

Ontario Archaeological Society

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An excavation going on under the boardwalk in Quebec City reveals foundations of waterfront buildings [see page 10].

photo by Henry Van Lieshout

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President's message

Jean-Luc Pilon

Soon, the annual OAS Symposium in Kingston will be at hand. I hope that you have already made plans to attend this meeting which is being organized for us by the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation. The sessions and papers sound like they will offer good food for many thoughts.

You couldn't ask for a better setting with the meeting being held in Kingston's historic downtown located on the edge of Lake Ontario, within earshot of the remains of Fort Frontenac whose founder, Louis de Buade, comte de Frontenac, is so well known for having returned envoys back to the British Admiral Phipps who had demanded the surrender of Québec City with the message that he would answer their admiral "by the mouths of his cannon."

When first established, Fort Frontenac was on the frontier of New France but history would eventually roll over it like a wave and it would become a bastion of the British Empire and eventually the capital city of a fledgling colony. Today, Kingston is a vibrant community in eastern Ontario which has preserved much of its historic past while continuing to provide Canada with important new military and academic leadership.

Recently, two events have graphically reminded me of a looming crisis in Ontario archaeology. This revolves around the long-term management of archaeological collections in the province of Ontario.

Of course, the topic is not new, but these two instances make it clear that just because it is not a hot topic of discussion, it remains one of the more serious threats to our discipline that is rapidly creeping up on us.

The first case involves a small eastern Ontario museum which requested information from me regarding the mechanisms for repatriating an archaeological collection they have been storing since the late 1970s. It turns out that at that time, they had had an archaeological excavation around the foundation and in the basement of the building which houses their museum.

I can only imagine the great local interest in such a project. It was probably the first time an "archaeological dig" had ever taken place in their community. However, the excavations generated more than 70 bankers boxes of artifacts; XIXth/XXth century pieces. They now want the space back. They don't use much of the collection. Who could they send them to? Well, when informed that repatriation meant sending them back to their point of archaeological origin, they realized they were on the hook. Could they simply rebury them, they wondered? !#@*!

So what does it mean when a piece of legislation says that "The Minister may direct that any artifact taken under the authority of a license or a permit be deposited in such public institution as the Minister may determine, to be held in trust for the people of Ontario"

(section 66(1), Ontario Heritage Act). I think that many small museums, while well-intentioned at first, did not foresee how long perpetual care of these collections might really be. I suspect that many more small institutions across the province are also suffering under the burden of these collections which usually only include a few exhibit-quality pieces.

Similarly, consulting archaeologists must also be starting to feel the pinch of acting as repositories for the extensive collections they continue to gather and store for the people of Ontario. Surely their accountants will soon be, if they haven't already, instructing them to find alternate arrangements for their financial well-being. And what will happen to collections if, or more correctly, when some consulting firms cease operations? Where will these collections go? What kind of access currently exists to these collections even if somehow we know where the materials are housed? These are all critical questions with regards to saving the past for the future. It may be long past time for the Minister to take a more active role at this level if the past is to have a future at all.

The second element that I alluded to above involves the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn. This summer I received a letter from Kirby Whiteduck, the Chief of the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn, requesting that the OAS place the establishment of better relations with First Nations higher up on

our list of principles (it currently is the 8th one) to which our members adhere, as published in our "Statement of Ethical Principles" (please read Kirby's letter to the Board of Directors on page 8).

While I do not believe our list is structured from most important to least, I wholeheartedly agree that a place must be made within the archaeological licensing system in Ontario to include First Nations who wish to participate in a more meaningful way. What might that be? It could involve some kind of real consultative process, overseen by the ministry.

Another very important function has been suggested by Kirby Whiteduck. The Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn already have a Temporary Archaeological Repository for collections from their traditional lands. They aim to

upgrade this facility. If there is a crisis looming, they are offering a potential solution.

I am certain that the question of archaeological repositories is a lot more complex than I realize (and I can already hear the Ministry of Culture staff who would gladly outline this complexity for me!). These two situations (1. small museums that lose interest, run out of space or cease to exist, and 2. a First Nation that is eager and willing to participate in the archaeological process), and of course the mere fact that hundreds of site collections are created every year by consultants, point in a direction that must be explored: the creation of regional repositories for archaeological collections, or at the very least, a collections management strategy for the province of Ontario.

If the ultimate responsibility for the safekeeping of archaeological collections is a ministerial prerogative, then it should be exercised sooner, rather than later. That there will be significant costs associated with the creation, maintenance and staffing of such regional repositories goes without saying. One certainty is that the longer it takes to begin to properly address the situation, the greater will be the price, not only in terms of eventual tax dollars, but to the credibility of the practice of archaeology in Ontario and the very survival of these mute witnesses of times past that we claim to be of such great value and significance to our collective sense of place and being.

Congratulations to 25-year members

The Society wishes to congratulate the following members on their 25th anniversary of joining the OAS:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| James Molnar | Gatineau, Quebec |
| Marian Clarke | Perth, Ontario |
| Maggia McFadzen | Guelph, Ontario |
| J.D. Morton | Oshawa, Ontario |
| Tom Arnold | London, Ontario |
| Carol Lang | Toronto, Ontario |
| John Peters and Ann Balmer | Toronto, Ontario |
| June Husband | Toronto, Ontario |
| Jane Sacchetti | Toronto, Ontario |
| Marta Bradbury | Haliburton, Ontario |
| Robin Smith | Oakville, Ontario |
| M. Primeau and R. Denunzio | Windsor, Ontario |
| Gordon Grosscup | Detroit, Michigan |

No members will celebrate their 50th anniversary this year.

If any member believes that he or she has also been a member for 25 or 50 years, and is not on this list, please contact the Treasurer at hvanlieshout@rogers.com or call 416-446-7673.

Charlie Nixon 1917-2007

**By Jim Keron,
OAS Board of Directors and former London
Chapter President**

It is with a great deal of sadness that we mark the passing of the first president of the London Chapter of the OAS. Charlie joined the OAS in 1968 (Kewa 1977-3:2) and was one of the Charter members of the London Chapter when it was formed 30 years ago in 1977.

I first met Charlie in 1977 at either the founding of the London Chapter or the inaugural meeting of the Archaeological Conservation Officer (ACO) program. At this point in time, I am not sure which since it was the same time and many of the participants were the same. Charlie regularly commuted in from Ayr to London for both these organizations. When the initial London Chapter executive was formed later that year, Charlie was elected as the first president and served for two years. In this role he contributed to the strong start of the London Chapter and helped set the tone for the momentum that has continued to this day.

Always a keen inquisitive mind, Charlie was inspired by reading Theodore Kroeber's book, *Ishi*, to a more in-depth understanding of methods of manufacture and use of early technology. He published a short Kewa article in 1979 and brought along many of his wares to the early London chapter picnics. For several years there was an annual atlatl throwing contest, although the first year was

by far the most entertaining since almost no one had seen one in the flesh, let alone tried to use it. That year the picnic was at my house in Thamesford back on the river flood plain and for a target we set up a rather large cardboard box. For the first while being inside the box would have been the safest place to be as the darts were flying everywhere. I still recall being the first one to hit the box but the shot was disallowed as the dart had flipped end over end and the butt end is what made contact. Another time Stew Leslie managed to get the timing correct and we watched the dart sail over the fence and trees and into the next, fortunately unoccupied, yard. The only real downside

to the atlatl games was that in the excitement of hunting cardboard boxes the fire keeper forgot to keep the fire and it went out significantly delaying the roast pig. I subsequently made several atlatls copying Charlie's model, although I cheated by using a piece of dowel for the dart where Charlie had taken his directly from the woods and manufactured it without the use of steel tools. One of those atlatls still makes its way to the London Chapter picnics and thus Charlie's influence is still evident. Some of



Charlie with wheelbarrow at the Calvert site.

Photo courtesy London Chapter

Charlie's handiwork was proudly displayed in the old Ministry office at 55 Centre Street for quite a few years. Another of Charlie's feats was starting a fire using a bow and drill. This also was demonstrated at several of the early picnics.

Charlie conducted regular survey in Oxford and



Charlie, Kay and Ed backfilling Midden 1 at the Harrietsville site.

Photo courtesy London Chapter

Brant counties locating, registering and describing a number of Iroquoian sites along the Nith River (Nixon 1985). His fieldwork was always exemplary and he regularly reported under Ministry licensing requirements. Charlie was a true “avocational archaeologist” before the term came into active use. Far from being a collector of artifacts he was a collector of information about past life-ways. As a testimony to his keen desire to preserve the past, in his failing years, he arranged for Mima Kapches to come to Ayr and pick up all of the artifacts he had recovered and take them back to the ROM.

As a member of the ACO program he was always ready to assist professional archaeologists by sharing information and site locations when they were conducting research in his area. Unfortunately the “professionals” were not always as professional as Charlie. In one instance a professional (who shall remain nameless) after receiving a great deal of help from Charlie, subsequently referred to him in his report as a “local pot hunter” much to Charlie’s dismay. During the early 1980s when the ACO program was flourishing and before provincial regulations had firmly entrenched CRM archaeological mitigation, mem-

bers would refer potential site destruction to the Ministry SWO region office and London and Bill Fox and Ian Kenyon in most cases initiated salvage excavation. Charlie contributed in a number of ways here. He was the one who brought the Force site to the attention of Bill Fox, and Charlie and his brother Ed were mainstays in the volunteer excavation crews of that site and a number of others. The picture of Charlie with the wheelbarrow was at another one of the ACO salvage excavations at the Calvert site about 1982. In talking with Bill Fox recently, one of his first thoughts about Charlie was that he could always be depended upon to assist in the ACO salvage excavations even though he was in his 60s at the time. At the annual ACO conference in 1982, Charlie was awarded a citation for his contributions to the ACO program signed by then-premier Bill Davis.

Of course Charlie’s participation came as a package, as through various digs and social events like the picnics we came to know well both his wife Kay and his brother Ed. All those who knew Charlie and his family will cherish the memory of the times we spent together over a shovel at an excavation or around a fire at the chapter picnic.

Additional commentary on Charlie's life outside of archaeology is at the website of the Kitchener newspaper *The Record*: <http://tinyurl.com/22w5t3>

Many knew the man - few remember the boy!
He gave what he had - giving was indeed his joy.

Hard work and simple pleasures, but there was always a smile.

To find a better man one
will have to walk many a
long mile.

Charlie - you will be greatly missed.

The funeral home's published obituary

CHARLIE NIXON Peacefully at Parkwood Hospital, London on Thursday, July 19, 2007; Charles Owen Nixon former longtime resident of Ayr, in his 91st year; beloved husband of the late Kathleen Blakey (2004); dear father of Kathleen (Liz) and husband David R. Bates of London, and Charles Nixon (Lori) of Guelph; grandfather of Meredith and Emily Nixon; also dearly missed by his extended family; predeceased by daughter Patricia Ann (1962), brother Edward (2004), and sisters Jane Beattie (1994) and Patricia Alpine (2004). Charlie was very proud of his 50-year Gold membership in the Brick Layer and Stone Mason Union; served overseas during the Second World War with the 5th Division Signals Corps; very involved in the Scouting movement before and after the war; proud member of the Ontario Archaeology Association; an environmentalist; a conservationist; and a longtime devoted member of Christ Anglican Church, Ayr. In the past few years, he had taken up water colour painting. Friends will be received at the AYR CHAPEL, Wm. KIPP FUNERAL HOME, 183 Northumberland Street, Ayr on Sunday from 2 to 4 and 7 to 9 p.m. Funeral service will be held at Christ Anglican Church, Manley Street, Ayr on Monday, July 23 at 2:00 p.m. Reverend France Ouimet-Wilson officiating. Donations in



Charlie's memory may be made to the Christ Anglican Church, K-W Food Bank or Amnesty International. Online condolences or donations may be arranged through www.wmkipffuneralhome.com or by contacting Wm. KIPP 519-442-3061.

Condolences sent from the OAS to the funeral home

On behalf of all of Charlie's friends at the Ontario Archaeological Society and the London Chapter of the same, I would like to express my condolences to the family on Charlie's passing. I count it a privilege to have known Charlie for 30 years now and have worked with him a number of times on various archaeological excavations as well as the business of the Society. Charlie was the first president of the London Chapter back in 1977

and was instrumental in giving it a strong start and the impetus that is evident right to this day. His survey work was exemplary and of the highest professional standards. He was always fascinated in precontact lifeways and did a number of experiments in fire and tool production. His atlatl (throwing stick) proved highly entertaining back at the first London Chapter picnic bringing a great deal of enjoyment as we fumbled with the proper technique to make it work properly. I recall at the time thinking enviously of those who could call him "father". Charlie will be sadly missed here.

References

Nixon, Charles

An Experiment in Primitive Fire-Making, Tool and Weapon Making. *Kewa* 79-8

Middle Iroquoian Settlement Along the Lower Nith River and Horner Creek Drainages, *Kewa* 85-7

[Reprinted from *Kewa* with permission of J. Keron]

Letters

August 21, 2007
Board of Directors, c/o Mr. Jean-Luc Pilon, President
The Ontario Archaeological Society Inc.,

Dear Fellow Members;

RE: Ontario Archaeological Society Inc. (OAS)
Statement of Ethical Principles.

We, the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn, have an ongoing interest and a concern regarding the artifacts that are being removed by Archaeologists working within our unceded territory and we have expressed our thoughts on the subject via the 2004 publication of the *Umbrella Protocol of the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn for the Management of Archaeological Resources in Unceded Algonquin Territory*.

We are concerned by the accelerating development activity taking place upon our unceded land and by the apparent desire of some Developers to minimize the importance of the archaeological survey. Our concern is heightened by the fact that, during the three years since its publication, a total of only three (3) OAS Members have expressed an interest or have responded to our *Umbrella Protocol*. To us, it is particularly disappointing to realize that a number of Members show no respect for Principle 8 of the OAS *Statement of Ethical Principles*, Principles that: "The members of the Society are proud to proclaim adherence to...".

While we realize that the OAS is not a regulatory body, it is hoped that the Board may influence OAS Members by urging them to *actively demonstrate* their respect for those Ethical Principles.

Since the OAS is currently considering changes to the Constitution, it is our suggestion that the OAS

Statement of Ethical Principles should also be amended so that *Principle 8* becomes *Principle 1*.

Our desire is to be kept informed of work being done, and to be involved in the science-of-archaeology activity because it confirms the past existence of and the locations of specific activities by *our Algonquin ancestors and their predecessors*. We are seeking dialogue with Archaeologists who may provide current information on survey activity within our unceded Territory. We ask to be informed of the status of those "prehistoric/aboriginal" artifacts that are being, and that have been removed: Where and by who are they held? We want access to those artifacts for teaching and for exhibit.

The Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn are interested in Archaeology and over the past several years we have:

Developed the *Umbrella Protocol of the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn for the Management of Archaeological Resources in Unceded Algonquin Territory*;

- Developed a very active Standing Committee of Council on Archaeology;
- Participated in archaeological field work;
- Established a Temporary Archaeological Repository (and hope for a new facility).

We do enjoy our OAS membership and we look forward to a long and mutually beneficial relationship with OAS.

Please keep me informed of your action on the issues I have raised here.

Thank you,

Kirby Whiteduck, Chief
Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn

Chief Kirby Whiteduck
October 1, 2007
Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn
1657A Mishòmis Inamo, Pikwàkanagàn
Golden Lake, ON K0J 1X0

Dear Chief Whiteduck,

I received your letter of August 21, a couple of weeks ago. I read it carefully and decided not to respond before I had actually done something con-

crete that related to its content. I now feel I can write you with some thoughts about it.

I remember quite well when the *Umbrella Protocol* was unveiled at the annual symposium of the Ontario Archaeological Society in Midland. If you recall, I actively participated in the discussions at that time. What I perceived then, and what your letter reinforces, is that there is a community, a First Nations community, which is keenly interested in the archaeological process that takes place within their tradition-

al lands. I do not find any insistence or blind adherence to rhetoric or unthinking demands. Rather, I read that you appreciate what archaeology has to teach us all and that you wish to benefit from and participate in the process. I am also reminded by the Protocol's title, that much of Eastern Ontario is "Unceded Algonquin Territory".

You state that "a number of Members [of the OAS] appear to show no respect for Principle 8 of the OAS Statement of Ethical Principles..." If you believe there have been serious breaches of this principle, then I strongly encourage you to bring the matter before the Board of Directors, as outlined in the Statement of Ethical Principles and as elaborated in the OAS Constitution. I assure you that the Board would give such issues full hearings and attempt to address them to everyone's satisfaction.

Your letter mentions amending the Statement of Ethical Principles in order to place Principle 8, the one referring to members' relations with First Nations, as the first Principle in the list. Seeing that this document is outside of the Constitution, changing it would not necessarily be as arduous or rigorous as changing the OAS Constitution. However, I hasten to point out that this listing of 10 Principles is in no way a ranking or prioritizing of principles. There are all of equal value and importance. Yet it could be said that being eighth in a list of 10 could be misunderstood for a less significant order. This being said, I would have no objections to moving the current Principle 8 into the position of Principle 1. The Board of Directors will be meeting in less than 2 weeks and I will place this proposal before them, and I will report back to you shortly thereafter.

Finally, this past week I submitted an electronic copy of your August 21st letter for inclusion in the September/October issue of Arch Notes, the OAS members' newsletter/bulletin. In doing so, I wish to remind our members of your concerns and especially of your desire to be more widely consulted and included in the archaeological process within your traditional lands.

A few years ago, you and I spent a fair amount of time reviewing matters relating to archaeological heritage in Eastern Ontario within the context of the three-way comprehensive land claims negotiation process. As such, you are keenly aware of some of the strictures within which archaeologists currently must work. The requirements of the licensing and reporting environments often leave little time for adequate consultation and the current system has no place for it. Back then, I thought the regulatory loop should be opened to allow First Nation participation in a heads-up, transparent fashion. I still adhere to this belief.

Finally, I just wish to state that the OAS greatly values your membership and your obvious interest in archaeology. We have much in common and, we hope you will agree, much to offer each other. Your community's efforts in developing the Umbrella Protocol, establishing a Standing Committee on Archaeology, participating in archaeological fieldwork and creating a Temporary Archaeological Repository are all glowing testimony to your revolve.

Let's maintain the dialogue.

Jean-Luc Pilon, Ph.D.
President, OAS

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interested in archæology,
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wishes to collaborate
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OAS trip to Quebec City in 2008

Quebec City, the original part of which is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is now in full preparation for the celebration in 2008 for the 400th anniversary of its founding.

Since 2005 Parks Canada has been carrying out work on the site of the Dufferin Terrace, a part of the St. Louis Forts and Chateaux (a National Historic Site of Canada), and in the summer of 2008 Parks Canada will offer guided tours of the vestiges of the St. Louis Forts and Chateau to all visitors. Parks Canada alone is investing \$11.5 million in the reconstruction of the Dufferin Terrace and in archaeological digs underneath the boardwalk, as seen in the two photos below.

In addition to the Parks Canada effort, there are extensive renovations and a lot of building activity



going on all over the city so that it can welcome the world to its anniversary.

By the time all the work is completed, the city is sure to be quite spectacular.

The OAS is therefore inviting its members to join this celebration over the August 2008 Simcoe Day long-weekend. There are three elements to this trip, transportation, accommodation, and activities.

It is probably most practical for members to travel in private vehicles or in rented minivans. The latter can be shared by up to 6 people and the OAS will make booking arrangements once participation levels by city are known. As for accommodation, the OAS will arrange a block booking at a hotel (there are some that offer a shuttle service to the old city so that parking downtown is not a problem or cost), and the

OAS will organize times at which certain “behind the scenes” activities are available, and where group visits are arranged. The intent would be to plan certain activities on a group basis, and to leave more than enough time for everyone to explore on their own.

Estimated cost (and using Toronto as a guideline, which is 750 km from Quebec City) for four days, Saturday, August 2 – Tuesday, August 5, is about \$300 per person for travel and accommodation, based on 6 occupants per minivan and double occupancy at the hotel. This excludes meals (except breakfast) and entrance fees. Cost from other departure cities would be slightly different, based on gas usage.

Visit the MyQuebec2008.com website, where you will see that in the month of August 2008 there are 33



planned activities. At this time we wish to determine the level of interest, so if you are interested in joining other members of the OAS for this interesting trip, to renew old friendships and make new ones, please contact Henry van Lieshout at 416-446-7673 or at hvanlieshout@rogers.com.



Thoughts on Genoa Frilled

By Jeff Bursey

In a recent issue of *Ontario Archaeology*, Alicia Hawkins (2004) presented some of her views on the possible origins and potential future directions for research on the distinctive pottery type Genoa Frilled (MacNeish 1952:50-51). As she noted in that paper, I had commented upon an early draft and offered some thoughts I have had over the years. In brief, I had begun an analysis of rim sherds from all across southern Ontario in the late 1980s for the purposes of exploring various issues of culture-history and contact. I had examined collections housed at the Ministry in Toronto, which included Frank Ridley's collections, as well as assemblages at the Huronia Museum, St. Marie Among the Hurons and numerous assemblages borrowed from various consulting firms and individuals. Since one initial purpose was to attempt to distinguish exotic rimsherds from local styles (e.g., distinguishing Lalonde High Collar from New York and other high-collar types), it should not be surprising that the Genoa Frilled pottery type caught my attention. In fact, at this time I had the pleasure of working with Dr. W. Engelbrecht on this topic and it was from him that I got the frequencies of Genoa Frilled on some New York assemblages, which I forwarded to Hawkins more recently. Unfortunately, my thoughts on the topic never quite became coherent enough to publish and I suspect that this may be why I was not able to convey them accurately to Hawkins. This offering, then, is made in the hopes that I can be more precise and clarify some of my ideas.

Following the detailed "coding" of over 50,000 rims from literally hundreds of assemblages, a number of conclusions came to me upon reflection. In short, a considerable amount of variation is present that can be interpreted using any number of explanatory paradigms. In addition to evidence of broader regional interaction, through time there can also be some blending or miscegenation, as initially explored by Pendergast (1980). While it might be possible to argue that there are a large number of entrenched opinions on this and related topics and many are supported with little more than appeals to authority or ad hominem attacks, other arguments, however, appear

to be based on a variety of paradigmatic perspectives and it is to these that I will briefly turn before considering the Genoa Frilled pottery itself.

The most paradigmatic change undoubtedly was associated with the advent of the "New Archaeology". One of the main themes of the changes that occurred in archaeology in the 1960s was a reaction against what was perceived to be the hyper-diffusionism of earlier works. In the northeast, I would call the rejection of hyper-diffusionism to be at best partial because in some places, interpretations continued to hold that population changes could be detected by as little as a change in pottery temper. For the most part, however, hyper-autochthonism replaced hyper-diffusionism and the default interpretation is that populations documented at contact had been there almost since the glaciers had left. Many mechanisms for moving ideas and objects across the landscape have been proposed, of course, but the people always seem to have to return to where they came from. Stylistic horizons may be noted (until local type-names are proposed) but the preferred explanation seems to be in situ experimentation, perhaps following relatively casual contact of some kind.

Two exceptions to this generalisation can be noted. The most obvious is the appearance of European trade goods and, later, the Europeans themselves. During the last half of the 17th century, there were other population movements that impacted the history of southern Ontario. First, the "Ontario Iroquoians" were dispersed. Subsequently, there were several New York Iroquoian settlements along the north shore of Lake Ontario. These people were then moved out and replaced by Algonquian speakers from further north. I do not question that these events and processes occurred but I would note that these are entirely based on historical documentation and there is little or no record of related archaeological investigations to date in the published literature. One unexplored problem with the archaeology of the early historic period is that we have little means of distinguishing between, for example, historic First Nations and EuroCanadian occupations except through recourse to historic documentation. In short, whatever caveats we might have in mind regarding

the biases of historical documentation or the weaknesses of the direct historical approach, the historical record appears to be accepted in a paradigmatic manner.

The second exception to the above generalisation may be of more interest since it was recently questioned in a paper presented at a conference (Michelaki 2006). The appearance of shell tempering and various stylistic attributes associated with archaeological complexes to the west and southwest of the Ontario Iroquoians has long been noted and associated with historically documented wars between the Neutrals and the "Fire Nation". Michelaki questioned this and suggested that the adoption of shell tempering may have been the product of in situ experimentation of a superior technique of manufacturing pottery. This, of course, is the same interpretive mechanism most commonly proposed to account for most of the change in material culture seen through time in this region. While I cannot claim to know how this idea has been regarded by the majority of the archaeological community, I would expect that it will be rejected because it runs counter to the historical record and the opinions of the established archaeological community. While I have to admit that I prefer a variation on the traditional interpretation (see below), I am interested to see how (or indeed if) Michelaki's hypothesis is treated by those who invoke identical mechanisms to explain change in material culture during prehistoric times.

A second theoretical perspective that must be addressed concerns the relationship between material culture and "ethnicity" or collective group identity. The topic of ethnicity itself has been of interest to me for quite some time now and I think it is much too broad a topic to be dealt with here. There are two problems I see in the discussion of these ideas. First, too many seem content to simply cite Barth's original 1969 paper (Barth 1981) without considering the many critiques of it (e.g., Gil-White 1999). As I briefly argued elsewhere (Bursey 2006:27-28), while the "circumstantialist" perspective may appeal to some of our ideals, it is not a pragmatic consideration of the reality of how ethnicity is determined and, in fact, only presents half of it at best. For the most part, to be a full member of an ethnic group, one must be born into it. That what counts as "membership by birth" also varies from group to group is often forgotten. In

other words, while there are no universal rules for how ethnicity is defined, this does not mean that there are no rules. These just vary from case to case and from time to time (e.g., Fardon 1986).

Compounding this issue is the fact that the vast majority of the literature dealing with ethnicity has focused on either hunter-gatherers or issues of racism and ethnicity in, or in relation to, modern state-level industrial society. It has long been established that hunter-gatherers may establish and preserve kinship and other relations that cross "ethnic" boundaries as a form of "social storage". On the other hand, the processes of colonisation that has occurred around the world has led to numerous examples of drastic change amongst aboriginal peoples including various kinds of cultural collapse and diasporas. These in turn have led to many examples of revitalisation movements, ethnogenesis or ethno genesis, an almost universal characteristic of which includes appeal to primordial ideals as a means of giving these movements legitimacy (e.g., Rappoport 1999:428). Certainly there seem to be those who argue for continuity even in cases where this cannot be illustrated from the archaeological record, but for these arguments, the role for archaeology may be limited. Arguments from historical documents (or oral traditions) is given priority with or without an acknowledgement that there may be biases present.

Suffice it to say that, while I would acknowledge that historians, ethnographers, folklorists, etc., are entitled to the biases of their particular disciplinary focus, I prefer to retain the biases generated from the study of material culture because, as an archaeologist, that is what I have to work with. This is not to say that I advocate ignoring insights drawn from other disciplines. On the contrary, I believe in using historic, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, etc., documentation, where it is available, to generate hypotheses to test with the archaeological record and to test that record. I believe all these disciplines and data sets, like archaeology, may contain their own biases and limitations. If I am not to accept that the Bible, for example, provides an absolute literal account of Creation or even the historic events contained, then I am going to be just as suspicious of any other historical source from the Iliad to recorded oral traditions.

Given the problems with the concept of ethnicity, it should not be surprising that there are related prob-

lems of using material culture to identify potential ethnic groups. I suspect few versed in the archaeological literature of today would suggest that we can simplistically use rim sherds or projectile points to identify ethnicity any more than we can use net sinkers or flake scrapers. Even such seemingly diagnostic criteria as religion or burial patterns may not always be reliable given the observation that Algonquians were observed to include their dead in a Huron ossuary (see a more detailed discussion in Fox and Garrad 2004). Making matters more difficult is the observation that both “culture” and material culture changed through time so that ethnicity is at least in part dependant upon historical context. Add to this such complex ideas as those of agency theorists who argue that culture is changing from instant to instant and we are faced with added challenges to identify continuity. However, I would certainly argue that it is every bit as problematic to reject, out of hand, the use of material culture for these purposes. A point that I think is overlooked too often is that we really don’t use anything else to distinguish a Paleoindian site from a Late Woodland or historic EuroCanadian occupation. In fact, it is really only the study of material culture, and its inferred patterns in space and time, that archaeologists have to study. Therefore, it is to the archaeological record I will now turn.

As noted above, in the late 1980s I was able to examine a large number of assemblages of rim sherds from southern Ontario and did see many examples of the Genoa Frilled pottery type from sites that also produced European trade goods. These rims exhibit a great deal of diversity. Some seem to blend with other western New York types, in particular, Seneca Barbed collar. I didn’t find this surprising because if Genoa Frilled was related to the migration of Wenro refugees then, the Wenro having been located somewhere west of the Seneca, I would have expected them to share many “types” and stylistic attributes with the Seneca and Cayuga, much like Neutral and Huron assemblages do. I don’t necessarily see that Wenro sites need necessarily be dominated by Genoa Frilled and I would expect that other types, ranging from Seneca Barbed Collar to Dutch Hollow Notched, would also be present and on many of these assemblages that appears to be the case.

Of course, there is no question that in some of these assemblages, Genoa Frilled seems to dominate.

I don’t know how or why Ridley, Kidd, etc., selected certain middens for excavation, but it is possible that they selected areas to dig where Genoa Frilled rims were on the surface. The issues of sampling and depositional and post-depositional contexts must always be taken into account (e.g., Hodder 2005). If we wish to understand a little more about the people who made these pots, I think the first place to start is looking at change through time as seen in stratified middens and features on the sites these pots are found. We may find that, for example, in some ways the older pots are more foreign looking but become more Huron-like through time. Controlled excavation of deep middens and stratified features may provide us with a lot of information here.

Continuing to take the historical accounts as given, Hawkins notes that the Wenro refugees initially settled in established villages and houses. If these were not built specifically for them, then these houses will have been lived in for a while and, all other things being equal, middens and pits would have been at least partially filled with refuse. Consequently, the Genoa Frilled would eventually become deposited stratigraphically higher in these middens and features. Recovery of Genoa Frilled from those specific occupations would be much less likely if these sites were mechanically stripped because mechanical stripping selectively removes the uppermost layers of a site. Unfortunately, the economic pressures within the CRM industry seem to prevent taking into account the consequences of excavating in this way and so we may have to rely on other kinds of archaeology to provide some of these answers.

However, if the Genoa Frilled represents a migration of Wenro refugees, I wouldn’t expect it to have appeared out of the blue. In fact, I would expect that there would be indications of pre-existing relationships that go back further in time. I would think it quite likely that small numbers of Wenros were living among the Hurons (and Neutrals) for decades or perhaps generations and that over this time, there would have been some blending of stylistic traits. This, in fact, would account for some of the variation in the rims that look more similar to Huron rims with the addition of the frill. Given the increased hostility between the Hurons and western New York Iroquoians in the early 17th century, it is also possible

that frilling was given increased emphasis among the resident Wenros and other western New York traits were de-emphasised. We might also look for some kind of small ethnogenesis among the Wenro after the diaspora. I think it is worth bearing in mind that vestiges of other groups such as the Tutelo can be found among the Six Nations Haudenosaunee residents of today, but it requires a careful look.

As I noted, I think one key to the mystery of the Wenro may be found by looking at the topic of trade. One insight into this topic was provided by Kenyon and Fitzgerald's (1986) paper on trade between the Neutrals and Susquehannock (Pendergast's 1991 study of the Massawomeck could also be consulted but I will leave the debate over the interpretation of the historical documents to others). In short, it occurred to me that the Wenro may have been a conduit in the trade between the Ontario Iroquoians and the Susquehannock that by-passed the New York Iroquoians. That would certainly have made them a target for elimination by the Senecas and Cayugas in the early 17th century. For me, a key piece of the puzzle is the appearance of frilled pottery on Susquehannock sites. While I will not pretend to fully grasp the intricacies of the dating of sites with glass beads, it struck me that it is possible that frilled pottery appears on Susquehannock sites at a comparable time, or perhaps earlier, than it appears on Ontario sites. This would include, of course, the appearance of this motif before the diaspora and the likelihood that there was some trait blending with local styles. I would not, however, suggest that the frilling necessarily originated among the Susquehannock. Instead, I suspect it appeared through a common means.

Suggesting a connection between the Huron (and Neutrals) and the Susquehannock by way of the Wenro, however, only presents part of the picture. I had also noted, in the Huron assemblages, that some of the frilled rims do not look at all like typical Iroquoian styles. Some in fact, look more like more western (i.e., Mississippian) collarless pots with the frill added like an appliqué. Given that types like "Tuttle Hill Notched" exhibit this same kind of frilling and may appear at around the same time, I wondered at this coincidence. While again I am not expert on the dating of Fort Ancient and related assemblages, it seemed to me that the frilling of pots might appear at the same time, for the same reasons

(whatever they might be) and undergo the same blending with local styles. Furthermore, other Iroquoian traits and European trade goods seem to appear at roughly the same time, i.e., early in the 17th century or perhaps earlier.

My hypothesis, then, is that the Wenro might have been involved in trade originating in the Chesapeake Bay region and moved these goods west to the interior, and north to Ontario. That they might have also acquired European trade goods in Ontario and moved them west or southeast wouldn't be surprising. I wouldn't want to speculate too much on Pendergast's Massawomeck at this time but I suspect there might be some substance in this material. Either way, this positioning as middlemen in a trade network that bypassed the New York Iroquoians would certainly have made them a target for elimination as the fur trade increased in importance. Of course, I don't think this trade relationship necessarily sprung up suddenly but may have been a relatively long process of establishing relationships and some of this might be seen in the blending of stylistic traits in pottery. While "trade" is normally considered to be within the realm of men, we do know that women also participated to some degree, in some contexts, and I don't think it unlikely that some families may have moved over large distances as a means of sealing alliances. The question of whether these families stayed relatively permanently or only for a few years may be approachable in some ways. I think it is worth adding that we might see some change in the distribution of Genoa Frilled after the diaspora. While the Wenros might have been of "significance" as trade partners before the diaspora, and some may have retained their trade routes, others may have lost prestige through time and been relocated, etc., to other villages or tribes for any number of other reasons. Some may have formed small ethnic "barrios" in some villages with their own ethnic revival; others may have become ethnically amalgamated through time and simply become Hurons, Neutrals or Petuns.

One consequence of these deliberations was to re-examine my interpretations of foreign or exotic pot styles in Ontario assemblages. While I am certainly mindful of problems with sampling (which, in my opinion have changed but definitely not improved), it appears to me that there might be some interesting but unexplored patterns through time. For example,

at least in the larger assemblages, it appeared to me that foreign styles appear to be relatively common on late 15th and early 16th century sites. By the late 16th century and into the early 17th century, these appear to diminish in relative frequency. St. Lawrence styles, for example, appear to be quite distinctive at first but seem to become more like Huron pots through time. I know that I am not alone in suspecting that at least some of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian diaspora settled amongst the Huron. Interestingly, in the Kingdon collection housed at UTM, the Foster site (BcGr-5) site assemblage includes a considerable amount of St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery and this site has produced glass beads. Sites like these may provide very solid evidence for where the St. Lawrence Iroquoians went, although sites like this one are being looted or lost to development so our chances of addressing some of these questions are decreasing.

New York Iroquoian styles on Ontario sites seem to diminish at about the same time that the historically documented hostilities between the Hurons and the New York Iroquoians increase. There are some exceptions, however. In fact, I suspect that where we see an increase in these exotic styles, particularly western New York styles, what we are actually seeing are styles from western New York groups other than the Seneca and Cayuga. In other words, what we are seeing in exotic pottery styles is not evidence of conflicts (i.e., the captive bride hypothesis), but evidence of trade and alliance building. Given the regularity of new village sites being found in the GTA, it will not surprise me if new villages, village sequences and even tribal groups remain to be found in western New York and I would predict that these will produce both western New York pottery styles and styles from further west still.

This brings me back to the topic of Western Basin pottery on 17th century Neutral sites. I had long thought that the appearance of shell tempering, appliqué strips, etc., might serve as a “classic” example of the captive bride hypothesis given the support from the historical documents often cited. While this may remain the case (I see no reason to presuppose that inter-ethnic relationships between Iroquoians and non-Iroquoians would necessarily mirror those between different Iroquoian groups), an alternative hypothesis is also possible. Specifically, while I would not question that the Neutrals were at war with the

“Fire Nation” to the west or that some of the western exotic pottery styles came from captives, etc., this may not provide the entire picture. One possibility is that the Neutrals had tried to establish a trade network to the west with the Fire Nations but these long-term relationships broke down resulting in the historically documented wars. Alternatively, the Neutrals may have been trying to establish alliances and trade with other groups in the region but the Fire Nation stood in the way. Given that we know there was a great deal of diversity in alliances and foreign relationships among the Hurons, so much so that some Hurons ultimately joined the Iroquois but others did not, I would expect that a detailed intra-site analysis of Huron, Neutral, Fire Nation, etc., sites will reveal a similar complexity. Certainly we have reason to infer that Huron styles survived among the Mohawks after the destruction of the Huron confederacy (Kuhn and Snow 1986) so, even when two polities were at war, this does not mean that all individuals acted in unison. Whether the producers of the Huron pottery on the Mohawk sites were true captives or were more sympathetic refugees will require more of a detailed contextual analysis.

Clearly, I think there is much more work that can and should be done on Genoa Frilled pottery and related topics. Certainly the kinds of analysis reported and being undertaken by Hawkins is an important step. Whether or not Genoa Frilled pottery is ultimately seen as the product of contact and the migration of the Wenro, I suspect that detailed analysis will reveal a lot of information about how style moves through a population and changes over time. Certainly there is plenty of room for examining the agency or idiosyncratic variation of individual potters. In egalitarian societies like these, we should not expect that all individuals, even those living in close association, will behave in identical ways.

Chasing the origins of this stylistic attribute, however, will require an examination of sites all across southern Ontario and into New York, Pennsylvania, etc. In all these cases we will need to pay close attention to how sites are looked for and excavated. As has been noted in at least some of the literature on agency (e.g., Walker and Lucero 2000), in order to find variation at the level of the individual, we will need to look closely at the scale under which the individual operates. We will need to pay close attention to micros-

trigraphy and spatial distributions within the long-house. Given the economic and other pressures operating within the CRM industry, I am uncertain whether we will get many answers there, and for many key questions, the sites excavated in the manners seemingly found acceptable in CRM may end up being considered just lost to development. Therefore, I am happy to note that Hawkins has been active with research and field schools being conducted on Late Woodland villages in Huronia and elsewhere and wish her continued luck. I am also happy that she is willing to explore alternative ideas and interpretations. My thoughts on this topic, as presented above, are not ones that I hold dogmatically, but are mere exploratory ideas. I think it is important to forward alternative ideas and look for ways to test and discard the weaker ones. Doing this means that we will need to place much greater attention on context, which I take to include the context in the field (i.e., potentially everything from the details of a feature to what went on around that feature), to the context provided by history, ethnography, the politics of archaeology, etc. Partial and superficial looks at sites and assemblages will ultimately not be enough.

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Pukaskwa Pits: Rethinking the Vision Quest Hypothesis

By Nancy Champagne

The following article is a reaction to Patrick Julig's article published in *Arch Notes* (New series 12(3) 2007), entitled: A Brief report on a Killarney Pukaskwa Pit (BIHi-10). I am studying Pukaskwa Pits for my master's thesis and was excited to read about the discovery of a new Pukaskwa Pit in Killarney Provincial Park. The article, however, raised some concern over the contemporary interpretation of these enigmatic sites.

The term Pukaskwa Pit first appeared in print in 1958 when Norman Emerson and Thomas McIlwraith both wrote about the Red Sucker Point site, near Terrace Bay, on the north shore of Lake Superior. What is a typical Pukaskwa Pit? The original definition states that a Pukaskwa Pit is a structure with low walls and corresponding depression where stones have been removed from within the enclosure; usually elongated ovals in shape (McIlwraith 1958:41).

Norman Emerson (1960) was the first archaeologist in Canada to suggest Pukaskwa pits were used for a spiritual purpose; specifically that of vision quests. Kenneth Dawson (1975; 1979) conducted the first survey of cobble beaches in Pukaskwa National Park and printed his interpretations. Since the 1950s, and later cemented in 1975, the vision quest hypothesis has become established in Ontario archaeology. Vision quests were conducted by pubescent adolescents, in isolated places, usually on high ground, to fast and meditate (Emerson 1960:72) in an attempt to get into contact with their spirit Manitou. Vision quests were also conducted before hunts and by members of the Midéwiwin society and jessakkids (Carmichael 1979:104). This hypothesis is strongly based on an analogy with ethnohistoric documents.

Numerous archaeologists have supported the

vision quest hypothesis (Arthurs 1981; Caldwell & Carlson 1954; Carmichael 1979, 1981; Dawson 1975, 1979, 1981; Emerson 1959; Noble 1968; Wright 1963, 1995, 2004) while others have not (Carruthers 1982; Fox 1990; Greenman 1964; MacMillan 1986 (avocational archaeologist); McIlwraith 1958; Ross & D'Annibale 1995, 1996, 2000; Ross et al. 1997, 1998, 1999; Smith 1910).

Research on Pukaskwa Pits in Pukaskwa National Park has been conducted by Parks Canada since 1989 and with this research, Parks Canada has developed new hypotheses that are shape specific. The beaches of Pukaskwa National Park, on the north shore of Lake Superior, are surveyed and documented for a two-week field season every summer by Parks Canada archaeologist Brian Ross and his team from the Ontario Service Centre and Public Works. This work is making its way north on the Pukaskwa Park coastline, revisiting beaches that were surveyed by Dawson during his 1974 field season and discovering beaches that had not previously been investigated.

Discussion

The different shapes and sizes of Pukaskwa Pits likely reflect the nature and duration of occupation on these beaches and the different function of these structures through time. It is believed by many archaeologists that the Pukaskwa pit sites represent campsites of various durations and that each feature shape was used for a specific purpose by their original architects.

Temporary storm shelters could have been constructed on these beaches by people on the waters of Lake Superior who needed to seek shelter on land (Fox 1990:470; MacMillan 1986:6; Ross 1994:121). These people may have been in the area to exploit resources or visit people, or be en-route to another destination. Temporary shelters could be represented

in the archaeological record as oval pits with basin-shaped floors (Ross et al 1998:155) that may have served as single-person habitations, possibly lean-to structures, where the watercraft would have been used as a partial shelter.

Recurring utilization of a site could have warranted the construction and reuse of semi-permanent cobble stone structures (McIlwraith 1958:42; Ross 1994:121). Semi-subterranean houses used in seasonal base camps (Caruthers 1982:10) could have been built by mobile hunter-gatherer-fishers for seasonal fishing and hunting activities. Greenman (1964:92) goes so far as to suggest that these semi-subterranean structures are used in the winter for ice fishing.

Seasonal base camps would have required more infrastructure than temporary storm shelters. Pavés, levelled surfaces where the larger rocks have been sorted out of the cobble mixture and only small stones remain, are believed to be living floors that would have formed the inside of teepees and wigwams (Ross and D'Annibale 2000:163). These can be round or rectangular. Pole supports are also documented on the Pukaskwa shoreline and are believed to be used for the drying and smoking of fish (Ross personal communication 2007). Small, circular, sometimes pitted features have been interpreted (Ross and D'Annibale 1995: 24; 1996:117 2000:163) as hearths. Simple circular pits averaging 1.3 metres in diameter and 0.2 metres deep are believed to be opened cache pits (Ross et al. 1998:155; Smith 1910:15, 51). These pits may have been temporary storage for food, or may have held tools and equipment left behind for future use. Some smaller examples of oval pits may have been cache pits (Ross et al 1998:155). Mounds are believed to be unopened cache pits (Ross & D'Annibale 1996:118; Ross et al. 1998:155).

Space is socially produced (Tilley 1994:10) and later Native populations could have assigned cosmological meanings to Pukaskwa Pit sites because they were estranged from their original purpose. These sites have been visible for thousands of years and may have been altered by subsequent populations visiting the shores. Eventually, the original purpose of Pukaskwa Pit sites may have been lost as travel along the Lake Superior coast declined or as the presence of Europeans and the Iroquoian wars pushed Native populations westward and displaced local popula-

tions (Rogers 1978:760). The spiritual interpretation of Pukaskwa Pits may be a reflection of historic populations' experience with the landscape and these features, and should not be projected back throughout prehistory. This brings us to the vision quest hypothesis and some of the assumptions inherent in its acceptance.

The vision quest hypothesis has three main postulates, which when carefully examined, exhibit flaws. First, the hypothesis assumes that the cobble beaches are in remote, unpopulated areas. These beaches were accessible by watercraft. Waterways were highways that moved large amounts of people. The shores of Lake Superior and Georgian Bay are part of an intricate network of interconnected waterways. These were not remote shorelines; they were easily accessible and well travelled by the indigenous Algonkian-speaking peoples of the past.

Second, the paucity of artifacts recovered from cobble beaches has led archaeologists to assume that these sites could not have been used for habitation and subsistence. Rainfall, melting snow, shifting cobbles from vibrations, and frost action could have displaced artifacts through the cobble matrix in a manner unknown to archaeologists because the post depositional process for cobble beaches has not yet been studied. It is also fairly characteristic of all archaeological sites in northern Ontario to have a scarceness of artifacts. Post depositional processes and poor preservation are likely the reason why many artifacts have not been recovered.

Lastly, the shores of Lakes Superior are thought to be desolate and hold little in resources to attract prehistoric populations. Dawson (1975:4) claims that fishing would have been the economic activity to attract people to the area. Besides fish, woodland caribou are indigenous to the park as are other mammals that can be found along the coast, like bear, wolf, skunk, marten, beaver, porcupines, squirrel, and rabbit (Dunlop 1998:5; Marsh 1976:9; Ross 1994:119; Smith and Foster 1982:12). According to Smith and Foster (1982:12), caribou and fish would have provided most of the biomass within the shoreline environment. Archaeological data suggests that the Late Woodland people of the Upper Great Lakes developed a shore-oriented settlement system (Cleland 1982:772) and, with the exception of its fish resources, the area was likely as impoverished as any

cultural area of the eastern United States in terms of total available food resources (Cleland 1982:768). The multitude of Pukaskwa Pits discovered on the waterways between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Huron coupled with the sheer size of the fortress site in Pukaskwa National Park would indicate that the resources available in northern Ontario could sustain a population, though transient, much larger than originally speculated.

The dominant theoretical paradigm has changed twice since the initial interpretation of Pukaskwa pits. The leading archaeological theory in the 1950s was culture history. This theory concentrated on the building of chronologies (Trigger 2006: 394), and when Pukaskwa Pits were first studied by Emerson and McIlwraith (1958), they were in search of a Pukaskwa Pit culture that could be plugged into the existing chronology. Because Pukaskwa Pits are hard to date without artifacts, they could not be placed neatly within Ontario's sequence. Since the cultural-historic period of archaeological theory, it has been common practice to presume sites or artifacts were used for ritual activity when features or artifacts were encountered that could not be explained by subsistence, trade or warfare (Howey and O'Shea 2006:261). When spiritual explanations are offered in archaeology, the ethnographic sources, used to make an analogy with the current archaeological record, overpower any possible archaeological interpretation and become the working hypothesis for the archaeological record. In a sense, this undermines the archaeology. Ethnographic and historic sources are supposed to aid in archaeological interpretations; they are a means to an end and should not be the end itself.

During the 1970s, when Dawson published his interpretation of Pukaskwa Pits, he was very processual in his approach and saw only economic reasons as the explanation for seasonal rounds (Trigger 2006:394). Since he could not find an economic reason for people to be visiting the north shore of Lake Superior, Dawson assumed people's motivations had to be spiritual. His spiritual interpretation was supported by ethnohistoric documents that provided lots of examples of spiritual activity being carried out by Native peoples. Today, with the help of hindsight and with different hypotheses being developed, the vision quest hypothesis falls short of explaining the archae-

ological record. Some commonalities may be found for features with morphological similarities. However, it is likely that hypotheses will need to be applied on a per site basis.

Conclusion

Norman Emerson's vision quest hypothesis was ground-breaking and brilliant for its time. It identified spiritual activity in the archaeological record during a period when other archaeologists (c.f. Hawks 1974) were in agreement that economic and political activities were easier to spot in the archaeological record, and that religion (cosmology, spirituality) was outside the realm of inquiry for archaeologists.

The spiritual interpretation for Pukaskwa Pits is supported by the ethnohistoric sources but it has not yet been proven archaeologically. This interpretation has been applied to all shapes and sizes of stone features found on cobble beaches. The vision quest hypothesis has a simple "one size fits all" solution for a reality that is archaeologically more complex.

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- [Nancy is studying Pukaskwa pits in Pukaskwa National Park for her Masters thesis at Trent University. She is in her second year.]

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