

A HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN NORTHERN ONTARIO TO 1983 WITH BIBLIOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The sequence and nature of the archaeological history of northern Ontario is arbitrarily divided into three periods: Early, 1850-1940, characterized by nonprofessional activities; Middle, 1941-1966, characterized by increased professional involvement; and Late, 1967-1983, characterized by extensive systematic professional research.

The history does not differ from other areas of North America except that scholarly study commenced later in time. Developments in each period are discussed, including work on the extensive pictographic record and late historic period sites, and the bibliographic record cited.

INTRODUCTION

Northern Ontario is comprised of the lands known as New Ontario which were transferred to the Province around the turn of the century. They extend north from the French River and Lake Nipissing to James and Hudson Bays and west across the top of the Upper Great Lakes to the Manitoba border (Fig. 1). The area represents 88.4% of the land mass of the province, and consists of

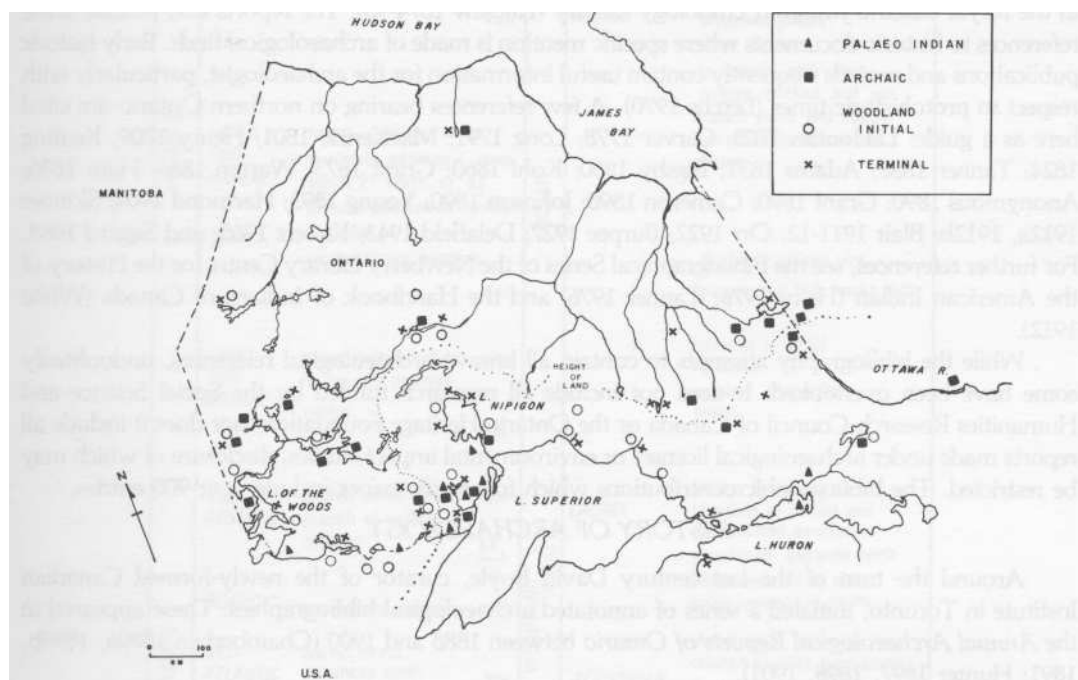


Fig. 1. Map of northern Ontario showing prehistoric sites.

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815,850 sq. km (315,000 sq. mi.) of rugged, glacially scoured Precambrian shield, covered with lakes, bogs, streams and coniferous forests. It was ice-covered to roughly 11,000 BC when warming conditions began to melt the ice in a northeasterly direction freeing southern portions of the region as early as 10,000 BC. It was not until after 6000 BC that the northern portions were open. In the late Paleo-Indian Period, Plano tradition peoples following the retreating continental glaciation arrived on the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior ca. 8000 BC. Their way of life and their specialized big game tool kit gradually changed with ameliorating climatic conditions and rapid forestation. Sometime after 5000 BC a new tradition with a generalized tool kit suitable for wood working known as the Shield Archaic can be defined. Coincident with the meltback there is a gradual northward penetration. By about 500 BC, with the introduction of ceramics from the south, the last period, characterized by pottery and small tools, is identified. Known as the Woodland, the Early period Laurel culture is differentiated from the Late period Algonkian culture primarily on the basis of ceramics. It persisted with minor changes until historic times (Table 1), (biotic patterns after Bryson and Wendland 1967).

The history of archaeological field work and publications in Northern Ontario is not different in sequence and general nature from that characteristic of North America except that systematic professional research commenced later in time than in other areas. Most early references can be found in the annual archaeological reports prepared for the Ontario Minister of Education (Ontario 1888-1928). Since these reports are not indexed or readily available, the references they contain to northern Ontario are included in the bibliography. A significant number of these references are anonymous newspaper articles, most of which can be found in the George Laidlaw scrapbooks held in the Royal Ontario Museum Ethnology Library (Laidlaw 1874-96). The reports also include some references to historic documents where specific mention is made of archaeological finds. Early historic publications and records frequently contain useful information for the archaeologist, particularly with respect to protohistoric times (Lerchs 1970). A few references bearing on northern Ontario are cited here as a guide: LaHontan 1703; Carver 1778; Long 1791; MacKenzie 1801; Henry 1809; Keating 1824; Tanner 1830; Adams 1831; Bigsby 1850; Kohl 1860; Grant 1873; Warren 1885; Ham 1886; Anonymous 1890; Grant 1890; Cameron 1890; Johnson 1890; Young 1893; Harmond 1904; Skinner 1912a, 1912b; Blair 1911-12; Orr 1922; Burpee 1927; Delafield 1943; Kinietz 1965; and Sagard 1968. For further references, see the Bibliographical Series of the Newberry Library Centre for the History of the American Indian (Helm 1976; Tanner 1976) and the Handbook of Indians of Canada (White 1912).

While the bibliography attempts to contain all known archaeological references, undoubtedly some have been overlooked. It does not include all research funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada or the Ontario Heritage Foundation, nor does it include all reports made under archaeological licenses or environmental impact studies, disclosure of which may be restricted. The bibliographic contributions which follow the paper include over 900 entries.

HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Around the turn of the last century David Boyle, curator of the newly-formed Canadian Institute in Toronto, initiated a series of annotated archaeological bibliographies. These appeared in the *Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario* between 1888 and 1900 (Chamberlain 1889a, 1889b, 1891; Hunter 1897, 1898, 1901).

Two and a half decades later, Thomas F. Mcllwraith of the University of Toronto commenced publishing an annotated bibliography of anthropological publications which included Ontario archaeological works. These appeared in the *Canadian Historic Review* from 1925 to 1953 (Mcllwraith 1925-53) and for another decade in *Contributions to Anthropology Bulletins of the National Museum of Canada* (Mcllwraith 1955-64). Also during this last decade, J. Norman Emerson of the University of Toronto edited a series of reports on Ontario archaeology which appeared in *Ontario History* (Emerson 1956-62). Subsequently, there have been a number of selective

TABLE 1
CLIMATIC BIOTIC AND CULTURAL PATTERNS OF NORTHERN ONTARIO

POST — GLACIAL CLIMATES				POST — GLACIAL CULTURES			
	pattern	episode	salient conditions	circa	period	culture	salient markers
BOREAL	EARLY		- abrupt climate change	8000	PALAEO-INDIAN	PLANO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - big game hunters on relic lakes shores north of the Upper Great Lakes - lanceolate ripple-flaked biface tools
			- rapid glacial retreat				
			- Boreal Forest in south disappears	7500			
			- western end of Lake Superior ice free	7000			
			- shift of grasslands north				
	LATE		- minor glaciation in north	6000			
			- rapid in situ ice wasting				
			- forest migrates north (no tundra?)	5500			
			- climatic amelioration	5000			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - changes in tools; shift from quarried to nodular flint
				4000		SHIELD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - population expands north - tool kit evolved out of Plano; notched and stemmed points - dogs appear - in south new technology; pecked and polished stone and copper - introduction of bow and arrow
ATLANTIC	EARLY SUB-BOREAL		- forest reaches most northerly position about 2° north of its present position in central Canada	3000	ARCHAIC		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - decrease in tool size - gorges and fish hooks tools
			- second major warming	2000			
	LATE SUB-BOREAL		- forest shifts south to its present position	1500			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - increase in small scrapers - notched, triangular points
			- cooler	1000			
	SUB-ATLANTIC		- cooler, much wetter	500		LAUREL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pottery first appears - blending of Shield and new related peoples - population expands north - lithics reduced in size - burial mounds in south
			- growth of upland muskeg	B C A D			
	SCANDIC		- transitional warming	400	WOODLAND INITIAL		
POST-ATLANTIC	NEO-ATLANTIC		- warm; forest advances north	900		ALGONKIAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - blending of new but related peoples from south - diverse ceramics - population expands to northwest - burial mounds disappear
	PACIFIC		- cooler; forest retreats south	1200	TERMINAL		
	NEO-BOREAL		- cooler (Little Ice Age)	1550 1650			
	RECENT			1850	HISTORIC	NORTHERN OJIBWA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - utensils replaced by European goods

bibliographies (Dawson 1979a; Fawcett 1979; Kenyon 1966a, 1973a; Kidd, Rogers and Kenyon 1964; Schlederman and Nash 1977; Storck 1975a) and reports (Irving 1976; McGhee 1971; Rackerby 1975; Wright 1968a, 1969a, 1970) which bear to some degree on northern Ontario archaeology.

From a perusal of the literature, it is clear that virtually no archaeological work was carried out in northern Ontario prior to the 1940's and for the next decade what archaeology was undertaken was limited to sites on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. Explorations of the vast interior hinterland commenced only in the 1950's with the entry of federal and provincial institutions into the region, but it was not until after the expansion of the university system in the mid-1960's and the direct entry of the provincial government into archaeological fieldwork in the 1970's that concentrated and systematic studies were commenced.

For convenience, the developments are presented in stages or periods; Early (1850-1940), Middle (1941-1966) and Late (1967-1983). Table 2 lists the names of contributors in each stage. Work in the Early period was carried out by persons not professionally trained, it being largely prior to the establishment in North America of professional archaeological fieldwork. The period is characterized by its sporadic and unsystematic nature.

TABLE 2

CONTRIBUTORS TO NORTHERN ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGY

	Period	Major Contributors	Minor Contributors
Early	1850-1940	Greenman	Boyle, Bryce, Wintemberg, Orr, C. Bell, R. Bell, Tanton, Blue, Coleman, Hind, Holmes, Winchell, Jones, Montgomery, Glyndon, Whittlesey, Borron, Quimby, Kelton, Logan, Dawson, Barker, Lawson, McAdam, Smith
Middle	1941-1966	Lee, Greenman, Ridley, Quimby	Kenyon, Emerson, Wright, MacNeish, Griffin, McIlwraith, Dawson, Kidd
Late	1966-1983	Dawson, Wright, Reid, Conway, Kenyon, Dewdney, Arthurs, Rajnovich, Pollock	Fox, Storck, Smith, Ross, Riddle, Adams, Drabit, Pelleck, Molyneaux, Noble, McLeod, Newton, Brizinski, Buchanan, Kidd, Knight, Wall, McAndrews, Lambert, T. Lee, Hill, Klienfelder, Jordon, Tyyska, Steinbring, MacLeod, Koezur, Baldwin, Hamilton, Pelshea, Wheeler, Cameron, Haywood, J. Conway, Ossenburg, P. Wright, E. Lee, Bertulli, Ridley, Pugh, Callaghan, Tomenchuk, Gall, Campling, Dods, Hamalainen, Burns, Christianson, Shchepanek, Hlady, Hems, Devereux, Mountain, Vvyyan, Walsh, Engelbert, Balmer, Pilon, Morris, Julig, Lane, Kritsch-Armstrong, McFee, Sweetman, Mahon, Filteau, Cook, Gordon, Hanks, Aherns, McWilliam, Pearce, Longley, Leuger, K. McLeod, Higgins, Watshe, Mortimer, Trott, Cassavoy, Forma, Brouse, Davidson, Hambley, Imhoff, McGowan.

The Middle period was largely the work of professionals. Frank Ridley of Toronto, a dedicated trained layman, was an exception. Initiated by southern institutions, the work was primarily concerned with sites on the north shores of the Upper Great Lakes. With the support of fieldwork in the 1950's by the Ontario Archaeological and Historical Sites Board and the National Museum of Canada and the direct fieldwork conducted by the Royal Ontario Museum and the National Museum of Man, research was expanded into the interior forest. The period is characterized by limited though systematic institutionally-supported fieldwork conducted by professionals.

The Late period dates from the creation of the northern-based universities, Lakehead University in northwestern Ontario and Laurentian University in northeastern Ontario, and the establishment of formal studies in anthropology. This was followed within the decade by the Ontario government's move to implement recommendations put forward almost a century before to control archaeological activities in the province (Kilian 1983; Vander 1886). Initiated by the creation of a Historical Branch in the Ministry of Natural Resources in 1972, activities were consolidated and expanded in 1974 under the Ontario Heritage Act with the creation of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, now the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Under the Act, which embodied recommendations put forward by the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board and the Ontario Archaeological Society, licensing procedures for all archaeological fieldwork were introduced, regional offices were established in Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay and Kenora concerned with archaeological resource management and conservation and the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board was superseded by creation of the Ontario Heritage Foundation with vastly expanded funds and responsibilities. These institutional sponsors with their greatly enlarged resource base are the hallmarks of the period.

The developments reflected the growth of public awareness of the importance of archaeology which in considerable measure came about in Ontario due to the work of the late J. Norman Emerson at the University of Toronto. His involvement of the community-at-large resulted in the formation of the Ontario Archaeological Society and his 'student digs' which involved an extended segment of the university resulted in graduates in diverse fields who, on joining the work force, spread the message of the contribution of archaeology to the public weal throughout the province. The last decade of this period saw the entry of archaeological consulting firms, reflecting the demand for impact studies precipitated by the application of a new Environmental Assessment Act in Ontario. The period is characterized by professional and trained specialists carrying out systematic research programs under institutional auspices.

EARLY PERIOD 1850-1940

There are no detailed studies in the Early period. Reports of sites or finds appeared in (a) the published works of surveyors and geologists who in the 19th century were beginning the task of defining Canadian territory (Baker 1901; Bell 1870, 1873, 1887, 1891; Blue 1896a; Coleman 1897; Hind 1859, 1860; Lawson 1886; Dawson 1901; Wilson 1902) and (b) travelers' journals, records and newspaper accounts (Anonymous 1884, 1886a, 1886b, 1889a, 1889b, 1891, 1892a, 1892b; Bell 1886a, 1886b; Bryce 1885a, 1885b, 1886a, 1886b, 1889, 1890-91, 1904; Duns 1880; Henderson 1885; Jones 1885-6; Kelton 1888; McAdam 1884; Montgomery 1909a, 1909b; Smith 1851; Speck 1915; Wilson 1857). The latter refer to finds from the Lake Nipissing, Sault Ste Marie and Manitoulin Island areas, the north shore region of Lake Superior and the mounds at Rainy River. There are also specific references to copper finds on Lake Superior: Agassiz 1850; Anonymous 1889c, 1897a; Bell 1927, 1928; Blue 1894; Borron 1880, 1890; Boyle 1904, 1908a; Dawson 1857; Ferguson 1927; Fryklund 1941; Glyndon 1886; Harvey 1890; Holmes 1901; Landon 1940; Logan 1863; Lubblock 1865; MacKenzie 1882; McKeller 1918; Orr 1916, 1917; Richard 1934; Tanton 1931; Thompson 1893; West 1929; Whittlesey 1863a, 1863b; and Wilson 1856. While no formal excavations were undertaken, a few surveyors did take shovel to hand (Blue 1896b; Coleman 1896).

Other notes were published by individuals associated with museums outside the region including David Boyle of the Canadian Institute and later R.B. Orr of what is now the Royal Ontario Museum (Boyle 1886, 1889, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1905, 1906, 1911; Orr 1920, 1924); W.H. Holmes of the American Bureau of Ethnology (1892, 1903); George Quimby of the Chicago Natural History Museum (1939); and N.H. Winchell of the Minnesota Historical Society (1911). They were primarily concerned with systematic description and rudimentary classification of specific recoveries. William J. Wintemberg of the National Museum of Canada was an exception. He published the first map of sites in northern Ontario (1935) and detailed the distinguishing characteristics of the Algonkian culture of the late archaeological period (1931, 1942, 1943).

In 1938, at the end of the period, the first systematic excavation in northern Ontario was undertaken near Killarney on the north shore of Lake Superior by Emerson F. Greenman of the University of Michigan (Greenman 1938, 1940; Greenman and Stanley 1940).

MIDDLE PERIOD 1941-1966

The second period is marked by the advent of professionally trained archaeologists and the beginnings of serious prehistoric studies. Greenman's work in the Killarney area was continued until the mid-1950's. It resulted in an extensive volume of descriptive and theoretical publications concerning the first human occupations in northern Ontario, the Paleo-Indian Plano tradition (Greenman 1941a, 1941b, 1942, 1943a, 1943b, 1948, 1950, 1951; Greenman and Stanley 1941, 1943).

Cultural material from the two earliest sites (George Lake I and II) consisted of crude lanceolate forms, semi-lunar knives, choppers, ovate and quadrangular bifaces, retouched flakes and thousands of unmodified flakes of quartzite. Recoveries also included a Laurel component with strong Adena influences (Greenman 1966).

Within ten years, Thomas E. Lee, then a graduate student at Michigan working under contract for the National Museum of Canada, discovered a number of Paleo-Indian sites on Manitoulin Island including the extensive quarry workshop at Sheguindah. Many short reports on various aspects of the occupation have been published but as with Greenman's work, no single, comprehensive site report was prepared (Lee 1953a, 1953b, 1954a, 1954b, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960). Excavated at various times between 1951 and 1954, the Sheguindah site has been subject to considerable controversy concerning the initial and multi-early occupations: Greenman 1955a, 1955b, 1960, 1962, 1963; Griffin 1965; Greenman, Griffin and Spaulding 1956; Lee 1962a, 1963a, 1963b, 1964; Mason 1962; Quimby 1959, 1962a, 1963; and Sanford 1957. Lee also reported on a Point Peninsula site situated below the Plano site (1965a).

Further west on the north shore of Lake Superior at Thunder Bay, Richard S. MacNeish, then of the National Museum of Canada, recorded and excavated a Plano site, the Brohm site, in 1950 (MacNeish 1952). Here the carriers of the Plano tradition utilized jasper taconite. Like the sites on Lake Huron, it is located on a raised beach and has Archaic-like lithics associated with the recoveries.

Early in the period, George I. Quimby began documenting records of recoveries on Lake Superior. In the 1950's, he and James B. Griffin of the University of Michigan made a study of the area (Griffin 1961a, 1961b, 1961c, 1961d, 1961e; Griffin and Quimby 1961a; Quimby and Griffin 1961, 1963; Quimby 1954, 1962b; Thompson 1954). Their reports deal primarily with the history and description of copper finds, including the recoveries from the most important copper find ever recorded on the north shore, the McCollum site at Reflection Lake (Griffin and Quimby 1961b). Quimby also reported on a late Woodland site of mixed eastern and western affinities at the mouth of the Pic River (Quimby 1958, 1961). This site was subsequently excavated by Emerson in 1960-61 (1960a).

Frank Ridley was also on the north shore of Lake Superior in 1955 and he opened a test trench on a site at the mouth of the Michipicoten River from which Robert Bell of the Geological Survey of Canada had collected artifacts in 1897 (1956a, 1957a, 1961). Ridley was the first to record a site in the region dominated by ceramics with southeastern affinities.

Between 1957 and 1960, Emerson and McIlwraith were recording and excavating the many diverse stone formations known as Puckasaw pits which occur on the uplifted cobblestone beaches of Lake Superior (Anonymous 1958; Emerson 1958, 1959, 1960b; Kushick 1958; McIlwraith 1959a, 1959b; McIlwraith and Emerson 1958). James V. Wright, now with the Archaeological Survey of Canada, was one of the crew members. While many descriptive details were recorded, their interpretation remains obscure to unfathomable (Anonymous 1965; Dawson, Dean and Soper 1965; Greenman 1964; Lee 1962b, 1965b).

Lee in 1958 and Wright in 1960 surveyed the north shore west to Thunder Bay (Lee 1958; Wright 1963a). Wright recorded 50 sites from the Archaic to the historic period. He continued to work in this region through 1961 to 1963, extending his survey into the interior west of Thunder Bay accompanied in one year by George F. MacDonald, now Director of the National Museum of Man (Wright 1961).

Further west, Walter A. Kenyon of the Royal Ontario Museum surveyed portions of the English River in 1957 and excavated the first interior site in the northwest, the Swan Lake site (1958, 1961a). Recoveries were equated with the Minnesota/Manitoba traditions of the Woodland period. Later he investigated the mound features of the Rainy River district (1959, 1960, 1964a, 1965a, 1966b; Kenyon and Churcher 1965), excavating six of the mounds: Hungry Hall I and II, Armstrong, Barcey, Pithers Point and Oak point Island.

In the mid-50's, Kenneth E. Kidd, then of the Royal Ontario Museum, commenced a survey in the Quetico Park region (1957a, 1960; M. Kidd n.d.) and R.C. Dailey did a limited survey (Coatsworth 1957). Under support of the National Museum of Man, knowledge of the interior was expanded in the 1960's by Kenneth C.A. Dawson of Iakehead University. He undertook extensive surveys of the lake system west of Thunder Bay (1962, 1964a, 1965a, 1967a) and excavated the Blackduck tradition McCluskey site at Whitefish Lake in 1962, a type site of the Late Woodland period Algonkian culture in the region. In 1963 he made an exploratory examination of the Cummins site at Thunder Bay, an extensive jasper quarry workshop and habitation site (Dawson 1963a; Wright 1963b).

Between the years 1948 and 1962, Frank Ridley, under support of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board, surveyed the lake Nipissing, IAke Timiskaming and Lake Abitibi shores (1956b, 1956c, 1958, 1959, 1962, 1964a). James V. Wright was a crew member in 1954 and at other times Paul Sweetman of the Ontario Archaeological Society was an assistant. The Frank Bay site on Lake Nipissing, the first site excavated in northeastern Ontario, was discovered in 1948 and excavated in the period 1950 to 1955 (Ridley 1954). It revealed a remarkable stratigraphic sequence reflecting the general trends and mixing of Algonkian and Iroquois ceramic traditions in the north, with recoveries extending back in time to the Archaic period. This provided for the first time insight into the depth and complexity of northern Ontario archaeology. The work in the Abitibi region expanded the synthesis north into the interior forest. Prior to this, little was known concerning northern ceramics, in fact, the possession of clay vessels was even in question.

Following this important pioneering contribution, Lee worked in the Abitibi region in the early 60's (1962c, 1962d, 1962e, 1965c, 1965d) further defining the sequence of archaeological cultures in northeastern Ontario as well as discussing the question of origins and Atlantic, Eskimo (Dorset) or Asiatic contacts (Lee 1961a, 1961b; Ridley 1957b, 1960, 1964b). The possible relationships with the Archaic (Mattawan) stratum and early industries on the Arctic coast were also addressed by William Taylor, former Director of the National Museum of Man, among others (Byers 1959; MacNeish 1962; Ridley 1966; Taylor 1959).

In 1952, Griffin edited the volume *Archaeology of Eastern United States* in which Kenneth E. Kidd contributed a chapter on the history of archaeology in Ontario, George I. Quimby a chapter on the archaeology of the Upper Great Lakes and John W. Bennett a chapter on the northern Mississippi valley. While each bears on northern Ontario archaeology, the publication predates major discoveries in the north, hence its value now rests in its historic content (Bennett 1952; Griffin 1952; Kidd 1952; Quimby 1952).

In 1960, Quimby wrote a well illustrated book for the public on the Indians of the Upper Great Lakes. It summarized an immense period of time in a concise fashion and defined cultures on the southern periphery of the north. However, the rigid cultural framework and the equating of recoveries with a people in an arbitrary region limited the contribution (Quimby 1960). Near the end of the period, there were a number of miscellaneous reports: two on survey activities (Wright 1964a, 1964b); one by E.S. Rogers on a dugout canoe recovery (1965); and one on copper (Drier and Du Temple 1961).

LATE PERIOD 1967-1983

In the final period, New Ontario, the last frontier, was discovered by archaeologists and research accelerated at an unprecedented rate. William C. Noble of McMaster University recently published a paper on the 70's and the history of Ontario Archaeology which described the era in detail (1982a).

Initially, the period commenced with J.V. Wright's synthesis of the Woodland period, particularly his papers on Ojibwa culture history (1965, 1968b), his detailed review of the Laurel tradition (1967a), his monograph on the Ontario Iroquois tradition (1966), his papers on excavations on the north shore of Lake Superior, the Pic River site (1967b) and the Michipicoten site (1966) and his overview of Boreal Forest archaeology (1968d, 1969b, 1975). In 1972, his popular book, *Ontario Prehistory*, was published. In it he redefined taxonomic terms for the north, discarding the eastern concepts of Early, Middle and Late Woodland periods in favour of Initial and Terminal Woodland (1972a, 1972b). In the same year, his controversial overview of the Archaic Period in the Shield appeared (Buckner 1979, 1980; Wright 1972c, 1979). His detailed synthesis provided for the first time the basis of the cultural sequence in the north.

In 1967, Dawson initiated surveys in the Lake Nipigon region which, within a decade, were followed by those of other researchers (Adams 1983; Arthurs 1981a, 1981b, Cook 1973; Dawson 1969a, 1976a; Fenwick 1975; Filteau 1978; Fox 1975a; Hems 1981; Hill 1982, 1983; Imhoff 1975; McLeod and Pollock 1981; Riddle and Smith 1981). Reports of Old Copper finds on the Lake Superior shore were recorded (Arthurs 1981c; Dawson 1966a, 1969b; Steinbring 1966, 1967) and an intaglio effigy was excavated in this early part of the period (Dawson 1966b).

Commencing in the 70's, Dawson published a series of papers on the Terminal Woodland period with particular emphasis on the problems of ceramic mixture (1973a, 1975a, 1977a, 1977b, 1979b, 1982) and a number of detailed reports on sites in the interior near Thunder Bay: McCluskey (1974a), Mound Island (1978a), Macgillivray (1980) and Wabinoish River (1981a). The McCluskey site report opened a controversy as to the affinities of the carriers of the Blackduck tradition - Algonkian Ojibwa vs. Siouxian Assiniboine (Bishop and Smith 1974; Dawson 1976b; Syms 1977; Wheeler 1977; Wright 1971, 1981). In addition he prepared a number of short site reports (1971a, 1972a, 1973b, 1976c, 1978b, 1979c, 1979d, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1983d) and an overview of the prehistory of northern Ontario which appeared in *Boreal Forest Adaptations: The Northern Algonkians* edited by A.T. Stegmann, Jr. (1983e).

In the 1970's, with the provincial government's move into direct participation in archaeological fieldwork extensive surveys were begun across northern Ontario. William Fox, Barry Newton, Peter Engelbert, David Arthurs, William Ross, Mike McLeod and others worked in the Thunder Bay Kaministiquia valley region, west to Quetico Park and east to Lake Nipigon: Arthurs 1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1978b, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c, 1980a, 1980b, 1981d, 1982a, 1982b; Campling 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1974; Campling and Fox 1972; Drabik 1979, 1980, 1981a, 1981b; Hakka 1976; Haywood 1983;

Fox 1972a, 1974a, 1974b, 1975b, 1976a, 1977a, 1979a; MacLeod 1973; McLeod 1976, 1978, 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1981d, 1981e, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c; McWilliams 1973; Newton 1975, 1977; Newton and Wolfe 1973; Newton, Arthur's, Engelbert and Morris 1974; Newton and Engelbert 1977; Nunn 1974; Ross 1980a, 1981, 1982a, 1982b; Walshe and Ross 1978-82; Walshe 1977. In addition to expanding information on the Woodland period, the surveys shed light on the scarcely known Archaic period, particularly with the excavation at the Renshaw site (Arthurs 1979e).

Extensive surveys were conducted in the Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake regions by C.S. "Paddy" Reid and Grace Rajnovich of the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture at Kenora (Rajnovich 1980a, 1981a; Rajnovich and Reid 1980; Rajnovich, Reid and Shay 1982; Reid 1974, 1975a, 1977a, 1978a; Reid and MacLeod 1980; Reid, Rajnovich and Smith 1977). They have published a number of important papers on Late Woodland ceramics (Rajnovich and Reid 1978a, 1981; Reid and Rajnovich 1980, 1983) including the Laurel/Blackduck Ballysadare site (Rajnovich 1980b), Spruce Point site (Rajnovich 1983a, 1983b), the Lady Rapids and the Fisk sites (Reid 1982a) and the Rushing River site (Rajnovich 1979). Other researchers, some associated with the Ministry, also carried out surveys and excavations in the region: Ahrens 1980; Callaghan 1979, 1982; Hlady and Kucera 1971; Kleinfelder 1981; Mahon and Reid 1976; MacLeod 1971a; Smith 1979a, 1979b; Wall 1977, 1978, 1981; and Scott Hamilton's Blackduck Wenasaga Rapids sites report 1981 (1981a, 1981b).

In 1970, Kenyon published the first report on the Armstrong mound at Rainy River (Kenyon 1970a; Dawson 1974b) and other mounds in the region (1970b, 1971) suggesting that they were sacred places (Cooper 1981). Others have also surveyed the area (Fox 1972b; McFee 1974, 1975; Mountain 1972) and David Arthurs of the Ministry has provided extensive details on burial ceremonialism associated with the mounds which has thrown light on the understanding of these features and the Woodland cultures associated with them (Arthurs 1974, 1976a, 1976b, 1978c, 1978d, 1980c, 1982c, 1982d; Yarborough and Arthurs 1973).

In anticipation of economic development of the more northerly regions, the Ministry of Natural Resources began land use planning in 1972. The archaeological component of the West Patricia Land Use Plan was under the direction of C.S. Reid. Extensive surveys were undertaken in the Albany River system at Lake St. Joseph, Red Lake, on the Berens River and on Lac Seul (Reid 1979a, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1981, 1982b; Reid and Ross 1981; Ross 1982c). The main participants were David Riddle, John A. Pelleck, Sheryl A. Smith, Robert Wall and Peter Lambert (Lambert 1981, 1982; Pelleck 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1983; Riddle 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982; Smith 1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981; Wall 1980a, 1980b, n.d.). Other reports were prepared by Cassavoy (1978), Gordon (1982), Harvey (1980) and Thacker (1980).

While prior to this the area was virtually unknown, there had been a few earlier investigations. Dawson's survey of the middle Albany from 1967 to 1969 established unequivocally the Late Woodland presence of the Selkirk and Blackduck traditions in the region (Dawson 1976d) and during Wright's visit to the region in 1968 (1968e) he recovered carbon samples yielding the first dates (Wilmeth 1978) for the Woodland period north of the height of land. Polly Koezur, a local teacher, excavated a number of sites on the Berens River in 1968-72 (Koezur 1972, 1977; Koezur and Wright 1975, 1976). More recently, Pat Julig, while at York University, surveyed the lower Albany (1981, 1982).

Plano recoveries continued to be made in the Thunder Bay District and west to the Manitoba border. William Fox, Reid and William Ross of the Ministry published a number of articles (Fox 1976b, 1977b, 1979b; Reid 1980e; Ross 1979, 1980b) as have others (McLeod 1981f; Phillips 1981; Steinbring 1976) and the long awaited Cummins site report (Dawson 1981b) was published in 1983 (Dawson 1983f). In the early part of the period, the controversy as to Plano origins continued to be discussed (Lee 1968, 1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1974a; Sanford 1971). In the Lake Huron region, Peter Storck of the Royal Ontario Museum reexamined the region and has published a number of important papers bearing on Plano and Plano Shield Archaic traditions (1970a, 1970b, 1971a, 1971b, 1972a, 1972b, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1975b, 1975c).

In 1971, the first large scale archaeological project in the north was conducted at Wawa. This was a multidisciplinary survey under an Opportunity for Youth Programme. Directed by Ken Dawson for the National Museum of Man, it involved a staff of over 100 and an equal number of transients (Dawson 1971b). It resulted in a number of reports on Woodland sites at the mouth of the Michipicoten River (Brizinski and Buchanan 1977; Dawson 1976e). With the formation of the National Park at Pukaskwa, further along the Lake Superior shore, Dawson, and subsequently others, undertook surveys of the region with particular emphasis on the mysterious stone features (Dawson 1975b, 1977, 1979e, 1979f, 1981c; Gould 1982; Hurley 1971; Lane and Stark 1977; Smith 1982; Smith and Foster 1982). Other sites have also been investigated in the region and miscellaneous studies have been published (Arthurs 1979f; McLeod 1975; Riddle and Arthurs 1978).

In the northeast, John W. Pollock, then a graduate student at McMaster University, did initial surveys of the interior (1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1974a, 1975a, 1975b) and published the first detailed reports on the cultural sequence in the mid-northeast region (1975c, 1976a). Thor A. Conway of the Ministry has also worked in the interior at Lake Temagami (1976a, 1982a, 1982b). At Larder Lake, Noble has expanded the work with a view to defining events in more precise terms (1977, 1982b), and others have made minor contributions (Davidson 1980; Higgins 1975; Knight 1979).

Further north, Pollock surveyed the Winisk River drainage region (Pollock 1973d, 1974b, 1975d, Pollock and Noble 1975). Others extended the survey to the Bay (Irving and Tomenchuk 1972; Pugh 1971a) reporting the first ceramic site on Hudson's Bay (Tomenchuk and Irving 1974).

At Lake Abitibi, extensive shore collections were made over a five year period by the Jordon family (Crockott, Jordon and Jordon 1975; Jordon 1978; Jordon and Jordon 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981; Pollock 1975e). Others have reported recoveries in the area (Conway 1977a; Marois 1974, 1975; Pollock and McLeod 1982) and the first detailed site report, the Jessup Site, was completed in 1983 (Kritsch-Armstrong 1979, 1983). Further south on the Montreal River, Dean Knight of Wilfred Laurier University surveyed and excavated a site first recorded by Ridley (Knight 1969a, 1969b, 1970, 1971, 1972). This provided much new information on the Shield Archaic in the region (Knight 1977a, 1977b). Other sites have been reported in the region (Kenyon 1968) and near Timmins, Paul Sweetman (n.d.) recorded a large Archaic site.

Extensive work on the Mississagi delta near Sault Ste. Marie was initiated by Helen Devereux of Laurentian University in the 1970's (Adams 1979a, 1979b; Bertulli 1981; Bertulli and Kilpatrick 1977; Bertulli, Kilpatrick and Brizinski 1975; Brizinski 1975, 1977, 1978; Devereux 1976; MacDonald 1976; Pugh 1970a). Other work took place at Lake Nipissing (Brizinski 1980), Killarney (Devereux 1982; Pugh 1970b) and in 1975-76, David Arthurs surveyed the Missinaibi River (Arthurs 1977c, 1983a; Pollock 1974c). There have also been a number of impact studies (Adams 1981; Buchanan 1979a, 1979b, 1979c, 1981a, 1981b; Hanks 1980; Pearce 1982, Pollock 1980a, 1980b, 1982).

Thor A. Conway, stationed at Sault Ste. Marie, has produced innumerable papers and reports on the archaeology in the Sault Ste. Marie region and east along the Huron shore and north along the Superior shore (1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1975d, 1975e, 1975f, 1975g, 1975h, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d, 1976e, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1980e; Conway and Adams 1979). His detailed analysis has served to define the prehistory of the southeastern regions of northeastern Ontario. Further south at the Mattawa, surveys have been undertaken by Phillip Wright, Allen Tyyska and Peter Engelbert (Gordon 1970; Tyyska and Burns 1973; Wright and Engelbert 1978; Wright and Wright 1975).

John H. McAndrews of the Royal Ontario Museum and others such as Peter Hamalainen, Robin Dods and Jim Burns have produced a number of reports on the flora and fauna (Balmer 1983; Brizinski and Savage 1983; Burns 1971, 1973a, 1973b, 1974; Dods 1976, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c; Hamalainen 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1976; McAndrews 1976, 1980a, 1980b, 1982; McGowan 1978; Morris 1974a, 1974b; Rajnovich 1980c). There have been a few papers on osteology (Cameron n.d.; Hambley 1972; Heathcote 1975; Kolar 1982; Melbye 1969; Morgan 1983; Ossenbergh 1974; Tracey

1969; Wright 1973) and further discussions on the copper recoveries (Hedican 1981; Hedican and McGlade 1982).

A number of local booklets produced by regional archaeologists for public awareness have been published (Arthurs 1979d; Conway 1981a; Ontario 1979; Ross and Arthurs 1979; Ross and Reid 1981). Recently the Thunder Bay Historical Society published a booklet on the *Prehistory of Northern Ontario* (Dawson 1983g). In addition there have been generalized publications on the Upper Great Lakes which bear on Ontario (Fitting 1979; Mason 1981; Siebert 1967) as well as broad histories (Fitting 1973; Kilian 1980; Noble 1972; Trigger 1981; Wright, Taylor, Wilmeth and Irving 1969).

PICTOGRAPHS

The Late period lithic assemblages, while reflecting regional variation, show a relatively consistent picture through time across the north suggesting that they are the cumulative product of a related population with a common subsistence strategy and this is reinforced in the pictographs and other art forms of related style distributed throughout northern Ontario. There were a number of early references (Agassiz 1850; Anonymous 1885, 1897b; Bayfield 1828; Bell 1879; Boyle 1896, 1905, 1908b; Coleman 1897; Delafield 1943; Harmon 1904; Laure 1731; Lawson 1885; MacDonnell 1793; Mallery 1887, 1893; McInnes 1899; Phillips 1907; Regan 1921; Schoolcraft 1851; Simpson 1847; Smith 1923; Voegelin 1941; Willmott 1898). While Boyle graphically recorded sites around the turn of the century, it was not until the 1950's with the fieldwork of the late Selwyn Dewdney, a Research Associate at the Royal Ontario Museum (Daniels 1979) that the extent and details of their presence became known (Dewdney 1958a, 1958b, 1958c, 1958d, 1959a, 1959b, 1959c, 1960a, 1960b, 1960c, 1963a, 1963b, 1964, 1965a, 1965b, 1967, 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1970d, 1970e, 1971, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1975a). He documented sites across northern Ontario and pioneered the development of tracing and dating techniques providing for the first time a basis for comparative analysis. In 1962, together with Kenneth E. Kidd, Professor Emeritus of Trent University, they published the first book on Canadian rock art. A revised and expanded edition appeared in 1967 (Dewdney and Kidd 1962, 1967). In 1969, a group of interested scholars met at Lakehead University and formed the society for the preservation and study of Indian prehistoric art known as the Canadian Rock Art Research Associates (Dawson and Taylor 1970). Since that time, it has met biannually and published annual newsletters on current research.

There have been many miscellaneous reports (Bolz 1960; De Paepé 1960; Haberland 1968; Littlejohn 1965; MacFie 1959; Mallory 1964; Olson 1961; Ontario 1980a, 1980b; Ridley 1962; Rogers 1962; Steinbring 1968; Symington 1969) including petroglyph sites (Steinbring 1980); (Steinbring and Steinbring 1978; Steinbring et al 1981), an anomalous rock formation (Tyyska 1973, 1976) and one overview of rock research (Dewdney 1979a). There have also been extensive publications dealing with birchbark scrolls (Dewdney 1966, 1969c, 1975b; Kidd 1963, 1965, 1981; Redsky 1972). The work commenced by Dewdney and Kidd at the Royal Ontario Museum has been continued by Brian Molyneaux (1975, 1978, 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983). Grace Rajnovich in Kenora and others have recently expanded the research in northwestern Ontario (Arthurs 1980d; Cameron 1979, 1982; Cameron and Cameron 1982; Dawson 1974c; Pelshea 1979, 1980; Rajnovich 1980d, 1980e, 1980f, 1981b, 1981c; Reid 1979b, 1979c; Smith 1980d) and Thor Conway has been engaged in extensive recordings in northeastern Ontario (Adams 1980a, 1980b; T. Conway 1975i, 1976f, 1976g, 1976h, 1977f, 1979c, 1981b, 1981c; Conway and Conway 1978, 1979; J. Conway 1979). There has also been a few publications primarily concerned with classification (Dewdney and Pohorecky 1976; Dewdney, Tasse and Taylor 1974; Lambert 1983; Maurer and Whelan 1977; Pohorecky 1970; Steinbring and Elias 1967; Tasse 1979) and others with technical aspects of the process (Conway 1979d; Dewdney 1970f, 1979b; Molyneaux 1977; Sereda 1958; Taylor 1975; Taylor, Bokman and Wainwright 1979; Taylor, Myers and Wainwright 1974).

HISTORIC SITE ARCHAEOLOGY

Historic site archaeology is a late development in archaeology. As used in this presentation, it is limited to fur trade sites, early settlement and development sites, and ethnohistoric sites established after Euro-Canadian settlement.

Fieldwork was initiated in the 1950's with Frank Ridley's examination of fur trade posts on the north shore of Lake Superior (1956a, 1959). Prior to this, there had been reports prepared documenting site locations based on historic records (Kidd 1957b; Lynch 1925; Smythe and Chism 1969; Voorhis 1930) but no fieldwork was undertaken. While the next two decades saw extensive fieldwork, it was conducted primarily as an adjunct to the prehistoric research.

The first major excavation was begun in 1961 by Walter Kenyon at the Hudson's Bay Company establishment at Fort Albany on James Bay (Baldwin 1967; Kenyon 1961b, 1962, 1965b, 1970c, 1982). Other fur trade excavations soon followed: the Longlac Post in the interior on the Kenogami River system, and the Pic River post on Lake Superior in 1964 (Dawson 1969c, Gall 1967), Fort St. Joseph at Sault Ste. Marie in 1966 (Emerson, Devereux and Ashworth 1977; Lee 1975, 1982), a late post on Lake Nipigon at Sand Point in 1969 (Dawson 1970a), and the post on Lake Abitibi (Lee 1974b). The most extensive excavation undertaken was that of the North West Company's depot at Fort William. It was commenced by Dawson in the late 60's (Dawson 1968a, 1968b, 1970b, 1971c, 1972b) and continued by Joyce Kleinfelder (Campbell 1976; Cloutier 1976; Fox 1977c; Kleinfelder 1970, 1976; Kleinfelder and Taylor 1972; Taylor 1976).

There have been a number of reconnaissances undertaken to establish the location of fur trade posts: on Lake Nipigon (Dawson 1968c, 1969d, 1970c); on Moose Factory Island at the mouth of Moose River (Dawson 1968d; Kenyon 1975a; Leuger 1980; Rogers et al. 1972); at the bottom of James Bay (Kenyon 1972a, 1973b, 1974; Kenyon and Turnbull 1971). Other fieldwork included ethnohistoric surveys of sites in northwestern Ontario in the Dorion area east of Thunder Bay, in the Dryden Range District, in the Kenora District at Hooker —lake (Dawson 1965b, 1967c, 1969e), examination of the early Mission site and the Point de Meuron post on the Kaministikwia River at Thunder Bay (Dawson 1969f; Kleinfelder 1971) and the post at Dog Lake (Dawson 1969g).

Extensive surveys were also undertaken along the historic route of the first road west from Prince Arthur's Landing (Port Arthur) to East Angle on Lake of the Woods (Dawson 1964b, 1966c, 1966d, 1967b, 1968e, 1971d). This included excavation of the French Portage Way Station at Quetico Park (Dawson and Kleinfelder 1971a, 1971b).

Other activities involved underwater archaeological investigation of river routes in search of lost articles from the fur trade (Kenyon 1969; MacFie 1962). The research was initiated by Walter Kenyon on the French River, but the most extensive work was undertaken along the border lakes in northwestern Ontario. This involved the Royal Ontario Museum, the Minnesota Historical Society and the Quetico Foundation (Dawson 1963b, 1965c, 1975c; Holmquist and Wheeler 1964; Kenyon 1963, 1964b, 1972b, 1975b; Megill 1963; Wheeler 1962, 1975; Woolworth 1961). Recently, there have also been exploratory diving investigations of shipwrecks at Thunder Bay (McWilliam 1983) and Lake Nipissing (Vandenhazel 1983).

With the advent of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation in the 70's, historical archaeology became an integral part of their programme of documentation and conservation of archaeological sites. Since then surveys and excavations have been conducted annually across northern Ontario: documentation of Fort Laronde on Lake Nipissing (Wright and Saunders 1980); survey of the Moose-Missinaibi River (Arthurs 1980e, 1980f; Baldwin 1975; Pollock 1977a; Shchepanek 1971a, 1971b); excavation at Hills Landing near Timmins (Ball and Pollock 1977; Longley 1978); survey of Gloucester House, a Hudson's Bay Company inland post (Newton and Mountain 1980); the Kamogamissi Post (Sweetman 1966); excavation of the Ermatinger House at Sault Ste. Marie and La Cloche post nearby (Reid 1975b, 1976, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d; Conway 1976i, 1977e); survey of the Mississagi River (Pugh 1970c); survey and excavation on Abitibi River and the Martin Falls post on

the Albany River (Newton n.d.; Pollock 1977b; Vyvyan 1980); survey of the Hudson's Bay post at Agawa and excavations at the Michipicoten River post on Lake Superior (Adams n.d.; Bouse 1972; Conway and Mackenzie 1976; Forma 1972; MacLeod 1971b; Wieler 1973, 1980); survey of the Constance Lake area (Trott 1977; Williamson 1978); survey of the Kenogami River (Pollock 1977c); survey of the sites west of Thunder Bay (Balmer 1979); survey of the English River (Mountain 1976a, 1976b); survey of the Winisk and Moose River areas (Pendergast 1973; Pugh 1971b); excavation of the Whitefish Lake Post on Lake of the Woods (Reid 1980f); and, survey and excavation of Fort Severn on Hudson's Bay (Christianson 1980a, 1980b, 1982; Pilon 1981, 1982; Pollock 1976b, 1976c, 1979; Pollock and MacLeod 1977a, 1977b).

There have been a number of miscellaneous studies: the castle at White Otter Lake near Ignace (Fox 1973; Mahon 1972); the history of Silver Islet (Woolsey 1971); Mr. Chartley's Fur Trade Post (Rajnovich 1983c); graves on Lac Seul and the Abitibi River (Mortimer 1979); the Mather-Wells House at Keewatin (D. McLeod, 1981); an early casket at Current River (Herringer and Haywood 1981); Temagami Oral History (Conway 1982c); a faunal analysis of recoveries from Brunswick House (Hamalainen 1975b); and a number of short specialized studies: on musket side plates (Reid 1978b); on ceramics (Rajnovich and Reid 1978b); on an early kaolin pipe (Arthurs 1983b); on an IHS ring (Arthurs 1982e); and on a decorative ornament (Belanger 1983).

There has been an overview statement on recent fur trade archaeology in northern Ontario (Reid 1980g; Reid and Conway 1980); a number of reports on artifact identification (Kidd 1964; Kidd and Kidd 1970; Quimby 1964; Woolworth 1975); a paper on history and archaeology of the fur trade (Ray 1978); an extensive history of the Lake Superior shore west of Sault Ste. Marie (MacDonald 1973); and a report of the history of historic archaeology in Canada (Kidd 1969). In addition, a decade ago Parks Canada commenced publishing the periodical "History and Archaeology/Histoire et Archeologie" which has included many articles bearing directly on the interpretation of historic archaeology in northern Ontario.

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