

# Bellamy: A Late Historic Ojibwa Habitation

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*By the end of the 18th century southwestern Ontario was occupied mainly by a large Native population, along with a few British military posts and a scattering of recently settled Loyalists. One Native group settled in the area at that time was the Ojibwa. Bellamy, occupied by an Ojibwa community around 1790, is the first late historic habitation site of this group to have been purposefully excavated in the Great Lakes region. Data recovered reflects a material culture consisting largely of European goods that both historical and archaeological evidence suggests had been incorporated into a traditional way of life characterized by a highly variable seasonal round. However, by 1830 massive changes, caused by large-scale European immigration and changing British administration policies, were to radically alter this lifestyle. Thus the Bellamy site documents a period of Ojibwa history just prior to drastic cultural changes.*

## Historical Sketch

When the French first came to the Great Lakes in the 17th century, they encountered bands of Algonquian-speaking peoples surrounding the great fishing place of Sault Sainte Marie. In historical sources, various of these bands have been called the Mississauga, Saulteaux, and Chippewa; Ojibwa is the collective name preferred by modern ethnographers. These Ojibwa bands, who subsisted largely through hunting, gathering and fishing, occupied the Canadian Shield to the north of Lakes Superior and Huron. Their precise range in late prehistoric times, however, has been a matter of controversy among archaeologists and anthropologists, some believing ethnicity can be deduced from potsherds, others trusting the maps of Frenchmen who never left their easy chairs in Paris. Fortunately, this debate need not concern us here.

During the first half of the 17th century, southern Ontario was inhabited by the Huron, Neutral and Petun tribes, who, unlike the Ojibwa, derived a large part of their subsistence from corn horticulture and lived in semi-permanent villages. By the 1650s, however, these tribes had been dispersed through warfare and disease. Southern Ontario then became something of a no man's land, save for about a half-dozen villages established by the Five Nations Iroquois along the north shore of Lake Ontario.

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the Ojibwa of central northern Ontario began a remarkable expansion, ultimately pushing west to

Lake of the Woods and northern Minnesota, and to the southeast where they spread over much of southern Ontario. Ojibwa bands, typically consisting of several hundred persons, established themselves by the lakes of southeastern Ontario, along the Lake Huron shore, and in the St. Clair River delta (Rogers 1978; Ritzenthaler 1978).

Archaeology has shown that the land around Lake St. Clair was heavily occupied in late prehistoric times by people of the "Younge tradition," variously identified as being Central Algonquian or Iroquoian. Before AD 1600, however, this area was largely abandoned, and it was not reoccupied until the 1700s. French visitors of the 1670s and 80s, such as Hennepin, Tonti, Galinee and Lahontan who passed through Lake St. Clair, reported no Native villages, although they re-marked on the attractiveness of the country for settlement (Lajeunesse 1960).

That picture changed in 1701 when the French built Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit. Several tribes, including the Potawatomi, Wyandot and Ottawa, quickly established separate villages near the fort. Presumably these tribes were attracted by the protection a nearby French fort could offer, as well as by a ready access to European trade goods.

In 1703 Antoine Lamothe Cadillac, commander of the fort, reported that a new group had arrived:

.. the Sauteurs and Mississaguez (came this year) forming another village on this river.

These two tribes have united and incorporated (themselves) with one another..." (Lajeunesse 1960: 23).

It is not clear exactly where this composite Ojibwa group was first established, but according to a report of 1718 they were then living at the St. Clair delta:

"Twelve leagues from Fort Detroit, always going up the river, you will find the Misisague Indians, who occupy a beautiful Island where they raise their crops. They are about 60 or 80 men. Their language resembles that of the (Ottawa); there is very little difference between them. Their customs are the same, and they are very industrious" (Lajeunesse 1960: 25-26).

The location of this settlement was likely on or very near Walpole Island since Charlevoix's account of 1721 indicates that it was on the eastern side of the delta:

.. you find on your right (east) a village of the Missisaguy Indians, seated on a fertile soil at the entry of three magnificent meadows, and in the most charming situation that can be" (Charlevoix 1761, volume 2: 40).

Another account of 1721 noted that the "waste land" (i.e. the fields) of the Lake St. Clair band was ". . . about three quarters of a league (river) frontage by fifteen arpents deep...." (Lajeunesse 1960: 26), or approximately 2.9 by .9 km, an area of roughly 250 hectares.

The 1721 report adds that the band had 100 men, slightly higher than the 1718 tally of "60 or 80 men." Assuming there was roughly one "man" for every four or five people, these estimates suggest a total population in the vicinity of 300 to 500 people.

It is unclear from historical records when the Ojibwa extended their settlements into the Sydenham River. There is no reason why the Ojibwa would not have exploited the rich resources of the Sydenham soon after their arrival in the early 1700s. According to Moravian missionary accounts of the early 1800s, the first Sydenham settlement was established by the Ojibwa chief Kitchimaqua (literally "Big Bear"), who was still alive in 1796. In fact, during the early 19th century the Sydenham

was often called Big Bear Creek and its northern branch is still named Bear Creek.

Similarly it is unclear when the Thames drainage was first settled by the Ojibwa. The first detailed descriptions and maps of the Thames date to the 1790s, at which time the Ojibwa were well established along the river. Unfortunately before 1790 there is little historical information, although an Ojibwa chief called "Sekahos" or "Ce Kaos" is reported to have assembled 170 warriors from the Thames in order to aid Pontiac's rebellion in 1763 (Burton 1912: 160).

The last half of the 18th century saw troubled times in the Lake St. Clair region. In 1760 the British replaced the French regime in Detroit. This was soon followed by an "uprising" in 1763 led by the Ottawa chief Pontiac. By the 1790s the aftermath of the American revolution had reached Detroit, which was occupied by General Anthony Wayne in 1796. A number of Native peoples were displaced by the tumultuous events of these times, including a large group of Ottawas who crossed over to Canada around 1796 and established a village at the head of St. Anne's Island next to the Ojibwa settlement.

Another refugee group arriving in Canada during this period was a Christian band of Delaware,

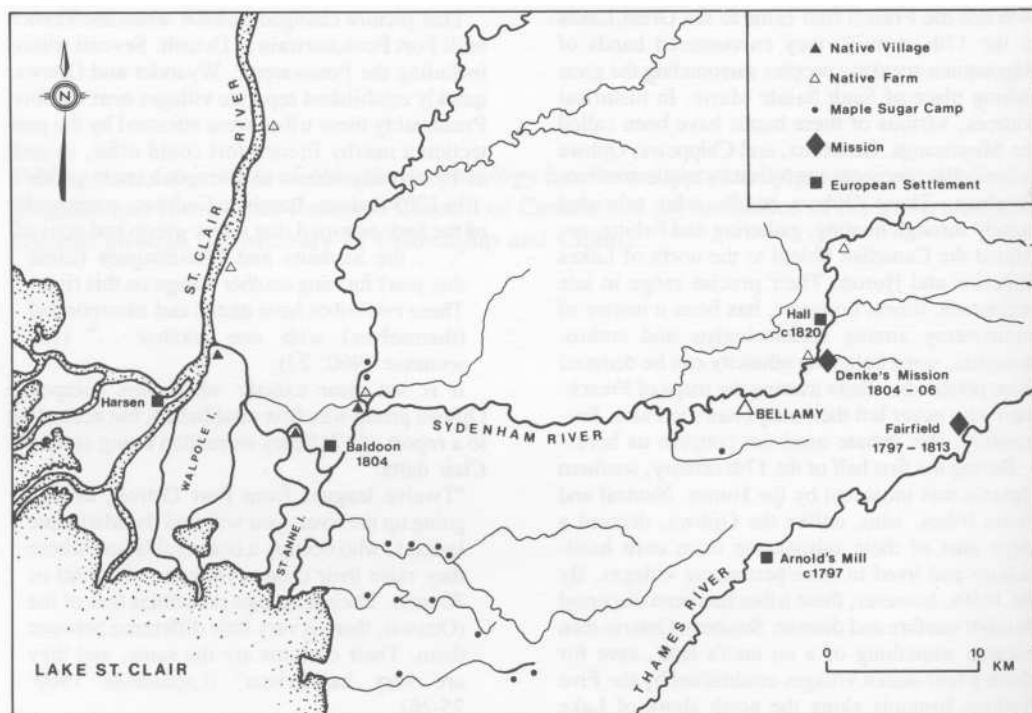


Fig. 1

Settlement in the Sydenham River area of southwestern Ontario, circa 1790-1820. Source information from land survey records and other historical documents.

led by the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger. They established Fairfield village on the Thames River in 1792 (Gray 1956). The Moravians soon looked for other Native peoples to bring into their fold, and the Ojibwa of the St. Clair delta and Sydenham River seemed like fertile ground in which to plant the "Word of God."

The Moravian charged with establishing the "Chippewa Mission" was Christian Frederick Dencke (Jacobson 1895; Gray 1956: 183-199), trained as a naturalist, but with little experience as a missionary. His several years of effort among the Ojibwa brought no real success. However, unlike previous European visitors to the region, Dencke left detailed accounts and diaries of his activities, now preserved at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem (Fliegel 1970). Accompanied by some Delawares, Dencke visited the Ojibwa "field-places" on the Sydenham River (known as the Jonquakamik to the Ojibwa) in 1801. The next two years he spent at the St. Clair delta on Harsen's Island, near present-day Algonac, Michigan. In 1804 Dencke returned to the Sydenham. Here he built a mission house (Fig. 1) south of present-day Florence, located about 4 miles upriver from an Ojibwa village called "Kitigan." This mission he continued for 2 years, leaving a detailed diary of his stay — a very useful document for looking at the seasonal round of the Sydenham Ojibwa.

Unfortunately for Dencke, he made little headway in his efforts, except for a few "death bed" conversions — the stock-in-trade of the unsuccessful missionary. Although Dencke reported that a few Ojibwa were favorably disposed towards him, one resident named Siskiboa, apparently a shaman, constantly plagued him. Dencke, discouraged, left the Sydenham for good in December of 1806. Not surprisingly, it took little time for Siskiboa to move into the fine quarters left behind by the missionary. Today the only remnant of Dencke's mission is the name of the creek at whose mouth it was located, now known as "Dankey" or "Donkey" Creek.

From Dencke's accounts it is apparent that in the first decade of the 19th century the Ojibwa were still following much of their traditional economic, social and religious patterns. For example, unlike the more acculturated Delawares and Iroquois, the Ojibwa had not taken up European crops and domestic animals, preferring to hunt, fish and tend small fields of corn. However, great changes in Ojibwa lifestyle occurred after the 1820s. In treaties of 1822 and 1827, the Ojibwa granted vast tracts of land to the crown (Fig. 2). This included most of what was to become Lambton County as well as portions of Kent and Middlesex counties in southwestern Ontario (Jacobs 1983).

Most of the Sydenham drainage was ceded in 1822, although the river continued to be occupied

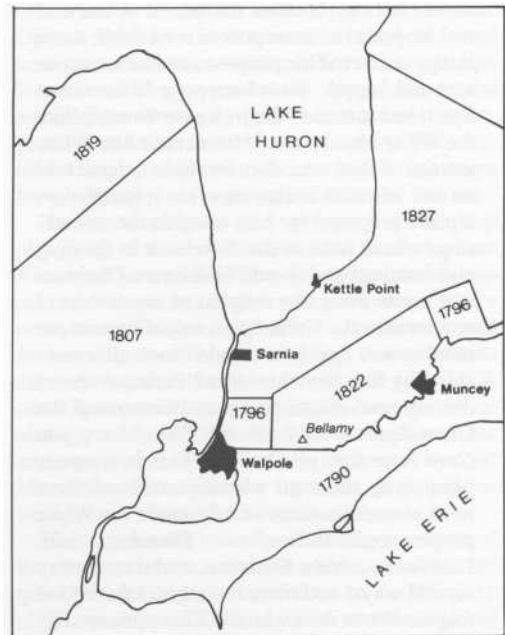


Fig. 2

Location of the Bellamy site in southwestern Ontario. Blackened areas show the present day Ojibwa reserves: areas and dates refer to the major land cessions in which the Ojibwa were involved (adapted from Jacobs 1983: 63).

by Ojibwa for at least another decade. In 1828 the missionary Peter Jones travelled north from New Fairfield on the Thames to the Sydenham and met with a group of Ojibwa encamped somewhere within a few miles of Dencke's old mission (perhaps at the "Indian Village" shown in this location on Arrowsmith's 1827 map). Jones attempted to convert their chief, Kanotung, who was one of the signers of the 1822 treaty. Kanotung politely refused Jones, telling the missionary that he would rather follow the old ways:

.. when the Great Spirit made the White Man and the Indian . . . he placed the white man across the great waters, and there gave him his religion written in a book, he also made the White Man to cultivate the earth and raise cattle etc.; but when the Great Spirit made the Indian, he placed him in this country and gave his way of worship written in his heart, which has been handed down from one generation to another, for his subsistence he gave him the wild beasts of the forest, the fowls that fly in the air, the fish that swim in the waters and the corn for his bread; and before the White Man came to this country the Indian did not know the use of iron, but for

an axe he used a stone sharpened at one end ... he had also stone pots to cook with; these things answered his purpose, and he was content and happy. Now I suppose if the Great Spirit had intended the Indian to worship like the White Man he would have made him White instead of Red, etc. Our forefathers have told us that when an Indian dies, his spirit goes to a place prepared for him towards the sun setting, where Indians dwell forever in dancing and feasting; and should I become a Christian and throw away the religion of my fathers, I am not sure the Great Spirit would receive me into heaven. And how should I look after worshipping like the white man? Perhaps when I die my soul might go up to heaven and the Great Spirit would ask me "What have you come here for, you Indian? This is not your place; you must go where your forefathers have gone, this place is only made for White people, not for Indians".... Therefore I think I cannot become a Christian, and throw away my old ways; and more than this, I do not see that the White men who are Christians are any better than the Red men..." (Jones 1860: 122-123).

But even as Kanotung and his band were living on the Sydenham and holding on to a separate way of life, the area was being surveyed into farm lots for white settlers. The lower Thames River had been settled by Europeans in the 1780s and 1790s; and in 1804 a group of Scots Highlanders had located at Baldoon near the mouth of the Sydenham. As early as 1820 Job Hall had squatted on the middle reaches of the Sydenham, and after the 1822 treaty the white population of this area rapidly increased. For the combined townships of Camden, Dawn, Euphemia and Zone, the white population in 1825 was only 271 people, and most of these were settled along the Thames. But by 1830 there were 437 people in these four townships, and quite a few had settled on choice river lots along the Sydenham. By 1835 the population had tripled to 1299, and by 1851 there were 3447 settlers in the area (Johnson 1974).

The rapidity with which European settlement took place had profound effects on the Ojibwa's way of life. Traditional Ojibwa subsistence depended on a particular mixture of hunting, fishing, gathering and gardening that necessitated a relatively high land/person ratio. But between 1830 and 1850 many of the old hunting grounds had been transformed into European farms, and the Ojibwa could no longer rely on the old ways. According to an 1844 government report on Walpole Island: "The fondness for hunting and fishing is very much on the decrease among the Chippewas, who seldom indulge in either, except during the winter. The game has almost disappeared

in the neighbouring hunting grounds" (Canada 1847).

Aside from this erosion of the Ojibwa's traditional resource base, there were changes imposed by a new government policy introduced in 1830 (Surtees 1969). Indians were to be collected together on reserves and trained in European style farming. Further, missionaries were encouraged to establish themselves at these locations which were to have white superintendents in order to closely monitor this process of "civilization." At Muncey, for example, the superintendent devised a set of rules in 1831 (Graham 1975: 106) that included rising at four o'clock in the morning for prayers; limiting each family to one dog; and restricting hunting to only three days a week (either Monday to Wednesday, or Thursday to Saturday).

By 1827 Ojibwa reserves in southwestern Ontario were located at the Ausable River, Kettle Point, Sarnia, Walpole Island and Muncey. In 1832 it was reported that the "Bear Creek Chippewas" (including Kanotung's band) had been persuaded to join the other Ojibwa at Muncey (Graham 1975: 37). Acculturation of the Ojibwa proceeded at different rates on the various reserves (Canada 1847, 1858). At Walpole, for example, there were no Christians reported in the early 1840s, but at nearby Sarnia many had become Methodists. According to the 1851 nominal census there was a sharp division at Muncey between the Ojibwas of the Thames, many of whom were Methodists, and those of Bear Creek who, despite the reported baptism of old Chief Kanotung in 1842 (Pascoe 1901: 171), were still traditionalists.

By the 1850s, the Ojibwa of southwestern Ontario were adopting European farming methods, as illustrated by the Rev. A. Jamieson's account of Walpole Island in 1857:

"At first they cultivated only small patches of Indian corn, now many of them raise potatoes, oats and wheat in abundance; there has been a slow and steady improvement in their mode of farming. Several of them have erected good frame-barns, and good houses at their own expense, without any assistance from the government. They have also been paying attention to the raising of stock" (Canada 1858). However, the 1861 manuscript census of Walpole Island reveals that the Reverend's account, like many official reports on Indian affairs, slightly exaggerated the facts of the matter. While a few Ojibwa like Solomon Pandahsung had large farms with mixed crops of wheat, oats and corn, most had relatively small clearings, with potatoes being the only European-introduced cultivar to be planted along with the traditional crops of corn and beans. By this time most households were raising a few cattle, horses and pigs, but only Pandahsung had a flock of sheep.

The history of the Ojibwa peoples' occupation of southwestern Ontario can be divided into two major periods, with 1830 serving as the turning point. Up to that time the Ojibwa mainly followed traditional ways but after 1830 their economic, social and religious life was to change drastically. Thus the Bellamy site, dating to circa 1790, represents the last generation of southwestern Ontario Ojibwa to practise a traditional mode of life.

## Archaeology

The potential of locating an Ojibwa site on the Bellamy farm had been realized for some years, both as a result of finding an iron trade axe near the site and from examining 19th century surveyor's notes for the area. These notes reported a clearing on the river flats by the Bellamy site suggesting the presence of an abandoned corn field and possibly an associated habitation site at the location.

As a result of these leads, a number of surveys over the course of several field seasons were conducted on the knoll where the Bellamy site is situated. Unfortunately, artifact findings were rather meagre in quantity and extent. This was due to surface collecting through rows of corn during summer months. In such field conditions late historic Native sites tend to be invisible, particularly if one is not specifically looking for such a site. The elusive quality of these sites is due to a lack

of ceramics or lithics utilized by late historic Ojibwa. Surface collections consist mostly of faunal remains with an occasional gunflint or historic pipe fragment adding a necessary diagnostic to the assemblage. Obviously, glass beads are next to impossible to locate in such conditions. At Bellamy, for example, only two white round beads were found during four separate searches of the site.

However, early in the spring of 1984 deep ploughing of this knoll, adjacent to the Sydenham River in Gore of Camden Township, turned up several features associated with an historic Ojibwa occupation. Erosion, intensified by cultivation and furthered by an underground spring, threatened two exposed features (Features 1 and 2 in Fig. 3). A small Springwells phase prehistoric component was also exposed, east of the Ojibwa occupation. This area was recorded and partially excavated by Carl Murphy, with assistance from the principal investigators, and will be reported elsewhere.

The impetus for rescue excavating a portion of the site came about as a result of Mr. Stan Wortner quickly reporting site conditions to the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture's southwestern regional office. The two principal authors visited the site, and, prior to any excavations, conducted a hands-and-knees survey of the exposed knoll. Due to the recent ploughing just over 30 glass beads were recovered. Not surprisingly, almost all of the beads were white in colour and stood out distinctly against

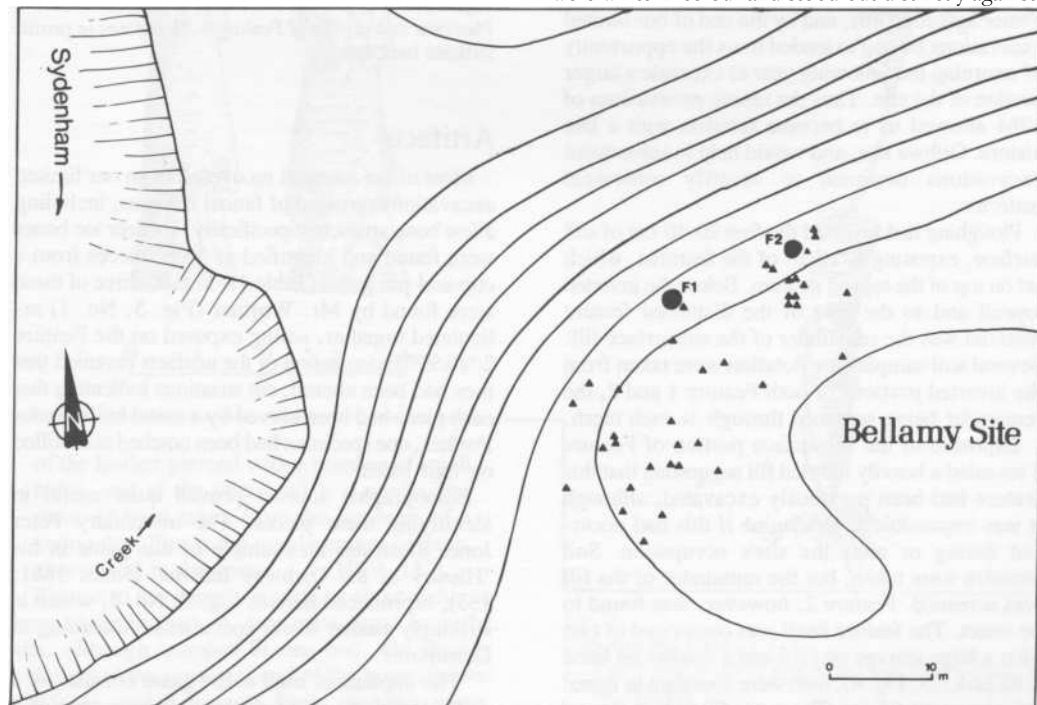


Fig. 3  
Map of the Bellamy Site. Triangles are glass head finds recorded in the 1984 survey. Half-meter contour intervals.

the dark topsoil. All find spots were marked and recorded with a transit. The resulting pattern revealed an irregular clustering of beads in two groups covering an area of 30 by 35 m (Fig. 3).

It is tempting to say, although speculative at this point, that the bead clusters reflect structural (wigwam?) locations on the site. The size of these clusters and their location away from the exposed features — probably an associated outside activity area — is consistent with what is reported in ethnographic accounts pertaining to Ojibwa structures and settlement patterns (cf Densmore 1929). Unfortunately almost no historic Ojibwa habitation sites have been excavated anywhere in the north-east. In the United States, Ojibwa sites excavated from this period are almost all cemeteries, providing extensive collections of Native material culture but no settlement data (Cleland 1972; Mainfort 1979). In Ontario most historic Ojibwa sites have been excavated accidentally, the historic Ojibwa component being little more than "surface clutter" on rich, stratified sites in Northern Ontario. Under these circumstances any resulting settlement pattern would be difficult to distinguish, especially if the researcher was more concerned with getting down to the prehistoric components.

Because of this lack of previous research, and due to a definite lack of time and resources, it was decided to excavate *only* the features immediately endangered by erosion (Features 1 and 2). The land owner agreed to this, and by the end of our limited excavations he had extended to us the opportunity of returning the following year to excavate a larger portion of the site. Thus the rescue excavations of 1984 allowed us to become familiar with a late historic Ojibwa site, and would help in subsequent excavations designed to identify settlement patterns.

Ploughing had inverted the first 20-40 cm of soil surface, exposing a "slice" of the features, which sat on top of the topsoil stratum. Below the inverted topsoil and to the side of the disturbed feature material was the remainder of the subsurface fill. Several soil samples for flotation were taken from the inverted portions of both Feature 1 and 2, the remainder being screened through  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch mesh.

Exposure of the subsurface portion of Feature 1 revealed a heavily mottled fill suggesting that this feature had been previously excavated, although it was impossible to determine if this had occurred during or after the site's occupation. Soil samples were taken, but the remainder of the fill was screened. Feature 2, however, was found to be intact. The feature itself was comprised of two pits: a large storage pit (2b) and a smaller pit lined with bark (2a; Fig. 4), both were abundant in faunal remains and artifacts. The entire fill of both 2a and 2b (467 liters) was collected for flotation. This

turned out to be a fortunate decision since most of the artifacts it contained were small enough to have fallen through a  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch mesh.

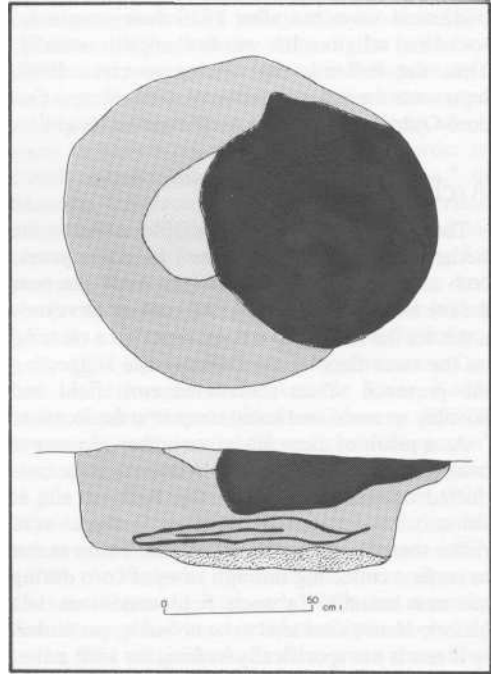


Fig. 4  
Planview and profile of Feature 2. Bold lines in profile indicate bark lining.

## Artifacts

Most of the material recovered from our limited excavation consisted of faunal remains, including a few bone artifacts. Specifically, six deer toe bones were found and identified as "cup" pieces from a cup-and-pin game (Table 1). In fact, three of these were found by Mr. Wortner (Fig. 5, No. 1) articulated together, sitting exposed on the Feature 2 "slice." Examination of the artifacts revealed that they had been altered, cut striations indicating that each piece had been carved by a metal knife blade. Further, one specimen had been notched and drilled on four sides.

Ethnographic sources proved quite useful in identifying these pieces. The missionary Peter Jones illustrates an example of this game in his "History of the Ojebway Indians" (Jones 1861: 135), reproduced here as Fig. 5, No. 2, which is strikingly similar to our specimens. According to Densmore:

"The implement used in the game consists of the deerclaws of the deer strung on a strip of deer hide, at one end of which is an oval piece

TABLE 1  
**Bone Artifacts**  
 (measurements in cms)

		<b>Length</b>	<b>Widt h</b>	<b>Bore Diam</b>	<b>Context</b>
Cup	1*	2.89		.49	Fea 2
	2*	3.85	1.31	.61	
	3*	3.30	1.39	.52	
	4	3.45	1.40	.53	
	5	3.10	1.50	.65	
	6	3.64	1.35	.39	
Pin (metacarpal)		4.35	.33	—	"
Antler tube		6.30	1.57	—	"
Needle tip		4.02	.53	—	"
Awl tip		3.61	.82	—	"
Polished bone (sewing eye?)		2.10	1.72	—	Fea 2

\* These three cups were found articulated.

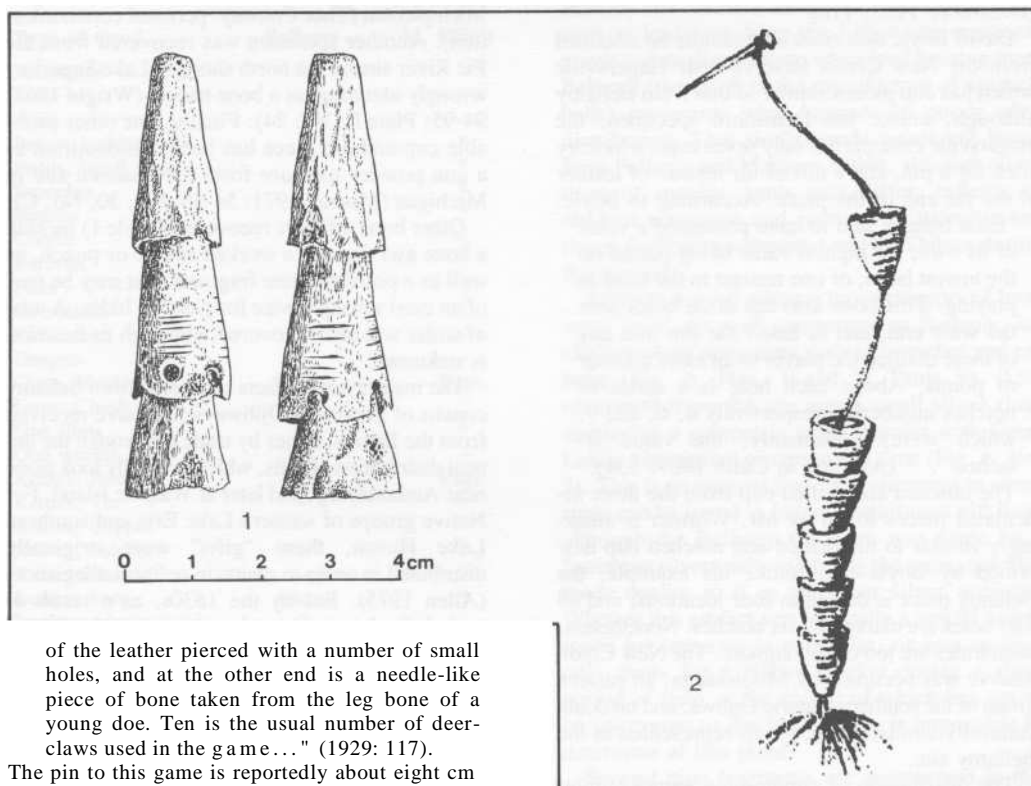


Fig. 5  
 Cup-And-Pin Game.  
 1. Two views of three articulated cup pieces found at the Bellamy site.  
 2. Illustration of cup and pin game taken from Peter Jones (1861) ethnography on the Ojibwa of southern Ontario.

of the leather pierced with a number of small holes, and at the other end is a needle-like piece of bone taken from the leg bone of a young doe. Ten is the usual number of deer-claws used in the game..." (1929: 117).  
 The pin to this game is reportedly about eight cm long (three inches). A deer metacarpal from the site, although snapped at one end, did display notching at the proximal end of the bone (Prevec 1985: 4), and it is quite likely that this piece, recovered in a soil sample from the Feature 1 slice, is in fact a pin to the cup-and-pin game.

Densmore goes on to describe the manner in which the game was played:

"A player holds the needle between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, he then extends his right arm, the needle pointing upward, and the bones following below his thumb. He then takes the bit of leather in his left hand and draws it backward toward his body until the string of cones is in a horizontal position. With a quick motion of his hands he releases the bit of leather, swings the string of bones forward, and catches one or more of the bones on the needle, the object being to hold a series of bones in an erect position on the needle" (1929: 117).

Apparently this game was played either individually or in a group comprised of two sides. The score usually ran up to 100 and required a great deal of dexterity since scoring usually meant catching the closest cup to the pin and balancing the rest on top of it. Each cup was valued at one point, while catching the leather bit scored more (Densmore 1929: 118).

David Boyle describes an example he obtained from the New Credit Reserve near Hagersville which has cup pieces similar to that from Bellamy although, unlike the Densmore specimen, the Hagersville example has only seven cups, a hickory stick for a pin, and a tuft of fur instead of leather at the far end of the piece. According to Boyle: "Each hone is said to have possessed a value of its own; the highest value being placed on the lowest bone, or one nearest to the hand in playing. This hone also has three holes near the wide end, and to insert the pin into any of these entitled the player to an extra number of points. Above each hole is a series of notches numbering respectively 4, 6, and 9, which were, presumably, the value attached..." (As cited in Culin 1907: 534). The notched and drilled cup from the three articulated pieces found by Mr. Wortner is amazingly similar to the drilled and notched cup described by Boyle but, unlike his example, the Bellamy piece is drilled in four locations, and all four holes are marked by six notches. Nonetheless, similarities are too close to ignore. The New Credit reserve was occupied by Mississauga, an eastern group of the southern Ontario Ojibwa, and no doubt culturally similar to the group represented at the Bellamy site.

The distribution of cup-and-pin games similar to that from the Bellamy site covers a wide cultural area in North America. Culin describes similar versions of this game for many Native groups, but variations strikingly close in style to the Ojibwa occur only among groups belonging to Algonquian, Athapaskan, and Siouan language families (Culin

1907: 529-557). While prehistorians (e.g. Wintemberg 1931) have identified drilled deer phalanges as cup-and-pin pieces from Iroquoian sites, it is worth mentioning that Culin cannot find a single ethnohistoric reference to an Iroquoian analogue of this game. Moreover, the specimens recovered from prehistoric sites are only slightly modified — knocked open at one end and drilled at the other — in such a form as to make cup-and-pin play a near impossible feat. If anything, these deer phalanges were used as beads or bangles. It would appear, then, that the cup-and-pin game was not an Iroquoian trait, but Algonquian.

Actual cup specimens that have been recovered from other archaeological sites in Ontario come from the north. Two specimens were excavated from the LaCloche trading post, on the north shore of Lake Huron, just above Manitoulin Island. These were found in an 1800-1821 component, excavated by Thor Conway of the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. As well, one bone cup was identified from the 19th century stratum at Michipicoten (Thor Conway: personal communication). Another specimen was recovered from the Pic River site on the north shore of Lake Superior, wrongly identified as a bone bangle (Wright 1967: 94-95; Plate II, No. 24). Finally, one other probable cup-and-pin piece has been misidentified as a gun powder measure from the Lasanen site in Michigan (Murray 1971: 54-56; Fig. 30, No. C).

Other bone artifacts recovered (Table 1) include a bone awl tip, and a worked needle or punch, as well as a polished bone fragment that may be part of an eyed sewing device for piercing hides. A tube of antler was also recovered, although its function is unknown.

The majority of artifacts recovered from Bellamy consist of goods the Ojibwa would have received from the British, either by trade or through the annual distribution of gifts, which normally took place near Amherstburg, and later at Walpole Island. For Native groups of western Lake Erie and southern Lake Huron, these "gifts" were originally distributed in order to maintain political allegiances (Allen 1975). But by the 1830s, as a result of various land surrenders signed between the Crown and representative Native groups, these goods became part of annual payments for most of what became the Western District in southwestern Ontario.

Many of the artifacts found in the Bellamy assemblage are items commonly seen on supply lists for the British Indian Department's district posts (Table 2). These lists include items such as blankets, linen and tobacco, as well as goods that can be recovered archaeologically, such as gun parts, axes, kettles, pipes, etc. Table 2 offers a list of these "hard" artifacts culled from a number of



published sources (Allen 1975: 98-99; Michigan Pioneer Historical Society Records, volume 12: 96-97, 256-259, 273-276, 283-288; volume 16: 33-36, 555-556, 653-656; volume 20: 51-54). These items are taken from requisition lists for several posts and from several periods. This is an abbreviated list and does not reflect recorded quantities or variations of items requisitioned. The intent here is to provide a list of those items distributed by the British Indian Department which had the potential of being found on an archaeological site. However, the use of such requisition

TABLE 2

## Trade Goods as Artifacts

Requisition lists examined come from the following posts:  
Amherstberg: 1797; 1798; 1799  
Detroit: 1782  
Drummond Is.: 1817; 1819  
Michilimakinac: 1793; 1814; 1815

Type of Good	Bellamy	M. Elliott
Armbands	—	—
Awls	—	—
Axes	*	—
Beads, barleycorn	*	*
Beads, small white	*	*
Brooches	*	*
Buttons	*	*
Combs	?	—
Earbobs	*	*
Files	—	?
Fire-steels	*	*
Fish-hooks	?	—
Gorget	—	—
Guns, Muskets	frags.	frags.
Guns, Chiefs	?	?
Gun flints	*	*
Gun worms	—	—
Kettles, Brass	frags.	frags.
Kettles, Tin	—	—
Kettles, Copper	—	—
Knives, butcher	—	—
Knives, clasp	—	?
Lead in bars	frags.	*
Looking glasses	?	—
Medals	—	—
Musketball moulds	—	—
Nails	*	*
Needles	?	?
Pistols	—	—
Scissors	*	*
Shot and ball	*	*
Smoking pipes	*	*
Tomahawks	—	—
Wampum, black & white	*	*

\*: present in site collection

—: not present in collection

?: possibly represented by fragmented artifacts

lists can be of far greater value to the historical archaeologist. This data is available for most British Indian Department posts — on an annual basis — between the 1780s and 1840s, during which time the department was an active British military operation. Changes in quantities and types of goods during this period would be reflected in requisition lists. Thus by compiling these lists one could sense such changes, and help to tightly date Native domestic sites from the 18th and 19th centuries.

Also presented in the table are artifacts found from Bellamy that correspond to these requisition lists. Further, those artifacts from the Matthew Elliott collection (Ferris 1985) that match these lists are also indicated in the table. Matthew Elliott was the British Indian Department agent responsible for distributing goods to Native groups of the western Great Lakes during much of the 1790s. This he did from his home on the Detroit River just south of Fort Malden. Also on his property was an Indian Department storehouse which was used between 1790 and 1796. Trade related artifacts from both Bellamy and Matthew Elliott match, although items such as lead bars from the Elliott site represent goods *before* distribution, while lead wasting from Bellamy (the result of the manufacture of musketballs) represents what happens to goods *after* distribution. That similar trade goods are found from Bellamy and Matthew Elliott, although quantities of specific items may differ, reflects an obvious economic and political relationship between the British authorities and the Ojibwa during this period.

Artifacts that fall within a broad category of "personal item" are well represented at Bellamy, including silver ornaments such as brooches and earbobs (Fig. 6, Nos. 1 and 2; Table 3). Also recovered from the site was a small silver ring, displaying a geometric motif popular with Great Lakes Algonquian groups at that time (Fig. 6, No. 3). This is an unusual find. No references to silver rings can be found in Indian Department gift lists, although the Bellamy specimen was made by a European silversmith, exhibiting the same, quickly-made quality to it as the other silver artifacts. Whether this artifact was originally a special order, made for someone in particular, or was an item only made for a Native market during a short period of time — the record of which has yet to be uncovered or has been lost — is impossible to determine at this point.

Several pipe fragments are represented in the Bellamy collection, three of which have T.D. marked spurs. Two of these are similar to ones found at the Matthew Elliott site (Ferris 1985: 22). Since mould marks match, it is quite probable that these pipes are British Government issue, made for the Indian Department by a private firm in Great Britain. The commissioning of private firms in

Britain for the manufacture of trade goods is a policy that has also been documented for the 1820s from both military sites and Native domestic sites in southern Ontario (Kenyon and Ferris 1984: 39). This knowledge can be useful in identifying other Ojibwa sites that have only meagre surface collections since white pipe fragments are one of the few visible artifacts on such sites. The third T.D. spur is unusual in that the bottom is cross-hatched (Fig.

6, No. 4). No other site or historic pipe collection reviewed so far contain similar specimens. It is possible that this hatching is particular to a limited firm and period, which may help to tightly date the site.

A total of 193 beads were found at Bellamy (Table 4). Except for the 36 beads recovered during the hands-and-knees survey — all but two of which are white — all beads were recovered through flota-

TABLE 3  
Silver Artifacts  
(measurements in cms)

	Length	Width	Diameter	Context
Ear Bob	2.90 (bob: 1.23)	.48 (ball)	1.48 (wire)	Fea 2
Ear Bob (no bob)	—	.57 (ball)	1.42 (wire)	
Ring	1.29	.76	2.04	
Ring brooch & Pin	1.28 (pin)		1.30	Fea 1
Ring brooch	Fragment			Fea 2
Ring brooch			1.26	
Pin from Ring brooch	1.16			
Pin from Ring brooch	1.21			
Moulding	1.20			Fea 1

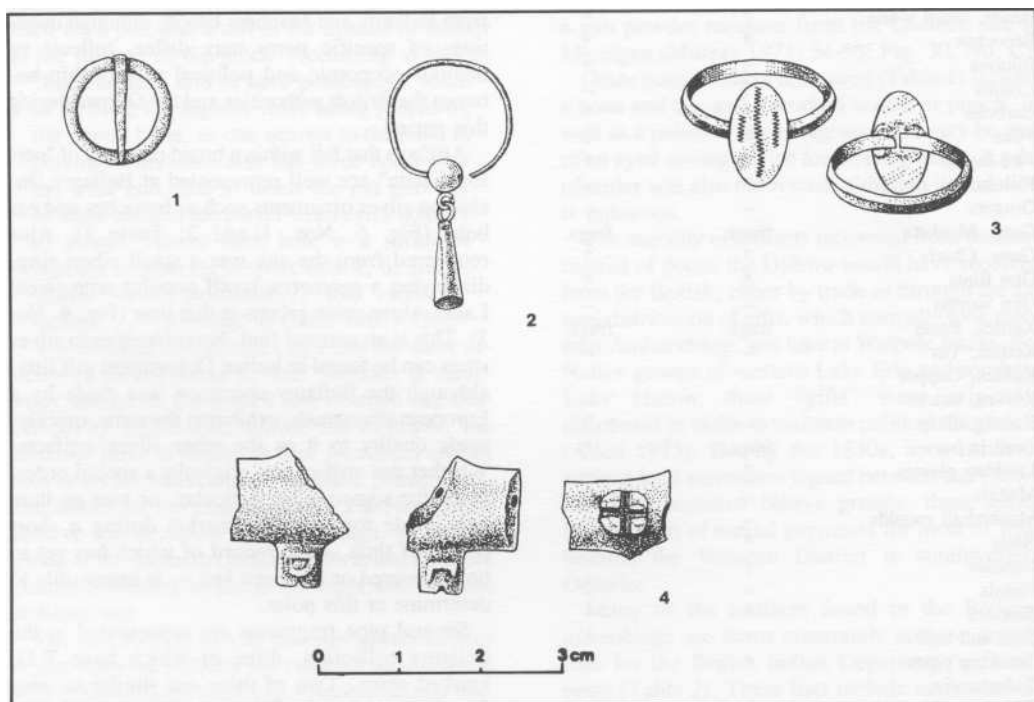


Fig. 6

Silver Artifacts and T.D. Pipe Spur. 1. Silver brooch. 2. Silver ear bob. 3. Silver ring (front and back view). 4. T.D. pipe fragment with spur (view of two sides and bottom, showing cross-hatching).

tion. Exactly 160 of the beads were manufactured from glass, while the other 33 were machine-cut wampum. The dominant glass bead form was sub-cylindrical in shape and white in colour, measuring 1.5 to 3.5 mm in diameter. Beads of this size were normally used in embroidery work; examples of which can be seen in several late 18th and early 19th century ethnographic collections (cf Phillips 1984). A few black glass beads of similar shape and size were also recovered. In addition to the shell wampum, there was "imitation" wampum of white, blue and black glass. These beads are similar in size and colour to shell wampum, typically measuring 2.5 to 3 mm in diameter and 5 to 7 mm in length. All the shell wampum, and a great deal of the glass imitations, were found in Feature 2 (Table 4), which suggests that these beads are related to a single deposit. Finally, a few wire-wound ovoid beads (i.e. "barleycorns") of white, dark green and turquoise coloured glass were recovered which measured from 3.2 to 3.8 mm in width and from 5.4 and 7 mm in length.

Similar assemblages of glass beads have been excavated from numerous late 18th and early 19th century sites throughout the Great Lakes. Such sites include two 1802-03 trading posts in Wisconsin (Oerichbauer 1982); the Fletcher cemetery in Michigan (Mainfort 1979); Mohawk Village on the Grand River, Ontario (Kenyon and Ferris 1984); and from Wray's "Early Reservation Era"

(1779-1820) Seneca sites in western New York (Wray 1983).

Other personal item artifacts from Bellamy include three metal buttons, two of which were gilt-made. The third button was a "cut-out," made from sheet metal. This manufacturing practise was largely discontinued in Europe shortly after 1800 (Ferris 1984: 3). Half of a hawk bell, as well as brass and metal (tinned?) tinkling cones were also recovered (Fig. 7, Nos. 1-3; Table 5). The latter were used as bangles on everything from leggings to pouches to headbands (Phillips 1984). Finally, a jew's harp was recovered from Feature 1 (Fig. 7, No. 4). These musical instruments were quite popular with both Natives and Europeans throughout most of the historic period.

Utilitarian items recovered include metal wrought nails ("rose-heads"), wire-topped pins, two pairs of scissors, and a fire-steel (Fig. 7, Table 5). Also found was a portion of a whetstone. Specimens related to firearms included lead artifacts such as 31 pieces of shot and two musketballs, and small strips of lead waste (Table 6). Lead wasting is a sure indication of musketball manufacture and this was probably done in an activity area around Feature 2 considering the concentration of wasting in that feature. A brass gun ferrule, used to hold a musket's ramrod, also was found on the site (Fig. 7, No. 7).

Six gunflints were found (not including four from

TABLE 4  
Glass Beads and Wampum  
(Bead types based on the Kidd and Kidd 1970)

	F.1	Feature 2			F.8	Sur.	Total
		PZ	2A	2			
<b>Drawn Glass:</b>							
White cylindrical (Ia5)	1			1		2	4
Blue cylindrical (1a18)			I	2		I	4
Black cylindrical (Ia2)	2	1	I	12		—	16
White subcyl. (IIa13/14)	13	13	29	34	3	32	124
Blue round (IIa52)	—			1			1
Black round (IIa6)	1						1
Subtotal	17	14	31	50	3	35	150
<b>Wound Glass:</b>							
White ovoid (WIc1)		I	I	2			4
Turquoise ovoid (WIc8)				I		I	2
Dark Green ovoid (WIc*)		I	2	I			4
Subtotal		2	3	4		I	10
<b>Shell (Wampum):</b>							
Purple cylindrical		2	3	28			33
Total:	17	18	37	82	3	36	193

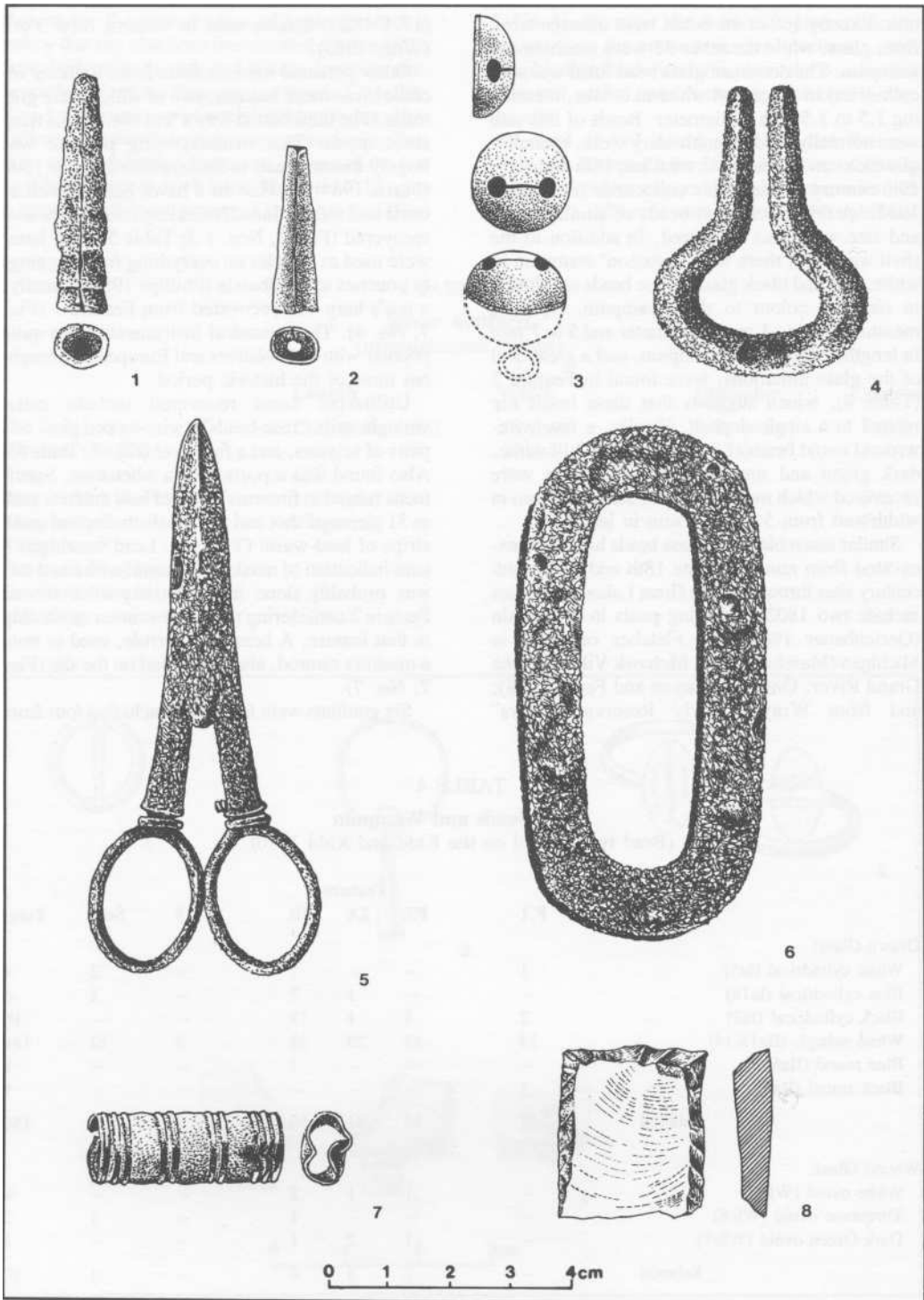


Fig. 7  
European-Made Artifacts.

1. Ferrous Metal (possibly tinned) tinkling cone. 2. Brass tinkling cone. 3. Hawk-bell fragment. 4. Jew's harp. 5. Scissors. 6. Fire-steel. 7. Musket ferrule. 8. Spall gunflint.

TABLE 5  
**Metal Artifacts**  
 (measurements in cms)

Artifact	Lengt	Width	Wgt (grams)	Comments	Contex
Scissors	9.35				Fea 2
Scissors	8.48			fragment	
Fire Steel	8.39	4.00			
Key	10.20			brass (intrusive?)	Surface
Spike	8.14				Fea 1
Nail	3.56			machine cut	"*
Nail	4.00			machine cut	
Nail	4.11			wrought	
Nail	2.90			wrought	Fea 2
Nail	3.11			wrought	
Nail	3.40			wrought	"
Pin	2.80			wire-wrapped top	
Pin	3.20			wire-wrapped top	
Brass scrap (9 pieces)			8.95	2 perforated	Surface
Brass scrap (1 piece)			.49	wrapped (ring?)	Fea 1
Brass scrap (16 pieces)			10.13	2 perf.; 2 cut	Fea 2
Brass scrap (1 piece)			1.52	(sewing "eye"?)	
Bangle	2.57	.60		brass	Fea 1
Bangle	3.98	.77		metal	
Hawk Bell	1.64			brass	Fea 1
Jew's Harp	4.96			iron	"

\* From plough zone of Feature 1

previous surveys), only one of which shows clear evidence of being used as a strike-a-light. All ten flints are the spall variety, and made from blue British chert (Fig. 7, No. 8; Table 7). That no British blade style gunflint was recovered from the site is significant since spall varieties are generally considered an earlier version of gunflint, disappearing somewhere around 1800. This is demonstrated quite nicely on a Northwest and XY Company trading post excavated recently in Wisconsin (Oerichbauer 1982). This site was only occupied for two seasons, during the years 1802-03. An assemblage of 61 gunflints were found on the

TABLE 6  
**Lead Artifacts**  
 (measurements in cms and grams)

Type	Number	Diam	Weight	Context
Musketball	1	1.63	23.85	Fea 1
Musketball	1	1.44	16.55	Fea 2
Shot	2	-	.82	Fea 1
Shot	29	-	11.83	Fea 2
Lead wasting	2	-	2.03	Fea 1
Lead wasting	23	-	6.61	Fea 2

TABLE 7  
**Gunflints**  
 (measurements in cms)

Type	Length	Width	Thickness	Comment	Conte
1. Spall	2.93	2.58	.85	Dk. blue	Fea 2
2. Spall	2.16	2.38	.66	Lt. blue	
3. Spall	3.18	3.07	1.06	Lt. blue	
4. Spall	2.32	2.63	.70	Lt. blue	Fea 1
5. Spall	2.50	2.50	1.59	Lt. blue	"
6. Spall	1.82	2.42	.75	Dk. blue	Surface
7. Spall	2.34	2.49	.92	Burnt	Sur. 81
8. Spall	1.81	2.55	.70	Dk. blue	"
9. Spall	1.59	2.60	.90	Dk. blue	
10. Spall	2.55	2.44	.67	Lt. blue	Sur. 82

site, only 7 of which were spalls (Oerichbauer 1982: 197). The low percentage of spall gunflints in the collection suggests that by the start of the 19th century this style was rapidly being replaced by blade varieties. While allowing for some variation between the trading post and Bellamy, the extreme difference in numbers of spall gunflints recovered would strongly support an end date for the Bellamy site of no later than 1800.

The artifacts recovered from Bellamy are representative of Native material culture at the end of the 18th century (cf. Jury 1948; Herrick 1958; Wright 1967; Dawson 1969; Cleland 1972; Emerson et al. 1977; Mainfort 1979; Oerichbauer 1982; Kenyon and Ferris 1984; Wray 1983; Phillips 1984; Ferris 1985; see also Quimby 1966, particularly his Late Historic Period). The distribution of these items covered that portion of North America involved, directly or indirectly, with British and American trade. This included both the Eastern seaboard and lower Great Lakes regions, where settlement was relatively intense and formalized, as well as a "frontier" region, starting just east of the Ohio Valley and stretching as far west as Wisconsin, and up to Hudson's Bay and Western Manitoba. A wide range of Native groups were involved with the fur trade but, by 1800, the St. Clair/Sydenham Ojibwa (as well as most Northeastern groups east of Detroit) were not concerned with fur trapping as a primary economic activity. Supplies were received on a fairly regular basis from British land payments, and exchange of hides, meat, corn and even goods from the annual payment for other items effectively eliminated the need or desire to trade in furs.

## Seasonal Round

In order to fit Bellamy into the annual subsistence cycle of the Ojibwa, it is necessary to reconstruct a seasonal round. However, it is difficult to define any kind of *exact* seasonal round for the Ojibwa of the Western District. While inferences can be made from the written record, the span of time these documents collectively cover makes it difficult to refer to any particular period with a high degree of accuracy. Further, most of these accounts — written by missionaries, traders, or British Indian Department agents — are based on observations made from a single locale. Few Europeans actually travelled with the Ojibwa to see, first hand, their seasonal round. Finally, at several points during an annual cycle the Ojibwa, both collectively and individually, had to choose between a number of activities. This meant a fair degree of variation from year to year, fluctuating as conditions warranted. Any model of an annual cycle must be considered general and not based on an assumption

of absolute behaviour by the Ojibwa.

In defining the seasonal round of the Ojibwa in and around the Sydenham River, a great reliance has been placed on the diaries of Christian Frederick Dencke. While some excerpts of his work have been translated from old-script German to English (Jacobson 1895; Gray 1956), the greater portion of the material remains linguistically inaccessible. However, a detailed index of the Moravian Missionary Records was compiled, in English, by Reverend Carl Fliegel (1970). This document, indexed by subject and date, can offer real insights concerning seasonal rounds, as detailed in Dencke's diaries. For example, under the heading *Chippewa* there are references to "Tribesmen trading deer meat for corn" (March 8, 1799); "Starving in severe winter" (February 7, 1805); "Visited at their sugar places" (March 23, 1805), and so on. Other headings refer to hunting and fishing grounds; gathering raspberries; and even asides concerning when the Ojibwa were or were not around Dencke's mission on the Sydenham.

Other accounts specific to this area are found in British Indian Department records, particularly from the Amherstburg office. This includes annual census records for Natives in the area, lists of goods and presents distributed, as well as administrative concerns expressed in letters regarding problems with supplying food to starving groups and attempts to keep track of a people who keep moving around. These documents exist in several locales and forms, the most accessible being those items reprinted in the Michigan Pioneer Historical Society Records (e.g. volumes 12, 20 and 32). An unpublished source that affords great insight into Ojibwa seasonal round of the 1830s is the letterbook of William Jones, Superintendent of the Upper St. Clair River Reserve on Walpole Island, available in the Public Archives of Ontario. This reserve was administered by the British Indian Department beginning in 1831.

Finally, more general records of Native life and seasonality for the Great Lakes can be found in a number of published diaries and memoirs. Among the most useful of these are the accounts of Alexander Henry (Bain 1901) and Issac Weld (1799).

Beginning in late February or early March, Ojibwa family groups travelled from their winter hunting area to sugaring camps, to exploit the run of sap. While family size varied widely at any given time or place, a general average seems to fall somewhere between 8 and 10 individuals. This is noted in the 1799 census of Ottawas and Ojibwas settled at Chenail Ecarte taken by George Ermatinger for the Indian Department (M.H.P.S. volume 20: 641-42). The setting up of a sugaring camp was marked by the gathering together of a variable

number of families. These camps were located inland, along drainages of the Sydenham and Thames (Fig. 2).

By the end of March, or more accurately not long after ice break-up, these large Ojibwa groups would move down towards Lake St. Clair and the St. Clair River delta to take advantage of large spring fish runs, particularly sturgeon and pickerel. During this period contact with other Ojibwa communities and allied native groups (such as the Ottawa) occurred, so that these fish runs served not only to gather a great deal of food but also to reinforce community and social ties.

Following this period of intensive exploitation, territorial groups again separated and headed out to traditional regions, such as along the Sydenham drainage. Hunting and fishing along the river system were primary activities, at least until the establishment of base camps, which usually were comprised of one Ojibwa community. As with families, the size of these communities varied greatly. However Dencke reports such a group numbering some 30 individuals (Jacobson 1895: 8), and a range of between 30 and 60 members does not appear to be an unreasonable estimate for these communities. The camp site itself was usually on a high point of land by water and adjacent to river flats. Work was then devoted to building or repairing already standing summer wigwam structures as well as to clearing the river flats for corn planting.

Crop planting was usually completed by late May, and by July the Ojibwa group would dissolve into smaller units. Individual family groups, or several males, or an informal collection of people from the camp would leave for summer hunting or berrying, although a small number of individuals may have remained behind at the camp site. Maintenance of the corn fields does not appear to have been their primary activity; rather, emphasis was on the exploitation of river and land resources within the immediate vicinity of the camp, such as nuts, berries, game, shellfish and fish.

By mid September to early October the entire group reassembled at the base camp, to harvest corn and exploit any early-fall resources in the area, such as nuts. Further, there was an option of gathering again at the St. Clair delta in order to take advantage of a fall fish run.

Prior to breaking up into single-family groups and heading off to winter hunting grounds, a trip was made either to Walpole Island or Amherstburg, to attend the annual distribution of gifts from the British Indian Department. This event brought together Natives from the entire Western District, and, like the spring fish harvest, served to rein-force social and political ties both between Native groups and with the British authorities. Distribu-

tions occurred around the end of October, but the actual date varied greatly from year to year — from as early as the last week in September to as late as December 1st. The cause of this fluctuation was due primarily to transportation delays. Requisition lists from a district post for an upcoming distribution were usually sent in and approved at York and Niagara by spring. The process of then ordering the items and shipping them back, by boat, took several months. If the goods were late in arriving, so too was the actual presentation.

On several occasions, such as in 1796 (M.P.H.S. volume 32), goods arrived so late in the year that many Native groups simply left before they could receive their supplies. The later into November they had to wait, the more time was spent away from the late-fall, early-winter hunt. This period was crucial, particularly if summer crops failed, in stocking up stores for the winter season. In particular, the month of November is singled out time and again in the ethnohistoric record as that period when deer hunting was at its peak. Simply put, no quantity of European goods could compensate for missing a good yield of deer meat prior to the onset of winter. Any object desperately needed for the winter season and missed due to the lateness of the annual distribution could have been acquired from individuals or traders. These items would have been paid for through the trade of furs, food or other such commodities.

From late November until mid-February, several choices were available to the individual Ojibwa group. The most common was for individual family units to travel to their winter hunting grounds. However, occasional famine late in the winter was not an uncommon occurrence, particularly if snows had been too deep or spring thaw was late. With the presence of such a threat, other strategies were often employed. These included staying together in larger numbers or camping near British forts (such as on Bois Blanc Island across from Fort Malden and the Matthew Elliott homestead), in order to get food from the military and Indian Department agents. Also, the begging or trading of food from white settlers or Christianized Natives (such as at Fairfield), was reported during this period. In short, subsistence strategies during the winter months were varied, selection based on degree of seasonal harshness.

Analysis of faunal material from the Bellamy site provided much information regarding subsistence strategies and period of occupation for this site (Tables 8 and 9). Faunal remains reflect a traditional subsistence strategy, with the presence of a wide variety of large and small mammals, fish and bird species (Prevec 1985). Conspicuously absent from features are any European domesticates, such as cattle, pig or sheep. Raccoon and deer were the

TABLE 8  
Faunal Remains by Class

Class	Total Sample	Percenta
Mammalia	1,902	83.6
Osteichthyes	237	10.4
Aves	79	3.5
Reptilia (turtle)	9	0.4
Pelecypoda	8	0.4
Class Uncertain	39	1.7
Total	2,274	100.0

TABLE 9  
Element Identification

	# of Elements Identified	Percentag e
Mammal:		
White-tailed Deer	381	58.34
Raccoon	198	30.32
Grey Squirrel	34	5.21
Mink	10	1.53
Chipmunk	9	1.38
Black Bear	6	0.92
Woodchuck	6	0.92
Lynx	5	0.76
<i>Cervidae</i> sp.	4	0.61
Total	653	100.00
Osteichthyes:		
<i>Catostomidae</i> sp.	27	35.52
Drum	13	17.10
<i>Bass</i> sp.	11	14.47
Bowfin	5	6.58
Lake Sturgeon	4	5.26
Rock Bass	3	3.95
Brown Bullhead	2	2.63
Smallmouth Bass	2	2.63
<i>Catostomus</i> sp.	2	2.63
<i>Percidae</i> sp.	2	2.63
Channel Catfish	1	1.32
Gar	1	1.32
<i>Esox</i> sp.	1	1.32
<i>Perciformes</i> sp.	1	1.32
<i>Stizostedion</i> sp.	1	1.32
Total	76	100.00
Avian:		
Wood Duck	13	22.03
Ruffed Grouse	7	11.86
<i>Duck</i> sp.	7	11.86
Marsh Hawk	6	10.17
<i>Passerina</i> sp.	6	10.17
Wild Turkey	5	8.48
Raven	4	6.78
Blue Jay	3	5.09
Golden Eagle	3	5.09
Woodcock	3	5.09
Barred Owl	1	1.69
Passenger Pigeon	1	1.69
Total	59	100.00

most abundant mammals in the collection, each animal represented by an MNI of four individuals. Over a dozen bird species are also represented in the collection, wood duck being the most abundant. Fish remains comprise elements from close to a dozen species, including gar, drum, bowfin, channel catfish and lake sturgeon, with sucker in greatest abundance. While the majority of bird and mammal species were available for capture throughout the year, many of the fish species, such as sucker, could only be exploited in the Sydenham during late-spring spawning runs. Further, those few mammal and bird species with a limited period of availability, such as woodchuck, passenger pigeon and woodcock, could only have been exploited in the Bellamy area between spring and fall. One exception is the raven, which is only available this far south during hard winters. However, the raven bones at Bellamy, as were specimens from a golden eagle, are from the head, wing and leg regions. This possibly represents the remains of bird skin bags, well recorded ethnographically for the Ojibwa.

Floral remains (Table 10) are much more limited in quantity from Bellamy features (Murphy 1985). Wild plants present in the collection included hawthorn and sumac, as well as black walnut remains and a very small number of raspberry seeds. Cultigens found included a small quantity of bean and sunflower remains, as well as some corn. Six corn kernels and numerous kernel fragments were identified, all of which were traditional flint varieties. No European introduced plants could be identified in the collection.

When the Bellamy site data are examined in relation to a general seasonal round, the principal

TABLE 10  
Charred Plant Remains

Type	Fea. 1	Fea. 2A	Fea. 2B	Total
Wild Species:				
Raspberry/Blackberry	6	2	18	26
Black walnut	-	10	7	17
Sumac	2	2	4	8
Hawthorn	1	4	1	6
Hickory			4	4
White mulberry			1	1
Unknown	1	2	7	10
Cultigens:				
Corn Kernel	-	1	5	6
Kernel Frag.	30	40	139	209
Embryo	-	7	5	12
Cupule	12	15	125	152
Bean	-	2	1	3
Sunflower			1	1



period of occupation appears to be late spring-early summer. Bellamy's function was as a late spring base camp, the inhabitants arriving there to clear and plant their corn fields, while at the same time exploiting resources in the vicinity. The poor representation of mid-summer plant resources, such as raspberry and blueberry seeds, suggests that these people, for the most part, abandoned the site during the summer. Presumably the site was occupied once again during autumn to harvest the crop. This is not inconsistent with the ethnohistoric pattern presented earlier. It is quite possible that a few individuals remained at the site over the summer period, or even that it was visited briefly during the winter months. If this is the case however, their presence on the site during these "off periods" has yet to be detected.

## Conclusions

It is readily apparent from the site findings that European goods had been fully integrated into an Ojibwa way of life — accepted as more efficient tools in the practice of a traditional subsistence strategy. However, at the time Bellamy was occupied, circa 1790, the ethnohistoric and archaeological data suggest that these items were not altering an Ojibwa world view or way of life. Resources exploited and the related seasonal cycle maintained indicate a pattern of behaviour not unlike that seen for prehistoric groups in this area. While the Ojibwa of southwestern Ontario were no less reliant on European goods than any European living in the region at that time, traditional hunting practices and weaponry were still well known amongst the Ojibwa by 1796 (Weld 1799). The significance of the Bellamy site is that no more than half a century after its occupation the way of life reflected there was largely given up for European agricultural practises. Future, larger-scale investigations at the Bellamy site should provide even further insight into this complex and challenging period of Ontario historic Native domestic site archaeology.

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