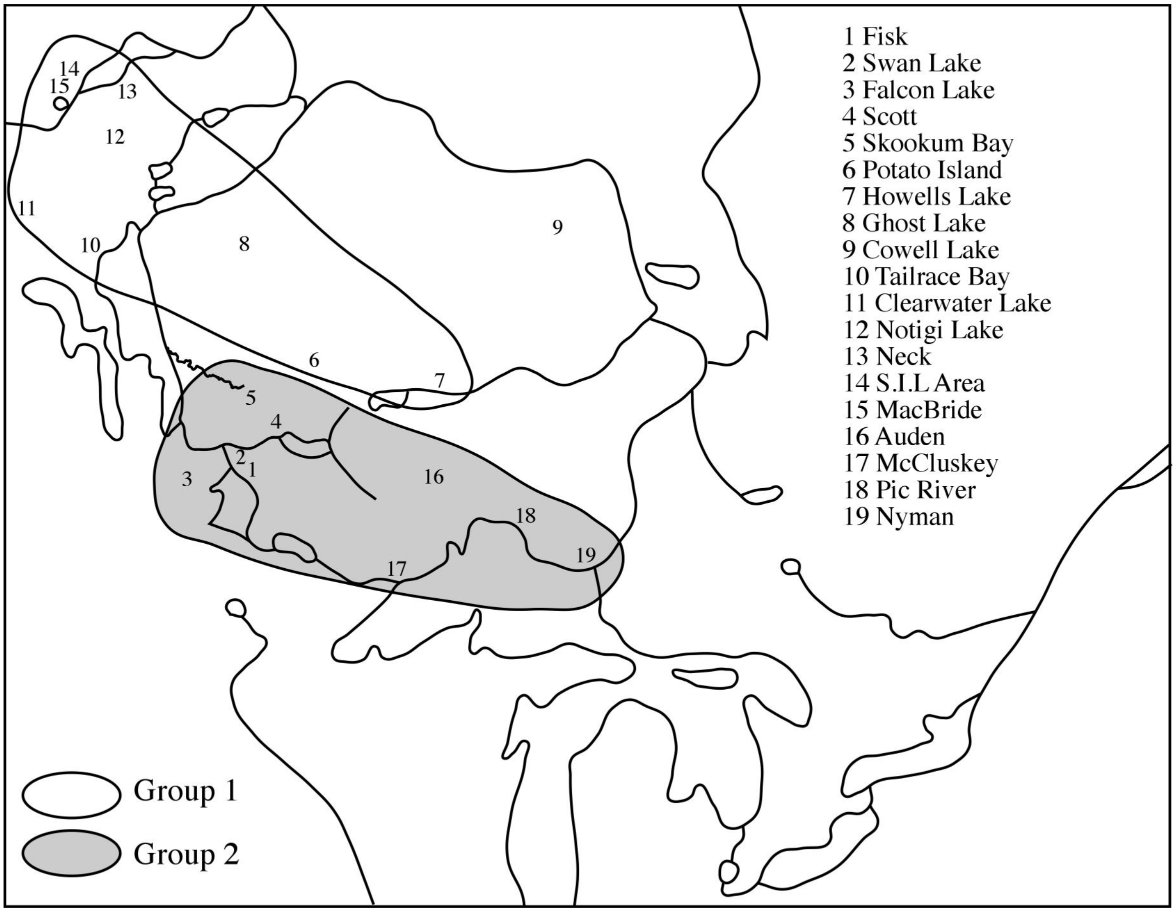

Figure 7.23. Geographic clustering of Selkirk Composite sites as proposed by Smith (1981) (redrawn from Smith 1981:113). The Bloodvein River occurs in between the groups with perhaps the headwaters in Group 2. The nearest site is Skookum Bay in Red Lake.

Sandy Lake Ware vessels identified from there (Rajnovich 1983). So, this is an important site but it cannot be considered as a single Selkirk Composite component. In fact, by noting these other cultural affiliations, it increases the importance of Spruce Point with well-situated, multi-component locales often being significant seasonal aggregation sites (e.g., Meyer and Thistle 1995).

Meyer and Hamilton (1994:119) provide a general overview about the central Canadian boreal forest and stipulate that there are two variations of Selkirk: "(1) a northern tier found from the forests of western Saskatchewan east to northern Lake Superior, and (2) a southern expression which is present in southeastern Manitoba and adjacent Ontario and Minnesota (Meyer and Russell 1987:21)". As in Figure 1.5, Mantey and Pettipas (1996:34) have also plotted the Winnipeg River Complex, but just to the south of the Bloodvein River and the Clearwater Lake Complex extends north of where the Bloodvein River is located, leaving a gap or sort of 'no man's land' in this conception. One obvious reason for this gap is that the Bloodvein River had not been surveyed for most of the Ontario section (until recently) and there is limited information from the northern West Patricia Archaeological Study in Reid's (ed. 1980) volume for that area. Thus, I wanted to determine where the sites of the Bloodvein River fit into the Selkirk Composite taxonomy. With this present research along that river just west of Red Lake, the most common type of Winnipeg Fabric-Impressed Ware was the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type (Table 7.12), thus suggesting that the Bloodvein River should be included in the Clearwater Lake Complex and that result extends the distribution southwards to the fill the information gap (Figure 7.24).

Other 'Complex' Discussions of the Selkirk Composite

In terms of regional complexes, the Selkirk Composite has been updated fairly regularly since MacNeish's original description (see updated map in Figure 7.24). It has been particularly well studied in Saskatchewan (e.g., Gibson 1998; Maclean 1995; Meyer 1978, 1981, 1984, 1998; Meyer and Epp 1990; Meyer and Russell 1987, 2006; Meyer and Smith 2010; Meyer and Thistle 1995; Paquin 1999; Pentney 2002; Young 2006) and in Manitoba (Buchner 1979a; Dickson 1980; Hlady 1970a, 1971; MacNeish 1958). The Pehonan (Meyer 1981), Keskatchewan (Gibson 1998), and Kisis (Paquin 1999) complexes are represented in Saskatchewan. In Manitoba, the Kame Hills (Dickson 1980) and a new Sipiwesk (Skalesky et al. 2010) Complex has been proposed. In Alberta, McCullough (1977) reports that Clearwater Lake Complex artifacts have been found in the Lac La Biche area and Walde et al. (2006[2010]) note other occurrences in that province. The recently defined Buffalo Lake Complex from northwestern Saskatchewan comprises pottery wares that have attributes from both Selkirk Composite and Sandy Lake wares (Meyer and Russell 2006; Walde et al. 2006[2010]; Young 2006). Walde and colleagues (2006[2010]) have expanded the extent of that complex within Alberta, thus refining the understanding of Selkirk Composite/Sandy Lake related material culture there. However, in northwestern Ontario examples have received relatively minimal study except for in the Lake of the Woods and Red Lake region (e.g., Rajnovich 1983; Rajnovich and Reid 1978; Reid 1984; Smith 1981) other than just identifying "Selkirk" pottery at sites. Meyer and Russell (1987:12) indicate that "the eastern extent of Clearwater Lake in Northern Ontario is not well known".

In Minnesota, research about the Selkirk Composite has been complicated by some researchers referring to it as other wares and types (Richner 2008). Sites have been found in the far northeastern portion of the state (e.g., Richner 2004), even though it has been identified as just 'Late/Terminal Woodland' or 'Late Blackduck' for many decades (e.g. Lugenbeal 1979; Lenius and Olinyk 1990). Arzigian (2008) reports seven Selkirk Composite assemblages within Minnesota sites and they are all located in the north (five in the Border Lakes and two in the Central Northern region). Mulholland and Woodward (2001) also report a possible single component Selkirk Composite site in Minnesota. Richner (2008:37) presents a detailed review, occurrences, and recent radiocarbon dates from Voyageur National Park:

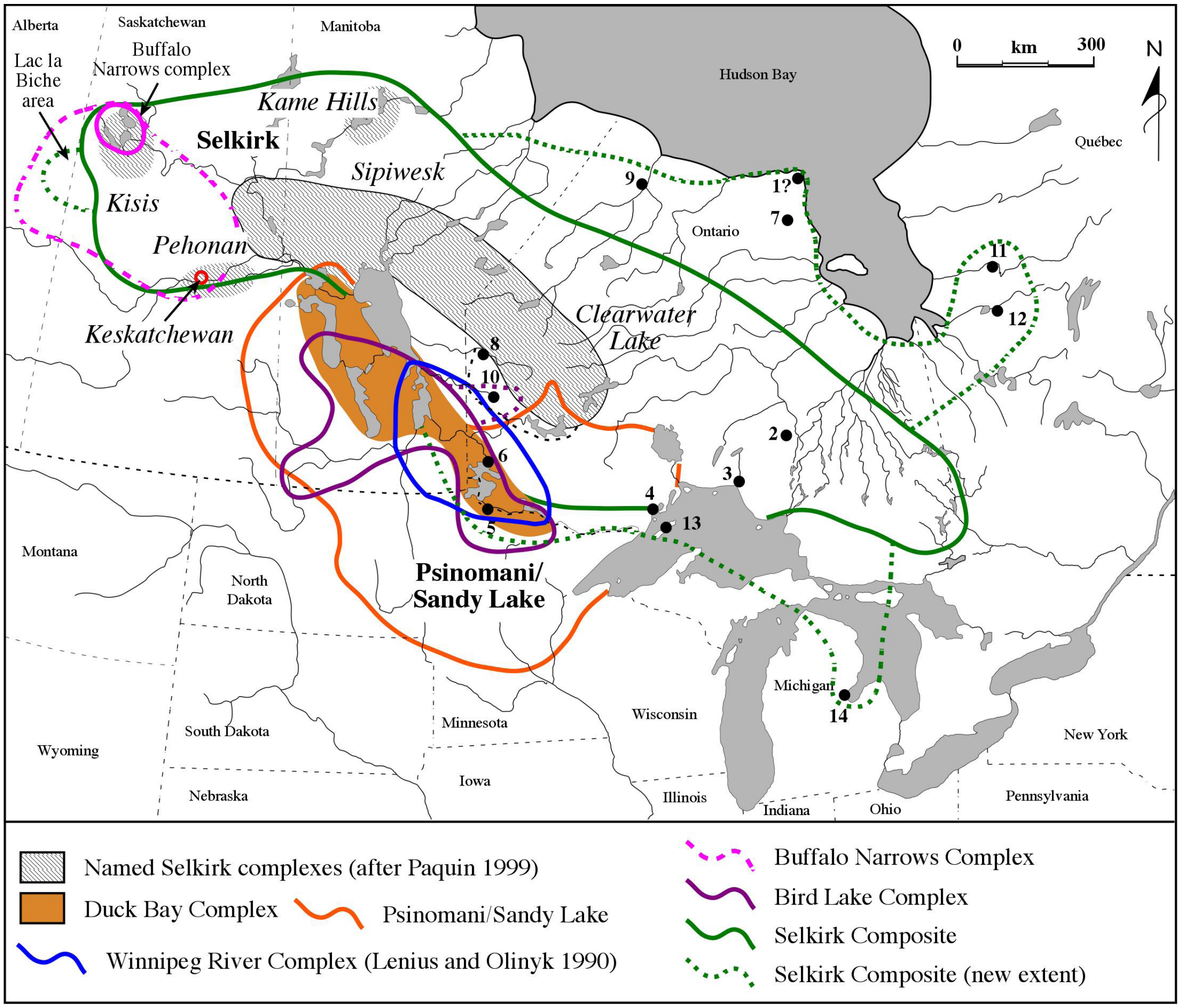

Figure 7.24. Distribution of different complexes of the Selkirk Composite, adapted from Paquin (1999:101) and based on Meyer and Russell (1987). The Winnipeg River Complex was originally part of the Selkirk Composite (MacNeish 1958), next Lenius and Olinyk (1990) proposed that it should be part of the Rainy River Composite. Meyer and Hamilton (1994) provide the most recent generalized outline of the Selkirk Composite extent (dotted lines) but no complexes were added. I have included the Alberta finds from McCullough (1977), the Keskatchewan Complex (Gibson 1998), the new Sipiwesk Complex (courtesy of Kevin Brownlee), and the related Buffalo Lake Complex (original - Young 2006 and extension is Walde et al. 2006[2010]. Circles represent key published sources specifically indicating the eastern distribution of the Selkirk Composite:

1) Tomenchuk and Irving (1974 - possibly Selkirk only)
2) Pollock (1976)
3) Wright (1967b)
4) Arthurs (1995)
5) Richner (2004)
6) Rajnovich 1983 (and others)
7) Pollock and Noble (1975)
8) Pelleck (1980a)
9) Pilon (1987)
10) Taylor-Hollings (2006a)
11) Insetter (2010)
12) Plourde (2010)
13) Clark (1995)
14) Brasher and Holman (1985); Crumley (1975)

> The Selkirk (or Winnipeg River complex of the Rainy River Composite) seems to be rather late in the sequence at Voyageurs NP (Lynott, Richner, and Thompson 1986). More than a half dozen thermoluminescence dates from "non-Blackduck," relatively simply decorated, or completely undecorated, rim sherds from several sites at Voyageurs NP suggest a span of perhaps AD 1250–1600+ for those materials. At this time, there is no way to evaluate the accuracy of the thermoluminescence dates from the park, since local radiocarbon ages are not available for comparison. Despite that uncertainty, two samples from a diagnostic Selkirk vessel from 21SL50 that yielded an average of AD 1430±60 (Lynott, Richner, and Thompson 1986) would seem to accurately reflect the late chronological placement of this ware within the park. As described above, the post-AD-1400 period that appears to correlate with the occurrence of Selkirk materials at Voyageurs NP era also coincides with the start of the local expression of the worldwide environmental period known as the Little Ice Age.

Interestingly, Richner (2008) only discusses Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Types, leaving out Clearwater Lake Punctate (perhaps because it is only supposed to occur in the north?). It has been identified in Lake of the Woods nearby (Rajnovich 1983). He also notes there are likely many more Selkirk Composite assemblages in Minnesota, which have been identified as something else (Richner 2008). I agree with Meyer (2012), Hyslop (2011), and many Minnesotans (e.g., Mulholland and Woodward 2001) that the Winnipeg River Complex remains more closely related to the Selkirk Composite than the Rainy River Composite through surface finish, vessel form, and having a lack of stamps.

Although not often discussed in Canadian contexts, the Selkirk Composite has also been identified in Michigan with many of those finds having been in Isle Royale National Park (Clark 1995), which is very large island near the north shore of Lake Superior located closer to Thunder Bay and Minnesota rather than Michigan (Figure 1.5). Thus, it is more closely linked to the boreal forest of Ontario than the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Forest of Michigan. However, Crumley (1973) also identified Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware at the Kantzler Site, which is multi-component and located on Saginaw Bay at the south end of Lake Huron. This area is far away from the typical locations of the Selkirk Composite in the central Canadian boreal forest and even in Minnesota. Brasher and Holman (1985) note that Selkirk Composite vessels are found in the Saginaw Bay area and usually found with Wayne Ware, a more common Late Woodland pottery for that area.

Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware Variation

In returning to MacNeish's (1958) original classification of the Selkirk Focus, he describes three types of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware: Alexander Fabric-impressed (proposed to be Winnipeg River Complex in the Rainy River Composite by Lenius and Olinyk 1990); Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed (now Winnipeg River Complex); and Sturgeon Punctate (now called Clearwater Lake Punctate Type but still in the Selkirk Composite). I believe that he actually had this categorization correct in that the three types are named separately from the ware and again from the Selkirk Focus (now the Selkirk Composite). The three types are found together in sites across the Selkirk Composite area in varying ratios (Meyer and Russell 1987), although there does tend to be more Sturgeon Punctate/Clearwater Lake Punctate Type in the north as MacNeish (1958) and then Hlady (1971) suggested. This finding also applies to the results of the Bloodvein River study.

In trying to analyze variation within the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite in northwestern Ontario, there are several reconstructed pots such as the Berens River/ Pikangikum area Clearwater Lake Punctate Type **(**Figure 4.12**)**, some larger reconstructed vessel portions from the Lake of the Woods area (e.g., Rajnovich 1983), and at least one large vessel portion found under water near Thunder Bay (Arthurs 1995) to compare with the recoveries from the Bloodvein River samples. This Mason vessel (Figure 7.17) is the Alexander Fabric-impressed Type (1958).

At issue is that Lenius and Olinyk (1990) have proposed that the Winnipeg River Complex should be placed with the Rainy River Composite instead of the Selkirk Composite. Rajnovich (1983) had named the Winnipeg River Complex as an updated term for the Selkirk Focus and she was correct. In doing so, Lenius and Olinyk (1990) propose separating the classic triad of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware types, so that Clearwater Lake Punctate is the only one remaining in the Selkirk Composite. However, that does not work since northern sites have all three types (Hlady 1971) and southern sites also have Clearwater Lake Punctate (Rajnovich 1983). In addition, Lenius and Olinyk (1990) suggest that Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed form the latest variation of the Rainy River Composite. This factor is not appropriate for the northwestern Ontario sites along the Bloodvein River, whereby all three types are found at some sites (e.g., Artery Tree Throw Site on Artery Lake) and found well beyond the Rainy River region. In addition, although there is some variation, Clearwater Lake Punctate, Alexander Fabric-impressed, and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed types share the same form of fabric-impressed surface finish but have differing decoration attributes. This conforms to the concept of a ware that has the same surface finish but has been split into types based on decorative applications as in Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. Each type has either no decoration (Alexander), lip/rim decoration (Sturgeon Falls), or a row of punctates/bosses and other lip treatment (Clearwater Lake Punctate). As I have posited, Sandy Lake Ware also has plain and notched (decorated) variants as well as a tendency towards minimal decoration (Taylor-Hollings 1999). Both wares are found together in archaeological sites, are contemporaneous, and likely related as evident through the syncretic vessels in Ontario and Manitoba (Arthurs 1978; Taylor-Hollings 1999) and those of the Buffalo Lake Complex (Young 2006). Having consulted with other archaeologists working in the central Canadian boreal forest about this idea, it seems logical to propose that the Winnipeg River Complex be placed back into the Selkirk Composite and include the three types back with that affiliation for the above reasons based on the Bloodvein River evidence.

Considering these issues is further complicated since most archaeologists just indicate that there was a "Selkirk" assemblage at a site without differentiating the pottery types (often denoting Clearwater Lake Punctate Type as I have discovered from reviewing reports, collections, and site database information). If considering the revised taxonomy of Lenius and Olinyk (1990), it becomes important to know what pottery types are found in an assemblage. Thus, clearly, basic attribute studies are required, particularly in northwestern Ontario where these two complexes overlap in the study area and to the south all three types are found.

The largest nearby excavations were completed at the Forestry Point Site in Red Lake (Pelleck 1983), as part of the West Patricia Archaeological Study. It is a multi-component site with Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk (mostly Clearwater Lake Punctate Type), Sandy Lake, and postcontact diagnostics (Pelleck 1983). Local informants had told Koezur, who first tested the site, that there was a NWC post on that location (Pelleck 1983). Smith (1981) also completed some testing at the Forestry Point Site. Most of the site has been disturbed since there are now parking lots, multiple buildings, a heli-pad, docks, paved roads, and out buildings related to the Fire Centre of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR 1986b). Between 1927 and 1940, the entire point was forested (Pelleck 1983) and some Indigenous families camped there (Figure 7.7). Some of these people were relatives of the Keesic family. They had lived at this place for a long time, were removed from this location, and had informed people that there were burials at this location (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2008). Unfortunately, construction moved forward (since 1928) and disturbed the burials of a juvenile, mass grave of 12-15 individuals (now covered with a residence and garage), and another individual grave that had been disturbed twice by construction (Pelleck 1983). Given that this may have been a NWC post in Red Lake, and post records indicate the deaths of some employees (Lytwyn 1986a), it may be reasonable to assess that some of those burials were associated with the post (although it was not confirmed and is now underneath one of the parking lots). The single burial had a flintlock gun, clay pipe, beads, iron tomahawk, a musket ball, ring, birch bark basket and pottery (whether precontact or postcontact is not mentioned) (Pelleck 1983). Certainly this single burial indicates a postcontact time frame, which may be related to the supposed former NWC post. However, there were many Europeans in the Red Lake area from the 1780s onward (see Chapter 6). One precontact burial was found and reported by Coleman (1896:74) near the Poplar Point Anishinaabe village near Savanne (between Lac Seul and Thunder Bay):

> On the face of the sand cliff, two and a half feet below the top, a bone was seen projecting at one point, and a little digging disclosed a tolerably complete Indian skeleton. With it were found fragments of a well made earthen pot with some red ochre, but no arrowheads nor axes. The body had probably been buried in a sitting

posture, since the skull rested on the ribs and leg bones. A hole in the skull perhaps indicates a violent death.

This example indicates that the interred person could have been from the Middle Woodland, Late Woodland, or perhaps even Postcontact Period in northwestern Ontario since there is an earthenware pot along with red ochre placed with the burial. Blue (1896:114) also describes the finding of this burial and that "Fragments of pottery were found with the body, the rim with markings on the outer side; the inner surface was of a bright red color and the vessel had apparently held small pieces of red pigment". It is one of the few examples of burials in northwestern Ontario, particularly from the Woodland Period.

One of the nearest large excavations took place at the Wenesaga Rapids Site on Lac Seul. In addition to 19 of 23 Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Selkirk) vessels having punctates, Hamilton (1981:153) explains that, "Of 23 probable Selkirk vessels, all but two exhibit some means of decoration beyond type T1 textile impressions [twining or interlinking] . . . . The most common type of decoration consisted of cord-wrapped dowel impressions (56%), smoothed (30.4%), linear stamp impressions (8.7%), and textile impressions (4.3%)". Although textile impressions are not a decoration attribute, he meant the characteristic wrapping of the textile impression over top of the lip, which is often seen on Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. Therefore, from his descriptions, one can determine that there are two Alexander Fabric-impressed Type vessels, two are Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type, and 19 of the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type. From Hamilton's (1981) evidence, the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type is the most common at this large site on Lac Seul.

Hamilton (1981) discusses other Selkirk Composite assemblages and notes the variation exhibited on the lips of these vessels, in which most Saskatchewan examples have some form of decoration (Meyer 1978). Hlady's (1971) classification of 22 modes of Clearwater Lake Punctate Type in Manitoba also indicates much lip decoration variation. Hamilton (1981) also discusses Lake of the Woods samples, which also have a high degree of lip decoration (although perhaps not so dominant). For example, from the Fisk Site, there were 16 "Selkirk" pots identified of which 11 are decorated with cord-wrapped dowel impressions, two have linear stamps, and three are undecorated (Hamilton 1981; Rajnovich et al. 1982). Therefore, these vessels are Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Type and Alexander Fabric-impressed Type (plain). Lambert (1982) also identified 75 Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware vessels resulting from the West Lac Seul area survey, of which cord-wrapped dowel impressions (61.3%), smoothed or textile impressions (34.6%), and linear stamps (4%) are the lip treatments. Hamilton (1981) also mentions the Potato Island Site (Koezur and Wright 1976) located east of Red Lake, where 14 Selkirk vessels were identified. Four pots had cord-wrapped dowel impressions and the rest were smoothed or covered with a textile impression.

At that time, Smith (1981:57) notes that only two exceptions at the Fisk (Reid and Rajnovich 1980) and McCluskey Site (Dawson 1974) had the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type in more southern contexts in Ontario. She explains that there was a division for sites north of the "Albany River-Berens River-northern Lake Winnipeg region" (Smith 1981:57). Later Pelleck's (1983) findings in nearby Red Lake indicated that the most numerous Selkirk Composite type there was Clearwater Lake Punctate, which countered that viewpoint. As Meyer and Russell (1987) mention, Rajnovich (1983) had suggested that Clearwater Lake Punctate was only found north of Lake Winnipeg through Lac Seul and Lake Nipigon to the Missinaibi River. Meyer and Russell (1987:12) note that Pelleck (1983) recovered all three types of the Selkirk Composite at Forestry Point and explain:

> These occurrences reflect the southern position of Red Lake and its proximity to the area occupied by peoples of the Winnipeg River complex on the south. Obviously, there are no abrupt divisions between the regions occupied by the peoples of the various Selkirk complexes but there are zones of transition.

The results from the Bloodvein River survey projects, Pelleck's (1983) study, and from the Wenesaga Rapids excavations (Hamilton 1981) suggest that the Clearwater Lake Complex extent should be shifted southward. This suggestion is also made with caution, due to small sample sizes and few excavated sites.

Geographical Extent of the Eastern Selkirk Composite

Objective 4 of this research was attained by updating the Selkirk Composite and related complexes and defining the eastern extent because that idea has not been addressed in a systematic way since Rajnovich (1983) completed her study. Although the surveys completed along the Bloodvein River do not expand that extent eastward, since it is well within the previously known range (from Meyer and Russell 1987), certainly more Selkirk Composite sites and increased pottery variation was found during these surveys and provided key information for refining the complexes. I have also been able to expand north the distribution of the Bird Lake Complex of the Rainy River Composite by finding two Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp Type vessels represented (as per Lenius and Olinyk 1990; Figure 7.10) and one Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type (Hyslop 2011) rim sherd north of the Lac Seul basin.

Rajnovich (1983:1) addressed the extent of the Selkirk Composite by noting that it was found "in northern Ontario as far east as the Pic River (Wright 1967b), as far north as the mouth of the Severn River (Pilon 1981) and as far south as the Rainy River (Arthurs 1982)". Her research (Rajnovich 1983) serves as a baseline to determine the eastern extent (including northern and southern margins) of the Selkirk Composite (Figure 7.16). Meyer and Hamilton (1994) also modelled the distribution slightly later with updated information. Tomenchuk and Irving's (1974) results likely expand the extent to far northern Ontario on the Hudson Bay coast. More recently, this cultural affiliation is also represented in assemblages farther south in northwestern Minnesota (Lugenbeal 1976; Mulholland and Woodward 2001; Richner 2004, 2008) although it was not always recognized or named as such (sometimes identified as Late Blackduck), and possibly also in northeastern Minnesota (Peters 1982). Having examined the literature in the northern USA, there have also been a few vessels of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware reported as far away as the state of Michigan near Lake Huron (Brashler and Holman 1985; Crumley 1973). There are more examples in northwest part of the state at Isle Royale National Park on Lake Superior (Clark 1995) that is geographically more in line with Thunder Bay, Ontario and Grand Portage, Minnesota (Figure 1.5),

A search was requested from the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport (2011) site database coordinator for Selkirk Composite sites across the province in order to aid with defining the eastern extent and determining just how many were registered. By using the search terms "Selkirk", "Alexander", "Punctate", and "Clearwater", we were hoping to generate a list as inclusive as possible. There were 110 sites found in the database, with some being tenuous ("Selkirk?", "perhaps Selkirk", "fabric-impressed", "Selkirk or Blackduck", etc.). Given the large number already found in the Lake of the Woods area (e.g., Rajnovich and Reid 1978; Rajnovich 1984) along with all of the West Patricia Archaeological Study examples, this does not seem to represent accurately the number of known Selkirk Composite sites given how many collections and reports indicate that affiliation. Borden forms are not always filed with the Ministry and particularly for sites found decades ago, so that may be one factor.

Another issue that complicated my research is that few researchers specified which type of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware or other Selkirk Composite pottery types were found at a site. Of course, in the 1980s, archaeologists had moved to just naming Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware as "Selkirk" as discussed in Chapter 4 (Meyer and Russell 1987). That lack of information made sorting out the issue of variation in types, and then complexes, across northwestern Ontario not feasible as this time. Smith (1981) completed a comparative seriation between 19 Selkirk sites in Manitoba and Ontario, Rajnovich (1983) Reid and colleagues (e.g., Reid, ed. 1980; Reid and Rajnovich 1980) registered the majority of Selkirk Composite sites occurring in the West Patricia Archaeological Study and at Lake of the Woods. Other researchers note this affiliation at sites in their research areas, based on the site forms from the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport (2011): Dennis Smyk of Ignace; Bill Fox in Quetico Provincial Park; Hyslop (2003) for Lac Seul; Dawson (e.g., 1981) for areas around Thunder Bay; and Lambert (1982) for the Lac Seul/English River/Red Lake area. Kenyon (1961) describes two Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware types for the Swan Lake Site but names them incorrectly and indicates the number of sherds, rather than calculating the vessel count (but that was the typical method of the time). Unfortunately, most researchers were either unable to identify, with fragmentary pieces, or did not specify the type of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware that they found. Thus, it was not feasible to assess all of these findings to try and determine if they are in the Clearwater Lake Complex or another unnamed complex.

Certainly, most reports discuss the general culture heritage of northwestern Ontario (e.g., Hamilton et al. 2003) and may mention the Selkirk Composite as an affiliation for sites in the province (Reid, ed. 1980; Reid and Ross 1981; Ross 1982; Taylor-Hollings 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2008). Since it is the most common Late Woodland affiliation in northwestern Ontario except for Blackduck, it would be useful for researchers to provide more specific information about the pottery types identified and any other associated artifacts.

Foremost in formulating this update about the Selkirk Composite was the result that the eastern extent continues into Quebec (Figure 7.16), where several vessels have been identified. Similarly, some Selkirk Composite pots have been found in Quebec near the Ontario border (David Denton, personal communication 2012; Inksetter 2010). Additionally, Plourde (2010) identified one possible Selkirk Composite vessel at FbFx-2 on the rivière Eastmain within the Eastmain Reservoir in western Quebec (and indeed from the photographs, it does appear to be similar to the Clearwater Lake Punctate Type). Inksetter (2010) also reports several vessels from the riviére Rupert (Rupert River) and east side of James Bay. I will leave it to the Quebec experts to refine their views about the Selkirk Composite in that region (and hopefully with the addition of absolute dating examples), however, it is interesting to know that it is found that far east. This evidence is not surprising since early and recent Algonquian peoples lived in this region as well as in adjacent Ontario, where Selkirk Composite has been identified for many decades. In addition, Côté and Inksetter (2001, 2009) have recently expanded the distribution of the slightly earlier Blackduck Composite archaeological sites into Quebec, although it has been reported there for many years. It is also particularly intriguing for the Selkirk Composite to be identified in Quebec where there was suggested to be a period from about AD 1,300 until 1,650 when Iroquoian-like Algonquian artifacts known as the *Mamiwinnik* ("term used by Algonquin peoples to designate themselves") Episode completely replaced the Blackduck Composite in northwestern Quebec and northeastern Ontario (Côté and Inksetter 2001:126). It is now likely that the contemporaneous Selkirk Composite peoples were in this area at the same time. An alternative is that perhaps the pots were being traded, as Guindon (2009) demonstrates between the Lake Abitibi Algonquians, southern Ontario Iroquoians, and Shield Algonquians. Côté and Inksetter (2001:126; emphasis theirs) explain the significance of Algonquian and Iroquoians interactions during the Late Woodland:

> <u>We shall add, and this fact is extremely important, that no Saint-Lawrence Iroquoian pottery has been recovered on any sites of the Abitibi-Temiscamingue region.</u> In view of the fact that circulation is theoretically possible by way of the Ottawa River, we suggest that this absence reflects animosity between the Saint-Lawrence Iroquoians and the Algonkians from western Quebec. We conclude that the endemic conflicts observed by the Europeans in the seventeenth century had deep historic roots.

This suggestion also has implications for the Ojibwe/Algonquian migrations discussed previously in this chapter, in that Iroquoian interactions may have caused them to move westward during the Late Woodland Period rather than in postcontact times as often cited (e.g., Hickerson 1970).

The Selkirk Composite is believed to originate in central and northern Manitoba (Meyer and Russell 1987; Rajnovich 1983) and now extends from Quebec and northern Michigan to the far eastern edge of Alberta. I have updated the Selkirk Composite complexes and the related Buffalo Lake Complex outline for the distribution with information shared from researchers in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Quebec (Kevin Brownlee, personal communication 2014; David Denton, personal communication 2012; Meyer 2013; Meyer and Russell 2006; Walde et al. 2006[2010]; Young 2006) (Figure 7.24).

Summary

This chapter addresses both of the research problems in this work through interpreting archaeological data to determine cultural change through time along the Bloodvein River and investigating the Selkirk Composite in this region. It has outlined the archaeological data collected during the surveys of the Bloodvein River in Ontario with the many sites discovered (n=104) (Appendix 1). Additionally, there was a great deal of information shared by Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, and Pikangikum community members and Ontario Parks employees that worked on these projects or in meetings. These partnerships enhanced the archaeological work in immeasurable ways, including finding more archaeological sites and often where Anishinaabe families had used that location as a campsite or other purpose (e.g., Taylor-Hollings 2006c). Many people participated in and aided with the ten field trips (Table 7.1) and subsequent meetings. Archaeological information was enhanced by ethnographic data from Anishinaabe contexts (i.e., Hallowell 1992; Skinner 1911, 1914, 1923) and some linguistic information regarding artifacts. With combined ethnography and traditional knowledge, there is a significant amount of information to indicate that ground stone tools, bow and arrow technology, pottery and other traditional technology persisted in the Lac Seul region, which is pertinent to the Bloodvein River area.

The different classes of artifacts found during the Bloodvein River surveys were discussed including lithics and lithic materials, ground stone tools, faunal material, and features (pictographs, petroforms, fish traps, and caches). An array of projectile points from the Early through to the Late Period were found at sites along the river, indicating that people had lived in many locations for a lengthy time. A rare lichenoglyph was identified by the Paishk/Keesic family in their territory on Murdock Lake. Five ground stone tools including adzes, axes, and a preform were also found during these surveys (including three from one location at the Wiigwaas Beach Site on Murdock Lake). An extended discussion about the pottery finds, particularly Selkirk Composite forms, was included since that was the main archaeological focus of this project. An attribute analysis of all diagnostic sherds from Laurel, Blackduck, Bird Lake, and Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Wares was completed, in order to identify the type, ware, and number of vessels represented in the area wherever possible.

A particularly significant finding from the archaeological work along the Bloodvein River in Ontario was the discovery of 24 small-scale quartz vein quarries (Figure 7.6). The criteria of acceptance for these places being ancient sites rather than modern prospecting locales was carefully considered, although this region had been a dedicated protected area for decades. In addition, consultation with the regional geologists indicated no staking had taken place and background research indicates that there would be minimal prospecting interest along the Bloodvein River since it consists mainly of granites (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a). Although a seldom investigated archaeological site type in northwestern Ontario and other central boreal forest contexts, it is evident that small-scale quartz quarries were quite important to Bloodvein River occupants at least during the Late Period. These localized sites in the Canadian Shield also help to explain the most commonly found lithic material, which is quartz.

These results contribute significantly to understanding the culture history of the Bloodvein River in Ontario, which was previously only known to have Late Woodland and postcontact assemblages (Wall 1980a). Recent surveys have yielded information about several newly discovered Early Period (n=1), Middle Period (n=4), Laurel Configuration assemblages (n=6), and two sites with previously unknown Bird CWOI and Stamp Type of the Bird Lake Complex in the Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990). The latter two were found at Thicketwood and Artery lakes (Figure 7.1) but appear similar enough to have been made by the same potter. Wall (1980a) had identified one site with a Blackduck component and stated that some of the sites that he reported on were possibly Selkirk Composite. With these survey results, six new Blackduck and eight Selkirk Composite sites (some with multiple vessel counts and multi-components) were identified. An evolving taxonomy for Lac Seul, which has a much larger site and artifact knowledge base, has yielded an identification of a new Plain Stamp and Punctate Type (Hyslop 2012) rim sherd at one site. One previously known postcontact site from Wall's (1980a) report was visited on Barclay Lake, with the recovery of late 1800s cans, and another Fur Trade Period assemblage was found on Knox Lake (see Chapter 6). Later Postcontact Period sites were found on each lake system, either as recent Anishinaabeg traditional use locales or earlier living sites as described by my Indigenous colleagues (see Chapter 5; Figure 7.1). Often these small seasonal locales were also archaeological sites such as camping spots, cabins, and often postcontact items repurposed for another item.

The first and only AMS date for pottery from the Bloodvein River system was derived from carbonized residue on the Simeon Lake vessel that is represented by many sherds found together in a tree throw. This pot is assignable to the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware of the Selkirk Composite but it could be either Alexander Fabric-Impressed or Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed types since the lip is unfortunately not present on any of the sherds to make that identification. These new results provide a conventional radiocarbon age of 590±30 BP and 2σ calibration of cal AD 1295-1370 (cal BP 655-580) and cal AD 1380-1415 (cal BP 570-535) (Beta 373778). These age ranges are within the typical spectrum of dates for Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and Selkirk Composite sites (e.g., Meyer and Russell 1987).

The Bloodvein River region has been illustrated as an unknown void between the Winnipeg River and Clearwater Lake Complexes of the Selkirk Composite (e.g., Mantey and Pettipas 1996). Thus, there was an opportunity to explore this issue within this project, so these two complexes were discussed in terms of determining where the Bloodvein River region falls in terms of the pottery and overall assemblages. Nearby Red Lake area surveys only listed five Selkirk Composite components found over two short field seasons (Smith 1981; Wall 1980b). However, the relatively numerous excavation units completed at Forestry Point Site did add substantially to our knowledge of the region, as several surface collections by Koezur (Pelleck 1983) and testing by Pelleck (1983) revealed that it was a multi-component site with burials. Local Keesic family members, who worked on these surveys, once lived at the site. Forestry Point (Pelleck 1983), Wenesaga Rapids (Hamilton 1981), and the Bloodvein River studies had many more Clearwater Lake Punctate vessels than Alexander Fabric-Impressed or Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed types, indicating that these sites should be included in the Clearwater Lake Complex. Various other comparative Selkirk Composite sites in the larger area were discussed.

After reviewing the collections and literature of northwestern Ontario, I have argued here for a return of the Winnipeg River Complex to the Selkirk Composite. Meyer and Russell (2006) have returned to MacNeish's (1958) initial terminology, so I have followed their lead. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) propose that the Winnipeg River Complex and two of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed types, Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed, should be placed with the Rainy River Composite. Their reasoning was due to the Winnipeg River Complex being partially located on the Rainy River and that those two types are more often than in the northern Clearwater Lake Complex assemblages. However, there are several problems with this proposal, since the Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed types should be included back with the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware. In my view, like Sandy Lake Ware (Taylor-Hollings 1999), the three types proposed by MacNeish (1958) represent one ware (Winnipeg Fabric-impressed) with decorative variations of plain (Alexander), decorated lip (Sturgeon Falls), and punctate/boss/lip decoration variants (Sturgeon Punctate but now named Clearwater Lake Punctate). None of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware has stamps nor the extreme neck flare seen on Bird Lake Ware. In addition, the surface finish is different to the other ware included with the Rainy River Composite, since Duck Bay has a sprang surface finish and some flared necks.

The eastern extent and the current state of the distribution of Selkirk Composite complexes was also determined, with the view of updating the information since Meyer and Hamilton (1994), Meyer and Russell (1987), Rajnovich (1983), and Smith (1981). A few examples of Selkirk Composite assemblages have been found in Quebec and certainly there are more sites represented in northern Minnesota than once thought. Those identified in Michigan (Brasher and Holman 1985; Clark 1995; Crumley 1973) are not well known in Canada. Although there is more information to learn in northwestern Ontario Late Woodland research, this study has added considerably to that knowledge.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

> Subarctic archaeology should pay greater attention to deciphering the historical, social, and cultural realms within which subarctic hunter-gatherers lived (Holly 2002:10).

Addressing the Research Problems and Objectives

Two research questions were addressed in this dissertation:

(1) What evidence is there of cultural and technological changes through time along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS of northwestern Ontario? and

(2) What evidence is there for the regional Selkirk Composite archaeological culture along the Bloodvein River in Ontario and how does that fit within the context of northwestern Ontario and the larger extent?

The cultural and technological changes evident from archaeological sites found along the Bloodvein River in Ontario have been addressed in this thesis by combining the main body of archaeological information with some traditional knowledge, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric document interpretation. Emphasis was placed on researching Late Woodland and later periods (see Chapters 5-7) but archaeological information from all time frames was collected during the surveys. Therefore, data from earlier occupations were used to update the culture history of the region since Early Period, Middle Period, Middle Woodland, and some of the Late Woodland diagnostics had not previously been found on the only other Bloodvein River survey from Larus to Artery lakes (reported by Wall 1980a). Eastern portions of the river had never been surveyed previously. In addition, after examining the artifacts and information from that initial survey, I was able to identify an Early Period occupation, additional Middle Woodland, and Late Woodland examples. Discovery of some other Fur Trade Period archaeological information has been used to update the regional view of that time frame, in combination with reviewing ethnohistoric records for information about individuals, posts, and activities associated with the river and adjacent regions.

While completing fieldwork with Anishinaabe traditional knowledge holders, within a community archaeology framework, it became apparent that their families were the last to live full time on the Ontario part of the Bloodvein River. They provided much information about the last four or five generations of these families to inform what happened to the people living along the Bloodvein River and larger region from the late 1800s until recent times (see Chapter 5). Working together with Anishinaabe from the Bloodvein River and nearby communities also helped to understand the landscape archaeology (and cultural landscape) of this region in ways that an archaeologist would not be able to ascertain. Archaeological information from the late postcontact times also provided insights into that time frame. In summary, cultural and technological changes along the Bloodvein River were addressed in a systematic way, revealing the details of ancient Indigenous peoples, newcomers, and the Anishinaabe in more recent times.

The second research problem investigated the regional Selkirk Composite archaeological culture evidence found along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS and considering that within the context of northwestern Ontario. It was addressed in all of the chapters but mainly in Chapter 7. A lengthy review of previous research about the Selkirk Composite is included in Chapter 4, to provide the state of knowledge prior to this study. The only other regional studies of the Selkirk Composite in Ontario were completed by Smith (1981) and then Rajnovich (1983) who synthesized the radiometric dates available at that time. Meyer and Russell (1987) and Meyer and Hamilton (1994) discuss overviews of most areas regarding the Selkirk Composite. Lenius and Olinyk (1990) also proposed taxonomic changes regarding that composite and the Winnipeg River Complex (as outlined in Chapter 4).

Related issues with this research problem were also addressed, including if there was one or more complexes of the Selkirk Composite in Ontario, since it has long been argued that there is a north and south division in northwestern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba (Hlady 1971; Lenius and Olinyk 1990; MacNeish 1958; Meyer and Hamilton 1994; Rajnovich 1983; Smith 1981). Also, discussions included the possible ethnicity of the peoples who left behind Selkirk Composite assemblages, which is a complex and contentious issue since they are most often attributed to Cree speakers; however, the Anishinaabe have resided in northwestern Ontario since at least the mid-1700s (Hallowell 1955, 1992) but probably much longer. Essentially, the dilemma was what happened to the people who lived at the many Selkirk Composite sites along the Bloodvein River after European Contact? Did they move away or stay and become the many iterations of the 'Ojibwe' in ethnohistoric records and later (Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Witgen 2007)? Another issue dealt with reviewing the literature, discussing ideas with other archaeologists, and updating the entire geographical extent of the Selkirk Composite, which was found to be far more extensive to the north, east, and south of the Bloodvein River sites than previously indicated.

To address these research questions, four objectives were developed in this study:

Objective 1

The first objective was to complete a basic archaeological site inventory along the length of the Bloodvein River system in Ontario in order to provide data to address both research questions.

The first goal was met since significant new information has been derived from 10 brief archaeological trips that took place on the Bloodvein River in the WCSS from Paishk Lake to Artery Lake in Ontario from 2004 (prior to beginning this PhD project) until 2012 (Figure 7.1; Table 7.1). With the headwaters northwest of Red Lake, Ontario, the Bloodvein flows northwest for about 106 km through the WCSS and then continues for another 200 km through Atikaki Provincial Park in Manitoba (Newman and Gilmore 2007), before eventually terminating in Lake Winnipeg (Figure 1.3). Together with Anishinaabe and Ontario Parks research partners, surveys were completed (one or two trips) on every lake along the Bloodvein River's course in Ontario except for parts of Mary's

Lake (Figure 7.1), where only a brief research trip was possible due to time constraints. Portions of Mary's Lake were surveyed by Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) during the only other general survey of the Bloodvein River in Ontario and reported by Wall (1980a); Dewdney and Kidd (1967) had also documented the pictographs located there. Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer's (1978) survey took place on Larus Lake through to Artery Lake in the late 1970s (Wall 1980a). Sabourin, Thicketwood, Simeon, and Musclow lakes were also examined as part of the Bloodvein River system located just adjacent to the main channel (Figure 7.1). Resulting from these surveys, 104 sites (80 sites and 24 quartz quarry locales; Figure 7.1) were identified (Appendix 1).

Objective 2

Regarding the first research question, another goal was to update and amplify the culture history of the Bloodvein River and larger region, from the Precontact Period through to modern times, using the diagnostic artifacts and archaeological survey data combined with the minimal previous research information (Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Wall 1980a). For later time periods, this objective would be achieved by including some evidence of more recent cultural change learned through traditional knowledge, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric information.

After collecting a wide array of archaeological data during the reconnaissance trips along the Bloodvein River in the WCSS, there was new information available from all time frames. As a result of this archaeological study, the culture-historical sequence was updated from previous research along the Bloodvein River (Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967; Pelshea 1980; Wall (1980a). Specific details are presented in the discussion section below.

Objective 3

Related to the second research question, it was important to determine the attributes, variation, and types of Selkirk Composite Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and other pottery found along the Bloodvein River.

This goal was met by the analysis of all Middle Woodland and Late Woodland pottery recovered along the Bloodvein River during these archaeological surveys, combined with the information that Wall (1980a) reported and one surface collection from Larus Lake. An attribute analysis, followed by assessing the ware/type of all vessels allowed for a vessel count to be completed. Along with this information, other diagnostics associated with the pottery were considered.

Objective 4

Regarding the second research question, an objective was to decide if the Bloodvein River assemblages fit within the Clearwater Lake (more northern) or Winnipeg River Complex (southern) (Figure 1.6), given that other researchers have suggested that the dividing line is the river and Red

Lake area (e.g., Rajnovich and Reid 1978; Smith 1981). Using the Ontario Bloodvein River system as a microcosm of the larger area, leads to determining if there is more than one complex within the eastern Selkirk Composite (regarding Lenius and Olinyk's proposed taxonomic changes) and updating the eastern extent.

Having determined the attributes and then types/wares of all the pottery found along the Bloodvein River, the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware information was used to compare to Smith's (1981) and Rajnovich's (1983) data to evaluate how they divided the north and south divisions of the Selkirk Complex assemblages from northwestern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba; this division was proposed as near the Bloodvein River region. Smith's (1981) Red Lake area study is seldom referred to but she actually proposed those divisions before Rajnovich's (1983) study. A final part of this objective was to refine the eastern extent of the Selkirk Composite, include information about related western complexes and defining the eastern and southern extent in Ontario, Minnesota. The addition of Michigan, and now as far as Quebec, has expanded significantly the extent of the Selkirk Composite (Figure 7.24).

Discussion of Results: Cultural and Technological Change along the Bloodvein River

Research discussed here demonstrates, through newly discovered and reinterpreted previous archaeological evidence from the West Patricia Archaeological Study, that people have been living along the Bloodvein River (Figure 8.1) since at least the Early Period (ca. 9,000-7,000 BP). Having examined the artifacts collected by Balmer (1978) and Schindelhauer (1978) during the West Patricia Archaeological Study Bloodvein River survey (Wall 1980a), a Plano Tradition, possible Agate Basin Type projectile point base was identified from the EhKr-3 Site on Barclay Lake. Pikangikum community members (Peter Paishk and Billie Joe Strang, personal communications 2010, 2013) report two other Early Period spear points from two different places east of that site on the Bloodvein River. That information also supports that Indigenous groups have been present in the region from approximately 9,000-7,000 BP. Beginning just after the glaciers retreated and Lake Agassiz had receded (Figures 3.5, 4.2), people likely moved into what is now the dedicated protected area of the WCSS. One Early Period site, Black Bear or EdKo-13, is recorded in the southern part of the park and is thought to be a small campsite associated with the adjacent rapids (McLeod 2004). It is probable that people were hunting large game such as caribou, while living in small family groups. The EhKr-3 site likely belongs with the larger Caribou Lake Complex (Buchner 1981, 1984) in southeastern Manitoba, since that is the closest one geographically. Alternatively, it may be representative of a new complex within the Interlakes Composite (1995).

Slightly later in the archaeological record, there is direct evidence in the form of projectile points of newly identified Middle Period (ca. 7,000-2,200) occupations on the Bloodvein River in

Figure 8.1. These photos epitomize two examples of cultural connections between the ancient and more recent Anishinaabe cultural landscape. Left: In 1955, Elder Abraham Keeper in Pikangikum is holding a Middle Period projectile point that he found. Note the modern suit that he is wearing but attached to that is a traditional loom beadwork pin. Image "Abraham Keeper of Pikangikum with arrowhead found nearby [1955] (Archives of Ontario, C 330-13-0-0-142)" by John Macfie and reproduced with permission from Archives of Ontario (also in Macfie and Johnston 1991). Right: In 2008, Elder Peter Paishk of Pikangikum/Lac Seul is also holding a Middle Period projectile point found at the P4 Site on Paishk Lake, where his family camped regularly. The lake was named after his uncle Frank, who also knew the region intimately.

Ontario (Figures 7.6, 8.1; Table 7.5). There are a variety of different styles represented including corner-notched and stemmed (expanding and contracting) forms that are found across the Ontario side of the Bloodvein River at four sites on Paishk, Murdock, and Mary's lakes (Figure 7.1; Appendix 1). Perhaps this variation represents different people moving into the Bloodvein River region or is representative of family traditions that vary across the long time frame of the Middle Period. Populations were likely becoming larger than earlier times, perhaps due to economic diversity as a result of relatively more stable environmental conditions and additional plant gathering being part of traditional knowledge. Woodworking tools, such as the adze, were first made during the Middle Period (Dawson 1983) and five ground stone tools of various forms (an adze preform, one preform/wedge, one axe, and two adze fragments) were found during these surveys (Figure 7.7; Table 7.6). Three of these tools were made from siltstones, with one each from slate and basalt. However, the one adze preform from Thicketwood Lake (Figure 7.7A) is clearly associated with Late Woodland Clearwater Lake Punctate Type rim sherds of the Selkirk Composite.

Results from the Ontario Bloodvein River archaeological surveys indicate that likely during the Middle Period, as evinced by the finding of several quartz projectile points from this time frame (Table 7.5), people living along the Bloodvein River started removing different varieties of quartz from small-scale veins in the bedrock at primary sources (Taylor-Hollings 2010, 2011, 2012a). During the Bloodvein River surveys, localized lithic material extractions were documented at 24 different locales across the river system (Figures 7.3, 7.4, 7.5; Appendix 1). Quartz was the most commonly found lithic material across the whole of the river system and also to the north in the Whitefeather Forest (Hamilton and Taylor-Hollings 2008b; Taylor-Hollings 2006b, 2006c), so these quarry sites aid in explaining how Indigenous people were using these local places to obtain quartz and related flintknapping materials.

Although quartz veins and quartz-rich zones are fairly common in the mainly granitic bedrock across the Bloodvein River corridor (e.g., Corfu and Stone 1998b) and the larger Canadian Shield (Korejbo 2011; ten Bruggencate 2013), few archaeologists discuss quartz sources being present as a possible stone tool material source or if they have been quarried. A few exceptions are Gordon (1988b) reporting the Blueberry site and nearby utilized quartz vein in the Lake Temagami area, ten Bruggencate's (2013) research on large scale pegmatite quarries recorded by Kevin Brownlee and colleagues in Manitoba, and Korejbo's (2011) surveys in Saskatchewan. Few quartz quarry sites have been documented in northwestern Ontario; I am aware of one at Lac La Croix (Bakken 2011; Romano 1991) and another near the Fisk Site at Lake of the Woods (Rajnovich et al. 1982) other than those resulting from the Bloodvein River surveys. These locales would have been useful for local lithic procurement to supplement the more sought after, imported, and typically easier to flintknap materials such as Green Recrystallized chert, other cherts, rhyolites, and siltstones (Table 7.4). Since most of the other lithic material sources are not yet well known, the location of so many quartz quarries aids in understanding flintknapping choices in this region because it helps to explain why the majority of lithic items from this region are made of quartz.

As a result of the Bloodvein River surveys, there were other lithic materials identified as being used by Indigenous groups at these sites: Hudson Bay Lowland chert from glacial till (Hamilton 1981); Green Recrystallized chert (Lac Seul northwards as named by Reid and Rajnovich 1991); black rhyolite (perhaps from Woman Lake near Ear Falls, Red Lake, or other greenstone belts close to the study area?); siltstone (possibly from near Lac Seul as per Fisher 2002 and Hyslop 2003); Jasper Taconite or Gunflint Silica from the Gunflint Formation near Thunder Bay; and even farther afield with Swan River chert from Manitoba (Grasby et al. 2002) (Table 7.4). Small amounts of quartzite, jasper, chalcedony, and silicified wood were also identified at these sites but their primary sources are unknown at this time. Likely, there were distributed in gravels and glacial till during the processes of glaciation and retreat.

For the first time, evidence from the Late Period Middle Woodland (ca. 2,200-750 BP) was recently identified along the Bloodvein River region in Ontario. People started making or at least using conical shaped pots of the Laurel Configuration (Reid and Rajnovich 1991) at six sites on

Knox (n=2), Murdock (n=2), Larus (n=2), and Artery (n=3) lakes across the Bloodvein River in Ontario (Figures 7.1, 7.15; Table 7.10). These vessels include two Laurel Oblique (stamped), one Pseudo-Scallop Shell, and three Dentate Type with an additional vessel that were not assignable to type. People leaving behind the material remains of the Laurel Configuration made side-notched and triangular projectile point forms that were smaller than previous types. Referring to Reid and Rajnovich's (1991) Laurel Configuration classifications, there is an overlap between the Boundary Waters and Manitoba Lakes Composites where the Bloodvein River is located (Figure 7.16). Also, two Middle or Late Woodland side-notched projectile points were found at a site on Murdock Lake and one on Artery Lake (Figures 7.1, 7.6); they have wide and shallow notches on a relatively long body much like Besant/Sonota types from the northern plains (e.g., Hamilton et al. 2011).

During the Late Woodland Period (ca. 1,250-300 BP), evidence suggests there is more cultural diversification amongst the people living along the Bloodvein River. Our knowledge has improved since Wall's (1980a:79) statement that "Data from the Late Woodland sites are insufficient from which to draw any inferences concerning Late Woodland settlement patterns". On the basis of the recoveries from these Bloodvein River, several interpretations may be made. Three Late Woodland projectile points from two different sites were found during the surveys (Table 7.5). One was made from quartz, a second from Green Recrystallized chert, and the third was made of rhyolite. Many Late Woodland components based on pottery finds (Figures 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21; Tables 7.8, 7.11, 7.12) were also discovered including vessels of Blackduck (n=5), Selkirk (n=17), the newly identified Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type (Hyslop 2011; n=1) and newly identified Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp Type (n=2) of the Bird Lake Complex in the Rainy River Composite as defined by Lenius and Olinyk (1990). As far as I am aware, this is also the farthest northern occurrence of this ware in northwestern Ontario, being identified more often in southeastern Manitoba and closer to the Boundary Waters area of Ontario (Lenius and Olinyk 1990).

Some trends were apparent from the small sample (n=13) of projectile points found during these surveys (Figure 7.6; Table 7.5) and the additional Early Period projectile point base identified during the West Patricia Archaeological Study (Wall 1980a). Although quartz debitage is by far the most common lithic material from the sites overall, people often chose materials that are better quality for their projectile points, bifaces, unifaces, and other tools (Figure 7.2). Only two of these projectile points were made from quartz and another five consist of Green Recrystallized chert (Hamilton 1981), which is actually often found as light green quartz (but variable with chert banding) and is readily distinguished from other forms of quartz. The others were made from Hudson Bay Lowland chert (n=1), siltstone (n=1), black rhyolite (n=4), and Swan River chert (n=1) likely from Manitoba (Grasby et al. 2000) (Table 7.4). Despite the relatively small sample size the Meeting Place Site evidence suggests that occupants preferred black rhyolite in making stemmed projectile points from the Middle Period through to the Late Woodland side-notched and triangular points. Also, it appears that people changed to more local materials during the Late Woodland Period.

Early Fur Trade Period. As a result of combining archaeological, ethnohistoric, and traditional knowledge information, significant new findings about the Early Fur Trade Period (ca. 1670-1821 in Rogers and Smith 1994) have been revealed for the Bloodvein River. It was a complex time of change for Anishinaabe people living in the *"Petit Nord"* (Little North) so named by the early French Canadian traders, specifically noted by de la Vérendrye in 1729 (Burpee 1927:56). Ethnohistoric documents from the study area (e.g., Long 1791) and studies of the HBC archives and related sets (Hackett 1999, 2002; Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b) trace individual Anishinaabe and Europeans moving into the Bloodvein River region, illuminate where and what the first Europeans were doing in the region, and provide many examples of how some Anishinaabeg were participating in the fur trade. The epidemics that affected the Indigenous residents so drastically are also documented during this time frame (Hackett 1999, 2002). For example, the chief named Kingfisher and that clan of the Bloodvein River lost many family members during the 1819 measles epidemic (Hackett 2002).

Lytwyn (1986a, 1986b) knew about two locations of HBC and NWC posts known to have been built along the Bloodvein River from HBC archival searches, with one at the river mouth on Lake Winnipeg named Blood River House and several on "Bad Lake", which is an unknown location supposedly near the headwaters of the river on the east end. The HBC Bad Lake post was investigated, including its 'colourful' intercompany trade competition during the early 1800s, because it was a known location of several posts in the direct study area (Figure 6.11). Although every researcher mapping the Bad Lake posts has chosen a different location along the Bloodvein River, Lytwyn (1986a) proposes that Bad Lake was really Knox Lake (Figure 7.1), due to the number of portages in returning to Red Lake as described in HBC records (Lytwyn 1986a). The recent Bloodvein River archaeological surveys provide evidence of a Fur Trade Period occupation on Knox Lake that may support that idea. There is also archaeological evidence from a third post at Barclay Lake described by Wall (1980a) (Figure 7.1), which was of an unknown affiliation and date. After visiting that location, there were two Hole in Cap cans (Figure 6.9) found that identify at least one occupation there to the late 1800s and circumstantial evidence from reviewing Stanford's (1901) map that it was an HBC post. Douglas (1926) notes this post on his map of the provincial border area, so it was likely being operated or recently abandoned at that time, since he needed information from someone to know about this location. Local folklore suggests that there may also have been a HBC post on Sabourin Lake (Figure 7.1); although the supposed location was visited, there was not enough time to investigate that locale. Several small depressions were found which may indicate buried features.

In addition, the use of early maps and attempting to trace European movements are important to understanding more about the Indigenous people who were there beforehand, as recorded by these early newcomers. In order to consider that idea, maps were examined to determine when: Red Lake appeared (Long 1791); the river mouth placement on Lake Winnipeg was even close to geographically correct (Graham 1772; Pond 1785) but unnamed; Peter Fidler's (1808) sketch map of Lake Winnipeg (in Ruggles 1991:145) has the mouth of the "Blood R" in the correct location (also in Lytwyn 1986b:Figure 24; HBCA, E.3/3); David Thompson's (1814) calls it the Blood Rivulet"; Arrowsmith (1822) shows the "Blood" River in close to modern form based on Donald Sutherland's (1819) sketch (also "to Bad Lake"; and finally the full modern name came into common use in the twentieth century on topographic and survey maps from the 1920s (Rickaby 1923; Burwash 1923). Essentially, most maps start illustrating these places after the HBC and NWC move into the Red Lake area at about 1790 (Long 1791; Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b) but the river was not fully named on maps until the early twentieth century. The river name changed from Blood to Bloodvein within the twentieth century but it is unknown exactly when or why that happened.

Several individuals from the Bloodvein River region are noted in ethnohistoric documents including one person, *Metweass,* who was identified as a Chief and HBC Captain in the Red Lake area and went to the Hudson Bay area to trade furs (Long 1791; Lytwyn 1986b). Like many of the inland Algonquian peoples, he may have been involved in the Middlemen trade between the HBC and other Indigenous people. Direct contact with Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg probably happened in about the 1770s, when 'pedlar' Ezekiel Solomon starting moving into the area through the Montreal trade (Lytwyn 1986a). Later in the 1780s, the HBC set up a post at Red Lake, shortly followed by the NWC (Lytwyn 1986a, 1986b). Through posts on the Bloodvein River, Red Lake, Berens River, Lac Seul, and Mattawa, HBC employees undoubtedly started meeting and trading with the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg. With direct European contact, Indigenous people contracted different diseases that brought waves of successive epidemics, including smallpox, measles, influenza, and tuberculosis (Hackett 1999, 2002). One group of the Kingfisher clan near "Bad Lake" on the Bloodvein River was decimated by one of these epidemics, leaving behind few survivors (Hackett 2002; Lytwyn 1986a). Lytwyn (1986a) reasoned that the "Bad Lake" post is probably Knox Lake on the Bloodvein River, which could mean that some of these surviving Kingfisher clan members were related to the Keesic and Paishk families that later lived on that lake. Hallowell (1992) records the presence of that clan on the Bloodvein River in the 1930s (Figure 5.5) and Deutsch (2013) notes that there are still some Kingfisher people in Pikangikum with their particular trap line being just north of the Bloodvein River and south of the Berens River.

Post HBC-NWC Amalgamation (1821-Modern Times). For the post-1821 time frame, Chapter 5 outlines some of the individual characters and Anishinaabe families in this region. Although there is more limited information available about the Northern Algonquians and the HBC Period

(1821-1890) (Rogers and Smith 1994), since there were no HBC posts on the Bloodvein River or at Red Lake (Lytwyn 1986a) during this time frame (or people recording information associated with those activities), Indigenous people were still living along the river and interacting with Berens River and Lac Seul post personnel that were farther stationed.

The Frontiers of the "New Ontario" Period from about 1890 to 1945 (Rogers and Smith 1994) was a more fruitful period to trace Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg since oral histories from family members continue from that time period. Also, Hallowell (1992) recorded a great deal of information about the Berens and Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg. More missionaries, geologists, and other Europeans started to moved into the Berens and Bloodvein River areas on the Lake Winnipeg side in the late 1800s to early 1900s (Gray 1996). They advanced inland on those two river systems over time, trying to convert the Anishinaabeg from their traditional practices to Christianity. This conversion eventually happened for many individuals but later at Little Grand Rapids and Pikangikum than at Berens River on Lake Winnipeg (Hallowell 1992). The Bloodvein River settlement on the Lake Winnipeg side was subject to missionary visits because of easier access than the inland portion of the river too. Census of Canada (1911) documents also indicate this trend because people were asked to specify if they were Christian or "pagan". Pikangikum's people were one of the last communities to convert, when supposedly, the last *Midewiwin* leader left for Lac Seul in the 1930s (Hallowell 1992).

Traditional technology of the Bloodvein River and nearby Anishinaabeg has persisted longer than previously thought. Interviews by Skinner (1911, 1912, 1923) and Waugh (1919) of Lac Seul and other Anishinaabeg community members in the early 1900s document the material culture used at that time and in the recent past; this is directly relevant to the study area since Lac Seul peoples occupied the eastern part of the Bloodvein River for at least six generations if not more (Joe Paishk, personal communication August 9, 2004; Sanders 2011). Skinner (1911, 1912, 1923) notes that some people knew how pots were made and that others could still make pottery. Information from several contemporary Lac Seul community members affirms that their older relatives still knew how to make traditional pottery (Christina Keesic, personal communication 2010; George Kenny, personal communication 2013). These examples indicate that along with bow and arrow technology, pottery had persisted much longer than once believed in northwestern Ontario; Rogers and Taylor (1981:234) estimate that the Severn Ojibwe peoples made the former until 1950. Another item that persisted late into the Postcontact Period was twined bags with elaborate woven designs (Skinner 1912); these textile bags were made by the Anishinaabeg but likely are related to the earlier technology of twined bags used to form Selkirk Composite/Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (Goltz 1991; MacLean 1995; Meyer and Smith 2010; Saylor 1978).

By the late 1800s, semi-permanent log cabins became the home bases for extensive trap lines that were accessed by Anishinaabeg with dog sled teams (Rogers 1994; Schuetze 2001). The Paishk family cabin illustrates that point for the Bloodvein River at Knox Lake later in the 1930s (Figure 5.7) although other more traditional forms of housing were still being made in nearby Pikangikum (Figure 5.13) at that time (Hallowell 1992). Other cabin remains from various postcontact time frames were also found during the archaeological surveys (Figure 5.8). These bases, that were used by community members all over Treaty 3 and 5 areas, provided an important place to shelter during colder months of the year.

Several major events affected some of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg, in particular, during the Postcontact Period: the Red Lake gold rush began in the 1920s and is associated with the building of the Ear Falls dam in 1929, since more power was required for the entire area as more mining related ventures and people moved into the region. Many Anishinaabeg moved to Red Lake for job opportunities at this time. Commercial fishing, forestry work, sawmills, OMNR fire fighters, and guides were in high demand at this time. Some Anishinaabe families had small commercial fishing businesses that operated for years along the eastern Bloodvein River in Ontario, near the Red Lake market (Taylor-Hollings and Hamilton 2007). Archaeological evidence of these mid-nineteenth century camps is still visible and Pikangikum and Lac Seul Elders provided important information about these locations. John and Flora Paishk were residents of the Bloodvein River up until about the 1950s. Joe Paishk (personal communication 2009) mentioned that John Paishk provided him with advice for this new era: “My Grandfather told me that we need to work together with the White People. So, that is what we did” (Joe Paishk, personal communication 2009). Thus, Joe went to work for the OMNR (see Sanders 2011). Thirdly, the Forestry Point fire-fighting centre was built for the 1928 and 1929 fire fighting seasons (OMNR 1986). The Keesics, one of the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg families, had also lived on Forestry Point at Red Lake. Although the firefighting complex was built there, people had been camping there for several thousands of years, as archaeological excavations showed (Pelleck 1983). At about the same time, Little Grand Rapids community members were finding employment on Lake Winnipeg, also with commercial fishing opportunities.

In the modern era after World War II (1945-present), the Bloodvein River Anishinaabeg do not have permanent residents living on the river area at this time, they continue to use this region for traditional economic pursuits (hunting, fishing, and trapping), visiting sacred places, gathering medicinal plants, and returning to places used for generations, often coinciding with older archaeological sites (Figure 8.2). They also shared information about what happened to the last residents and the Paishk/Keesic family. During later postcontact times, a great deal of change occurred with people keyed to the Bloodvein River (at the western end on Lake Winnipeg and on the eastern edge), Red Lake, Trout Lake, Lac Seul, Pikangikum, Little Grand Rapids, and Berens River. In these different communities, many people are interrelated as identified by Hallowell (1992) through genealogies and clans in the 1930s, later Dunning (1959), and present day research part-

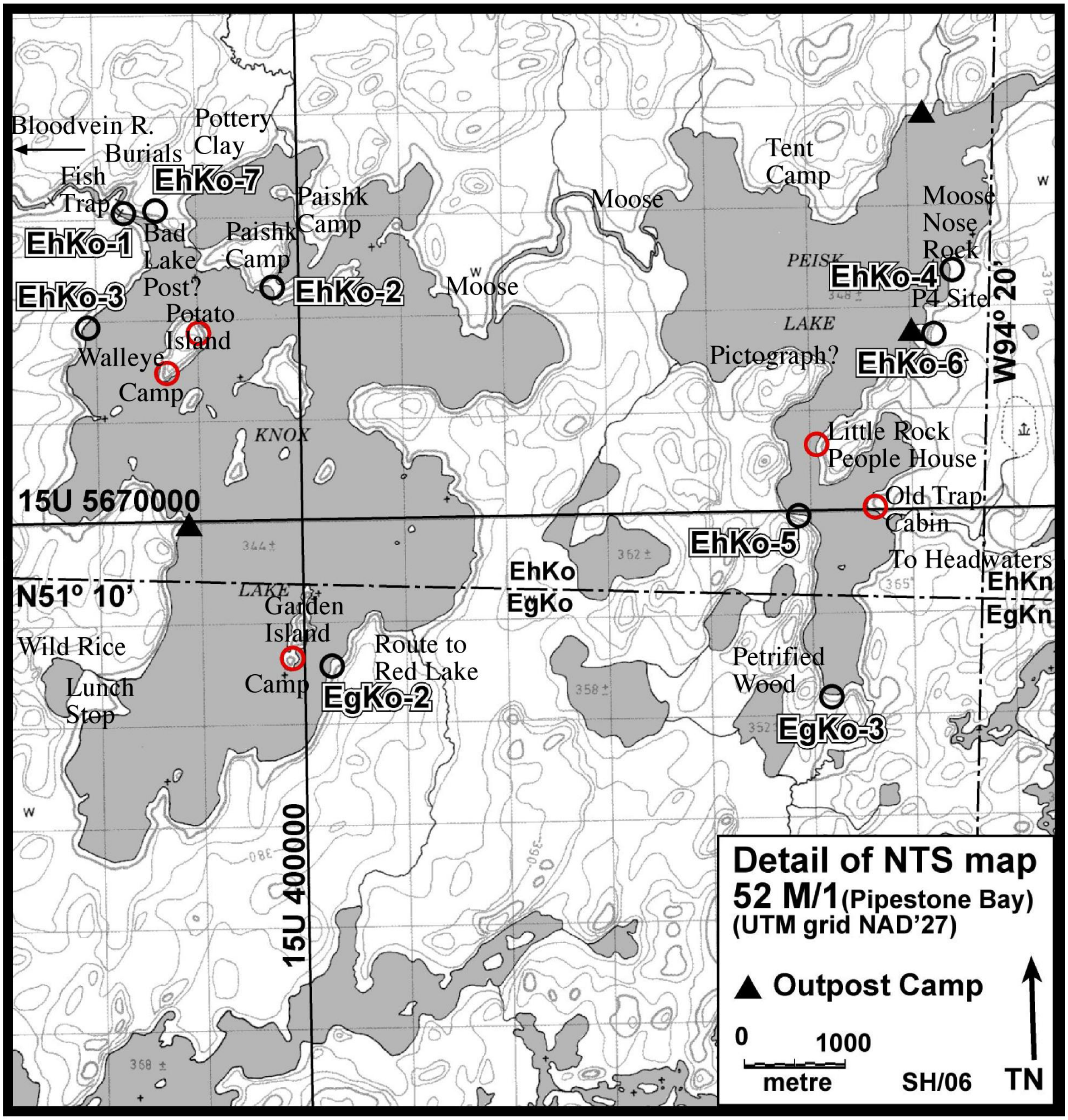

Figure 8.2. Some of the combined archaeological, ethnohistorical, and traditional knowledge information for Knox and Paishk lakes as part of the Bloodvein River system.

ners during this project (e.g., Peter Paishk is a Lac Seul band member, lives in Pikangikum, and has family ties to Red Lake and Little Grand Rapids).

Anishinaabeg continue their cultural practices on the Bloodvein River to this day, with remarkable resilience, after they had to adapt to so many changes such as European contact, epidemics, fur trade economic adaptations, treaty signing, missionary influences, Canadian government outlawing traditional ceremonies, Residential Schools, the Red Lake gold rush, sawmill and commercial fishing economic options, alcoholism, and other factors. Their stories continue today as people living in Lac Seul, Little Grand Rapids, Pikangikum, Red Lake, and other areas of the province of Ontario.

A New Understanding of the Selkirk Composite

Regarding the form, variation, and attributes of Selkirk Composite Late Woodland pottery from the Bloodvein River, this problem was addressed through pottery analysis, comparison, and interpretation in Chapter 7 (Figures 7.19, 7.20, 7.21). Archaeological findings along the Bloodvein River have led to the conclusion that this region should be included within the Clearwater Lake Complex, extending it southward (Figure 7.24) given that Clearwater Lake Punctate Type was the predominant one found. However, all three types of the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (MacNeish 1958) were identified from Selkirk Composite sites along the Bloodvein River (Figure 7.19, 7.20, 7.21; Table 7.12): Alexander Fabric-impressed (n=2); Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed (n=3); and Clearwater Lake Punctate (n=10). Several other Late Woodland and Woodland sites were also identified by isolated parallel vertical textile impressed or fabric impressed sherds (from sites that do not have other pottery to positively identify a particular vessel type), which indicates that there are 13 additional Woodland, Late Woodland, Winnipeg Fabric-impressed, or parallel vertical textile impressed vessels present in the study area (Table 7.8). Previously, Wall (1980a) had identified Blackduck, Selkirk and unknown Woodland (due to finding just body sherds) components and a possible Selkirk affiliation for one site from that Bloodvein River survey.

The first and only Accelerator Mass Spectrometry date for pottery from the Bloodvein River (and the entire region) is derived from the carbonized residue on a sherd from Simeon Lake. It provides a conventional radiocarbon age of 590±30 BP and 2 sigma calibration of Cal AD 1295 to 1370 (Cal BP 655 to 580) and Cal AD 1380 to 1415 (Cal BP 570 to 535) (Beta-373778). These age ranges are within the range of typical dates (ca. 850-250 BP) of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware and Selkirk Composite sites (Meyer and Hamilton 1987).

The question of how long "Ojibwe" people have lived in northwestern Ontario has been much debated (e.g., Bishop 1970; Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Hickerson 1970; Rogers and Black Rogers 1976). Part of my solution to this question is to listen to the Anishinaabeg, since it is them and their ancestors being debated. Some Elders have discussed being in northwestern Ontario 'since time immemorial' (late Elder Whitehead Moose, personal communication 2004; OP and PFN 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006:3). Elder Benton-Banai (1988), Warren (1885), and other Anishinaabeg discuss their migration stories (see also Dewdney 1975), which are quite well known from oral histories and there is evidence of them starting to move from the east long before European contact (Benton-Banai 1988; Greenberg and Morrison 1982). Other anthropologists have categorically stated that the Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe) are late arrivals to northern Ontario (Bishop 1970; Dunning 1959; Hallowell 1955). However, with all of the vagaries in using ethnohistoric records to identify people, especially when recorded by newcomers to what is now Ontario, it is difficult to believe that the answer to the question is so definitive. This notion is particularly true when Anishinaabe people state that they have been in place longer than just a few hundred years. It is my suggestion that there were multiple migrations of Anishinaabemowin speakers (or early Algonquians) into this region based on oral history from current residents (suggesting the longer time frame in northwestern Ontario). Also, the traditional migration oral history, suggested to date back to an arrival at 400 AD (Benton-Banai 1988), also indicates the possibility of an earlier migration than Hallowell (1992) had surmised as occurring in the mid-1700s. These early arrivals suggest that some Selkirk Composite peoples, including those living along the Bloodvein River, were early Algonquian speakers and may have been the early Ojibwe. Although the idea of the Selkirk Composite has always been associated with Cree speakers (e.g., originally MacNeish 1958 and later Meyer and Russell 1987), perhaps the explanation of the Winnipeg River Complex, being different to other complexes, is because it was produced by early Ojibwe speakers.

There is another group of site assemblages in northwestern Ontario grouped into the Winnipeg River Complex that is based on MacNeish's (1958) original description of the Selkirk Focus in southeast Manitoba (Meyer and Russell 1987). In addition, there does seem to be evidence that more Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed Types, as opposed to Clearwater Lake Punctate Type, are found in the Lake of the Woods (Rajnovich 1983) and Winnipeg River area (MacNeish 1958; Peach et al. 2010). However, Clearwater Lake Punctate is also present in that area. Essentially, all of these types belong together in the ware, since they share the same attributes except for decoration; hence, the need for three named types in the beginning of classification (MacNeish 1958). After examining the northwestern Ontario pottery assemblages, it is proposed that the Winnipeg River Complex should be placed back within the Selkirk Composite taxonomy. This suggestion is in response to Lenius and Olinyk (1990) placing the complex within the Rainy River Composite that they outlined. Overall, the three types of Alexander Fabric-impressed, Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed, and Sturgeon Punctate (now Clearwater Lake Punctate) types named by MacNeish (1958) should be grouped together as the Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware (rather than "Selkirk Ware"), returning to that original terminology and following Meyer and Russell (2006). Some coincidence with Bird Lake and Duck Bay Wares occur with Alexander Fabric-impressed and Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed at Rainy River Composite sites but perhaps these are best explained as multi-component sites. Alexander Fabric-impressed, Sturgeon Falls Fabric-impressed are quite different in vessel form, lip shape, and decoration to Bird Lake and Duck Bay Wares. For example, they generally do not have angular shoulders like the Bird Lake and Duck Bay vessels.

Bringing Together the Diachronic Information: An Example from Knox/Paishk Lakes

Knox and Paishk lakes were chosen as an example of how the archaeological, ethnohistorical, ethnographic, and traditional knowledge research of this study is brought together to illustrate the ancient and more recent cultural landscape of the eastern Bloodvein River (Figure 8.2). This information is drawn together through input and many insights from Pikangikum, Lac Seul , and Little Grand Rapids community members. Combining all these types of information provides an overview of *some* of the things that archaeologists may miss, in terms of the Indigenous knowledge, but also how integrating all of this information is beneficial for a holistic understanding about this locale.

Beginning with archaeology, after two field trips, two Fur Trade Period artifacts (Figure 6.10) were found at the Knox Lake Portage Site indicating that it might be the location of the Bad Lake posts discussed in Chapter 6 (Lytwyn 1986a). The Knox Lake Portage (Hamilton et al. 2007), Tent Camp, and P4 sites all had pottery finds which are Blackduck Composite and Late Woodland/ Woodland, which may be Selkirk Composite or Bird Lake (Figures 7.1, 8.2; Table 7.11). Also, the Knox Lake Portage Site excavation (Figure 2.4) resulted in a likely Laurel body sherd, indicating

Figure 8.3. Elder Joe Paishk at the idealic location of the Knox Lake Portage Site on the Bloodvein River in the WCSS.

the multi-component nature of that site. Given its attractive and economically viable location (Figures 7.14, 8.3), this was likely an ingathering or aggregation place (e.g., Meyer and Thistle 1995). The P4 site also is multi-component, since a corner notched Middle Period projectile point was found there (Figure 8.1B). Other sites were lithic scatters or isolated finds on beaches (Figure 8.2).

Learning from the Paishk and Keesic family about more contemporary use of these two lakes indicates toponyms with related stories (e.g., "Little Rock People House" referring to the *Maymaygweyshe* or little people, a remembered pictograph, and a small cave). Josephine King (personal communication 2008) was able to show us where she had lived as a child at places where cabins (family photo and one of those cabins in Figure 5.7) or tent camps ("Tent Camp") were located. This oral history was also borne out by archaeological evidence at these places. Specific locations, such as burials were also noted (and one is now marked as per the family's wishes with another one known to the Elders). Another likely cemetery was found on the first trip (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). It may relate to an earlier time frame of Fur Trade Period epidemics that affected the Kingfisher clan of Ojibwe people noted by Hackett (1999, 2002) and Lytwyn (1986a) in ethnohistoric sources.

Lac Seul Elders Josephine Paishk and Peter Paishk showed us several potato or garden islands on Knox and Paishk lakes (see Chapter 6 and Davidson-Hunt et al. 2012) (Figure 8.2). These were typically small islands in lakes that were used to grow just potatoes or a few other fairly hardy crops such as turnips; they provided a location that could be left for periods of time unattended without being disturbed by deer or other animals (Peter Paishk, personal communication 2008). The potato or garden islands provided an additional source of food, often produced in storable quantities. Several depressions, remnants of storage pits for the vegetables and other items, were seen at these and cabin locations on Knox Lake. In addition, an older archaeological site was found on an isle named Potato Island by the Paishks, indicating a continuity of site selection choice from previous times. Koezur and Wright (1976) also named the Potato Island Site, east of Red Lake, for the same reason. Douglas (1926) documents potato gardens at Pikangikum at the time of his survey and Hallowell (1992:47; Figure 5.13) also notes potato patches in the community during the 1930s. Dunning's (1959) work indicates that they were still being grown in the 1950s but currently these are no longer used due to higher deer populations causing damage to plants (Jean Keesic, personal communication 2014). The earlier growing of these crops may have been instigated by the HBC and/or the federal government trying to convince Indigenous people to garden by supplying implements and seed (Government of Canada 1875).

By studying the current boreal forest environment (see Chapter 3), analogies may be used to infer the past economies of archaeological site inhabitants combined with actual faunal remains that are discovered. Ontario Parks staff furnished detailed information about the WCSS for these projects that aided with understanding this ecozone and as an analogy to past life ways. Thus, people who occupied Bloodvein River sites were hunter-gatherers who subsisted mainly on moose, caribou, deer, small game, water mammals, migratory waterfowl, and fish. Gathering of boreal forest plants such as wild rice, berries, and medicinal examples (Densmore 1987; Vennum 1988) were and are also very important. Spring and fall fishing camps were highly sought after by people choosing sites (e.g., Hamilton 1981) and the Knox Lake Portage Site location suggests a number of spots where fish traps were located (large cobbles almost close off one narrow section of the river before the rapids). Fish weirs also remained important in the Postcontact Period to provision both humans and dogs for their sledding work. While having lunch at the Knox Lake Portage Site, several people caught fish almost immediately and several beavers and an otter were living downstream near the rapids (Figure 8.2). In addition, the Bloodvein River section between Knox and Paishk is ideal moose habitat, as the water level is low with plenty of aqueous plants for them to eat, and open swampy conditions that allow them to move around easily. We saw several while completing fieldwork in this region. Thus, this example of Knox and Paishk lakes, indicates what can be discovered when people of different epistemologies and backgrounds work together. By combining different types of evidence, it helps to build a truer picture of the complexities of central Canadian boreal forest peoples through time.

Conclusion

This project along the *Miskweyaabiziibee* or Bloodvein River in Ontario was built on a foundation of lasting, multiple partner, collaborative and community research (Figure 8.1) to complete projects using archaeological results supplemented with ethnohistory, ethnography, and oral history/traditional knowledge information. Some of the data include small, surface collected samples since the focus of the surveys was to learn as much about the region as possible within the available time frames. However, we were able to choose the evidently more important sites from each survey to excavate test pits or 1 x 1 metre squares as a point of further excavation. For example, more test pit lines and one metre square unit at Knox Lake Portage Site on Knox and Paishk Lake survey (Taylor-Hollings 2006c). Although I could have chosen to spend all of the available survey time at one important site, and excavate perhaps hundreds of artifacts within a well-developed stratigraphy, it was more important for my goals and those of my research partners to work towards a basic site inventory in this region. Even though the WCSS is a dedicated protected area, there is still a need to discover sites in order to assess their condition and prevent damage by campers, shore lunch, or other use in this park setting. Ultimately, this study exemplifies the utility of small collections being informative and this factor is certainly true of many central Canadian Subarctic contexts (Hamilton 1996; Hanna 2004; Ives 1985; Pilon 1987).

With the Bloodvein River archaeological surveys, the key results were: finding new information about the Early Period (from the West Patricia Archaeological Study in 1978), Middle Period and Middle Woodland, while determining more specific information about the Blackduck

Composite; newly identified Late Woodland affiliations of Bird Lake CWOI and Stamp Type of the Bird Lake Complex in the Rainy River Composite (Lenius and Olinyk 1990) as well as Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate Type (Hyslop 2011) affiliations suggesting cultural ties to the Rainy River and Lac Seul areas; the finding of 80 archaeological sites; 24 quartz quarries that were often associated with other sites and likely the source of most lithics in this region; adding to the understanding of the Fur Trade Period with archaeology; and learning about the last more permanent families on the Bloodvein River through the Paishk/Keesics in more recent times.

Building information about the Selkirk Composite, the first radiocarbon date from this region was obtained through a carbonized residue sample from a Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware vessel that also had maize phytoliths in the residue (methods in Boyd and Surette 2008). The resulting information identifies a sherd from Simeon Lake as the most northerly occurrence in Ontario thus far (Clarence Surette, personal communication 2013). It is most unlikely that the people using the pot on Simeon Lake had grown the maize, given how far north into the boreal forest this site is located; maize horticulture would not likely be possible due to the climate and soil conditions. Rather, it is more likely that people cooked maize that was traded or transported with them from southern Ontario, North Dakota, or northern Minnesota where maize is known to have been grown in precontact times (Boyd et al. 2014).

In trying to trace how people were living on the Bloodvein River, I consulted the archives and ethnohistoric context in Chapter 6, to examine what happened when the first and subsequent Europeans arrived and changes that ensued. Believing that Selkirk Composite peoples continued to live along the river (as people had done for hundreds of years), they were likely the Cree/Anishinaabeg that Europeans first encountered (cf., Greenberg and Morrison 1982; Meyer 1987; Witgen 2007) in the region around the 1770s. Some Anishinaabe and European individuals with ties to the Bloodvein River were traced in order to learn what kind of cultural changes were occurring at that time including the effects of dealing with Europeans, epidemics, and changes in Indigenous economies.

Reading Reid's (1988) and Wright's (1979) pleas for boreal forest archaeologists to "go and do better" caused me to follow that advice by building on the West Patricia Archaeological Project data and using a multi-disciplinary information base to obtain results. I also had the opportunity to work together in partnership with Anishinaabe First Nations, Ontario Parks, Lakehead University, and many other individuals - each bringing their own knowledge. Ultimately, one can conclude from archaeological evidence, ethnographic information, and traditional knowledge that along the Bloodvein River many "people used to live there a long time ago" as Elders have often informed us.

Future Research Possibilities

As with most brief archaeological survey projects, further fieldwork is recommended for the

Bloodvein River and larger WCSS region. However, only that river in the park has seen any significant research completed. Each year, more archaeological sites are discovered by Ontario Parks employees and also by visitors. Having a more complete site inventory would be useful for further research and for the practical purposes of monitoring cultural and natural potential harms. It is obvious from discussions about the careful relationship building that has taken place since 2003, that a community or Indigenous partnership approach is recommended to continue work in these traditional territories of the Anishinaabeg. In addition, the Ontario Parks/researcher partnership has been mutually beneficial, respectful and fulfilling in an intellectual capacity from an archaeological viewpoint.

It is hoped that with more studies, further refinement to the ideas about Selkirk Composite complexes in Ontario will be made. With the list of sites that I obtained from the Ontario Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and Sport, there were few researchers who identified the types of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware that they found (usually just “Selkirk” pottery and often not describing the specific type or surface finish). So, it was not practical to examine all of the assemblages on the list to determine what type and percentage of Winnipeg Fabric-impressed Ware was found (in regards to further refining the extent of the Clearwater Lake and Winnipeg River complexes). It will also be interesting to compare with Selkirk Composites sites found in Quebec as more research occurs.

Recently, one of the Lac Seul Elders suggested discussing the Anishinaabemowin names for all of these archaeological sites, which would be an interesting research project to pursue if that was agreeable with the knowledge holders. Typically, each location has stories with particular toponyms and this would be beneficial to document given the Elders’ concerns about the need for youth to learn about their traditional areas. I started this process with some of the site names but time constraints (and distances between Elders and the researcher) did not allow for this to be completed.

A particular research problem that I have noted in the WCSS and elsewhere in northwestern Ontario is the lack of information about the Middle Period. Testing of a few of these key sites, now that some of them are known (see Chapter 7), might be useful in aiding with understanding those earlier time frames in this part of northwestern Ontario.

REFERENCES CITED

Archival Sources

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Arrowsmith, Aaron

1822 Original map: Map of America, A. Arrowsmith, Hydrographer to His Majesty, 10 Soho Square, London. Electronic document, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY ~8~1~204765~3002145:Facsimile--Arrowsmith-s-America--po, accessed February 15, 2014.

Stanford, Edward

1901 British Columbia and the North West Territory. In *Stanford's London Atlas of Universal Geography Exhibiting the Physical and Political Divisions of the Various Countries of the World,* plate 81. Folio edition. Edward Stanford, Geographer to Her Majesty, 12, 13 & 14 Long Acre, W.C. Electronic document, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey. com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY%7E8%7E1%7E34310%7E1171225: British-Columbia-and-the-North-West, accessed August 16, 2011.

Geographicus

Auchugah

1729 Map of portages between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg created for La Verendrye. Electronic document, http://www.geographicus.com/blog/wpcontent/uploads/2013/03/ LakeWinnepegauchagah-1729.jpg, accessed November 18, 2013.

Historical Atlas of Canada (Online Learning Project)

Arrowsmith, J.

1795 Original map: British possessions in America. J. Arrowsmith, Aaron Lowry Cadell, T. Davies, W. Longman & Rees, Paternester Row. Original Source: Library and Archives Canada/NMC 6972. Electronic document, http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolpnational_ perspectives/exploration/UNIT_08/U08_staticmap_Arrowsmith_1795.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

1854 Original map: British North America by Permission dedicated to The Hon.ble Hudsons Bay Company Containing the latest information which their documents furnish By their Obedient Servants. London Pubd 25 April 1854 by Arrowsmith 10, Soho Square. Original Source: Library and Archives Canada/ NMC 24948. Electronic document, http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website /hacolp/national_perspectives/exploration/UNIT_08_5/images/Arrowsmith_1854_Original_High.jpg, accessed February 19, 2013.

Delisle, Joseph-Nicholas

1752 Original map: Carte des nouvelles découvertes au nord de la mer du Sud tant à l'est de la Siberie et du Kamtchatka qu'à l'ouest de la Nouvelle France/ dressée sur les mémoires de Mr. Del'Isle par Phillippe Buache. Original source: Library and Archives Canada/NMC 21056, Electronic document, http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolp/national%5Fperspectives/ exploration/UNIT_06/U06_staticmap_delisle_1752.htm, accessed October 28, 2013.

Dobbs, Arthur

1744 An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the North-west Part of America. London. Original map courtesy of Toronto Public Library (TRL), Electronic document, Arthur Dobbs. http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolp/national_perspectives/exploration/ UNIT_07/index.htm, accessed October 28, 2013.

Graham, Andrew

1772 Original map courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba. HBCA G.2/14, G.2/15. Electronic document, http://www.historical atlas.ca/website/hacolp/national%5F perspectives/exploration/UNIT_07/U07_staticmap_graham_1772_1774.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

Hodgson, J.
1791 Original map courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba HBCA G.2/28. Electronic document, www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolp/national_perspectives/ exploration/UNIT_08/U)8/U08_staticmap_Hodgson_1791.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

Pond, Peter
1785 Original map: Copy of a Map Presented to Congress. Original Source: Library and Archives Canada/NMC 8433. Electronic document, http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/ hacolp/national_perspectives/exploration/UNIT_08/U08_staticmap_Pond_1785.htm, accessed on February 19, 2013.

Thompson, David
1814 Original Map of the North West Territory of the Province of Canada, 1843. Library and Archives Canada/NMC 44302. Electronic document, http://www.historicalatlas.ca/website/hacolp/ national_perspectives/exploration/UNIT_08/U08_staticmap_Thompson_1814.htm, accessed October 28, 2013.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg
-Biographical Sheets [employees]: http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/ index.html
-Keystone Archives Descriptive Database: Summaries of posts, maps, dates, locations, and Europeans associated with these posts

Other Unpublished Sources

Balmer, Ann
1978 Field notes from the West Patricia Archaeological Study - Bloodvein River and Gammon River surveys.

Lambert, Peter J.
1985 Borden forms for EiKs-5 and EiKs-6 sites. Submitted to and on file at Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto and Thunder Bay.

Manitoba Historic Resources Branch
2013 Archaeological site data compiled from Borden forms about the Bloodvein River in Manitoba and shared with the author. Used with permission.

Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport
2011 Archaeological site data compiled by the Data Manager from Borden forms in the WCSS and adjacent areas as well as from Ontario about the Selkirk Composite. Shared with the author and used with permission.

Schindelhauer, Nancy
1978 Field notes from the West Patricia Archaeological Study - Bloodvein River and Gammon River surveys.

Taylor-Hollings, Jill
Field Notes 2004 Field notes from Knox/Peisk Lake research trip from August 8-16, 2004. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Lac Seul Meeting in Red Lake 2007 Notes from Lac Seul meeting with Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself on October, 2007. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Lac Seul Meeting 2009 Notes from Lac Seul meeting with Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself on February 9, 2009. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Lac Seul Meeting 2011 Notes from Lac Seul meeting with Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself on February 17, 2011. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Lac Seul Meeting in Red Lake 2016 Notes from Lac Seul meeting with Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself on March 10, 2016. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Little Grand Rapids Meeting 2007 Notes from Little Grand Rapids meeting with Councillors, community members, Ontario Parks employees, and myself on October 11, 2007. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Little Grand Rapids Meeting 2009 Notes from Little Grand Rapids meeting with Councillors, community members, Ontario Parks employees, and myself on August 7, 2009. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Little Grand Rapids Meeting 2011 Notes from Little Grand Rapids meeting with Councillors, community members, Ontario Parks employees, and myself on February 7 and 8, 2011. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Pikangikum Meeting 2005 Notes from meeting with Pikangikum Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself in May 2005. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Pikangikum Meeting 2007 Notes from meeting with Pikangikum Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself on June 25, 2007. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Pikangikum Meeting 2009 Notes from meeting with Pikangikum Elders, community members, Ontario Parks employees and myself on December 17, 2009. Copy stored with the author and in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

All Other Sources

Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC)
2013 First Nation Profiles. Electronic document, http://http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Index.aspx?lang=eng, accessed March 15, 2013.

Adovasio, J.M., and Kurt M. Carr
2009 Shades of Gray: The Paleoindian-Early Archaic "Transition" in the Northeast. In *Sourcebook of Paleolithic Transitions: Methods, Theories, and Interpretations,* edited by Marta Camps and Parth R. Chauhan, pp. 503-525. Springer Science + Business Media, New York.

Agger, Helen
2008 *A Trout Lake Story: The Oral History of Dedibaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick.* Theytis Books, Penticton, British Columbia.

Anfinson, Scott F. (editor and compiler)
1979 *A Handbook of Minnesota Prehistoric Ceramics.* Occasional Publications in Minnesota Anthropology No. 5. Minnesota Archaeological Society, Fort Snelling.

Angel, Michael
1997 Discordant Voices, Conflicting Visions: Ojibwa and Euro-American Perspectives on the Midewiwin. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Interdisciplinary Degrees, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

2002 *Preserving the Sacred: Historical Perspectives of the Ojibwa Midewiwin.* University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.

Angelback, Bill, and Colin Grier
2014 From Paradigms to Practices: Pursuing Horizontal and Long-Term Relationships with Indigenous Peoples for Archaeological Heritage Management. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38:519-540.

Arthurs, David
1978 Sandy Lake Ware in Northwestern Ontario: A Distributional Study. *Archaefacts: Journal of the Archaeological Society of South-western Manitoba* 5(2,3):57-64. Also in *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 2(1-2):57-64.

1979 The Renshaw Site, DaJi-1: An Archaic Site on the Western Lake Superior Shore. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 3(1):25-26.

1983 *Spirits of the Pictured Waters: The Archaeology of the Missinaibi River Valley.* North Central Region Conservation Archaeology Report 12, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Thunder Bay.

1986 *Archaeological Investigations at the Long Sault Site (Manitou Mounds)*. Northwestern Region Conservation Archaeology Report No. 7, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto.

1995 A Selkirk Vessel from Thunder Bay. *Arch Notes* 95(5):5-9.

Arzigian, Constance
2008 *Minnesota Statewide Multiple Property Documentation Form for the Woodland Tradition: Final.* Mn/DOT Agreement No. 89964, MVAC Report NO. 735, Mississippi Valley Archaeological Center at the University of Wisconsin - La Crosse, Wisconsin. Report submitted to the Minnesota Department of Transportation.

Atalay, Sonya
2006 Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice. *American Indian Quarterly* 30(3&4):280-310.

Auger, Donald J.
2005 *Indian Residential Schools in Ontario.* Nishnawbe Aski Nation.

Bakken, Kent Einar
2011 Lithic Raw Material Use Patterns in Minnesota. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Balmer, Ann
1980 An Examination of Some Selected Fur Trade Sites in Northwestern Ontario. Report written in fulfillment of Archaeological Licence #79-E-0354, for the West Patricia Land Use Plan. On file with the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Thunder Bay.

Bartleman, John
1921 A Winter Inspection Trip in Keewatin District, 1921: Journeying by Dog Team from Norway House to Little Grand Rapids, Berens River and Deer Lake is to Fur Man Like Walk Down Main Street to City Dweller. *The Beaver* June:27-29.

Beattie, Judith Hudson
1988 Manitoba History: The Hudson's Bay Company in Northern Manitoba, 1912-1987. *Manitoba History* Spring 15:1.

Bell, Robert
1879 Report on the Country Between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay. Report of Progress for 1877-78, *Geological Survey of Canada,* pp. 1-31. Dawson Brothers, Montreal.

1898 On the Occurrence of Mammoth and Mastodon Remains Around Hudson Bay. *Bulletin of The Geological Society of America* 9:369-390.

Benton-Banai, Edward
1988 *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway.* Reprinted in 2010, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Berens, William, and A. Irving Hallowell
2009 *Memories, Myths, and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader.* Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

Berkes, Fikret
2012 *Sacred Ecology.* Third ed. Routledge, New York.

Berkes, Fikret, and Iain J. Davidson-Hunt
2006 Biodiversity, Traditional Management Systems, and Cultural Landscapes: Examples from the Boreal Forest of Canada. *International Social Science Journal* 58:35-47.

Bird, Louis
2005 *Telling Our Stories: Omushkego Legends and Histories from Hudson Bay.* Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown, Paul W. DePasquale, and Mark F. Ruml. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Birk, Douglas A.
1977 The Norway Lake Site: A Multicomponent Woodland Complex North Central Minnesota. *Minnesota Archaeologist* 36(1):16-45.

1979 Sandy Lake Ware. In *A Handbook of Minnesota Prehistoric Ceramics,* edited by Scott F. Anfinson, pp. 175-182. Occasional Publications in Minnesota Anthropology No. 5, Minnesota Archaeological Society, Fort Snelling.

Birk, Douglas A., and Elden Johnson
1992 The Mdewakanton Dakota and Initial French Contact. In *Calumet and Fleurde-Lys: Archaeology of Indian and French Contact in the Midcontinent,* edited by John A. Walthall and Thomas E. Emerson, pp. 203-240. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London.

Bishop, Charles A.
1970 The Emergence of Hunting Territories Among the Northern Ojibwa. *Ethnology* 9:1-15.

1974 *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study.* Cultures and Communities: A Series of Monographs - Native Peoples, general editor Sally M. Weaver. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Toronto.

1975 Early Historic Populations in Northwestern Ontario: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Interpretations. *American Antiquity* 40:54-63.

1976 The Emergence of the Northern Ojibwa: Social and Economic Consequences. *American Ethnologist* 3(1):39-54.

1982 The Indian Inhabitants of Northern Ontario at the Time of Contact: Socioterritorial Considerations. In *Approaches to Algonquian Archaeology,* edited by M.G. Hanna and B. Kooyman, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Calgary.

Bjorck, Svante
1985 Deglaciation Chronology and Revegetation in Northwestern Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences* 22:850-871.

Black Rogers, Mary
1986 Varieties of 'Starving': Semantics and Survival in the Subarctic Fur Trade, 1750-1850. *Ethnohistory* 33(4):353-383.

2001 Effects of Adoption on the Round Lake Study. In *Strangers to Relatives: The Adoption and Naming of Anthropologists in Native North America,* edited by Sergei Kan, pp. 99-108. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Bloodvein First Nation, Craig Cook, Harold Cook, and Whelan Enns Associates
2007 Our Heritage River -- The River of Our People. Paper presented at the Canadian Heritage River Systems Conference, Winnipeg. Electronic document, http://manitobawildlands.org/pdfs/BVR_CHHRS_Pres12 June2007.pdf, accessed January 6, 2012.

Bloodvein First Nation and Manitoba Planning Team
2011 Pimitotah: To Care for Our Land. Bloodvein First Nation Land Use Plan. Electronic document, http://www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/landprograms_ branch/pdf/bloodvein_draft_plan_public_june_24_2011.pdf, accessed on December 14, 2011.

Blue, Archibald
1894 Copper at Point Mamainse. Annual Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, Volume III:63-88. Queen's Printer, Toronto.

1896 Section III. A Tour of Inspection in Northwestern Ontario. In *Fifth Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines 1895*, p. 107-190. Warwick Bros & Rutter, Printers, Toronto.

Bohaker, Heidi
2010 Reading *Anishinaabe* Identities: Meaning and Metaphor in *Nindoodem* Pictographs. *Ethnohistory* 57(1):11-33.

Boyd, M., and C. Surette
2010 Northernmost Precontact Maize in North America. *American Antiquity* 75(1):117-133.

Boyd, Matthew, Clarence Surette, and Beverly A. Nicholson
2006 Archaeobotanical Evidence of Prehistoric Maize (*Zea mays*) Consumption at the Northern Edge of the Great Plains. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33:1129-1140.

Boyd, Matthew, Clarence Surette, Andrew Lints, and Scott Hamilton
2014 Wild Rice (Zizania ssp.), the Three Sisters, and the Woodland Tradition in Western and Central Canada. In *Reassessing the Timing, Rate, and Adoption Trajectories of Domesticate Use in the Midwest and Great Lakes,* edited by Maria E. Raviele and William A. Lovis, pp. 7-32. Midwest Archaeological Conference Inc. Occasional Papers Number 1.

Boyd, Matt, Jill Taylor-Hollings, and Scott Hamilton
2005 *A Geoarchaeological Inspection at Pikangikum, Northwestern Ontario.* Report prepared for John Kejick, Pikangikum First Nation and Doug Gilmore (Acting Park Supt. of Woodland Caribou Provincial Park).

Boyd, Matthew, J.T. Teller, Z. Yang, L. Kingsmill, and C. Shultis
2010 An 8,900-year-old Forest Drowned by Lake Superior: Hydrological and Paleoecological Implications. *Journal of Paleolimnology Special Issue.* Electronic document (Online First), http://www.springerlink.com/content/53u317223042k235/, accessed June 26, 2011.

Boyd, Matthew, Tamara Varney, Clarence Surette, and Jennifer Surette
2008 Reassessing the Northern Limit of Maize Consumption in North America: Stable Isotope, Plant Microfossil, and Trace Element Content of Carbonized Food Residue. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35:2545-2556.

Boydston, Roger A.
1989 A Cost-benefit Study of Functionally Similar Tools. In *Time, Energy and Stone Tools,* edited by Robin Torrence, pp. 67-77. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Boyle, David
1908 Rock Paintings. *Annual Archaeological Report of Ontario for 1907 Being the Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education for the Year 1906* 21:31-34. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

Bradley, Bruce, and Dennis Stanford
2004 The North Atlantic Ice-edge Corridor: A Possible Paleolithic Route to the New World. *World Archaeology* 36:(4)459-478.

Brandzin-Low, Vera
1997 The Distribution and Characteristics of Laurel Ceramics from Northern Manitoba. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Brashler, Janet G., and Margaret B. Holman
1985 Late Woodland Continuity and Change in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan. *Arctic Anthropology* 22(2):141-152.

Brown, Jennifer S.H.
1996 Reading Beyond the Missionaries, Dissecting Responses. *Ethnohistory* 43(4):713-719.

2003 Doing Aboriginal History: A View from Winnipeg. *Canadian Historical Review* 84(4):1-24.

2006 Field of Dreams: Revisiting A.I. Hallowell and the Berens River Ojibwe. In *New Perspectives on Native North America: Cultures, Histories, and Representations,* edited by Sergei Kan, Pauline Turner Strong, and Raymond Fogelson, pp. 17-41. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Brown, Jennifer S.H., and Maureen Matthews
I993 Fair Wind: Medicine and Consolation on the Berens River. *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 4:55-74.

Brownlee, Kevin
2005 Bone and Antler Tools from the Victoria Day Site (Manitoba): Building Bridges with First Nation Communities Through Experimental Archaeology. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Bruce, E.L.
1924a Geology of the Basin of Red Lake, District of Patricia. Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXXIII, Part IV:12-43. Clarkson W. James, King's Printer, Toronto.

1924b Geology of the Upper Part of the English River Valley. Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXXIII, Part IV:1-11. Clarkson W. James, King's Printer, Toronto.

Bruce, E.L., and J.E. Hawley
1928 Geology of the Basin of Red Lake, District of Kenora (Patricia Portion). Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXXVI, Part III:1-72. Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Bryce, P.H.
1907 Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa.

Buchner, A.P.
1979a *The 1978 Caribou Lake Project, Including a Summary of the Prehistory of East-Central Manitoba.* Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Final Report No. 8. Historic Resources Branch, Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Winnipeg.

1979b The Shield Archaic: A Review. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 3(2):2-12.

1980 A Further Contribution to the Shield Archaic Debate. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 4(1):53-60.

1981 Sinnock: A Paleolithic Camp and Kill Site in Manitoba. Final Report No. 10, Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

1984 Investigations at the Sinnock Site 1980 and 1982. Final Report No. 17, Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Winnipeg.

Budak, Michael K.
1985 Laurel Ceramics: A Pointed Question. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 44(2):31-40.

1991 The Function of Shell Temper in Pottery. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 50(2):53-59.

2012 Research Note: Pottery Firing Experiment at Grand Mound. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 71:21-25.

Buggey, Susan
1999 An Approach to Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes. Landscape and History, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Ottawa. Electronic document, http://www.pc.gc.ca/docs/r/pca-acl/images/Aboriginal_Cultural_Landscapes_ e.pdf, accessed on December 15, 2014.

Burchill, Alexandra
2014 Plant Microfossil Analysis of Middle Woodland Food Residues, Northern Minnesota. Unpublished Masters thesis, Northern Environments and Cultures Program, Departments of Anthropology and Geography, Lakehead University.

Burpee, Lawrence J. (editor)
1927 *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la La Vérendrye and his Sons.* The Champlain Society, Toronto.

Burwash, E.M.J.
1920 A Geological Reconnaissance into Patricia. Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXIV, Part 1:157-192. Clarkson W. James, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

1923 Geology of Ontario-Manitoba Boundary (From Winnipeg River to Bloodvein River, 1921). Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines Vol. XXXII, Part II:1-48. Clarkson W. James, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Bushnell, Jr., David I.
1919 Ojibway Habitations and Other Structures. In Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute, 1917, pp. 609-618. Government Printing Office, Washington.

Camsell, Charles
1912 Country Around the Headwaters of Severn River. Geological Survey of Canada, Vol. XVI, pt. A, 1904, pp. 143-52.

Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA)
2006 Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples. Electronic document, http://www.canadianarchaeology.com/ethical.com, accessed on July 27, 2006.

Canadian Heritage Rivers System (CHRS)
2012 Bloodvein River Fact Sheet. Electronic document, http://www.chrs.ca/ Rivers/Bloodvein/Bloodvein-F_e.php, accessed January 4, 2012.

Card, K.D., and Andre Ciesielski
1986 DNAG #1. Subdivisions of the Superior Province of the Canadian Shield. *Geoscience Canada* 13(1):5-13.

Carmichael, Patrick
1977 A Descriptive Summary of Blackduck Ceramics from the Wanipigow Lake Site Area (EgKx- l), 1975 and 1976. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Miscellaneous Papers 5.

1979 The Thunderbird Site, EgKx-15: A Prehistoric Petroform and Habitation Site in Manitoba. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Dept. of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Census of Canada
1911 Ontario, District 123 Rainy River, Lac Seul Reserve. Transcribed by Ida R. Marshall. Electronic document, http://automatedgenealogy.com/census11/SplitView.jsp?id=57178, accessed January 15, 2014.

Chapeskie, Andrew J.
1990 Indigenous Law, State Law and the Management of Natural Resources: Wild Rice and the Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation. *Law and Anthropology* 5:129-166.

2001 Northern Homelands, Northern Frontier: Linking Culture and Economic Security in Contemporary Livelihoods in Boreal and Cold Temperate Forest Communities in Northern Canada. In *Forest Communities in the Third Millenium: Linking Research, Business, and Policy Toward a Sustainable Non-timber Forest Product Sector,* edited by I.J. Davidson-Hunt, I.C. Duchesne, and J.C. Zasada, pp. 31-44. General Technical Report NC-217. USDA Forest Service, Minneapolis, MN.

Chapman, L.J., and M.K. Thomas
1968 *The Climate of Northern Ontario.* Climatological Studies No. 6. Department of Transport, Meteorological Branch, Toronto.

Cinq-Mars, Jacques, and Raymond Le Blanc
2008 Stone Adzes or Antler Wedges? An Experimental Study on Prehistoric Tree-felling in the Northwestern Boreal Region. *Alaska Journal of Anthropology* 93-108.

Cinq-Mars, Jacques, and Charles A. Martijn
1981 General Environment. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 30-34. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Clark, Caven P.
1995 Archeological Survey and Testing, Isle Royale National Park, 1987-1900 Seasons. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 32. Midwest Archeological Centre, National Park Service, Lincoln,

Clark, Donald W.
1991 *Western Subarctic Prehistory*. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

Clark, Geoffrey A.
2009 Accidents of History: Conceptual Frameworks in Paleoarchaeology. In *Sourcebook of Paleolithic Transitions: Methods, Theories, and Interpretations,* edited by Marta Camps and Parth R. Chauhan, pp. 19-41. Springer Science + Business Media, New York.

Cleland, Charles E.
1982 The Inland Shore Fishery of the Northern Great Lakes: Its Development and Importance in Prehistory. *American Antiquity* 47(4):761-784.

Coates, Kenneth S., and William R. Morrison
1986 Treaty Research Report Treaty 5 (1875). Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Coleman, A.P.
1896 Second Report on the Western Gold Fields of Western Ontario. In *Fifth Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines 1895*, p. 47-106. Warwick Bros & Rutter, Printers, Toronto.

Colson, Alicia J.M.
2006 An Obsession with Meaning: A Critical Examination of the Pictograph Sites of the Lake of the Woods. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, McGill University, Montreal.

2007 What Do These Symbols Mean? A Critical Review of the Images Found on the Rocks of the Canadian Shield with Specific Reference to the Pictographs of the Lake of the Woods. *Revista de Arqueologia Americana* 25:101-187.

Connaughton, Sean P., Mike Leon, and James Herbert
2014 Collaboration, Partnerships, and Relationships within a Corporate World. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38:541-562.

Cooper, John M.
1933 The Northern Algonquin Supreme Being. *Primitive Man* 6(3/4):41-111.

Cooper, Leland R., and Elden Johnson
1964 Sandy Lake Ware and its Distribution. *American Antiquity* 29(4):474-479.

Corfu, Fernanado, and Denver Stone
1998a The Significance of Titanite and Apatite U-Pb Ages: Constraints for the Post-magmatic Thermal-hydrothermal Evolution of a Batholithic Complex, Berens River Area, Northwestern Superior Province, Canada. *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 62(17):2979-2995.

1998b Age Structure and Orogenic Significance of the Berens River Composite Batholiths, Western Superior Province. *Canadian Journal of Earth Science* 35:1089-1109.

Côté, Marc, and Leila Inksetter
2001 Ceramics and Chronology of the Late Prehistoric Period: The Abitibi-Témiscamingue Case. In *A Collection of Papers presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association*, edited by Jean-Luc Pilon, M.W. Kirby, and C. Thériault, p. 111-127. Canadian Archaeological Association and Ontario Archaeological Society, Ottawa. Electronic document, http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/300/ont_archaeol_soc/annual_meeting_caa/33rd/ coteinksetter.pdf, accessed June 5, 2013.

2009 La céramique blackduckienne des sites Réal (DdGt-5) et Bérube (DdGt-5). Un mythe devenu réalité. In *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright,* edited by David L. Keenlyside and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 255-298. Mercury Series Archaeology Paper No. 170. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

Creese, John L.
2011 Algonquian Rock Art and the Landscape of Power. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11(1):3-20.

Cruikshank, Julie
1990 *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2005 *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, & Social Imagination.* UBC Press, Vancouver.

Crumley, Carole S.
1973 The Kantzler Site (20BY30): A Multi-component Woodland Site in Bay County, Michigan. *The Michigan Archaeologist* 19(3-4):iii-291.

Davidson-Hunt, Iain
2003 Journeys, Plants and Dreams: Adaptive Learning and Social-Ecological Resilience. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Davidson-Hunt, Iain, and Fikret Berkes
1999 Learning As You Journey: Anishinaabe Perception of Social-ecological Environments and Adaptive Learning. *Conservation Ecology* 8(1):5-26.

Davidson-Hunt, Iain, Nathan Deutsch, and Andrew M. Miller
2012 *Pimachiowin Aki Cultural Landscape Atlas: Land That Gives Life.* Pimachiowin Aki Corporation, Winnipeg.

Davidson-Hunt, Iain, and R. Michael O'Flaherty
2010 *Pikangikum Cultural Landscape Documentation Guide.* Aboriginal Issues Press, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Dawson, K.C.A.
1974 *The McCluskey Site.* Mercury Series 25. National Museum of Man, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.

1975 The Western Area Algonkians. In *Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference, 1974*, edited by W. Cowan, pp. 30-41. Mercury Series 23. National Museum of Man, Ethnology Service Paper, Ottawa.

1976a *Albany River Survey: Patricia District*. Mercury Series 51:52-106. National Museum of Man, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.

1976b *Algonkians of Lake Nipigon: An Archaeological Survey.* Mercury Series 48. National Museum of Man, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.

1976c The Nyman Site: Seventeeth Century Algonkian Camp on the North Shore of Lake Superior. *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* 8:1-59.

1977a An Application of the Direct Historical Approach to the Algonkians of Northern Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 1:151-181.

1977b Northwestern Ontario Historic Populations. *Man In The Northeast* 18:14-31.

1980 The MacGillivray Site: A Laurel Tradition Site in Northwestern Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 34:45–68.

1981 The Wabinosh River Site and the Laurel Tradition in Northwestern Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 36:3-46.

1983a Prehistory of Northern Ontario. The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Thunder Bay.

1983b Cummins Site: A Late Paleo-Indian (Plano) Site at Thunder Bay, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 39:3-31.

1983c Prehistory of the Interior Forest of Northern Ontario. In *Boreal Forest Adaptations: the Northern Algonkians*, edited by A.T. Steegmann, Jr., pp. 55-84. Plenum Press, New York.

1984 A History of Archaeology in Northern Ontario to 1983 with Bibliographic Contributions. *Ontario Archaeology* 42:27-92.

1987a The Martin-Bird Site. *Ontario Archaeology* 47:33-57.

1987b Northwestern Ontario and the Early Contact Period: the Northern Ojibwa from 1615-1715. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 11:143-187.

1999 Archaeologists in the Continental Boreal Province: A Personal Recollection. *Ontario Archaeology* 67:23-39.

Dawson, S.J.
1869 *The Red River Country, Hudson's Bay & North-west Territories, Considered in Relation to Canada, with the Last Report of S.J. Dawson, Esquire, C.E. on the Line of Route Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement.* G.E. Desbarats, Ottawa.

Dawson, Simon James C.E.
1868 Report on the Line of Route Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement. Pamphlet #14. Archives of Ontario.

Densmore, Frances
1979 Chippewa Customs. Reprint of Chippewa Customs. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 86, United States Government Printing Office, Washington. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

1987 Indian Use of Wild Plants for Crafts, Food, Medicine, and Charms. Reprint of Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians. Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1926-1927. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, United States Government Printing Office, Washington.

Deutsch, Nathan
2013 Engaging Provincial Land Use Policy: Traplines and the Continuity of Customary Access and Decision-Making Authority in Pikangikum First Nation, Ontario. Unpublished PhD thesis, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Dewdney, Selwyn
1965 *Stone Age Paintings.* A Heritage Area Publication. Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Parks Branch, Winnipeg.

1970 Dating Rock Art in the Canadian Shield Region. Occasional Paper 24. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

1975 *The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

1978 Aboriginal Rock Paintings in Manitoba: A Preliminary Description of 27 Sites East and Northeast of Lake Winnipeg. In *Studies in Manitoba Rock Art II: Rock Paintings, Miscellaneous Papers in Archaeology No. 8,* pp. 105-134. Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

1997 *Daylight in the Swamp: Memoirs of Selwyn Dewdney.* Edited by A.K. Dewdney. Dundurn Press, Toronto.

Dewdney, Selwyn, and K. Kidd
1962 *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

1967 *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes.* 2nd ed. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Dickson, Gary A.
1980 *The Kame Hills Site.* Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Final Report No. 9. Historic Resources Branch, Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources, Winnipeg.

Didora, Christin
2010 Best Practices for Completing the Comparative Analysis for a Cultural Landscape Such as the Proposed Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Nomination. Unpublished Masters thesis, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Doerfler, Jill, *Niigaanwewidam* James Sinclair, and Heidi *Kiiwetinepinesiik* Stark (editors)
2013 *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories.* Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Douglas, G. Vibert
1926 Reconnaissance from Red Lake to Favourable Lake, District of Patricia. Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines Vol. XXXV, Part IV. Clarkson W. James, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Dowling, D.B.
1896 Report on the Country in the Vicinity of Red Lake and Part of the Basin of Berens River, Keewatin. Geological Survey of Canada, S.E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

Downes, P.G.
1938 Reindeer Lake Pottery. *American Antiquity* 4:48.

Dunning, R.W.
1958 Some Implications of Economic Change in Northern Ojibwa Social Structure. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 24(4):562-566.

1959 *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Dyke, Arthur S., and Victor K. Prest
1987 Late Wisconsinan and Holocene History of the Laurentide Ice Sheet. *Géographie physique et Quaternaire* 41(2):237-263.

Evans, C.E.
1961 Prehistoric Blackduck-Historic Assiniboine: A Re-assessment. *Plains Anthropologist* 6:271-275.

Feld, Steven, and Keith H. Basso (editors)
1996 *Senses of Place.* School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.

Fewkes, Vladimir J.
1937 Aboriginal Potsherds from Red River, Manitoba. *American Antiquity* 3(2):143-155.

Fidler, Peter
1808 Sketch Map of the West Side of Lake Winnipeg at Dogs Head 1808. In *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870,* edited by Ruggles, Richard I. 1991. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.

Finch, David Michael
2013 It Is Only The Beginning: An Ethnohistory Of Mid-Twentieth Century Land Tenure In Fort Severn, Ontario. Unpublished Masters thesis, Master of Environmental Studies, Northern Environments and Cultures, Departments of Anthropology and Geography, Lakehead University.

Fisher, Tal

2002 *Fireside Lodge Site (Northwestern Ontario), Final Report.* Edited by Jill Taylor-Hollings. Stage 1 and 2 Assessment report prepared for Fireside Lodge and the Ontario Ministry of Culture.

Flynn, Catherine M.

2002 Cultural Responses to the Medieval Warm Period on the Northeastern Plains: The Example from the Lockport Site (EaLf-1). Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Fox, William A.

1975 *The Paleo-Indian Lakehead Complex.* Research Report No. 6. Historic Sites Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Toronto.

2009 Ontario Cherts Revisited. In *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright,* edited by David L. Keenlyside and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 353-369. Mercury Series Archaeology Paper No. 170. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

Fox, William A., and Charles Garrad

2004 Hurons in an Algonquian Land. *Ontario Archaeology* 77/78:121-134.

Francis, Daniel and Toby Morantz

1983 *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal.

Fritz, Ronald, Roger Suffling, and Thomas Ajit Younger

1993 Influence of Fur Trade, Famine, and Forest Fires on Moose and Woodland Caribou Populations in Northwestern Ontario from 1786 to 1911. *Environmental Management* 17(4):477-489.

Gates St-Pierre, Christian

2009 A Critical Review of the Last Decade of Prehistoric Archaeology in Southern Quebec. In *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright,* edited by David L. Keenlyside and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 103-141. Mercury Series Archaeology Paper No. 170. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

Gibbon, Guy

1994 Cultures of the Upper Mississippi River Valley and Adjacent Prairies in Iowa and Minnesota. In *Plains Indians, A.D. 500-1500: The Archaeological Past of Historic Groups,* edited by Karl H. Schlesier, pp. 128-148. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Gibson, Terrance H.

1976 *The Winnipegosis Site.* Preliminary Report #2, Papers in Manitoba Archaeology. Department of Tourism, Recreation, & Cultural Affairs, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

1991 MacADEM Archaeological Data Entry & Management Software for the Apple Macintosh computer, Version 10.5, CARP taxonomy. Western Heritage Services Inc., Saskatoon, SK.

1998 Site Structure and Ceramic Behaviour of a Protohistoric Cree Aggregation Campsite. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Gilbert, Geoffrey

1928 Gammon River Area and Rickaby Lake Schist Belt, District of Kenora (Patricia Portion). Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXXVI, Part III:73-84. Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Gillespie, Beryl C.

1981 Major Fauna in the Traditional Economy. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 15-18. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Gilmore, Doug
2010 Cross Border Partnerships in Protected Areas Management: Northwestern Ontario – Eastern Manitoba. In *Proceedings of the Parks Research Forum of Ontario 2006*, pp. 19-30. Centre for Applied Science in Ontario Protected Areas, Waterloo. Electronic document, http://casiopa.mediamouse.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/PRFO-2006-Proceedings-p19-30-Gilmore.pdf, accessed February 3, 2013.

Goltz, Grant
1991 *Woodland Ceramics (Cord-Wrapped Paddles and other Archaeological Myths).* Paper presented at the Council for Minnesota Archaeology Spring Symposium, St. Paul. Draft manuscript in possession of the author.

Goodyear, Albert C.
2005 Evidence for Pre-Clovis Sites in the Eastern United States. In *Paleoamerican Origins: Beyond Clovis,* edited by Robson Bonnichsen, Bradley T. Lepper, and Dennis Stanford, pp.103-112. Center for the Study of the First American, Department of Anthropology, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas.

Gordon, Diana Lynn
1983 *North Caribou Lake Archaeology: Northwestern Ontario.* Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

1985 *North Caribou Lake Archaeology.* Northwestern Region Conservation Archaeology Report No. 9. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Kenora.

1988a Discovering Patterns of Change at North Caribou Lake in the Post-Contact Period: Implications for Finding and Interpreting the Archaeological Record. In *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology*, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid, Occasional Publications of the London Chapter No. 6. Ontario Archaeological Society Inc., London, Ontario.

1988b Lake Temagami and the Northern Experience. *Arch Notes* 88(2):25-30.

1989 *Lake Temagami Archaeological Research: 1987-1988 Final Report*. Ontario Heritage Foundation, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communications, Toronto.

2014 A Lake through Time: Archaeological and Palaeo-environmental Investigations at Lake Temagami, 1985-1994. With contributions from John H. McAndrews and Ian D. Campbell. *Ontario Archaeology* 93:52-158.

Government of Canada
1875 Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaties made 20th and 24th September, 1875 Between Her Majesty the Queen and The Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, at Beren's River and Norway House. Transcribed from original document of 1875. The Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

1877 Letter from Hon. Thos. Howard and J. Letsock Reid, Commissioners, to Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor, Fort Garry. Winnipeg, October 10, 1876. In *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year Ended 30th June, 1877, Session 1877, Volume XI, pp. xl-xlv.* Sessional Papers Volume 7, Fourth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion of Canada. Maclean, Roger & Co., Ottawa.

1895 *Tabular Statement No.4 - Census Return of Resident and Nomadic Indians Sessional Papers - Denominations to which they belong, No. 14, pp. 282.* First Dominion of Canada, MacLean, Roger & Co., Parliamentary Printers, Wellington Street, Ottawa.

1978 Treaty 3 Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians at the Northwest Angle on the Lake of the Woods with Adhesions. Reprinted from 1966. Transcribed from original 1873 document by Roger Duhamel, F.R.S.C., Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa.

2013 Indian Act R.S.C., 1985, c. I-5. Electronic document, http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca, accessed May 15, 2013. Published by the Minister of Justice, Ottawa.

Graham, James
2008 Blackduck Settlement in South-Western Manitoba: Land Use and Site Selection. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 18(1&2):i-138.

Grasby, Stephen E., Eugene M. Gryba, and Ruth K. Bezys
2002 A Bedrock Source of Swan River Chert. *Plains Anthropologist* 47(182):275-281.

Gray, Susan Elaine
1996 The Ojibwa World View and Encounters with Christianity Along the Berens River, 1875-1940. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

1999 "They Fought Just Like a Cat and a Dog!": Oblate-Methodist Relations at Berens River, Manitoba, 1920-1940. *Prairie Forum* 24(1):51-64.

2006 *"I Will Fear No Evil": Ojibwa-Missionary Encounters Along the Berens River, 1875-1940*. University of Calgary Press, Calgary.

Greenberg, A.M., and J. Morrison
1982 Group Identities in the Boreal Forest: The Origin of the Northern Ojibwa. *Ethnohistory* 29(2):75-102.

Greer, Sheila
1990 Place Names in Heritage Site Research, Dempster Highway Corridor, Yukon. *Canoma* 16(2):December 1-5.

Griffin, James B.
1946 Cultural Change and Continuity in Eastern United States Archaeology. In Man in Northeastern North America, edited by Frederick Johnson, pp. 37-95. Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology, Vol. 3, Andover.

Guindon, François
2009 Iroquoian Pottery at Lake Abitibi: A Case Study of the Relationship Between Hurons and Algonkians on the Canadian Shield. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 33(1):65-91.

Hackett, F.J. Paul
1999 *A Very Remarkable Sickness: The Diffusion of Directly Transmitted, Acute Infectious Diseases in the Petit Nord, 1670-1848. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.*

Hackett, Paul
2002 '*A Very Remarkable Sickness': Epidemics in the Petit Nord, 1670 to 1846.* University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.

Hallowell, A. Irving
1926 Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere. *American Anthropologist* 28(1):1-175.

1935 Two Indian Portraits. *The Beaver* 3(Outfit 226):18-19.

1936 The Passing of the Midewiwin in Lake Winnipeg Region. *American Anthropologist* (New Series) 38(1):32-51.

1937 Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Pre-Literate Society. *American Anthropologist* (New Series) 39(4) Part 1:647-670.

1938a Notes on the Material Culture of the Island Lake Saulteaux. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* Tome 30nº1:129-140.

1938b The Incidence, Character, and Decline of Polygyny Among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Saulteaux. *American Anthropologist* (New Series) 40(2):235-356.

1940 The Spirits of the Dead in Saulteaux Life and Thought. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 70(1):29-51.

1949 The Size of Algonkian Hunting Territories: A Function of Ecological Adjustment. *American Anthropologist* 51:35-45.

1955 *Culture and Experience*. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

1960 Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View. In *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin,* edited Stanley Diamond, pp. 17-49. New York: Columbia University Press.

1992 *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into History.* Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown. Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, General Editors George and Louise Spindler. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, Fort Worth, Texas.

2010 *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies: Essays 1934-1972.* Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2014 A. Irving Hallowell Papers, American Philosophical Society, Mss.Ms.Coll.26. American Philosophical Society Digital Library. Electronic document, http://amphilsoc.org/mole/view?docId=ead/Mss.Ms.Coll.26-ead.xml#d15520e121766617808896, accessed on January 15, 2014.

Hamilton, Scott

1981 *The Archaeology of Wenesaga Rapids.* Archaeology Research Report 17, Archaeology and Heritage Planning Branch, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1988 The Concept of Cultural Edge in the Boreal Forest of Manitoba and North Western Ontario. In *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology*, edited by C.S. “Paddy” Reid, Occasional Publications of the London Chapter No. 6.

1996 Pleistocene Landscape Features and Plano Archaeological Sites upon the Kaministiquia River Delta, Thunder Bay District. LU Monographs in Anthropology #1, Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay.

2000 Archaeological Predictive Modelling in the Boreal Forest: No Easy Answers. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 24(1):41-76.

2004 Early Holocene Human Burials at Wapekeka (FlJj-1), Northern Ontario. In *The Late Palaeo-Indian Great Lakes: Geological and Archaeological Investigations of Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene Environments,* edited by Lawrence J. Jackson and Andrew Hinshelwood, pp. 337-368. Mercury Series, Archaeological Paper 165. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

2007 *Archaeological Reconnaissance at the Rowdy Lake Portage Site (EdKo-6), Kenora Region, North-western Ontario.* Report prepared for Mackenzie Ward Trust and Crow Rock Camps.

2006 [2010] Woodland Period Archaeology in Northwestern Ontario. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 16(1&2):68-103.

2013 A World Apart? Ontario’s Canadian Shield. In *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province,* edited by Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson, pp. 77-95. McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal.

Hamilton, Scott, Ron Morrisseau, and Chief Theron McCrady
1995 New Solitudes: Conflicting World Views in the Context of Contemporary Northern Resource Development. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 19:3-18.

Hamilton, S., W. Ferris, S. Hallgrimson, G. McNeely, K. Sammons, E. Simonds, and K. Topinka
1981 *1979 Excavations at the Stott Site (DlMa-1): With Interpretations of Cultural Stratigraphy.* Miscellaneous Papers in Manitoba Archaeology No. 12. Historic Resources Branch, Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Winnipeg.

Hamilton, Scott, and David Finch
2010 Investigation of Human Remains at Bug River, Big Trout Lake. Unpublished report prepared for the Cemeteries Regulation Unit, Ontario Ministry of Consumer Services and Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation.

Hamilton, Scott, James Graham, and B.A. Nicholson
2007 Archaeological Site Distributions and Contents: Modeling Late Pre-contact Blackduck Land Use in the Northeastern Plains and Subarctic. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 31(3):93-136.

Hamilton, Scott, and Eldon Molto
2006 A 5,000 Year Old Human Burial at *Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug*, Big Trout Lake, N. Ontario. Poster presented at the 39th Annual Canadian Archaeological Association Conference, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Hamilton, Scott, and Jill Taylor-Hollings
2008a *Results of the Stage Two Archaeological Research Project at Larus and Murdock Lakes in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario.* Report prepared for Ontario Ministry of Culture, Ontario Parks (WCSS), Lac Seul and Pikangikum First Nations.

2008b A Short Archaeological Survey at Barton Lake. Report submitted to Pikangikum First Nation and Elder Solomon Turtle.

2010 Stage 1 Archaeological Assessment of the Proposed Berens River Bridge Crossing at Dog Rib Falls and Associated Road Extensions in the Whitefeather Forest, Northwestern Ontario. Report prepared for Sandy Lake and Pikangikum First Nations, and KGS Engineering.

Hamilton, Scott, Jill Taylor-Hollings, and David Norris
2011 Human Ecology of the Canadian Prairie Ecozone ca. 1500 BP: Diffusion, Migration and Technological Innovations. In *Human Ecology of the Canadian Prairie Ecozone 11,000 to 300 BP,* edited by B.A. Nicholson, pp. 99-152. University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre Press.

Hamilton, Scott, Tal Fisher, and Jill Taylor-Hollings
2003 *An Overview of the Culture and History of the Chapleau Cree First Nation: Cultural Heritage Themes.* Report prepared on behalf of Chapleau Cree First Nation, Chapleau Ontario. Copy on file in the Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Hamilton, Scott, Tal Fisher, and Mark Diab
2000 Cultural Heritage Themes and Aboriginal Tourism Development in the Wawakapewin Region, Northwestern Ontario. Report prepared for Wawakapewin First Nation and the Shibogama Tribal Association.

Hanna, Margaret G.
1980 Trends and Traditions in the Boreal Forest: An Appraisal of the Shield Archaic as Defined By J.V. Wright. In *Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers,* edited by Leo Pettipas, pp. 65-87. Association of Manitoba Archaeologists and Manitoba Archaeological Society, Winnipeg.

1982 *Pots and Populations: Alternate Analytical Techniques for Using Ceramics as Indicators of Social Units*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary.

1984 Do You Take This Woman? Economics and Marriage in a Late Prehistoric Band. *Plains Anthropologist* 29:115-129.

1992 Duck Bay Complex Ceramics: Tracking Domestic and Foreign Cultural Affairs of the Asckibokahn Population (FbMb-1). *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 2(1):14–30.

2004 The Clearwater Lake Punctate Pottery of P.G. Downes. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 28(1):117-143.

Harris, Stephen
2014 Dominion Arsenal. Historica Canada. Electronic document, http://www. thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/dominion-arsenal/, accessed June 15, 2014.

Hart, Elisa
1995 *Getting Started in Oral Traditions Research.* Occasional Papers of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre No. 4. Yellowknife, NT.

Hartlen, George
1997 An Analysis of the Pottery Belonging to the George Randall Collection: A Precontact Plains/ Parkland Assemblage. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 7(1): 44- 115.

Helm, June
1981 Introduction. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 1-4. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Henry, Alexander the Younger
1897 *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry Fur Trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson Official Geographer and Explorer of the Same Company, 1799-1814.* Vol. 1. Edited by Elliott Coues. Francis P. Harper, New York.

Henry, Phillipe, Ross K. Stevenson, Youcef Larbi, and Clément Gariépy
2000 Nd Isotopic Evidence for Early to Late Archean (3.4-2.7 Ga) Crustal Growth in the Western Superior Province (Ontario, Canada). *Technophysics* 322:135-151.

Hermes, M.
2005 "Ma'iingan is Just a Misspelling of the Word Wolf": A Case for Teaching Culture Through Language. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 36(1):43-56.

Herz, Norman
2001 Sourcing Lithic Artifacts by Instrumental Analysis. In *Earth Sciences and Archaeology,* edited by Paul Goldberg, Vance T. Holliday, and C. Reid Ferring, pp. 449-469. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.

Hester, Thomas R., Harry J. Shafer, and Kenneth L. Feder
1997 *Field Methods in Archaeology.* 7th ed. McGraw-Hill Mayfield, New York.

Hickerson, Harold
1956 The Genesis of a Trading Post Band: The Pembina Chippewa. *Ethnohistory* 3(4):289-345.

1963 The Sociohistorical Significance of Two Chippewa Ceremonials. *American Anthropologist* 65(1):67-85.

1966 The Genesis of Bilaterality Among Two Divisions of Chippewa. *American Anthropologist* 68:1-26.

1970 *The Chippewa and Their Neighbours: A Study in Ethnohistory*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

1988 *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory*. Revised and Expanded edition prepared by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Laura L. Peers, Waveland Press, Prospect Heights.

Hilderman Thomas Frank Cram
2000 Canadian Heritage Rivers System Bloodvein River Monitoring Report 1987-2000. Report prepared for Manitoba Conservation, Parks and Natural Areas Brand and Canadian Heritage Rivers Board. Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Hill, C. Gordon
1982 Archaeological Survey of South Geraldton District. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology Number 3 (1980-81),* edited by W.A. Ross, pp. 69-131. Archaeology Research Report 19, Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto.

Hinshelwood, Andrew
2004 Archaic Reoccupation of Late Palaeo-Indian Sites in Northwestern Ontario. In *The Late Palaeo-Indian Great Lakes: Geological and Archaeological Investigations of Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene Environments,* edited by Lawrence J. Jackson and Andrew Hinshelwood, pp. 225-249. Mercury Series, Archaeological Paper 165. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

Hlady, Walter M.
1970a Manitoba: The Northern Woodlands. In *Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba*, edited by Walter M. Hlady, pp. 93-122. Manitoba Archaeological Society, Winnipeg.

1970b Southeastern Manitoba Resurveyed. In *Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba*, edited by Walter M. Hlady, pp. 269-281. Manitoba Archaeological Society, Winnipeg.

1971 An Introduction to the Archaeology of the Woodland Area of Northern Manitoba. *Manitoba Archaeological Newsletter* VIII(2,3).

Hodson, James, Daniel Fortin, and Louis Bélanger
2011 Changes in Relative Abundance of Snowshoe Hares *(Lepus americanus)* Across a 265-year Gradient of Boreal Forest Succession. *Canadian Journal of Zoology* 89:908-920.

Hoffmann, Walter J.
1891 The Midé´wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa. In *Extract from the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1885-1886,* pp. 143-300. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Hohman-Caine, and Grant Goltz
1995 Brainerd Ware and the Early Woodland Dilemma. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 54:109–129.

Holiday, Vance T., and David J. Meltzer
2009 The 12.9-ka ET Impact Hypothesis and North American Paleoindians. *Current Anthropology (Online-Only Material: Supplement A)* 51(5):575-607.

Hollings, Peter N.
1998 Geochemistry of the Uchi Subprovince, Northern Superior Province: An Evaluation of the Geodynamic Evolution of the Northern Margin of the Superior Province Ocean Basin. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Geological Sciences, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Holly, Jr., Donald H.
2002 Subarctic "Prehistory" in the Anthropological Imagination. *Arctic Anthropology* 39(1-2):10-26.

Holm, Erling, Nicholas E. Mandrak, and Mary E. Burridge
2009 *The ROM Field Guide to Freshwater Fishes of Ontario.* Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Holzkamm, Tim E.
1981 Traders of the Plains: The European Fur Trade and the Westward Expansion of the Dakota or Sioux Indians. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton.

Holzkamm, Tim E., Victor P. Lytwyn, and Leo G. Waisberg
1988 Rainy River Sturgeon: An Ojibway Resource in the Fur Trade Economy. *The Canadian Geographer* 32(3):194-205.

Honigman, John J.
1981 Introduction. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 718-738. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Howey, Meghan C.L., and John M. O'Shea
2006 Bear's Journey and the Study of Ritual. *American Antiquity* 71(2):261-282.

Hunter, Joyce
2005 New Drum Introduced to Pikangikum Elders. *Wawatay News* July 14 32(14).

Hurst, M.E.
1930 Geology of the Area Between Favourable Lake and Sandy Lake, District of Kenora (Patricia Portion). Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 1I, pp. 49-84. Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Hyslop, Bradley G.
2003 2003 Archaeological Report. Report submitted to the Ontario Ministry of Culture, Toronto.

2009 Lac Seul - Not the Hinterland. Paper presented at the Annual Canadian Archaeological Association Conference, Thunder Bay.

2011 My Great Late Woodland Dilemma. Paper presented at the Annual Manitoba Archaeological Society Conference, Winnipeg.

2014 Minontoba Composite. Paper presented at the Annual Manitoba Archaeological Society Conference, Brandon.

Inksetter, Leila
2010 Analyse de céramique des sites EfFk-1, EiFt-4, EiGo-1.10, EiGo-1.12, EjFt-12, EkFs-7, EkFs-16 et EkFt-20. Rapport d'analyse préparé pour le compte du service d'archéologie de l'Administration régionale crie.

Innis, Harold
1930 *The Fur Trade in Canada.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Isham, James
1968 James Isham's Observations on Hudsons Bay, 1743 and Notes and Observations on a book entitled A Voyage to Hudson[']s Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1949. Edited by E.E. Rich. Vol. XII, Kraus Reprint, Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1949. Toronto: Champlain Society.

Ives, Edward D.
1995 The Tape Recorded Interview: A Manual for Fieldworkers in Folklore and Oral History. (2nd ed.) University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Ives, John W.
1982 Evaluating the Effectiveness of Site Discovery Techniques in Boreal Forest Environments. In *Directions in Archaeology: A Question of Goals: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference, The Archaeological*

Association of the University of Calgary, edited by Peter D. Francis, and Eric C. Poplin, pp. 95-114. Archaeological Association, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary.

1985 Spatial Analysis of Artifact Distribution on a Boreal Forest Archaeological Site. Archaeological Survey of Alberta Manuscript Series 05, Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division, Edmonton.

Jackson, James E.
1998 *Managing the Bloodvein River as a Canadian Heritage River: Bloodvein River (Ontario Portion) Resource Management Strategy.* Prepared for Ontario Parks/Parks Canada. Government of Ontario.

Jackson, Lawrence, and Heather McKillop
1989 First Ontario C14 Date for Late Pleistocene Caribou. *Arch Notes* 89(1):4-5, 11.

Jérémie, Nicolas
1926 *Twenty Years of York Factory 1694-1714, Jérémie's Account of Hudson Strait and Bay*. Translated from the French edition of 1720 and edited by R. Douglas and J.N. Wallace. Thorburn and Abbott, Ottawa.

Johnson, Derek, Linda Kershaw, Andy MacKinnon, and Jim Pojar
1995 *Plants of the Western Boreal Forest & Aspen Parkland.* Lone Pine Publishing, Edmonton.

Johnston, Basil
1982 *Ojibwe Ceremonies.* McClelland & Stewart, Toronto.

1990 *Ojibwe Heritage.* Reprinted. Bison Books, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Originally published 1976, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto.

Jones, Tim E.H.
2006 *The Aboriginal Rock Paintings of the Churchill River.* Reprinted. Saskatchewan Archaeological Society, Saskatoon. Originally published 1981, Saskatchewan Archaeological Society, Saskatoon.

Julig, P.J.
1984 Cummins Paleo-indian Site and its Paleoenvironment, Thunder Bay, Canada. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 12:192-209.

1988 Prehistoric Site Survey in the Western James Bay Lowlands, Northern Ontario. In *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology,* edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid, pp. 121-145. Occasional Publications of the London Chapter No. 6, Ontario Archaeological Society, London, Ontario.

Julig, P.J., J. McAndrews, and W.C. Mahaney
1990 Geoarchaeology of the Cummins Site on the Beach of Proglacial Lake Minong, Lake Superior Basin, Canada. In *Archaeological Geology of North America,* edited by N.P. Lasca and J. Donahue, pp. 21-49. Geological Society of America, Boulder, Colorado.

Julig, P.J., L.A. Pavlish, C. Clark and R.G.V. Hancock
1992 Chemical Characterization and Sourcing of Upper Great Lakes Cherts by INAA. *Ontario Archaeology* 54:37–50.

Kehoe, Thomas F.
1966 The Small Side-Notched Point System of the Northern Plains. *American Antiquity* 31(6):827-842.

Kelly, Michael
1986 Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Bloodvein River, Manitoba. Unpublished manuscript on file, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Kenny, Mary
2000 Ojibway Plant Taxonomy at Lac Seul First Nation, Ontario, Canada. Unpublished Masters thesis, Faculty of Forestry and Forest Environment, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay.

Kenny, Mary, and William H. Parker
2004 Ojibway Plant Taxonomy at Lac Seul First Nation, Ontario, Canada. *Journal of Ethnobiology* 24(1):75-91.

Kenyon, Walter A.
1961 The Swan Lake Site. Occasional Paper 3, Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

1986a *Mounds of the Sacred Earth: Burial Mounds of Ontario.* Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

1986b The History of James Bay 1610-1686. Archaeology Monograph 10, Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto. The Alger Press, Toronto.

Kenyon, W.A., and C.S. Churcher
1965 A Flake Tool and a Worked Antler Fragment from Late Lake Agassiz. *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences* 2(4):237-246.

Kidd, K.E.
1952 Sixty Years of Ontario Archaeology. In *Archaeology* of the *Eastern States,* edited by J.B. Griffin, pp. 71-82. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1965 Birch-Bark Scrolls in Archaeological Contexts. *American Antiquity* 30(4):480-483.

Knapp, Arthur Bernard, and Wendy Ashmore (eds.)
1999 *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives.* Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Malden, Massachusetts.

Koezur, Polly, and J.V. Wright
1976 *The Potato Island Site, District of Kenora*. Mercury Series 51. National Museum of Man, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.

Korejbo, Alan John
2011 An Archaeological Survey in the Clearwater River Provincial Park, Saskatchewan; Insights into the Archaeology of the Boreal Forest of Northwestern Saskatchewan. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Kroeber, A.L.
1939 *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America.* Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 38, University of California, Berkeley.

Kuehn, Steven R.
1998 New Evidence for Late Paleoindian-Early Archaic Subsistence Behavior in the Western Great Lakes. *American Antiquity* 63(3):457-476.

Kuttruff, Jenna T.
1980 Prehistoric Textiles Revealed by Potsherds. *Shuttle, Spindle, and Dyepot*
11(3):40-41, 80.

Lakehead University Faculty of Natural Resources Management
2010 Overview and Educational Resources: Common Animal and Plant Species of the Northwestern Ontario Boreal Forest. Electronic documents, http://www.borealforest.org/edresc.htm, accessed April 25, 2010.

2016 World Boreal Forests: An Introduction. Electronic documents, http://www.borealforest.org/world/world_overview.htm, accessed February 25, 2016.

Lambert, Peter J.
nd The Northwestern Ontario Rock Art Project: The 1985 Results. Unpublished report for Northwestern Region Conservation Archaeology Report #8, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto. Referenced in Lambert (1985) and Colson (2006) but I have been unable to find a copy through the Ontario Ministry of Culture, archaeological colleagues, nor other searches.

1982 The Archaeological Survey of West Lac Seul, 1980. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology 1980-81,* edited by W.A. Ross, pp. 133-404. Archaeology Research Report 19, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto.

Landes, Ruth
1971 *The Ojibwa Woman.* Reprinted. The Norton Library, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York. Originally published 1938, Columbia Contributions to Anthropology, New York.

Leach, Brother Frederick
1971 *50 Years with Indians and Settlers on Lake Winnipeg.* Winnipeg.

LeBlanc, Joseph W., Brian E. McLaren, Christopher Pereira, Mark Bell, and Sheldon Atlookan
2011 First Nations Moose Hunt in Ontario: A Community's Perspectives and Reflections. *Alces* 47:163-174.

Le Blanc, Raymond J.
1984 *The Rat Indian Creek Site and the Late Prehistoric Period in the Interior Northern Yukon.* Mercury Series, Archaeological Paper No. 120. National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

1992 Wedges, Pièces Esquillées, Bipolar Cores, and Other Things: An Alternative to Shott's View of Bipolar Industries. *North American Archaeologist* 13:1-14.

2009 Some Implications of High-Latitude Osseous Technologies for Forager Technological Organization. In *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright,* edited by David L. Keenlyside and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 529-550. Mercury Series Archaeology Paper No. 170. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

Lemaitre, Serge
2012 Thunderbirds and Horned Snakes: Cosmogony at Canadian Rock Art Sites. In *Rock Art in the Americas: Mythology, Cosmogony and Rituals,* edited by Françoise Fauconnier and Serge Lemaitre, pp. 21-30. Proceedings of the 2nd REEA Conference Ritual Americas: Configurations and Recombining of the Ritual Devices and Behaviors in the New World, in Historical and Contemporary Societies, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, April 2-5, 2008. BAR International Series 2448, Archaeopress, Oxford, England.

Lemke, Ashley Kate
2015 Great Lakes *Rangifer* and Paleoindians: Archaeological and Paleontological Caribou Remains from Michigan. *PaleoAmerica* 1(3):276-283.

Lenius, Brian J., and Dave M. Olinyk
1990 The Rainy River Composite: Revisions to Late Woodland Taxonomy. In *The Woodland Tradition in the Western Great Lakes: Papers Presented to Elden Johnson,* edited by Guy E. Gibbon, pp. 77-112. University of Minnesota Publications in Anthropology Number 4, Minneapolis.

Lewis, Henry T.
1982 Fire Technology and Resource Management in Aboriginal North America and Australia. In *Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-Gatherers,* edited by N.W. Williams and E.S. Hunn, pp. 45-67. AAAS Selected Symposium No. 67. Westview Press, Boulder.

Linde, Charlotte
1993 *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Lindsey, Anne H.
1979 Preliminary Archaeological Survey of an Area East of Lake Winnipeg. Unpublished report on file at Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Lister, K.
1988 "Provisioned at Fishing Stations: Fish and the Aboriginal Occupation of the Hudson Bay Lowland". In *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology*, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid, pp. 72-99. Occasional Publications of the London Chapter No. 6, Ontario Archaeological Society, London, Ontario.

Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Manitoba
2012 Little Grand Rapids First Nation "Ni-Kes" Lands Management Plan Manitoba Planning Area. Electronic document, http://www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/lands_branch/pdf/ni-kes/lgr_fn_final_lands_mgmt_plan_ nov2012.pdf, accessed May 15, 2013.

LGRFN and OMNR (Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources)
2011 Little Grand Rapids Community Based Land Use Plan. Electronic document, http://www.mnr.gov.on.ca/std-prodconsume/groups/lr/@mnr/ @farnorth/documents/document/stdprod_087892.pdf.pdf, accessed April 2, 2013.

Loew, Patty
2001 *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal.* Wisconsin Historical Society Press, Madison, Wisconsin.

Long, Darrell G.F., Brenda Silveira, and Pat Julig
2001 Chert Analysis by Infrared Spectroscopy. In *A Collection of Papers presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association*, edited by Jean-Luc Pilon, M.W. Kirby, and C. Thériault, p. 255-267. Canadian Archaeological Association and Ontario Archaeological Society, Ottawa. Electronic document, http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/300/ont_archaeol_soc/annual_meeting_caa/33rd/coteinksetter.pdf, accessed June 5, 2013.

Long, John
1791 *Voyages and Travels of an Interpreter and Trader Describing Manners and Customs of the American Indians; With Account of the Posts Situated on The River Saint Laurence, Lake Ontario &c. to Which is Added Vocabulary of the Chippeway Language. Names of Furs and Skins, in English and French. A List of Words in The Iroquois, Mohegan, Shawanee, And Esquimeaux Tongues, and a Table, Shewins the Analogy Between the Algonkin and Chippeway Languages.* Robson, London.

Lonn, George
1966 *The Mine Finders.* Pitt Publishing Co., Toronto.

Lovisek, J.A., T.E. Holzkamm, and L.G. Waisberg
1997 Fatal Errors: Ruth Landes and the Creation of the "Atomistic Ojibwa". *Anthropologica* XXXIX(1/2):133-145.

Low, A.P.
1886 Preliminary Report on an Exploration of Country Between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay. Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada Annual Report (New Series): Vol. II, Report F, pp. 5-24.

Low, Bruce David
1997 Bipolar Technology and Pebble Stone Artifacts: Experimentation in Stone Tool Manufacture. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Lugenbeal, Edward
1976 *The Archaeology of the Smith Site: A Study of the Ceramics and Culture History of Minnesota Laurel and Blackduck*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

1978 Brainerd Ware Occurrence and Chronological Relationships. *Occasional Publications in Minnesota Anthropology* 2:47-55.

1979 Blackduck Ware. In *A Handbook of Minnesota Prehistoric Ceramics,* edited by Scott F. Anfinson, pp. 23-37. Minnesota Historical Society, Fort Snelling.

Lynott, M., J.J. Richner, and M. Thompson
1986 Archeological Investigations at Voyageurs National Park 1979 and 1980. Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 16, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Lytwyn, Victor P.
1981 The Historical Geography of the Fur Trade of the Little North and Its Expansion into the East Winnipeg Country to 1821. Unpublished Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

1986a *The Fur Trade History of the Bloodvein River.* Woodland Caribou Technical Report #5. Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Red Lake District, Red Lake, Ontario.

1986b *The Fur Trade of the Little North: Indians, Pedlars, and Englishmen East of Lake Winnipeg, 1760-1821.* Rupert's Land Research Centre, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg.

2002 *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land.* University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.

Ma, Susan, Kathleen R. Laird, Melanie V. Kingsbury, C.F. Michael Lewis, and Brian F. Cumming
2012 Diatom-inferred Changes in Effective Moisture During the Late Holocene from Nearshore Cores in the Southeastern Region of the Winnipeg River Drainage Basin (Canada). *The Holocene* 23:568 originally published online 9 November 2012, http://hol.sagepub.com/content/23/4/568.

Macfie, John
2010 Sharing John Paishk's Drum with the World. *Wawatay News* April 29, 2010:37(9):A10.

Macfie, John, and Basil Johnston
1991 *Hudson Bay Watershed: A Photographic Memoir of the Ojibway, Cree and Oji-Cree.* Dundurn Press, Toronto.

MacLean, Laura L.
1995 Analysis of Textile Impressions from Pottery of the Selkirk Composite. Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

MacLeod, Peter D.
1992 The Anishinaabeg Point of View: The History of the Great Lakes Region to 1800 in Nineteenth-Century Mississauga, Odawa, and Ojibwa Historiography. *Canadian Historical Review* LXXIII(2):194-210.

MacNeil, Kent
1982 Native Rights and the Boundaries of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory. Studies in Aboriginal Rights No. 4, University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, Saskatoon.

MacNeish, Richard S.
1952 *A Possible Early Site in the Thunder Bay District, Ontario.* National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 126, pp. 23-47. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

1958 *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Southeast Manitoba.* National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 157. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

Malaher, G.W.
1978 The Twenties in Northern Manitoba. *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions* 3(34).

Malainey, Mary Evelyn
1991 Internal and External Relationships of Saskatchewan Plains Pottery Assemblages: Circa A.D. 1300 to Contact. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Malainey, M.E., R. Przybylski, and B.L. Sherriff
1999 Identifying the Former Contents of Late Precontact Period Pottery Vessels from Western Canada Using Gas Chromatography. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26:425-438.

Malasiuk, Jordyce A.
1999 Aboriginal Land Use Patterns in the Boreal Forest of North-Central Manitoba: Applications for Archaeology. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Manitoba Conservation
2008 Atikaki Provincial Park and Bloodvein Canadian Heritage River Management Plan. Electronic document, http://www.gov.mb.ca/ conservation/parks/pdf/atikaki_management_plan_web.pdf, accessed July 22, 2010.

Mantey, Jacquelynn, and Leo Pettipas
1996 An Overview of Western Algonkian Ceramic Traditions, with Special Reference to Manitoba. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 6(2):1-65.

Marles, Robin J., Christina Clavelle, Leslie Monteleone, Natalie Tays, and Donna Burns
2008 *Aboriginal Plant Use in Canada's Northwest Boreal Forest.* Natural Resources Canada, Edmonton, Alberta.

Martindale, Andrew, and Natasha Lyons
2014 Introduction: "Community-Oriented Archaeology". *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38:425-433.

Marvin, Jo-Ann
2013 Schaeffer Creek Campsite (MlVm-6), a Possible Cold Season Site in Southwestern Old Crow Flats, Northern Yukon Territory. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Mason, R.J.
1969 Laurel and North Bay. Diffusional Networks in the Upper Great Lakes. *American Antiquity* 34 (3): 295-302.

1970 Hopewell, Middle Woodland, and the Laurel Culture: A Problem in Archaeological Classification. *American Anthropologist* 72:805-815.

Mathieu, James R., and Daniel A. Meyer
1997 Comparing Axe Heads of Stone, Bronze, and Steel: Studies in Experimental Archaeology. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24(3):333-351.

Mayer-Oakes, W. J.
1970 Archaeological Investigation in the Grand Rapids, Manitoba, Reservoir, 1961-62. Department of Anthropology Occasional Paper 3. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

McAndrews, J.H.
1982 Holocene Environment of a Fossil Bison from Kenora, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 37:41-51.

1986 Vegetation History of the Bloodvein River Region in Woodland Caribou Provincial Park, Ontario. Unpublished report provided to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Parks Canada.

McCullough, E.J.
1977 Prehistoric Cultural Dynamics of the Lac La Biche Region. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary.

McGhee, Robert
2008 Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 73(4):579-597.

McGuire, Patricia D. (*Kishebakabaykwe*)
2010 Exploring Resilience and Indigenous Ways of Knowing. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 8(2):117-131.

McKeand, Peggy
1995 A Comprehensive Faunal Analysis of Bushfield West (FhNa-10), Nipawin, Saskatchewan. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

McKinley, Valerie
2001 Population Migration, Social Boundaries and Ceramic Analysis: The Lockport West Site (EaLf-2), A Case Study. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

McLeod, Mike
1982 The Early Prehistory of the Dog Lake Area, Thunder Bay. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 5(2):12-37.

2004 The Sydney/Rowdy Lake Narrows Crossing, Kenora District, Northwestern Ontario. *Manitoba Archaeological Newsletter* 16(2):1-7.

McMaster, Gerald R.
1988 Tenuous Lines of Descent: Indian Arts and Crafts of the Reservation Period. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* IX(2):205-236.

Meyer, David
1978 The Clearwater Lake Phase: A Saskatchewan Perspective. *Archae-facts* 5(2, 3):27-42.

1981 Late Prehistoric Assemblages from Nipawiwin: The Pehonan Complex. *Saskatchewan Archaeology* 2(1, 2):4-38.

1984 Anent the Pehonan Complex. *Saskatchewan Archaeology* 5:43-46.

1987 Time-Depth of the Western Woods Cree Occupation of Northern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. In *Papers of the 18th Algonquian Conference,* edited by William Cowan and Jose Mailhot, pp. 187-200. Carleton University, Ottawa.

1998 Late Woodland Pottery from the Goldsworthy Site: A Rainy River Assemblage in East Central Saskatchewan. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 22(1):43-80.

2013 Late Woodland Pottery of Northwestern Saskatchewan and Adjacent Alberta. Presentation made at the Chacmool Conference, Calgary, Alberta with expanded information.

Meyer, David, Alwynne B. Beaudoin, and Leslie J. Amundson
2011 Human Ecology of the Canadian Prairie Ecozone ca. 9000 BP: The Paleo-Indian Period. In *Human Ecology of the Canadian Prairie Ecozone: 11,000 to 300 BP,* edited by B.A. Nicholson, pp. 5-53. Canadian Plains Research Centre Press, Regina.

Meyer, David A., and Henry T. Epp
1990 North-South Interaction in the Late Prehistory of Central Saskatchewan. *Plains Anthropologist* 35:321–342.

Meyer, David, Margaret Hanna, and Doug Frey
1999 The Enigma of Saskatchewan Blackduck: Pottery from the Hanson (FgNi-50) and Hokness (FgNi-51) Sites. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 24(2):153-175.

Meyer, David, Terry Gibson, and Dale Russell
1992 The Quest for Pasquatinow: An Aboriginal Gathering Centre in the Saskatchewan River Valley. *Prairie Forum Special Issue: Native Studies* 17(2):201-223.

Meyer, David, and Scott Hamilton
1994 Neighbors to the North: Peoples of the Boreal Forest. In *Plains Indians, A.D. 500-1500: The Archaeological Past of Historic Groups,* edited by Karl H. Schlesier, pp. 96-127. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Meyer, David, and Robert A. Hutton
1998 Pasquatinow and the Red Earth Crees. *Prairie Forum* 23(1):93-112.

Meyer, David, Peggy McKeand, J. Michael Quigg, and Gary Wowchuk
2008 The River House Complex: Middle Woodland on the Northwestern Periphery. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 32(1):43-76. Also published in the 2006[2010] *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 16(1&2):105-140.

Meyer, David, and Dale Russell
1987 The Selkirk Composite of Central Canada: A Reconsideration. *Arctic Anthropology* 24(2):1-31.

2004 "So Fine and Pleasant, Beyond Description": The Lands and Lives of the Pegogamaw Crees. *Plains Anthropologist* 49(191):217-252.

2006 The Pegogamaw Crees and their Ancestors: History and Archaeology in the Saskatchewan Forks Region. *Plains Anthropologist* 51(199), Memoir 38:303-324.

2007 "Through the Woods Whare Thare Ware Now Track Ways": Kelsey, Henday and Trails in East Central Saskatchewan. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 31(3):163-197.

Meyer, David, and Thomas R. Smith
2010 The Mudrick Site: Selkirk in the Saskatchewan Parklands. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 34(1):174-211.

Meyer, David, and Paul C. Thistle
1995 Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts: Continuity in a Cree Social Geography. *Ethnohistory* 42(3):403-444.

Michlovic, Michael G.
1982 Report on the Red River Archaeological Survey in Norman County, Minnesota. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 41:53-69.

1987 The Archaeology of the Mooney Site (21 NR 29). *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 46(2):39-66.

Michlovic, Michael G., and Fred Schneider
1993 The Shea Site: A Prehistoric Fortified Village on the Northeastern Plains. *Plains Anthropologist* 38:117–137.

Millar, James F.V.
1997 *The Prehistory of the Upper Churchill River Basin, Saskatchewan, Canada.* British Archaeological Reports International Series 668. Oxford, England.

Miller, Andrew Martin
2010 Living with Boreal Forest Fires: Anishinaabe Perspectives on Disturbance and Collaborative Forestry Planning, Pikangikum First Nation, Northwestern Ontario. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Miller, Andrew M., and Iain Davidson-Hunt
2013 Agency and Resilience: Teachings of Pikangikum First Nation Elders, Northwestern Ontario. *Ecology and Society* 18(3):9.

Miller, Daniel
1985 *Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India.* Cambridge University Press, Great Britain.

Mokelki, Lorie L.
2007 Vickers Focus and Mortlach-Examining Cultural Connections in the *Makotchi-Ded Dontipi* Locale. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Moos, Melissa T., and Brian F. Cumming
2011 Changes in the Parkland-boreal Forest Boundary in Northwestern Ontario Over the Holocene. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 30:1232-1242.

Morgan, Richard G., and James F. Griffin
1949 Northern Mississippi Valley. In *Notes and News,* editor unknown, pp. 247-250. *American Antiquity* 14(3):242-256.

Morlan, Richard E. (creator/compiler) and Matthew Betts
2001 Canadian Archaeological Radiocarbon Database. Electronic document, http://www.canadianarchaeology.ca/, accessed October 15, 2012. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Pictographics, Lt., and Canadian Archaeological Association.

Morrisseau, Norval
1965 *Legends of My People, the Great Ojibway.* Edited by S. Dewdney. Ryerson Press, Toronto.

Mulholland, Stephen Leigh
2002 Paleo-Indian Lithic Resource Utilization in Northeastern Minnesota. Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Minnesota, Duluth.

Mulholland, S.L., and D. Woodward
2001 Pauline Lake Site: A Selkirk Occupation in Northeastern Minnesota. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 60:71-85.

Mulholland, S.L., and D. Menuey
2000 Northeastern Minnesota Knife Lake Siltstone: A Preliminary Analysis Based on Primary Reduction. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 59:89-93.

Nabokov, Peter
2006 *Where the Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places.* Viking Books, New York.

Nelson, Jon
1992 A Study of the Knife Lake Siltstone Quarries on Knife Lake *(Mookomaan Zaaga'igan),* Quetico Provincial Park, Ontario. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Trent University, Peterborough.

Newman, Candace, and Doug Gilmore
2007 Canadian Heritage Rivers Systems: Bloodvein River Monitoring Report 07. Report prepared for Manitoba Conservation, Woodland Caribou Provincial Park, and Canadian Heritage Rivers Board.

Nicholas, George P., and Thomas D. Andrews (editors)
1997 *At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada*. Archaeology Press, Burnaby, BC.

Nicholson, B.A.
1990 Ceramic Affiliations and the Case for Incipient Horticulture in Southwestern Manitoba. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 14:33-59.

Nicholson, B.A., Dion Wiseman, Scott Hamilton, and Sylvia Nicholson
2006 Climatic Challenges and Changes: A Little Ice Age Period Response to Adversity - The Vickers Focus Forager/Horticulturalists Move On. *Plains Anthropologist* 51(199) Memoir 38:325-333.

Nicholson, B.A., Lorie Mokelki, and Sylvia Nicholson
2006[2010] Vickers, Mortlach, Moose Jaw Culture: Who Were They and How Did They Get Here? *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 16(1&2):23-47.

Niddrie, John W.
2000 *Niddrie of the North-West: Memoirs of a Pioneer Canadian Missionary.* Edited by John W. Chalmers and John J. Chalmers. The University of Alberta Press, Edmonton.

Ningewance, Patricia M.
2004 *Talking Gookum's Language: Learning Ojibwe.* Mazinaate Press, Winnipeg.

Noble, Wm. C.
1982 Potsherds, Potlids, and Politics: An Overview of Ontario Archaeology During the 1970's. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 6:167-194.

Norris, Dave
2007 The Presence of Net-impressed and Horizontally Corded Ware in Southern Manitoba: The Relationship between Rock Lake and Brainerd Ware. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

2012 Current Archaeological Investigations in Ontario: The Discovery and Preliminary Information Regarding Several Paleoindian Sites East of Thunder Bay. *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 71:45-59.

North South Partnership for Children and the Pikangikum Community Members (NSPC and PCM)
2009 *Mamow Sha-way-gi-kay-win*: North South Partnership Participatory Assessment of Pikangikum. Electronic document, http://www.northsouthpartnership.com/component/k2/item/ 112-community-assessments, accessed May 18, 2013.

Oberholtzer, Cath
2002 Fleshing Out the Evidence: From Archaic Dog Burials to Historic Dog Feasts. *Ontario Archaeology* 73:3-14.

Odell, George H.
2004 *Lithic Analysis.* Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.

Office of the Chief Coroner
2011 The Office of the Chief Coroner's Death Review of the Youth Suicides at the Pikangikum First Nation 2006 - 2008. Electronic document, http://www.mcscs.jus.gov.on.ca/stellent/groups/public/@mcscs/@www/@com/documents/webasset/ec093490.pdf, accessed January 10, 2013.

Ontario Ministry of Culture, Tourism & Recreation (OMCTR)
1993 *Archaeological Assessment Technical Guidelines: (Stages 1-3 & Reporting Format).* Cultural Programs Branch, Archaeology & Heritage Planning, Toronto.

Ontario Ministry of Lands, Forests and Mines
1915 Report of the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines of the Province of Ontario for the Year Ending 31st October 1914. L.K. Cameron, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR)
1981 *West Patricia Land Use Plan Background Information Document.* Policy document. Kenora, Ontario.

1986a Original Woodland Caribou Provincial Park strategy. Queen's Printer for Ontario, Toronto.

1986b *The Forestry: Red Lake, Ontario 1926-1986*. Contributions by John A. Pelleck, Grace Rajnovich, Fosco Facca, and Carl Bleich. Alex Wilson Coldstream Ltd., Dryden, Ontario.

1999 *Ontario's Living Legacy Land Use Strategy.* Policy document. Queen's Printer for Ontario, Toronto.

2003 *Woodland Caribou Signature Site Background Document.* Ontario Parks, District Office of the Ministry of Natural Resources, Red Lake.

2004 *Woodland Caribou Signature Site Background Information.* Woodland Caribou Signature Site Planning Committee document designed to inform the Planning Committee. Ontario Parks, District Office of the Ministry of Natural Resources, Red Lake.

2006 Crown Land Use Policy Atlas – Policy Report P2529: Trout Lake. Electronic document, http://crownlanduseatlas.mnr.gov.on.ca/pdfs/P2529.pdf, accessed on September 14, 2006.

Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mining
2002 Map P.3503 Carroll Lake Southeast 1:100,000 scale. Satellite Image Map, remote sensing.

Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture
2011a Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologist in Ontario. Electronic document, http://www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/ publications/AbEngageBulletin.pdf, accessed May 15, 2011.

2011b Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists. Queen's Printer for Ontario, Toronto.

Ontario Parks
2005 *Woodland Caribou Signature Site: Issues and Options.* Planning document, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. Queen's Printer for Ontario, Toronto.

2007 *Woodland Caribou Signature Site Management Plan*. Ontario Parks, Red Lake.

2013 Woodland Caribou Provincial Park Map. Ontario Parks, Toronto.

OP and PFN (Ontario Parks and Pikangikum First Nation)
2010 Whitefeather Forest *Cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn* (Dedicated Protected Areas) Background Information. Draft planning document. Queen's Printer for Ontario and Pikangikum First Nation.

Osgood, Cornelius
1940 *Ingalik Material Culture.* Yale University Publications in Anthropology Number Twenty-two. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Owen, Charlie George
1993 Charlie George Owen's Story (as told to Maureen Matthews and translated by Margaret Simmons). Ojibwe Thunderbirds in Canada - Digital Partnerships with Indian Communities: Sharing Stories: Enlivening History.

Originally aired as part of Fair Wind's Drum on CBC Ideas on May 11-12, 1993. Electronic document, https://sas.upenn.edu/dpic/node/111, accessed May 13, 2013.

Oxford University Press
2012 Oxford Dictionaries Online. Electronic document http://oxford dictionaries.com/, accessed November 8, 2012.

Palmer, Andie Diane
2005 *Maps of Experience: The Anchoring of Land to Story in Secwepemc Discourse.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Paquay, François S., Steven Goderis, Greg Ravizza, Frank Vanhaeck, Matthew Boyd, Todd A. Surovell, Vance T. Holliday, C. Vance Haynes, Jr., Philippe Claeys
2009 Absence of Geochemical Evidence for an Impact Event at the Bølling-Allerød/Younger Dryas Transition. *PNAS* 106(5):21505-21510.

Paquin, Todd
1999 The Kisis Complex: Implications of Historic Marriage Practices for Selkirk Ware in Northwestern Saskatchewan. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 22(2):99-114.

Parrott, D.F.
1964 *The Red Lake Gold Rush.* Red Lake, Ontario.

Participants (Participants of the Lake Superior Basin Workshop)
1987 Desperately Seeking Siouans: The Distribution of Sandy Lake Ware. Compiled by Grace Rajnovich. *The Western Canadian Anthropologist* 4:57-64 (issued late). Also appeared in *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 12(1):49-56 (1988); Ontario Archaeological Society *Arch Notes* 88(3):9-13; *The Wisconsin Archaeologist* 69(4):337-353; and *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 47(1):43-48 (1991).

Pauingassi First Nation and Government of Manitoba
2012 Naamiwan "The Land of Fair Wind" Lands Management Plan: Manitoba Planning Area. Manitoba Lands Management Plan.

Peach, A. Kate, Barry Greco, and Brian J. Lenius
2006[2010] Precontact Ceramics of Southeastern Manitoba. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal 16(1&2):3-22.*

Peck, Trevor R., and John W. Ives
2001 Late Side-Notched Projectile Points in the Northern Plains. *Plains Anthropologist* 46(176):163-193.

Peers, Laura
1994 *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870.* University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.

Peers, Laura, and Jennifer S.H. Brown
1999 "There is No End to Relationship Among the Indians" Ojibwa Families and Kinship in Historical Perspective. By: Peers, Laura, History of the Family (Elsevier Science), 4(4):1-29. Electronic document, http://web.ebscohost.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ehost…r13&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#db=sih&AN=3112551, accessed March 11, 2012.

Pelleck, John A.
1980a Archaeological Survey of the Berens River. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979.* Edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid, pp. 19-41. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1980b Archaeological Survey of the Trout Lake Drainage System. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979.* Edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid, pp. 13-18. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1983 *Forestry Point (EgKl-1): A Woodland Site on Red Lake, Northwestern Ontario.* Northwestern Region Conservation Archaeological Report No. 3. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Kenora.

Pelshea, Victor
1980 The West Patricia Rock Art Project: First Year. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979,* pp. 48-69, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

Pentney, Sandra
2002 The Archaeology of Brabant Lake. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Percival, J.A., Sanborn-Barrie, M., Skulski, T., Stott, G.M., Helmstaedt, H. and White, D.J.
2006 Tectonic evolution of the western Superior Province from NATMAP and Lithoprobe studies. *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences* 43:1085-1117.

Petch, Virginia
1991 An Archaeological Survey of the Sasaginnigak River System Including the Kautunigan Lake Area. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 1(2):23-44.

2010 Pimachiowin Aki Cultural Landscape – Macro Scale Document. A report prepared for the Pimachiowin Aki Corporation, Winnipeg, MB. Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Project: The Land that Gives Life. Nomination for Inscription on the World Heritage List.

Peterson, Lynelle A.
1986 *An Attribute Analysis of Sandy Lake Ware from Norman County and North Central Minnesota.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Pettipas, Katherine Ann
1988 Severing the Ties That Bind: The Canadian Indian Act and the Repression of Indigenous Religious Systems in the Prairie Region, 1896-1951. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History and Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Pettipas, Leo
1991 Rock Pictography and Oral Literature. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 1(2):45-49.

1996a A Glossary of Aboriginal Ceramics. Unpublished manuscript, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

1996b *Aboriginal Migrations: A History of Movements in Southern Manitoba.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

2011 An Environmental and Cultural History of the Central Lake Agassiz Region, with Special Reference to Southwestern Manitoba 12,000 - 7,000 BP. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 21(1&2):1-152.

2012 A Review of the Early Holocene Environmental and Cultural History of the Northern Lake Agassiz Region, With Special Reference to Manitoba. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 22(1&2):1-52.

2014a Two Late Plano Points from Lac Seul. Electronic document, http://www.manitobaarchaeologicalsociety.ca/sites/default/files/LAC%20SEUL%20%5BAPRIL%202014%5D.pdf, accessed on August 14, 2014.

2014b Connections. Electronic document, http://www.manitobaarchaeological society.ca/sites/default/files/CONNECTIONS%20%5BJUNE%202014%5D.pdf, accessed on August 14, 2014.

Philips Valentine, Lisa
1995 *Making It Their Own: Severn Ojibwe Communicative Practices.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Phillips, Brian A.M.
1988 Paleogeographic Reconstruction of Shoreline Archaeological Sites around Thunder Bay, Ontario. *Geoarchaeology* 3(2):127-138.

Phillips, Brian A.M., and P.W. Fralick
1994 Interpretation of the Sedimentology and Morphology of Perched Glaciolacustrine Deltas on the Flanks of the Lake Superior Basin, Thunder Bay, Ontario. *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 20:390–406.

PFN and OMNR (Pikangikum First Nation and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources)
2006 *Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetahkeemeenaan (*Keeping the Land): A Land Use Strategy for the Whitefeather Forest and Adjacent Areas. Planning document produced by Pikangikum First Nation and the OMNR. Queen's Printer for Ontario and Pikangikum First Nation.

Pilon, Jean-Luc
1987 *Washahoe Inninou Dahtsuounoaou: Ecological and Cultural Adaptation along the Severn River in the Hudson Bay Lowlands of Ontario.* Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture Conservation Archaeology Report Northwestern Region, Report #10.

1988 Culture History and Ethnicity in the Hudson Bay Lowlands. In *Boreal Forest and Subarctic Archaeology,* edited by C.S. Paddy Reid, pp. 100-120. Occasional Publications of the London Chapter, Ontario, Archaeological Society No. 6.

1990 Historic Native Archaeology Along the Lower Severn River, Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 14:123-142.

2002 A Stone Tool Cache from the Hudson Bay Lowlands. *Ontario Archaeology* 74:4–21.

2006 Parameters For Human Occupation of the Hudson Bay Lowlands and General Results of Archaeological Inquiries Along the Lower Severn River, Ontario, Canada. *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 24:207-251.

Pilon, Jean-Luc and Luke Dalla Bonna
2004 Insights into the Early Peopling of Northwestern Ontario as Documented at the Allen Site (EcJs-1), Sioux Lookout District, Ontario. In *The Late Palaeo-Indian Great Lakes: Geological and Archaeological Investigations of Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene Environments,* edited by L. Jackson and A. Hinshelwood, pp. 315-335. Mercury Series Archaeology Paper 165, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Québec.

Pimachiowin Aki
2012 Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Project - The Land that Gives Life: Nomination for Inscription on the World Heritage List. Electronic document http://www.pimachiowinaki.org/sites/default/files/docs/Pim_Aki_Dossier_web_new.pdf, accessed on January 22, 2012.

2015 Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Project - The Land that Gives Life: Nomination for Inscription on the World Heritage List. Document submitted to UNESCO in February 2015; on file with Pimachiowin Aki Corporation.

Playford, Tomasin
2015 An Examination of Species Diversity and Bison Processing Intensity Contextualized within an Aboriginal Seasonality Framework for Late Precontact Sites on the Canadian Northeastern Plains. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Plourde, Michel
2010 La céramique amérindienne du Réservoir Eastmain-1. In Aménagement hydroélectrique de l'Eastmain-1: Bilan des études archéologiques, 2002-2005. Rapport en préparation pour la Société d'énergie de la Baie James et Hydro- Québec.

Pollock, John W.
1974 A Preliminary Culture History of Missinaibi Lake Provincial Park, Including a Faunal Analysis of the Snake Ann Inlet Site by James A. Burns. Report on file at the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto.

1975 Algonkian Culture Development and Archaeological Sequences in Northeastern Ontario. *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* 7:1-54.

1976 The Culture History of Kirkland Lake District. Northeastern Ontario. Mercury Series Paper 54, Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.

Pollock, John W., and William C. Noble
1975 Archaeology of the Hawley Lake Area, Hudson Bay Lowlands, Ontario. In *Canadian Archaeological Association: Collected Papers March 1975,* edited by Peggie Nunn, pp. 74-98. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Archaeological Research Report 6.

Pomedli, Michael
2014 *Living With Animals: Ojibwe Spirit Powers.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Poplar River First Nation
2011 Asatiwisipe Aki Management Plan: Final Draft. Electronic document http://www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/lands_branch/pdf/pfrn_management_plan_18may2011.pdf, accessed on December 15, 2011.

Prest, V.K.
1969 Retreat of Wisconsin and Recent Ice in North America, Map 1257A. Geological Survey of Canada, Department of Energy, Mines, and Resources, Ottawa.

Pufahl, John K.
1990 Conserving Aspects of Native Culture Through Pictograph Documentation in Northwestern Ontario. In *First Annual Archaeological Report, Ontario 1990,* edited by Peter L. Storck, pp. 15-16. The Ontario Heritage Foundation, Toronto.

Quimby, George Irving
1960 *Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1966 *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods.* The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Racey, G.D., R.O. Wiltshire, and D.J. Archibald
2000 Ecoregional Forest Composition Analysis for Northwestern Ontario Present Forest Condition. NWST Technical Report TR-123. Northwest Science and Technology, Queen's Printer for Ontario, Thunder Bay.

Rajnovich, Grace
1980 Ballysadare (DkKp-10): A Laurel Blackduck Site at the Source of the Winnipeg River. *Ontario Archaeology* 33:37-58.

1983 The Spruce Point Site: A Comparative Study of Selkirk Components In the Boreal Forest. Northwestern Region Conservation Archaeology Report No. 1. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Kenora.

1984 A Study of Possible Prehistoric Wild Rice Gathering on Lake of the Woods, Ontario. *North American Archaeologist* 5(3):197-214.

1989 Visions in the Quest for Medicine: An Interpretation of the Indian Pictographs of the Canadian Shield. *Mid-continental Journal of Archaeology* 14(2).

1994 Reading Rock Art: Interpreting the Indian Rock Paintings of the Canadian Shield. Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., Toronto.

Rajnovich, M. Grace, and C.S. Paddy Reid
1978 Selkirk and Clearwater Lake Ceramics on Lake of the Woods: An Overview. *Archae-facts* 5(2, 3):43-48.

1981 A Selkirk Vessel from the Berens River. *Arch Notes* 81(2):10-13. Also appears in the *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 3:39-45 (1981).

Rajnovich, G., C.S. Reid and C.T. Shay
1982 Rescue Excavations at the Fisk Site (DlKp-1) in Northwestern Ontario. In *Two Conservation Archaeology Sites: The Lady Rapids and Fisk Sites,* edited by C.S. Reid, pp. 63-176. Archaeology Research Report No. 18. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.

Ray, Arthur J.
1974 *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

1978 History and Archaeology of the North Fur Trade. *American Antiquity* 43(1):26-34.

Ray, Arthur J., Frank Tough, and J.R. Miller
2000 *Bounty and Benevolence: A History of Saskatchewan Treaties.* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

Rayner, N., and G.M. Stott
2005 Discrimination of Archean Domains in the Sachigo Subprovince: A Progress Report on the Geochronology. Summary of Field Work and Other Activities 2005, Ontario Geological Survey, Open File Report 6172, 10-1 to 10-21.

Reichert, Ernie
2010 An Expansion of Rainy River Ceramics in the Red River Valley. In *Archaeological Mitigation for the Canadian Museum for Human Rights at The Forks, Winnipeg, Manitoba,* edited by Quaternary Consultants, pp. 553-693. Assessment report prepared for PCl Constructors, Canada, Inc. on behalf of the Friends of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

Reid, C.S. "Paddy"
1977 Environment, Man and Maymaygwayshi: The Dimensions of Past Human Cultural Impact in the Lake of the Woods Area. Part I & II. Data box Research Manuscript Series No. 311 and 312. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Kenora.

1979 The West Patricia Project: First Field Season. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 3(1):11-13.

1980a Approaches to the Archaeology of West Patricia: A Preliminary Statement. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979*, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid, pp. 215-230. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1980b Early Man in Northwestern Ontario: New Plano Evidence. *Ontario Archaeology* 33:33-36.

1980c *Northern Ontario Fur Trade Archaeology: Recent Research.* Archaeological Research Report 12, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1984 Some Woodland Radiocarbon Dates from Northwestern Ontario with Comments on Significance. *Ontario Archaeology 41:37-44.*

1988 Some Ideas Concerning the Formulation of Research Designs and Excavation Methodologies on Boreal Forest Habitation Sites. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 13(2):187-221.

Reid, C.S. "Paddy" (editor)
1980 *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979.* West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1988 *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology*. Occasional Publications of the London Chapter No. 6. Ontario Archaeological Society Inc., London, Ontario.

Reid, C.S. "Paddy", and Grace Rajnovich
1980 Ash Rapids Corded: Newly Defined Late Woodland Ceramics from Northwestern Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology 34:69-86.*

1983 The Ballynacree Site in Kenora, Ontario: A House at the Laurel-Blackduck Crossroads. *Arch Notes, the Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society* 83(6):5-9.

1991 Laurel: A Re-evaluation of the Spatial, Social and Temporal Paradigms. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 15:193-234.

Reid, C.S. "Paddy", and William A. Ross (editors)
1981 *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 2 1979-1980.* West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 2, Archaeological Research Report 16. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

Reimer, Paula J., Edouard Bard, Alex Bayliss, J. Warren Beck, Paul G. Blackwell, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Caitlin E. Buck, Hai Cheng, R. Lawrence Edwards, Michael Friedrich, Pieter M. Grootes, Thomas P. Guilderson, Haflidi Haflidason, Irka Hajdas, Christine Hatté, Timothy J. Heaton, Dirk L. Hoffmann, Alan G. Hogg, Konrad A. Hughen, K. Felix Kaiser, Bernd Kromer, Sturt W. Manning, Mu Niu, Ron W. Reimer, David A. Richards, E. Marian Scott, John R. Southon, Richard A. Staff, Christian S.M. Turney, and Johannes van der Plicht
2013 INTCAL13 And Marine13 Radiocarbon Age Calibration Curves 0–50,000 Years Cal BP. *Radiocarbon* 55(4):1869–1887.

Rheault, D'Arcy (*Ishpeming'Enzaabid)*
1999 *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin: The Way of a Good Life*. Debwewin Press, Peterborough, Ontario.

Rhodes, Richard A., and Evelyn M. Todd
1981 Subarctic Algonquian Languages. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 52-66. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Rice, Prudence M.
1987 *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Rickaby, H.C.
1923 Bloodvein River to Twelfth Base Line, 1922. Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, Vol. XXXII, Part II:49-59. Clarkson W. James, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Richner, Jeffrey J.
2004 Archeological Test Excavations at Three Sites with Fur-Trade Components in Voyageurs National Park, St. Louis County, Minnesota. In *From Things Left Behind: A Study of Selected Fur Trade Sites and Artifacts, Voyageurs National Park and Environs, 2001-2002,* edited by Douglas A. Birk and Jeffrey J. Richner, pp. 15-43. Midwest Archeological Center, Technical Report Number 84 and Institute for Minnesota Archeology, Reports of Investigations

Number 606. Electronic document, http://www.nps.gov/voya/historyculture/upload/FromThings %20Left%20Behind.pdf, accessed Nov. 15, 2011.

2007 The Bois Forte Ojibwe's Historic Use of the Voyageus National Park Area. *The SAA Archaeological Record* March:13-18.

2008 Expressions of the Past: Archeological Research at Voyageurs National Park. Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report No. 104. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Richthammer, John Erwin Lavallée
2007 *Memento Mori:* An Archival Strategy for Documenting Mortality on the Canadian Frontier at Red Lake, Ontario, Before 1950. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Richthammer, John, and Donald Nord
1985 *End of the Road: A History of the Red Lake District.* Red Lake Festival Days, Red Lake, Ontario.

Riddell, Francis A.
1969 Current Research. *American Antiquity* 34(3):346-361.

Riddle, D.
1981 Archaeological Survey of the Albany River: Year 2: Triangular Lake to Washi Lake. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 2: 1979-1980,* edited by C.S. Reid and W.A. Ross, pp. 207-279. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1982 An Archaeological Survey of Attawapiskat Lake, Ontario. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology Number 3 (1980-81),* edited by W.A. Ross, pp. 1-69. Archaeology Research Report 19, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto.

Rogers, Edward S.
1962 *The Round Lake Ojibwa.* Ontario Department of Lands and Forests for the Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, Occasional Paper 5, Art and Archaeology Division, Toronto.

1963 Changing Settlement Patterns of the Cree-Ojibwa of Northern Ontario. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19(1):64-88.

1964 The Fur Trade, the Government and the Central Canadian Indian. *Arctic Anthropology* 2(2):37-40.

1967 *The Material Culture of the Mistassini.* Bulletin 218. National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

1973 *The Quest for Food and Furs: The Mistassini Cree, 1953-1954.* National Museums of Canada, Publications in Ethnology, Ottawa.

1986 Epilogue: Reevaluations and Future Considerations. Who Owns the Beaver? Northern Algonquian Land Tenure Reconsidered. *Anthropologica* 28(1-2):203-216.

1994 Northern Algonquians and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1890. In *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations,* edited by Edward S. Rogers, and Donald B. Smith, pp. 307-343. Ontario Historical Studies Series, Government of Ontario, Dundurn Press, Toronto.

Rogers, Edward S., and Mary B. Black
1976 Subsistence Strategy in the Fish and Hare Period, Northern Ontario: The Weagamow Ojibwa, 1880-1920. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 32(1):1-43.

Rogers, Edward S., and Mary Black Rogers
1978 Method for Reconstructing Patterns of Change: Surname Adoption by the Weagamow Ojibwa, 1879-1950. *Ethnohistory* 25(4):319-345.

1982 Who Were the Cranes? Groups and Group Identity Names in Northern Ontario. In Approaches to Algonquian Archaeology, edited by Margaret G. Hanna and Brian Kooyman, pp. 147-188. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Chacmool Conference, The Archaeology Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary.

Rogers, Edward S., and Donald B. Smith (editors)
1994 *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations.* Ontario Historical Studies Series, Government of Ontario, Dundurn Press, Toronto.

Rogers, Edward S., and James G.E. Smith
1981 Environment and Culture in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 130-157. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Rogers, Edward S., and J. Garth Taylor
1981 Northern Ojibwa. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 231-243. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Rogers, W.R.
1926 District of Patricia Red Lake and Adjacent Areas. Bulletin 56, Department of Mines, Province of Ontario. Clarkson W. James, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

Romano, Anthony D.
1991 Northern Lithics - Part IV. *The Platform: A Publication of the Minnesota Knappers Guild* 3(2):5-6.

Rosenmeier, Leah Morine
2011 Towards an Archaeology of Descent: Spatial Practice and Communities of Shared Experience in Mi'kma'ki. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

Ross, W.A. (editor)
1982 *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology Number 3 1980-1981.* West Patricia Heritage Resource Report, Archaeological Research Report 19. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1995 The Interlakes Composite: A Re-Definition of the Initial Settlement of the Agassiz-Minong Peninsula. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 76(3-4):244-268.

Rudolph, Tyler, and Jacynthe Guimond
2008 21 Days in Woodland Caribou Provincial Park - Journal w/ New Canoe Route Description: Dunstan to Carroll Lake via Walking Stick! Research report. Electronic document, http://www.canoestories.com/rudolph/documents/PART_1.PDF, accessed October 15, 2013.

Ruggles, Richard I.
1991 A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.

Russell, Dale R.
1991 *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and Their Neighbours.* Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series Paper No. 143. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.

Russell, Ruth Weber
1987 *North for Gold: The Red Lake Gold Rush of 1926.* North Waterloo Academic Press, Waterloo, Ontario.

Sanders, Mike
2011 Voices from the Fire Line: Pikangikum Anishinaabeg Experiences as Provincial Forest Firefighters in Northwestern Ontario. Unpublished Master's thesis, Natural Resource Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Sauer, Carl O.
1925 The Morphology of Landscape. *University of California Publications in Geography* 2:19-54.

Saylor, Stan G.
1977 *The 1976 Excavations at EgKx-1, Wanipigow Lake.* Preliminary Report 4, Papers in Manitoba Archaeology. Historic Resources Branch, Department of Tourism, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs, Winnipeg.

1978a An Introduction to Fabric Impressions on Selkirk Ware. *Archaefacts: Journal of the Archaeological Society of South-western Manitoba* 5(2,3):49-56.

1978b The 1977 Season at Wanipigow Lake (EgKx-l), Manitoba. *Archaefacts: Journal of the Archaeological Society of South-western Manitoba* 5(2,3):8.

1989 EgKx-l, Wanipigow: Introduction and Background. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 13(1-4):1-28.

Schuetze, Reverence Luther L.
2001 *Mission to Little Grand Rapids: Life with the Anishinabe 1927-1938.* Creative Connections Publishing, Vancouver, BC.

Selkirk, Lord (Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of)
1816 A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America; With Observations Relative to the North-west Company of Montreal. James Ridgway, London.

Sharpe, David R., and W.R. Cowan
1990 Moraine Formation in Northwestern Ontario: Product of Subglacial Fluvial and Glaciolacustrine Sedimentation. *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences* 27:1478-1486.

Shay, C. Thomas
1980 Food Plants of Manitoba. In Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers, edited by Leo Pettipas, pp. 233-290. Manitoba Archaeological Society and Association of Manitoba Archaeologists, Winnipeg.

2009 Medicinal Plant Remains from Archaeological Sites in Southern Manitoba and Adjacent Areas. In *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright,* edited by David L. Keenlyside and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 425-471. Mercury Series Archaeology Paper No. 170. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Quebec.

Shearer, Janene M.
2008 *Reading The Signs* In The Whitefeather Forest Cultural Landscape, Northwestern Ontario. Unpublished Master's thesis, Natural Resource Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Shepard, Anna O.
1974 *Ceramics for the Archaeologist.* Reprinted. Sauls Lithographic Company, Inc., Washington, D.C. Originally published 1954, Publication 609, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D.C.

Sieciechowicz, Krystyna
1986 Northern Ojibwa Land Tenure. *Anthropologica*, New Series 28(1/2):187-202.

Skalesky, Nicole, Kevin Brownlee, and Michael Evans

2010 Ceramic Diversity in Northern Manitoba: the Definition of a New Ceramic Complex from Sipiwesk Lake. Paper presented at the Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Conference, Calgary, Alberta.

In press Askikwak: Earth Pails from Sipiwesk Lake. The Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Skinner, Alanson

1911 Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Salteaux. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 9, Part 1. New York.

1912 Traces of the Stone Age Among the Eastern and Northern Tribes. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 14:391-395.

1914 The Cultural Position of the Plains Ojibway. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 16(2):314-318.

1923 Observations on Sapir's "A Note on Sarcee Pottery". *American Anthropologist* New Series 25(3):428-429.

Smith, Sheryl A.

1980 Archaeological Surveys of the Gammon River, the Oiseau River, and the Sydney Lake Areas. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979,* pp. 99-130, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1981 Archaeology of Red Lake. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 2 1979-1980,* edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid and William A. Ross, pp. 25-114. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 2, Archaeological Research Report 16. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

Snortland-Coles, J. Signe

1979 *The Duck River or Aschkibokahn Site of West-Central Manitoba: The Role of the Northern Marsh in the Subsistence of Late Woodland Peoples.* Final Report No. 7, Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Historic Resources Branch, Department of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, Winnipeg.

Speck, Frank G.

1914 The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonquian Art. Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 1 Anthropological Series, Memoir 42. Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa.

1915 The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization. *American Anthropologist* 17:289-305.

1941 Art Processes in Birchbark of the River Desert Algonquin: A Circumboreal Trait. In *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 128, Anthropological Papers No. 17,* pp. 229-274. Smithsonian Institution, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Steegmann, Jr., A. Theodore (editor)

1983 *Boreal Forest Adaptations: The Northern Algonkians*. Plenum Press, New York.

Steinbring, Jack

1965 Culture Change Among the Northern Ojibwa. Manitoba Historical Society Transactions, Series 3, 1964-1965 Series. Electronic document, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/ojibwaculturechange.shtml, accessed on January 10, 2012.

1966 The Manufacture and Use of Bone Defleshing Tools. *American Antiquity* 31(4):575-581.

1981 Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 244-255. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1987 The Sasaginnigak Lake Rock Painting Site, EjKv-P3. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 11(1):3-47.

Steinbring, Jack, and Douglas Elias
1968 A Key Pictograph from the Bloodvein River, Manitoba. *American Antiquity* 33(4):499-501.

Stevenson, Ross K., Philippe Henry, and Clément Gariépy
2009 Isotopic and Geochemical Evidence for Differentiation and Crustal Contamination from Granitoids of the Berens River Subprovince, Superior Province, Canada. Precambrian Research 168(1-2):123-133.

Steward, J.H.
1942 The Direct Historical Approach to Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 7:337-343.

1955 *Theory of Cultural Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Stoltman, J.B.
1973 The Laurel Culture in Minnesota. Minnesota Prehistoric Archaeology 8. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Stone, D., and J. Crawford
1993 Project Unit 88-34. Geology of the Western Berens River Area. In Summary of Field Work and Other Activities 1993, edited by C.L. Baker, B.O. Dressler, H.A.F. de Souza, K.G. Fenwick, J.W. Newsome, and L. Owsiacki, pp. 4-8. Ontario Geology Survey Miscellaneous Paper 162, Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Stott, G.
1997 The Superior Province, Canada. In *The Tectonic Evolution of Greenstone Belts,* edited by M.J. deWit and L.D. Ashwal, pp. 480-507. Oxford University Press.

Stott, Greg, Tim Corkery, Alain Leclair, Michel Boily, and John Percival
2007 A Revised Terrane Map for the Superior Province as Interpreted from Aeromagnetic Data. In *Proceedings from the 53rd Annual Meeting Institute on Lake Superior Geology, Lutsen, Minnesota, May 8-13, 2007*, edited by Laurel Woodruff, pp. 74-76. Institute on Lake Superior Geology.

Stott, G.M., M.T. Corkery, J.A. Percival, M. Simard, and J. Goutier
2010 A Revised Terrane Subdivision of the Superior Province. Summary of Field Work and Other Activities 2010, Ontario Geological Survey, Open File Report 6260, 20-1 to 20-10.

Supernant, Kisha, and Gary Warrick
2014 Challenges to Critical Community-based Archaeological Practice in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38:563-591.

Surette, Clarence
2008 The Potential of Microfossil Use in Paleodiet and Paleoenvironmental Analysis in Northwestern Ontario. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Geology, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay.

Sutton, Mark Q., and Brooke S. Arkush
2002 *Archaeological Laboratory Methods: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, Dubuque, Iowa.

Syms, E. Leigh
1977 *Cultural Ecology and Ecological Dynamics of the Ceramic Period in Southwestern Manitoba.* Memoir 12, Plains Anthropologist.

Syms, E. Leigh, and Teija Dedi
2006 Manual of Additional Fields for Cataloguing of Precontact Ceramics: To Be Used With the Manitoba Museum Archaeological Specimen Registration Auxiliary Ceramic Analysis Form. With submissions from Leo Pettipas (1996 edition). The Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg.

Syms, E. Leigh, and Valerie McKinley
2006 [2010] Ceramics of the Churchill River Diversion, Northern Boreal Forest of Manitoba: Some Current Insights and Issues. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 16(1&2):48-67.

Talma, A.S., and J.C. Vogel
1993 A Simplified Approach To Calibrating 14C Dates. *Radiocarbon* 35(2):317-322.

Tanner, Adrian
1979 Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideaology and Mode of Production and Misstassini Cree Hunters. Social and Economic Studies No. 23, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns.

Taylor, J. Garth (cited as J.G. Taylor)
1994 Northern Algonquians on the Frontiers of "New Ontario," 1890-1945. In *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations,* edited by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith, pp. 344-376. Dundurn Press Limited, Toronto.

Taylor, Jill
1994 An Analysis of the Ceramics Recovered During 1992 and 1993 at the Precontact Duthie Site (DiMe-16). Unpublished Specialist (Honours) Thesis, Department of Native Studies, Brandon University, Brandon.

Taylor-Hollings, Jill
1999 The Northwestern Extent of Sandy Lake Ware: A Canadian Perspective. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

2004a Stage Two Archaeological Research at Olive Lake in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to the Park Superintendent of Woodland Caribou Signature Site and the Ontario Ministry of Culture.

2004b An Overview of the Cultural History and Archaeology of the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to the Park Superintendent of Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Red Lake District, Ontario.

2006a Stage Two Archaeological Research at Kirkness and Stormer Lakes in the Whitefeather Forest Planning Area. Report submitted to the Park Superintendent of Woodland Caribou Signature Site, the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Pikangikum First Nation.

2006b Stage Two Archaeological Research at Roderick Lake in the Whitefeather Forest Planning Area, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to the Park Superintendent of Woodland Caribou Signature Site, the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Pikangikum First Nation.

2006c Stage Two Archaeological Research at Knox and Peisk Lakes in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to the WCSS Park Superintendent, the Ontario Ministry of Culture, Pikangikum First Nation, Joe Keesic and Joe Paishk.

2007 Stage One Archaeological Assessment of the Lund Lake Access Parking Area in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to Ontario Ministry of Culture and Doug Gilmore Park Superintendent, Woodland Caribou Signature Site.

2008 Results of the Stage Two Archaeological Survey of Trout Lake (*Namekosip*), Red Lake District, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to Ontario Ministry of Culture; Lee Gerrish, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Red Lake; and Trout Lake Ojibwe (*NamekosipiiwAnishinaape*) individuals.

2009 Stage One and Two Archaeological Assessments of a Proposed Outpost Relocation Locality on Larus Lake, Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to Ontario Ministry of Culture, Doug Gilmore of Woodland Caribou Signature Site, and Peter Paishk.

2010 Beyond Bedrock in the Boreal Forest: Newly Discovered Quartz Quarry Sites in Northwestern Ontario. Paper presented at the Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Conference, Calgary.

2011 Quartz Quarry Sites in the Boreal Forest of Northwestern Ontario: More than Just a 'Vein' Attempt at Understanding Lithic Extraction and Dispersement. Paper presented at the Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Conference, Halifax, NS.

2012a Quartz Quarry Sites in Northwestern Ontario: A New 'Prospect' for Geoarchaeologists Investigating Lithic Raw Material Sources. In *Proceedings from the 58th Annual Meeting Institute on Lake Superior Geology, Part 1, Thunder Bay, Ontario, May 16-20, 2012,* edited by Pete Hollings, pp. 88-89. Poster presented at the Institute on Lake Superior Geology annual conference and extended peer-reviewed abstract published in volume and online at http://www.d.umn.edu/prc/ILSG_Volumes.html.

2012b Overview of Partnerships and Archaeological Research on the Bloodvein River in Woodland Caribou Provincial Park, Northwestern Ontario. Research report submitted to Derek Moar and Paul Duck and families, Little Grand Rapids First Nation community members, UNESCO adjudicators, Park Superintendent of Woodland Caribou Signature Site.

2016 (in review) Collaborations Between Pikangikum First Nation, Archaeologists, and Ontario Parks: Learning About the Ancient and Recent Past in the Whitefeather Forest and Woodland Caribou Signature Site. In *The Pikangikum Cultural Landscape: Gifts of the Creator for a Way of Life in the Boreal Forest,* edited by Iain J. Davidson-Hunt, Michael O'Flaherty, and Andrew M. Miller, 38 pages.

Taylor-Hollings, Jill, and Scott Hamilton
2007 Stage Two Archaeological Research at Pakwash and Bruce Lakes, Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to Ontario Ministry of Culture and Scott Ellery, Park Superintendent, Pakwash Provincial Park, Ontario Parks.

2008 Archaeological Explorations in the Berens and Bloodvein River Systems: The Woodland Caribou Signature Site and Whitefeather Forest Planning Area of Northwestern Ontario. Report submitted to the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, Pikangikum First Nation.

Taylor, Hollings, Jill *(Ziibee),* Peter Paishk *(Tiitit)*, Joe Paishk *(Kapasheekoinnii)*, Joe Keesic *(Kotaas)*, Doug Gilmore *(Ishkowdens)*, and Scott Hamilton *(Noodin)*
2009 Archaeological Research at Knox, Paishk, and Murdock Lakes in the Woodland Caribou Signature Site, Northwestern Ontario: Continuing Partnerships and Results. Poster presented at the Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Meeting, Thunder Bay.

ten Bruggencate, Rachel E.
2013 A Combined Visual-Geochemical Approach to Establishing Provenance for Pegmatite Quartz Artifacts and Application Within the Churchill River Basin of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Teller, James T., Matthew Boyd, Zhirong Yang, Phillip S.G. Kor, Amir Mokhtari Fard
2005 Alternative Routing of Lake Agassiz Overflow During the Younger Dryas: New Dates, Paleotopography, and a Re-evaluation. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 24:1890-1905.

Teller, James T., and David W. Leverington
2004 Glacial Lake Agassiz: A 5000 Yr History of Change and its Relationship to the $d^{18}O$ Record of Greenland. Geological Society of America Bulletin 116(5/6):729-742.

Teller J.T., and L.H. Thorleifson
1983 The Lake Agassiz—Lake Superior Connection. In *Glacial Lake Agassiz,* edited by J.T. Teller and L. Clayton, pp. 261-290. Special Paper 26, Geological Association of Canada, Ottawa.

Thom, Brian
2001 Aboriginal Rights and Title in Canada After *Delgamuukw*: Part One, Oral Traditions and Anthropological Evidence in the Courtroom. *Native Studies Review* 14(1):1-26.

Thomas, Matthew, and David Mather, with contributors
1996 McKinstry Site (21KC2): Final Report of Phase III Investigations for Mn/DOT S.P. 3604-44, Replacement of T.H. 11 Bridge 5178 over the Little Fork River, Koochiching County, Minnesota. Loucks Project Report 93512. Copy on file, Office of the State Archaeologist, St. Paul and Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Thompson, Ian D.
2000 Forest Vertebrates of Ontario: Patterns of Distribution. In *Ecology of a Managed Terrestrial Landscape: Patterns and Processes of Forest Landscapes in Ontario,* edited by Ajith H. Perera, David L. Euler, and Ian D. Thompson, pp. 54-73. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.

Thurston, P.C., Osmani, I.A., and D. Stone
1991 Northwestern Superior Province: Review and Terrane Analysis. In *Geology of Ontario, Ontario Geological Survey, Special Volume 4, Part 1*, edited by P.C. Thurston, H.R. Williams, R.H. Sutcliffe, and G.M. Stott, pp. 80–142. Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Thwaites, R.G. (editor)
1896-1901 *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791.* 73 Vols. Burrows Brothers, Cleveland.

Tobias, Terry N.
2000 Chief Kerry's Moose: A Guidebook to Land Use and Occupancy Mapping, Research Design, and Data Collection. Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs and Ecotrust Canada. Electronic document, http://www.ecotrust.org/publications/Chief_Kerrys_Moose.pdf, accessed March 7, 2007.

Tomenchuk, J. and W.N. Irving
1974 Archaeology of the Brant River, Polar Bear Park, Ontario, 1972. *Ontario Archaeology* 22:33-60.

Tyrrell, J.B. (editor)
1916 David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America 1784-1812. The Champlain Society, Toronto, Ontario.

Unknown Author
1924 Fur Trade Little Grand Rapids (Keewatin District). *The Beaver* May:316.

1927 Keewatin District and Little Grand Rapids. *The Beaver* December:140-141.

1940 Peter Pekangekum. *The Beaver* September:15.

Upham, Warren
1890 Report of Exploration of the Glacial Lake Agassiz in Manitoba. Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, William Foster Brown & Co., Montreal.

Valentine, J. Randolph
2001 *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

VanStone, James W., and Joan B. Townsend
1970 *Kijik: An Historic Tanaina Indian Settlement.* Fieldiana, Anthropology, v. 62. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History.

Vastokas, Joan M.
2003 Ojibwa Pictography: The Origins of Writing and the Rise of Social Complexity. *Ontario Archaeology* 75:3-16.

Vennum, Jr., Thomas
1988 Wild Rice and the Ojibway People. Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Vickers, Chris
1948 The Historic Approach and Headwaters Lakes Aspect. *Plains Anthropological Newsletter* 1(3):8-10.

Viking Outposts
2013 Night Hawk Lake. Electronic document, http://www.vikingoutposts.ca/ outposts/ro_nighthawk.cfm, accessed on May 15, 2013.

Voegelin, C.F.
1960 North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and Their Genetic Relationships. In *Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir,* edited by Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, and Stanley S. Newman, pp. 15-40. Reprinted. Originally published in 1941, Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, Menasha, Wisconsin.

Walde, Dale
1994 *The Mortlach Phase.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary.

Walde, Dale, David Meyer, and Wendy Unfreed
1995 The Late Period On The Canadian And Adjacent Plains. *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 9:7-9, 11-66.

Walde, Dale, David Meyer, and Patrick Young
2006[2010] Precontact Pottery in Alberta. *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* 16(1&2):139-165.

Wall, Robert D.
1980a Archaeological Survey of the Bloodvein River System. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979,* pp. 71-81, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1980b Initial Archaeological Survey of Red Lake and Environs. In *Studies in West Patricia Archaeology No. 1 1978-1979,* pp. 83-97, edited by C.S. "Paddy" Reid. West Patricia Heritage Resource Report 1, Archaeological Research Report 15. Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

Warren, William W.
1885 *History of the Ojibways, Based Upon Traditions and Oral Statements.* Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Watkins, Joe
2000 *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice.* Alta Mira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Waugh, Frederick W.
1902 Notes on Canadian Pottery. In *Annual Archaeological Report 1901, Being Part of Appendix to the Report to the Minister of Education Ontario,* pp. 108-115. L.K. Cameron, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Toronto.

1916 *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation.* Anthropological Series no.12. Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa.

1919 Field notebooks and photographs of Frederick Wilkerson Waugh (at Lac Seul and elsewhere). Canadian Museum of Civilization Online Archives, Ottawa.

Wendt, Diane
2010 The Man with a Fish on His Back: Science, Romance, and Repugnance in the Selling of Cod-Liver Oil. *Chemical Heritage Magazine* Spring 28(1):1-5. Electronic file, http://www.chemheritage.org/discover/ media/magazine/articles/28-1-the-man-with-a-fish-on-his-back.aspx?page=1, accessed November 26, 2013.

Whelan, Jr., James Patrick
1983 Context and Association in Canadian Shield Rock Art Systematics. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 7(1):77-84.

White, Bruce M.
1994 Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and Their Merchandise. *Ethnohistory* 42(3):369-405.

Whitefeather Forest Initiative
2003 *The Whitefeather Forest Initiative: Economic Opportunities and Resource Stewardship.* A Partnership Framework Letter of Agreement with The Partnership for Public Lands (CPAWS-Wildlands League, Federation of Ontario Naturalists, World Wildlife Fund Canada).

2004 Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative Letter of Agreement. Electronic document, http://www.whitefeatherforest.com/pdfs/ WFRC_ agreement.pdf, accessed May 20, 2011.

Wiken, E.B.
1996 An Introduction to Ecozones. Environment Canada Electronic document, http://www.ec.gc.ca/soer-ree/English/vignettes/intro.cfm, accessed April 25, 2006.

Wildlands League
2006 Within the Lac Seul Upland: A Geographical Portrait of Ecoregion 3S. Wildlands League, Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, Thunder Bay.

Wilford, Lloyd
1941 A Tentative Classification of the Prehistoric Cultures of Minnesota. *American Antiquity* 6(3):231-249.

1945 The Prehistoric Indians of Minnesota: The Headwaters Lakes Aspect. *Minnesota History* December:312-329.

1955 A Revised Classification of the Prehistoric Cultures of Minnesota. *American Antiquity* 21(2):130-142.

Willey, Gordon R., and Philip Phillips
1958 *Method and Theory in American Archaeology.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Williamson, Ronald F., and Christopher M. Watts (editors)
1999 *Taming the Taxonomy: Toward a New Understanding of Great Lakes Archaeology.* Eastend Books, Toronto.

Wilson, Daniel
1856 Ancient Mines of Lake Superior. *The Canadian Journal* N.S. 1(3):227-37.

Winsor, Justin (editor)
1889 *Narrative and Critical History of America.* Vol. VIII. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge.

Wintemberg, W.J.
1942 The Geographical Distribution of Aboriginal Pottery in Canada. *American Antiquity* 8(2):129-141.

Winterhalder, Bruce
1983 History and Ecology of the Boreal Zone in Ontario. In: *Boreal Forest Adaptations: The Northern Algonkians,* edited by A. Theodore Steegmann, Jr., pp. 9-54. Plenum Press, New York.

Wissler, Clark
1928 The Culture Area Concept as a Research Lead. *The American Journal of Sociology* 33(6):894-900.

Witgen, Michael
2007 The Rituals of Possession: Native Identity and the Invention of Empire in Seventeenth-Century Western North America. *Ethnohistory* 54(4):639-668.

Wolfart, H. Christoph
1973 Boundary Maintenance in Algonquian: A Linguistic Study of Island Lake, Manitoba. *American Anthropologist* 75:1305-1323.

Wright, J.V.
1965 A Regional Examination of Ojibwa Culture History. *Anthropologica* New Series 7(2):189-227.

1967a *Laurel Tradition and the Middle Woodland Period.* Bulletin No. 217. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1967b *The Pic River Site.* National Museums of Canada, Bulletin 206:54-99.

1968 The Application of the Direct Historical Approach to the Iroquois and Ojibwa. *Ethnohistory* 15(1):96-111.

1971 *Cree Culture History in the Southern Indian Lake Region.* Bulletin No. 232, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1972 *Ontario Prehistory, An Eleven-Thousand-Year Archaeological Outline.* Canadian Prehistory Series, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.

1972 *The Shield Archaic.* Bulletin No. 206, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.

1974 Archaeological Taxonomy: Apples and Oranges. *Bulletin (Canadian Archaeological Association)* 6:206-209.

1979 The Shield Archaic: A Critique of a Critique. *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 3(3):30-35.

1981 Prehistory of the Canadian Shield. In *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm, pp. 86-96. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, William C. Sturtevant general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1985 The Development of Prehistory in Canada, 1935-1985. *American Antiquity* 50(2):421-433.

1995 A History of the Native People of Canada. Volume I (10,000 to 1,000 B.C.). Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper 152, Ottawa.

1999 A History of the Native People of Canada. Volume II (1,000 B.C. to A.D. 500). Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper 152, Ottawa.

2004 A History of the Native People of Canada. Volume III (A.D. 500 - European Contact). Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper 152, Ottawa.

Young, Patrick
2006 An Analysis of Late Woodland Ceramics from Peter Pond Lake, Saskatchewan. Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Zoltai, Steve C.
1975 Structure of Subarctic Forests on Hummocky Permafrost Terrain in Northwestern Canada. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 5:1-9

APPENDIX 1

Borden Number	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
Paishk (Formerly Peisk) Lake		**No quartz quarries**						
EgKo-3	Nighthawk	SC, TP1-10	Lithic scatter, flintknapping	Precontact			X	Lac Seul/Pikangikum use; drying rack found there
EgKo-4	Resting Island	TP1-2	Campsite, flintknapping	Precontact			X	Pikangikum, Lac Seul use; probably was a potato island
EhKo-4	P4	SC, TP1-3	Habitation	Middle Period, Late Woodland	Middle Precontact	Sprang, parallel vertical textile, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares		Pikangikum, Lac Seul use
EhKo-5	Beach #3	SC	Lithic scatter	Precontact				
EhKo-6	South Peisk Camp	SC, TP1-15	Flintknapping	Precontact				Outpost
EhKo-7	Tent Camp	SC, TP1	Habitation	Woodland		Woodland: indeterminate sherd - could be Middle or Late Woodland		Pikangikum, Lac Seul use; was log/tent camp mid 1900s
EhKo-8	North Paishk Camp	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact			X	Outpost
Knox Lake	**1 quartz quarry**							
EgKo-2	Alfred	SC	Lithic scatter	Precontact				Lac Seul and Pikangikum use
EhKo-1	Knox Lake Portage	SC, TP1-14 + 6 on south side, XU1	Habitation, trail, fish trap, hearth found	Precontact, Middle Woodland, Laurel, Late Woodland (general), Blackduck		Laurel; Blackduck; Late Woodland: also has indeterminant textile (could be corded or fabric impressions)	X	Fur Trade, Lac Seul/Lac Seul and Pikangikum use; modern portage trail
EhKo-2	K4	SC, TP1-2	Pikangikum Elders' cabin				X	Lac Seul and Pikangikum use; Postcontact - 1900 - 1920s bottle
EhKo-3	Dan's Favourite Beach	SC	Lithic scatter	Precontact				Modern park camp use
EhKo-7	Knox Lake Burial Place	Recorded	Early? Unmarked Cemetery	Unknown				Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKo-8	Knox Potato Island	SC, TP	Quartz quarry and habitation	Precontact				Lac Seul and Pikangikum; used as potato island
	Other cemetery	Marker set up by Lac Seul Elders	Cemetery					Lac Seul and Pikangikum

	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
Murdock Lake	**1 quartz quarry**							
***EhKp-2 Update**	#154 (Dewdney); Bloodvein River 1 (Wall)	Viewed, photos	Large set of pictographs	Unknown/Pictograph site of handprints, abstractions, human and animal figures; photographed (2007)				Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-6	Murdock Pictograph 2	Viewed, photos	Pictograph	Unknown/Pictograph site of canoe, abstractions and animal figures				Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-7	Portage Trail	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-8	LLJ5	SC	Habitation	Precontact				
EhKp-9	LLJ6	SC	Habitation	Late Woodland		Late Woodland: has indeterminant textile (could be corded or fabric impressions)	X	Postcontact/burnt cabin site and modern Parks campsite
EhKp-10	LLJ7	SC	Habitation	Precontact				
EhKp-11	LLJ8	SC	Habitation	Precontact				modern Parks campsite
EhKp-12	Comber Dock	SC	Habitation	Late Woodland	Late Woodland			Pikangikum Cabin
EhKp-13	D and H Lunch	SC	Habitation	Late Woodland	Late Woodland			
EhKp-14	Clay Source	SC	Habitation	Late Woodland				1960s burnt cabin midden
EhKp-15	Caribou Island	SC	Habitation	Precontact				
EhKp-16	Pictograph Point	SC	Habitation, quarry	Blackduck		Blackduck	X	Pikangikum/Lac Seul Postcontact/campsi te and modern Parks campsite
EhKp-17	1960s Cabin	SC	Habitation	Woodland (could be Laurel or Late Woodland); Late Woodland (general)		Late Woodland - sprang, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares	X	Was 1960s cabin site (torn down in 2014); also used by Lac Seul and Pikangikum people before that
EhKp-18	Meeting Place	SC and TP1	Habitation	Middle Period, Middle to Late Woodland, Late Woodland	Middle Period, Middle to Late Woodland, Late Woodland	Late Woodland - sprang, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares		
EhKp-19	Painting Rock Narrows	SC and TP1	Habitation	Laurel		Laurel	X	Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-20	Pete's Firepit (Murdock)	SC	Habitation	Early Period? Precontact - Peter Paishk had found a spear point here when a boy			X	Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-21	Wiigwaas Beach	SC		Middle Period				Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-22	Murdock outpost	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Outpost
EhKp-23	Joe's Island	SC and TP1	Quarry	Precontact				Lac Seul people lived here for brief times
Larus Lake	**3 quartz quarries**							
***EhKp-1**	Larus Lake	SC, just checked because of inclement weather	Aggregation site?	West Patricia: Unknown Precontact/Seven flakes (Wall 1980a) - however, Middle Woodland Laurel also found; Recent: Middle Woodland Laurel (Lee Gerrish), Late Woodland Blackduck, Selkirk (2007)		Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk Composite		

	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
EhKp-20	Pete's Firepit (Murdock)	SC	Habitation	Early Period? Precontact - Peter Paishk had found a spear point here when a boy			X	Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-21	Wiigwaas Beach	SC		Middle Period				Lac Seul and Pikangikum
EhKp-22	Murdock outpost	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Outpost
EhKp-23	Joe's Island	SC and TP1	Quarry	Precontact				Lac Seul people lived here for brief times
Larus Lake	**3 quartz quarries**							
***EhKp-1**	Larus Lake	SC, just checked because of inclement weather	Aggregation site?	West Patricia: Unknown Precontact/Seven flakes (Wall 1980a) - however, Middle Woodland Laurel also found; Recent: Middle Woodland Laurel (Lee Gerrish), Late Woodland Blackduck, Selkirk (2007)		Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk Composite		
EhKp-3	LLS5	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKp-4	LLS6	SC	Campsite	Precontact				
EhKp-5	Larus Beach Outpost	SC, TP	Campsite	Precontact				Outpost
***EhKq-1 Update**	Larus West	SC	Habitation	West Patricia: Late Woodland Blackduck and possibly Selkirk. Recent: Late Woodland Blackduck and Selkirk; Late Woodland (sprang and twined)		Blackduck; Selkirk Composite; Other fabric-impressed: may be Winnipeg Fabric-impressed or Bird Lake wares		
***EhKq-2 Update**	Larus Rapids	SC	Flintknapping	Unknown/Two bifaces and two flakes (Wall 1980a); Precontact (2007)				
****EhKq-3 Update**	South Larus Lake	SC		Unknown/One biface (Wall 1980); not visited in 2007				
EhKq-4	LLS2	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-5	LLS3	SC	Flintknapping; possible vein quartz quarry	Precontact				
EhKq-6	LLS4	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-7	Stop 10	SC	Habitation	Precontact				
EhKq-8	LLJ2	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Was commercial fishing spot
EhKq-9	LLJ4	SC	Habitation	Laurel and Late Woodland (general)		Late Woodland: has indeterminant textile (could be corded or fabric impressions)		
EhKq-10	Doug's Find	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-11	LLS1	SC	Campsite	Precontact				
EhKq-12		TPs (Stage 2 Assessment)	Flintknapping	Precontact				Pikangikum/Lac Seul

	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
Thicketwood Lake	**No quartz quarries**							
EhKp-24	Billie Joe's Place	TP1	Habitation	Selkirk Composite		Selkirk Composite	X	Pikangikum trap cabin
EhKp-25	Oliver's Smokehouse	SC, TP1	Habitation	Rainy River Composite (Bird Lake Complex)		Rainy River Composite (Bird Lake Complex)	X	Pikangikum; the late Oliver Hill's smokehouse, duck hunting, and camping spot
EhKp-26	Caribou Bone	SC	Habitation	Precontact			X	Pikangikum
EhKp-27		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Pikangikum
EhKp-28		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Pikangikum
EhKp-29		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Pikangikum
EhKp-30		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Pikangikum
EhKq-13		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Pikangikum
Sabourin Lake	**2 quartz quarries**							
EiKq-1		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EiKq-2		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EiKq-3		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EiKq-4		SC	Quartz veins	Precontact				
EiKq-5		SC	Quartz veins	Precontact				
Simeon Lake and Middle Bloodvein River			**2 quartz quarries**					
EhKq-14	Simeon Lake Tree Throw	SC, Tree throw excavation	Selkirk Composite	Selkirk Composite		Selkirk Composite		
EhKq-15	Other Simeon Lake	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-16	Bur Oak	SC	Well used quartz quarry	Precontact				Bur oak trees grow here - unusual remnant prairie vegetation
EhKq-17		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-18		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-19		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-20		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-21		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
EhKq-22		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				
Barclay Lake	**3 quartz quarries**							
***EhKr-1**	Floorburnt	SC	Habitation	Fur Trade Period			X	Fur Trade Period
***EhKr-2**	EhKr-2 Tip-up	SC	Habitation	Woodland (general)		Woodland: indeterminate sherd - could be Middle or Late Woodland		Little Grand Rapids
***EhKr-3**	Poplar High	SC		Early Period				Little Grand Rapids

	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
***EhKr-4**	EhKr-4 Barclay West		Habitation	Precontact			X	Little Grand Rapids
***EhKr-5**	EhKr-5 North Bulge Crossing		Habitation	Woodland (general)		Woodland: indeterminate sherd - could be Middle or Late Woodland	X	Little Grand Rapids
EhKr-6	Barclay Tree Throw	SC, Tree throw excavation	Habitation	Selkirk Composite		Selkirk Composite		Little Grand Rapids
EhKr-7		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
EhKr-8		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
EhKr-9		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
Mary's Lake	**3 quartz quarries**							
***EhKs-1**			Habitation	Precontact			X	Little Grand Rapids
***EhKs-2**			Habitation	Late Woodland fabric impressed and sprang sherds		Late Woodland: Fabric-impressed: may be Winnipeg Fabric-impressed or Bird Lake wares; sprang, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares		Little Grand Rapids
EhKs-3	Mary's Lake Portage	SC	Habitation, Quarry (3 areas)	Middle Period, Late Woodland (sprang)		Late Woodland - sprang, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares		Modern portage and camping spot; Little Grand Rapids
EhKs-4		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
Musclow Lake	**1 quartz quarry**							
****EiKr-1**	Musclow Isthmus	?	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
****EiKr-2**	Dewdney's #207 - Dewdney and Kidd (1967:121)	View	Pictograph					Little Grand Rapids
****EiKr-3**	Dewdney's #212 - also Pelshea (1980)	View	Pictograph					Little Grand Rapids
EiKr-4	Duck Camp	SC, TP	Habitation	Blackduck		Blackduck	X	Little Grand Rapids
EiKr-5	Newsitepotcmpsite	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
EiKr-6	Qtzvein1	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids
EiKr-7	Duck Spot	SC, TP	Habitation	Selkirk Composite		Selkirk Composite		Little Grand Rapids
Artery Lake	**9 quartz quarries**							
****EiKs-1**	Dewdney recorded	View	Large set of pictographs					Little Grand Rapids; Park campsite

	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
****EiKs-2**	Artery Junction 1	SC, TP?; recent SC, TP	Habitation	West Patricia: possible Selkirk. Recent: Possible Middle Period ot Middle Woodland, Late Woodland Selkirk Composite		Fabric-impressed: may be Winnipeg Fabric-impressed or Bird Lake wares; Sprang, parallel vertical textile, or corded: may be Blackduck, Plain Stamp and Punctate, or Sandy Lake wares		Little Grand Rapids; Park campsite
***EiKs-3**	Artery Junction 2	SC, TP?; recent SC, TP	Habitation	West Patricia: possible Selkirk. Recent: possible Middle Period; Middle Woodland Laurel; Late Woodland Selkirk Composite		Laurel; Selkirk Composite	X	Little Grand Rapids; Park campsite
***EiKs-4**	Dewdney recorded	View	Pictographs					Little Grand Rapids
*****EiKs-5**	Artery 2	Looked for but could not find (was faded in 1985 and high water in 2009)	Pictographs					Little Grand Rapids
*****EiKs-6**	Bloodvein II	View	Pictographs - included with EiKs-1 previously	?				Little Grand Rapids
EiKs-7	Fred's Old Cabin	SC, TP1	Habitation	Middle/Late Woodland			X	Former Little Grand Rapids cabin (burnt)
EiKs-8	Helen's Place	SC, TP2	Habitation, quarry	Laurel, Late Woodland; Rainy River Composite (Bird Lake Complex)		Rainy River Composite (Bird Lake Complex)	X	Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-9	Not recorded previously	View and photograph	Pictographs					Little Grand Rapids
EiKs-10	Artery Tree Throw	SC, TP2,Tree throw excavation	Habitation, quarry	Selkirk Composite; Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate		Selkirk Composite; Plain Banded Stamp and Punctate		Little Grand Rapids
EiKs-9	Whaleback	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin; Wild rice harvester found near here
EiKs-10	Quartz Tool	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-11	GRC	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-12	Q is for quartz	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-13	Qtz Vn	SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-14		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-15		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-16		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-17		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin

	Site Name	Methods Used (Recent)	Site Type or Activity	Precontact Affiliations	Projectile Points	Pottery	Faunal Remains?	Postcontact Affiliations
EiKs-18		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-19		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin
EiKs-20		SC	Flintknapping	Precontact				Little Grand Rapids cabin

***Discovered and recorded by West Patricia Archaeological Study archaeologists; we returned to these places and usually found more artifact (or viewed pictographs).**

****Recorded by Dewdney and Kidd (1962, 1967)**
*****Recorded by Lambert (1985)**