

Reconsidering the Antiquity of Trade on Madeline Island

The View from the Cadotte Site in Northern Wisconsin



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Abstract

The Cadotte site, excavated in 1961, is often cited in archaeological and ethnohistorical literature as an example of a short term, mid-seventeenth century refugee encampment of the Huron and/or Odawa circa 1660–1670. A closer examination of the site assemblage has resulted in a reassessment of the general assumptions regarding the site and its use by Huron and Odawa during the mid-seventeenth century. The ceramic assemblage indicates that the site was occupied much earlier and for a longer period than previously understood, circa 1620–1670. This is supported by the European trade goods assemblage. It is also argued that the site served a specialized function, as a place of seasonal rendezvous for the Ontario Odawa and their central Algonquin trading partners. Further, the character of the pottery suggests that a portion of the sample may reflect Algonquin mimicry of Ontario Wendat traditions. The revised understanding of the time depth and function of the site, as well as the character of its associated ceramic assemblage, has also prompted the reconsideration of the identity of the Algonquin groups who visited the island, and the antiquity of the Ojibwe presence at this locale.

The largest of the 22 Apostle Islands located at the mouth of Chequamegon Bay on the southern shore of Lake Superior, Madeline Island is well known for its important role in the eighteenth century fur trade and the social and religious history of its Ojibwe inhabitants (Birmingham 1992; Kohl 1985; Ross 1960; Warren 1984). Most intensely occupied during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the island has been home to two French fortifications, two trading posts, a significant Ojibwe village, the town of La Pointe, as well as a less-understood seventeenth century occupation by the Huron and Odawa of Ontario. Traditionally, it has been assumed that the earliest occupations of the island associated with the era of the fur trade began during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, based primarily on a limited number of references in French documents. The archaeological record of the island, however, suggests an older and more complex series of events that formed its early role in the fur trade.

Historical background

The earliest historical references to Chequamegon Bay are in regards to the Odawa and Huron, who fled their homeland in Ontario in 1649 as a result of attacks by the Iroquois. According to the explorer Nicolas Perrot, the refugee Odawa and Huron first arrived at Green Bay in 1651 or 1652 (Blair 1911:148–151). After a brief stay in a fortified village on Rock Island (Mason 1986), the groups retreated further west in around 1654. They reached the Mississippi Valley and settled down again, this time on Lake Pepin. Here, they stayed for “several years,” occasionally trading with the neighboring Sioux. However, their fragile relationship with that nation soon turned to violence, and the Huron and Odawa were forced to flee again, this time into the forests of central Wisconsin. The Huron are believed to have settled somewhere near the headwaters of the Black River, while the Odawa moved on to Chequamegon Bay as early the late 1650s. They were soon joined by the Huron, who settled nearby (Thwaites 1902:16–17).

The earliest known description of Chequamegon Bay was made by fur trader and explorer Pierre Esprit Radisson, who with his brother-in-law Medard Chouart des Grosseilliers and several canoes of Saulteurs (Ojibwe) arrived at Chequamegon in the fall of 1659 (Adams 1961; Fournier 2002). The two Frenchmen constructed a small fortification at the back of the bay, where they found themselves “in the midst of many nations.” The Ojibwe journeyed south to their winter camp near Lac Court Oreilles. Radisson and Grosseilliers soon joined them, where they spent a very difficult winter. The two returned to the bay the following spring, and erected a second fortification (Adams 1961:143). They also noted that the Odawa had recently built a fortification “on the point that forms the bay,” which may have been the peninsula known as Chequamegon Point (or Long Island), directly opposite the southern end of Madeline Island and the Cadotte site. The two traders left the area later in the spring.

Following news of Radisson’s journey, Father Claude Jean Allouez and a small number of traders followed a large group of “Algonquins” to Chequamegon in 1665. Allouez established the Mission St. Esprit on the shores of the bay that fall (Jesuit Relations [JR] 49:163, 50:249–305). The mission was located near two large agricultural villages of the Odawa and Huron who had arrived at the bay as refugees during the late 1650s. Father Louis Nicholas joined Allouez in 1667. Both left the mission in 1668, and were replaced by Father Jacques Marquette in 1669 (JR 54:169–175). The Huron and Odawa abandoned their villages on Chequamegon Bay in 1671 due to hostilities with the Sioux, and the mission was closed at the same time.

During their tenure, the priests at St. Esprit encountered as many as nine different “nations” visiting the bay. It was also at St. Esprit that Marquette met the Illinois, prompting his historic journey down the Mississippi in 1673.

The first recorded French occupation of Madeline Island proper is affiliated with the 1693 construction of a “fort” by Pierre Le Sueur. Little is known about this post, which probably served as a warehouse for Le Sueur’s regional trading activities (Ross 1960; Schenck 2003). Madeline Island is depicted on Franquelin’s 1697 map, where it is described as the location of the “*magazin d’ entrepot pr Le Sr LeSueur*” (Wood 2001:Plate 2). The exact location of the fortification, however, is unknown. Local tradition has held that it was built on the south end of the island, near the Cadotte site. This identification, however, seems to be based primarily on speculative remarks made by a local resident during the 1890s. Years later, historian Hamilton Nelson Ross explored the Cadotte site area, where he found ruins of stone footings that he interpreted as the 250-year-old fortification (Ross 1960:40).

In fact, those remains were probably affiliated with a second trading compound, built one hundred years after Le Sueur’s (Birmingham 2005). French Canadian trader Michel Cadotte arrived at the island during the 1790s, and constructed a palisaded trading and residential compound at the south end of the island. It is after Mr. Cadotte that the site is named. Michel, his wife Equaysayway (daughter of White Crane, chief of the LaPointe band of the Ojibwe), and their large extended family remained at the site until the 1830s (Ross 1960; Warren 1985).

The Ojibwe, who maintained a significant village on the western shore of the island (near the present day town of La Pointe) during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, claimed that they had come to the island long before their contact with the French. Ojibwe informants, producing an engraved copper disk that marked the passage of individual generations at Chequamegon, related to William Warren that they had lived on the island for nine generations by 1850. Using a 40-year generation, Warren calculated that the Ojibwe would have arrived by the late fifteenth century. Contemporary historians, however, generally follow Harold Hickerson’s (1970) assertion that the Ojibwe did not arrive until after 1680.

The Cadotte Site Excavations and Collections

The Cadotte site is located on the southern end of Madeline Island, at a locale known as “Grant’s Point.” The limits of the site include a number of spatially and temporally separate components, including a seventeenth century aboriginal occupation, a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century

trading compound and unmarked *métis* cemetery. The locale includes a low bluff overlooking a sandy terrace along a filled slough. The slough was open and navigable during the eighteenth century, providing access to the open water approximately 305 m to the south. The seventeenth century occupation was situated on the sandy terrace along the slough, and beneath the low bluff. The latter occupations were centered on the bluff, but also extended across most of the site locale.

In 1961, Leland Cooper of Hamelin University conducted excavations at the seventeenth century locus, beneath the low bluff. Cooper was alerted to the site by local avocational archaeologist Al Galazen, who had been surface collecting, digging and metal detecting on the site since the 1940s. Cooper and his crew opened a large excavation block and two isolated trenches on the low, sandy terrace. The results of the 1961 investigations were never reported.

George Quimby (1966) first described the character of the unusual ceramic assemblage from Cadotte in 1966, as part of his overview of the material culture of the Great Lakes Indians during the historic period. Quimby examined material found by Al Galazen in 1961, and subsequently met with Cooper and examined his sample in 1963. He described the bulk of the pottery found at Cadotte as “suggestive of Huron and Petun.” He also noted the presence of “a few sherds” of non-Iroquoian pottery, which included shell tempered wares that he interpreted as Winnebago, and some grit tempered specimens of “Algonquin-speaking groups” (Quimby 1966:115). The general assumption made by both Quimby and Cooper was that the site reflected a refugee Huron village that must postdate 1650, as “the documentary evidence indicates that these Indians were not in the Chequamegon area until after 1650” (Quimby 1966:116).

Robert Birmingham (1992) also examined the Cadotte assemblage in the 1980s, as part of an overview of the archaeology of Madeline Island. His was the first study to recognize the presence of a post-1790 component of the Cadotte site, affiliated with the circa 1790–1840 Michel Cadotte trading complex. Like Quimby, he too recognized the importance of Huron-like wares, but also stressed the cosmopolitan mix of ceramic traditions found there, which include shell tempered Allamakee Trilled, unidentified grit tempered, and Danner series wares. Birmingham suggested that the site may represent multiple components, perhaps reaching into the prehistoric period, and that the historic component probably began with the arrival of the refugee Huron-Petun around 1660.

In 2005, Birmingham (2005) surveyed and shovel tested the Cadotte site as part of his preparation of its nomination for the National Register of Historic Places. This survey identified not only the area tested by Co-

per in 1961, but also an adjacent late eighteenth/early nineteenth century cemetery, as well as surface and subsurface remains affiliated with Michel Cadotte's compound. The cemetery is located immediately south of Cooper's excavation block, and the post-1790 structural remains are situated on a low bluff, overlooking the locale tested by Cooper.

This author examined the Cooper collection in 2005 and 2006, initially as part of a regional trade goods study (Mazrim and Esarey 2007). That collection is divided between the Wisconsin Historical Society collections at Madison, the Madeline Island Museum collections at La Pointe, and also in display cases at the Madeline Island Museum. During the study, the seventeenth century and late eighteenth / early nineteenth century components were separated, using field notes and accession records. This report will focus on the character of the seventeenth century component. The post-1790 Michel Cadotte-era materials will be discussed in a forthcoming report.

The 1961 Excavations

Leland Cooper conducted his excavations during the summer of 1961. These consisted of an excavation block composed of 48 1.5-meter squares and two isolated trenches measuring 15 and 24 meters long. Some notes, unit plan views, and base maps remain with the collection at Madison, but it appears that not all excavation records are extant. Accession cards also contain valuable provenience information. In total, the block and two trenches exposed 172 square meters of the site. The excavations produced six features, numerous postholes, and 3459 artifacts, reflecting a very dense deposit. One thousand five hundred and two of those artifacts are aboriginal pottery sherds.

The six features included five "fire pits" or concentrations of charcoal, and a large layer of clay referred to as a "clay floor." It is unknown if any of the fire pits features were true pits, or whether they produced more than wood charcoal and burned earth. The clay floor consisted of a layer of red clay that spanned most of the excavation block. It was encountered about 30 cm below surface, and appears to have been about 5 to 8 cm thick. From Quimby's remarks, it appears that Cooper believed the clay floor and posts were affiliated with a Huron longhouse, constructed around 1660 (Quimby 1966:116). However, significant quantities of early nineteenth century refined ceramics and other later materials were recovered from beneath this feature (which existed in Level 2), often in what appear to be good, undisturbed contexts. With this in mind, the clay feature very probably dates to around 1800, and is affiliated with the built environment of the Cadotte trading post and residential compound.

Two of the “fire pits” punctured the clay surface, and thus postdate 1790. The remaining three may be of seventeenth century origin. At least seven posts also punctured the clay surface, but many more post molds were found below. Several possible lines of posts are visible, possibly reflecting portions of aboriginal structures. Superimposing or intersecting at odd angles, they appear to represent multiple episodes of construction at the site.

The stratigraphic record of the site is somewhat unclear, as only profiles of parts of the isolated trenches are extant. Excavations were conducted using levels of differing thickness, sometimes in arbitrary 3 or 5 cm (1 or 2 inch) levels, and sometimes conforming to the cultural stratigraphy of the site. Four basic strata are mentioned in the extant notes and accession records: a humus layer, a thin layer of black sand (Level 1), a layer of red clay (the “clay floor,” or Level 2), and thick layer of organic black sand that extended as deep as 60 cm below surface in some areas. In undisturbed contexts, the lower portions of that layer (usually included in Levels 5–8) contained primarily seventeenth century pottery, animal bone, and charcoal.

The Temporal Components

During the 2005–2006 study of the materials recovered by Cooper, two temporal components became immediately visible. The first (and best represented) is a seventeenth century aboriginal occupation consisting primarily of aboriginal ceramics and animal bone, and also includes smaller amounts of lithics and early European trade goods. The second component, dating circa 1790–1840, includes refined British earthenwares, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century buttons, bottle glass, trade silver, British blade gunflints, and various small tools and utensils. This assemblage is very probably affiliated with the Michel Cadotte fur trading complex. A long hiatus, circa 1670–1780, is suggested by a lack of late seventeenth-eighteenth century beads, a paucity of French gunspalls, and the absence of a range of other European materials of that era.

The seventeenth century occupation (Component 1) of the Cadotte site was disturbed by the preparation of the post-1790 Component 2 clay floor, as well as by twentieth century artifact collecting. However, using accession records and excavation notes, it is possible to isolate certain collection units where disturbance was minimal or shallow. These samples were made well into the black sand layer, found beneath the clay floor, usually beginning at Levels 4 or 5.

For this study, inventories for collections (made in 1961) from 25 excavation units have been isolated as our best picture of the seventeenth century

component, based on archaeological contexts. Some of these samples, originating from below Level 3 (or about 30 cm below surface) were specifically noted as “undisturbed.” The collections are dominated by aboriginal ceramics, animal bone, and concentrations of charcoal. From the total of 1502 aboriginal sherds collected by Cooper, 663 (or 44 percent) are represented in the isolated seventeenth century sample. Lithics from these contexts consist of triangular projectile points, some chert debris, as well as finished and unfinished stone pipes and debris associated with their fabrication. Minor intrusions from above (probably from animal burrows and other forms of bioturbation) are still present in many instances, and are usually reflected by the presence of small pearlware and whiteware sherds, machine cut nails, and post-1790 bottle glass.

Artifacts described below as belonging to Component 1 have been assigned to that era based on their undisturbed archaeological contexts and their association with aboriginal ceramics. Some of the artifacts recovered from disturbed contexts can be assigned with some confidence to either the pre-1670 Component 1 or the post-1790 Component 2. Aboriginal pottery, Iroquoian-style clay pipe fragments, and stone projectile points from disturbed samples probably belong to Component 1. Many artifacts found in mixed contexts, however, are difficult to assign. These include iron tool fragments, kettle brass scrap, and stone pipe fragments. Those less temporally-sensitive artifacts that are discussed below originated only from secure Component 1 contexts.

The Seventeenth Century Component of the Cadotte Site

The seventeenth century Component 1 of the Cadotte site is dominated by aboriginal pottery, and was found in a thick layer of organically stained sand below the red clay floor in Cooper’s excavation block. This component is thought to predate 1670, and has been traditionally interpreted as a post-1650 Huron refugee encampment. As will be discussed below, the antiquity of Component 1 has been questioned by the recent reexamination of the Cadotte collection.

Aboriginal Ceramics: Site-Wide Sample

Leland Cooper recovered a minimum of 1502 fragments of aboriginal pottery during his 1961 excavations at the Cadotte site. Approximately 250 additional sherds were donated to Cooper by Al Galazen, who had dug at the Cadotte site prior to 1961. A total of 663 sherds (or 44% of the collection)

are present in the isolated sample, but the discussion below focuses on the entire, site-wide ceramic sample. During this author's 2005–2006 visits to the collections, the aboriginal ceramic vessels were roughly sorted by temper, and by rim and body sherd groupings. Representative samples of basic stylistic traditions were then photographed. These were compared to finds illustrated in the regional archaeological literature, as well as to the well-established typology of Ontario Iroquoian traditions by MacNeish (1952).

Grit tempered Ontario Wendat-like pottery dominates the large sample from the Cadotte site. This is followed by a much smaller number of shell tempered specimens, as well as unidentified grit tempered vessels (most of which are still reminiscent of Ontario traditions). The immediate impression of the hundreds of sherds was of a cosmopolitan assemblage that must reflect more than a brief occupation by non-local "refugees." A conservative minimum of 65 vessels was estimated in 2005.

Many larger sherds and some partially restorable vessels are included in the assemblage. Also immediately notable was the size and condition of the shell tempered specimens, which have been generally regarded as older than the Wendat-style pottery. These appear to have originated from the same general contexts as the Wendat pots, and do not seem to reflect a greater degree of damage, erosion, and redeposition that sherds from earlier occupation of a multicomponent site generally suffer, particularly outside of pit feature contexts. In other words, there appears to be no reason to treat the aboriginal ceramic sample as a multi-component one. Additionally, the Cadotte site produced no evidence of regional Late Woodland wares such as Blackduck or Sandy Lake. Both of these types (affiliated with prehistoric Siouan and western Algonquin groups, respectively) have been recovered at the Morty site on nearby Stockton Island (Salzer 1980). At Cadotte, a small handful of thin-bodied cordmarked body sherds probably represent less than three pots of unidentified origins, and may belong to vessels described below.

Most of the Wendat tradition vessels at Cadotte are fashioned from a paste that fired an orange-red to a dull brown color. All are grit tempered (often with mica inclusions), and most consist of globular-shaped pots with restricted necks, smoothed surfaces, and some form of incised decorations. Some specimens are finely tempered and well made, while others are very gritty, friable, and thick-walled. A few smaller jars are also present, as is at least one miniature "juvenile" vessel (Figure 1a).

Two basic groups of Wendat-like pottery are present in the collection. The first group contains specimens that fall reasonably comfortably into known Ontario styles, primarily Huron/Petun or Neutral. While they are

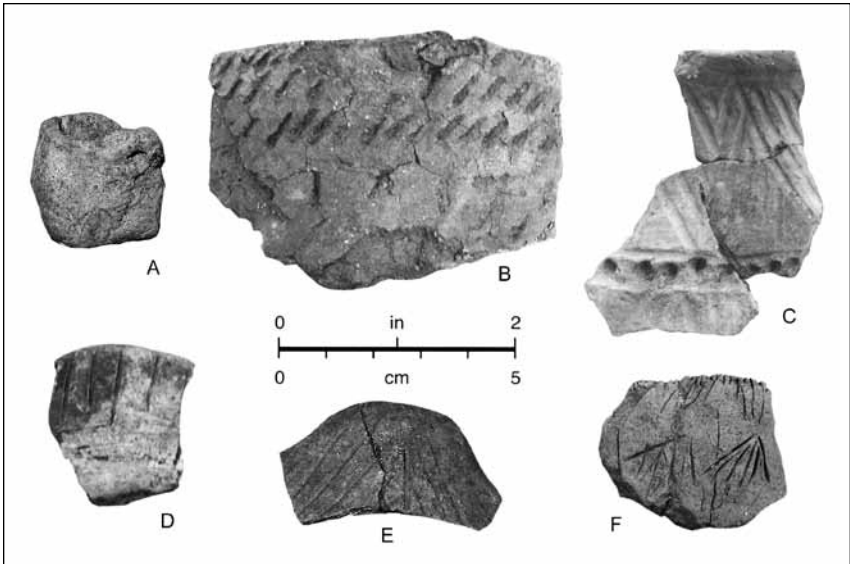


Figure 1. Wendat Tradition Group 1: (a) “juvenile” vessel; (b) Ontario Oblique; (c–e) like Lawson Opposed; (f) unknown type similar to Lawson Incised.

generally crude versions of classical styles, these were probably made in Ontario by the Huron, Petun, or perhaps by some of their immediate neighbors. The second group includes pots of similar forms and surface treatments, but exhibiting only Wendat-like attributes, such as horizontal or oblique rim incising, triangular shoulder incising, neck or shoulder punctuates, notched lips, and castellations. Many of the vessels in this second group have plain rims. The origin of these pots, both geographically and culturally, is unclear.

Wendat Tradition Group 1: Attributable Styles

Huron Incised / Huron Oblique. The most readily identified Huron-like pottery at the site can be classified as similar to Huron Incised or Huron Oblique, following MacNeish’s typology (Figure 2). These are pots with globular bodies, restricted necks, and slightly outflaring rims. On those rims are oblique or vertically incised lines. Shoulders and bodies are decorated with crude incising or a grooved paddle. One partially restored pot on display in the Madeline Island museum is decorated with a series of infilled triangles below a punctuated shoulder. A few specimens have slight lip notching that would technically place them into the “Sidey Notched” category, although these are in the minority. Type specimens from this category were shown to Charles

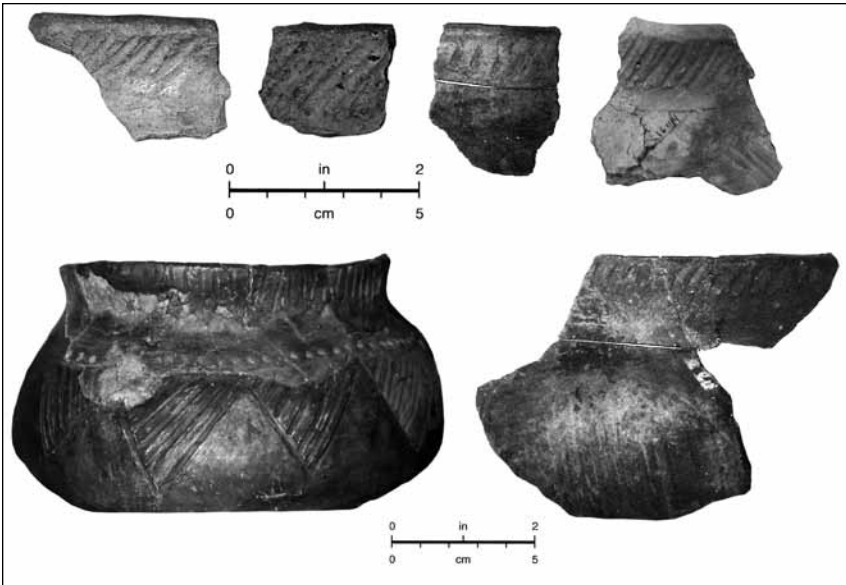


Figure 2. Wendat Tradition Group 1: Huron Incised/Huron Oblique vessels.

Garrad, who characterized them as reasonably well made and very probably pre-Dispersal. The significance of the latter statement parallels other aspects of the assemblage (see below).

Warminster Horizontal or Ontario Horizontal. A number of pots in the Cadotte sample are quite similar to the Warminster Horizontal or Ontario Horizontal types illustrated by MacNeish (Figure 3). These consist of slightly outflaring rims decorated with two or three crude, parallel horizontal incisions. Castellations with dull, rounded points are common in this group. Together, the two styles are probably the most “authentic” forms of Huron-like pottery at the site, and are at least as common as Huron Incised vessels. Typically, Warminster and Ontario Horizontal styles are separated by slight differences in rim profiles, which were not recorded during the 2005 study. At least two of these vessels have castellations that are vertically incised, a trait perhaps more common to Ontario Horizontal (MacNeish 1952:16).

MacNeish considered Warminster Horizontal a minority Huron type, which reached its zenith during the early historic period, or before 1625 (MacNeish 1952:35). He affiliated the very similar Ontario Horizontal with the Neutral. Garrad found that the percentage of Warminster Horizontal increased at the post-1630 Plater-Martin and Plater-Fleming sites (Garrad

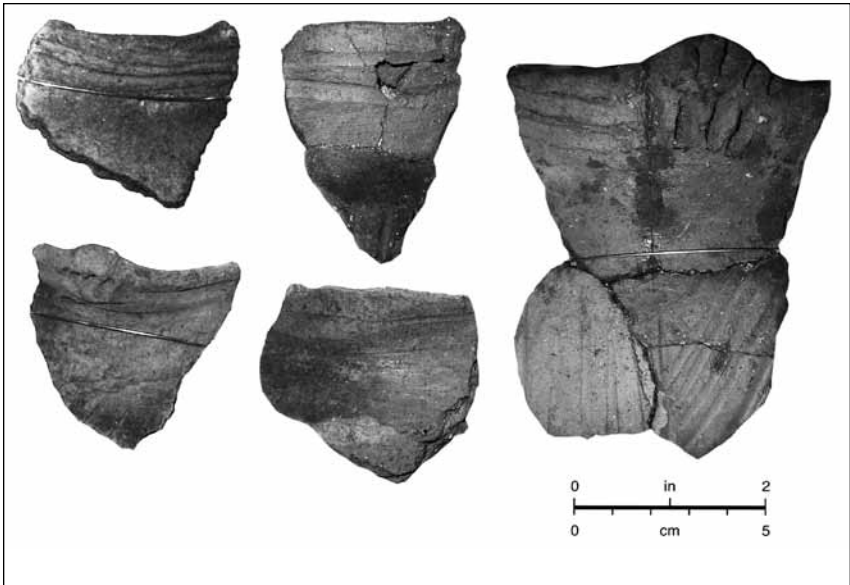


Figure 3. Wendat Tradition Group 1: Warminster or Ontario Horizontal vessels.

1980:109). Like the Huron Incised sherds, type specimens from this category were shown to Garrad, who characterized them as “not very impressive,” but very probably pre-Dispensal.

Ontario Oblique. At least one vessel from Cadotte conforms closely to MacNeish’s Ontario Oblique, which he affiliates with the Neutral (MacNeish 1952:18). This over fired, oxygen-reduced vessel has a very gritty and friable paste (Figure 1b). Its nearly straight rim is decorated in three rows of oblique lines, and is scalloped or slightly castellated.

Lawson Incised/ Lawson Opposed. One unusually well made vessel is similar to MacNeish’s Lawson Opposed type (MacNeish 1952:13–14). Its restricted neck is filled with a series of alternating, oblique lines above a single row of punctuates (Figure 1c). The shoulder of this vessel is also decorated with incised lines. Three additional vessels only vaguely resemble MacNeish’s Lawson types. Castellated rims decorated with crude incising represent two vessels (Figure 1d-e). A fourth vessel is more unusual. It has a notched and incised lip, below which are incised, in-filled triangles (Figure 1f). The incisions on the second vessel appear to have been made with a steel blade. MacNeish affiliates Lawson with the Neutral and Huron, and identifies it

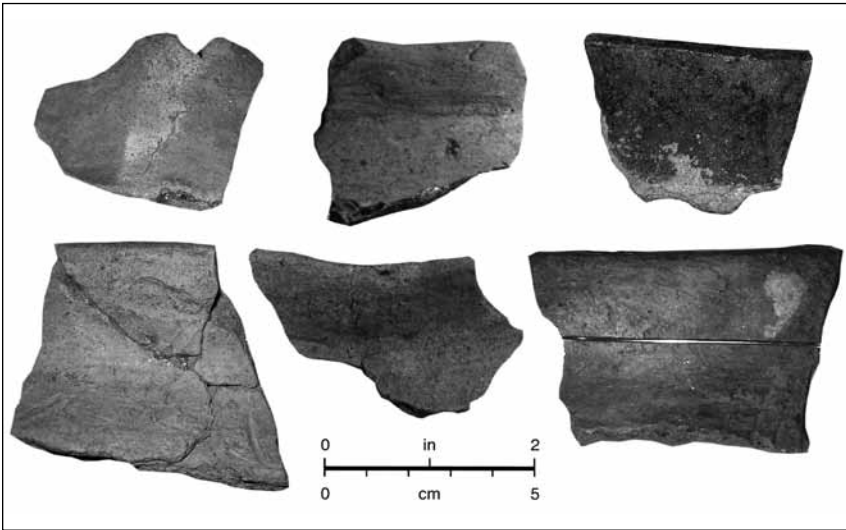


Figure 4. Wendat Tradition Group 2: Unidentified, plain rim, grit tempered vessels.

as a historic or late prehistoric type, derived from Huron Incised and Sidey Notched types (MacNeish 1952:14).

Most of the Group 1 vessels represent common styles made by the Huron during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, they stand in contrast to the more atypical vessels found at the post-Dispersal Rock Island site. Charles Garrad described the Group 1 Cadotte vessels as “too good to be Petun or Post-dispersal” (Charles Garrad personal communication 2009). Instead of postdating the Rock Island specimens, as has been previously supposed, it seems more likely that the Cadotte specimens represent Huron pots brought west by likely Odawa traders well before the 1649 Dispersal. This, then, suggests a much more complex history of the site than has previously been supposed.

Wendat Tradition Group 2: Styles of Undetermined Origins

Plain Rim. Several vessels (perhaps as many as ten) have plain, smoothed rims (Figure 4). The vessels have similar paste and temper characteristics found on the Huron Incised vessels. They are generally well made pots with fine temper and hard, smooth surfaces. Some are crudely collared. A few larger sherds exhibit evidence of crude incising on their shoulders. The rim profiles of some of these pots are similar to MacNeish’s “Ripley Plain” (MacNeish 1952:93 Numbers 66 and 67), but they do not appear to conform to

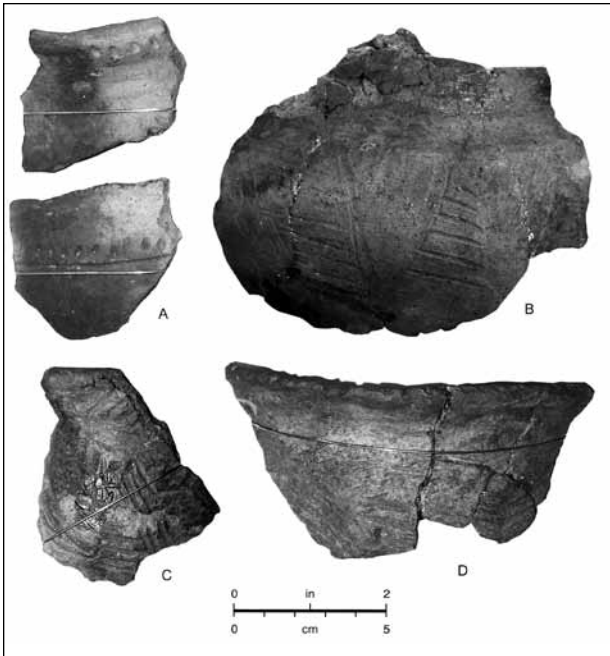


Figure 5. Unidentified grit tempered vessels with some Wendat-like attributes: (a) punctate shoulder and rim; (b) incised body plain rim; (c) grooved paddle?; (d) notched lip.

this traditional style. In fact, there is little in this category to confidently tie these vessels to Wendat traditions.

Vessels similar to the plain rim Cadotte specimens are found on pre-Dispersion sites in Ontario in small numbers, but their significance (and origins) are poorly understood (Charles Garrad, personal communication 2009). Jeffery Behm noted the similarity of these sherds to undecorated, plain rim, grit tempered vessels found in association with Bell Type I ceramics at the Bell site (Jeffery Behm personal communication 2009). The high percentage of this “style” at Cadotte may be significant, but the makers of the ware remain unknown.

Notched Lip / Flared Rim / Punctated / Other. Included in this catchall category are a number of very crudely made pots with flared rims, no collars, and crude incised cross-hatching or grooved paddle decoration on their shoulders and/or bodies (Figure 5). Shallow lip notching on some of these unusual vessels (Figure 5d) may reflect the increased use of lip treatments on late period Wendat ceramics (e.g., Ramsden 1990), but again, these pots are only reminiscent of Wendat styles. A few vessels with fine pastes and smooth surfaces have horizontal rows of punctates along their rims or shoulders

(Figure 5a). Several "Other" vessels exhibit some form of lip, rim, or shoulder treatment that is reminiscent of Wendat traditions, but cannot be placed in a traditional category. These simply appear to be inspired by Ontario traditions.

Grit Tempered, Notched Appliqué. One grit tempered vessel is represented by two small fragments of a notched appliqué that has separated from the body of the vessel. If these were shell tempered, they would be reminiscent of Danner series pottery, affiliated with the Illinois (see below). However, similar grit tempered styles (perhaps sharing the same late prehistoric Whittlesey/Fort Meigs origins as Danner) have been recovered from mid-seventeenth century Petun sites in Ontario (Garrad 2001). Typed by Garrad in 2001 as "appliqué strip," this grit tempered ware appears on a several Petun sites that have been dated circa 1590–1630 (Garrad 1980:108). This was the same period that the Illinois brought their shell tempered Danner counterparts into the Illinois Country (Esarey and Conrad 1998, Mazrim and Esarey 2007).

Regional Oneota

Ogechie or Allamakee Trailed. At least three shell tempered vessels are similar to Ogechie or Allamakee Trailed wares (Figure 6a-c). These are small, globular pots with constricted necks, outflaring rims, and small tapered strap handles. Lips are weakly notched, and the handles are punctated or trailed. Two of the vessels are broken at the base of their necks, and thus it is unknown if the shoulders were decorated. The third does exhibit evidence of trailing on its shoulder. All of these vessels have orifices measuring less than 20cm wide.

Allamakee Trailed from western Wisconsin and Iowa is generally affiliated with the Ioway (McKusick 1964; Wedel 1959), although an affiliation with the Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) has been suggested by very similar specimens from eastern Wisconsin (Mason 1976:343). At least two similar vessels were found at Rock Island, one of which in association with Huron Incised vessels (Mason 1986:168). Similar vessels from central or eastern Minnesota are described as Ogechie, where they have been affiliated with the Dakota (Anfinson 1979; Birk and Johnson 1991). The Cadotte vessels, when compared to those from Mississippi Valley contexts, are more crudely potted, weakly decorated, and thicker bodied. They are perhaps more similar to Ogechie pots than those typed as Allamakee.

Plain Shell Tempered. At least three undecorated, smooth-surface, shell tempered vessels probably reflect regional Oneota traditions (Figure 7). All have

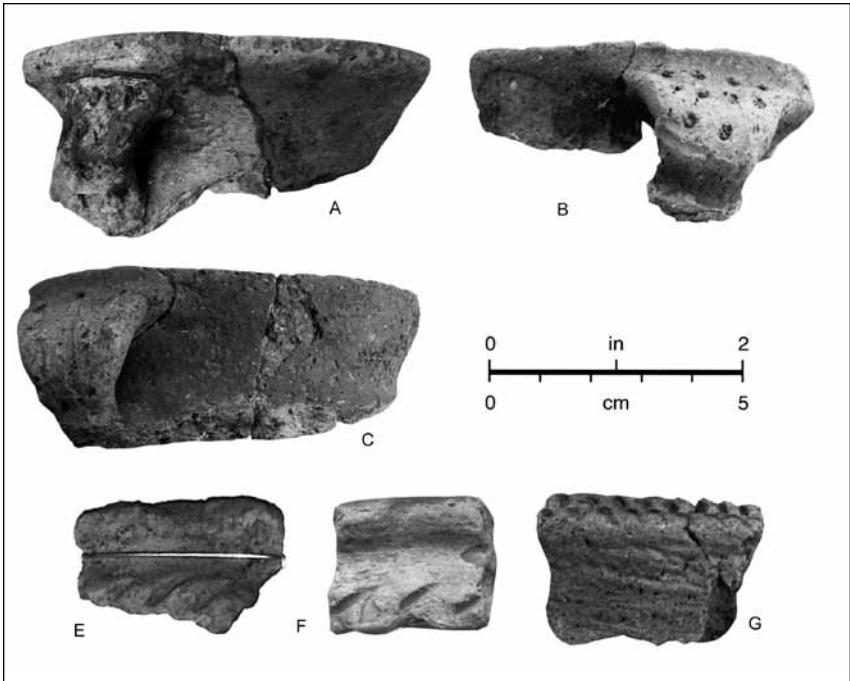


Figure 6. (a-c) Shell tempered (Ogechie or Allamakee Trilled vessels; (e-f) shell tempered Danner series; (g) grit tempered Selkirk vessel.

flared rims. One is a small jar with a short rim, while another is a much larger pot with a tall, moderated flared rim. The latter vessel would be suggestive of Bell Type I, if not for its shell temper (Jeffery Behm, personal communication 2009). The third is a globular pot with a sharply flared rim that is reminiscent of Lake Winnebago Focus Oneota (Robert Birmingham, personal communication 2009).

Other Regional Traditions

Selkirk. One possible Selkirk vessel is represented by a grit tempered rim sherd (Figure 6g). It has a square, notched lip and fabric-impressed rim that has been slightly smoothed over. Usually found north and west of Lake Superior, Selkirk ceramics have been dated from Late Woodland through middle historic periods, and are thought to have been affiliated with historic Cree (MacNeish 1958; Wright 1968b). Radisson noted the presence of the Cree at Chequamegon Bay in 1662 (Adams 1961:145).

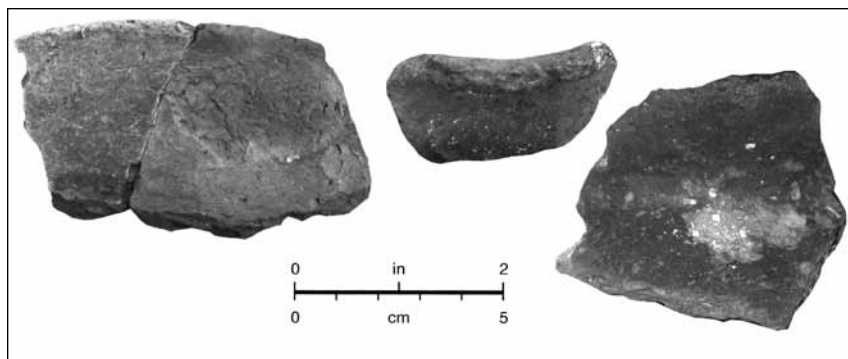


Figure 7. Unidentified shell tempered vessels.

Danner Series. Two rim sherds represent two shell tempered vessels (Figure 6e-f). Both have obliquely notched appliqués just below their lips. Danner is now considered a descendant of Late Whittlesey/Fort Meigs traditions, which moved into the Illinois Country from Ohio at least as early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Esarey and Conrad 1998; Mazrim and Esarey 2007). Danner-like ceramics were recovered from Component 2 at Rock Island, and were also found at the Gros Cap site in St. Ignace (Nern and Cleland 1974). The simplest explanation for the vessels found at Cadotte is that they reflect early trading excursions to the bay made by the Illinois. Priests at the mission of St. Esprit described the visiting Illinois in detail during the late 1660s (JR 54:169–175).

Aboriginal Clay Pipes

Sixteen fragments of Iroquoian style clay smoking pipes are present in the Cadotte collection, and an additional 12 are on display at the Madeline Island Museum. The accession records do not distinguish aboriginal clay pipe stems from European white clay stems, however, so the total number of aboriginal stems from good-context Component 1 samples is unknown. It is likely that all of the extant Iroquoian style fragments belong to the seventeenth century component.

On display in the Madeline Island Museum are five nearly complete bowls: two ring pipe bowls, two plain trumpet-shaped bowls, and a slightly cone-shaped bowl with oblique, alternating incising (Figure 8). These specimens fit comfortably into the Wendat-type ceramic sample from the Island. In the general Cooper collections at Madison is a more unusual bowl fragment. It is thin bodied, with a collar-like rim decorated with oblique incising, and is reminiscent of a specimen from the Sidey-Mackay site in Ontario (Wintemberg 1946: Plate XX, J-4).

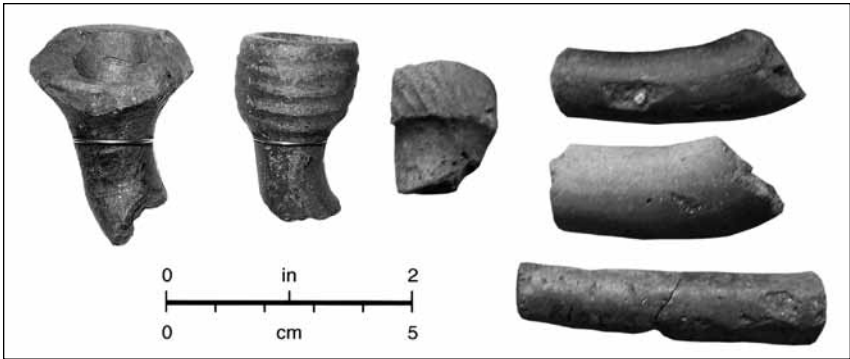


Figure 8. Iroquoian-style clay pipes.

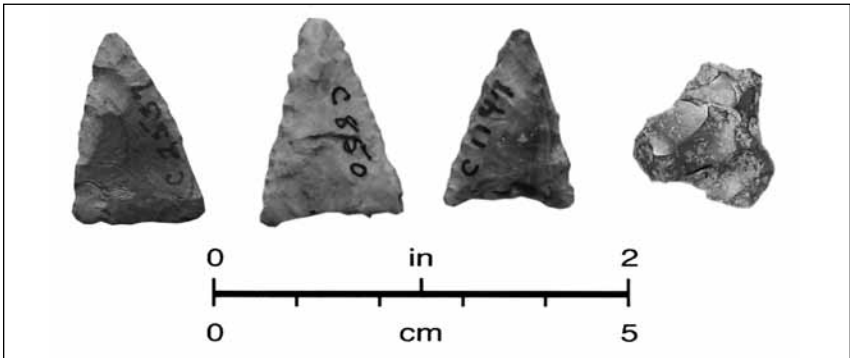


Figure 9. Triangular projectile points and a French gunsball from the isolated Component 1 sample.

Lithics

Projectile Points and Stone Tool Debris. A total of five triangular arrow points are present in the collections (Figure 9). Three of these can be attributed to the isolated Component 1 sample, but it seems likely that all belong to the seventeenth century occupation. Additionally, 155 chert or “quartz” flakes were recorded in the accession records, 28 of which are present in the isolated Component 1 sample. The lack of a larger percentage of the total chert count in the isolated sample demonstrates the high degree of disturbance across much of the site, as it is unlikely that much of the stone tool making debris is affiliated with the post-1790 occupation. Finally, a contracting stem point is present in the collections, and represents the only artifact that can be confidently placed into a prehistoric category. It may represent an isolated hunting loss, but it does reflect a prehistoric presence on the south end of the island.

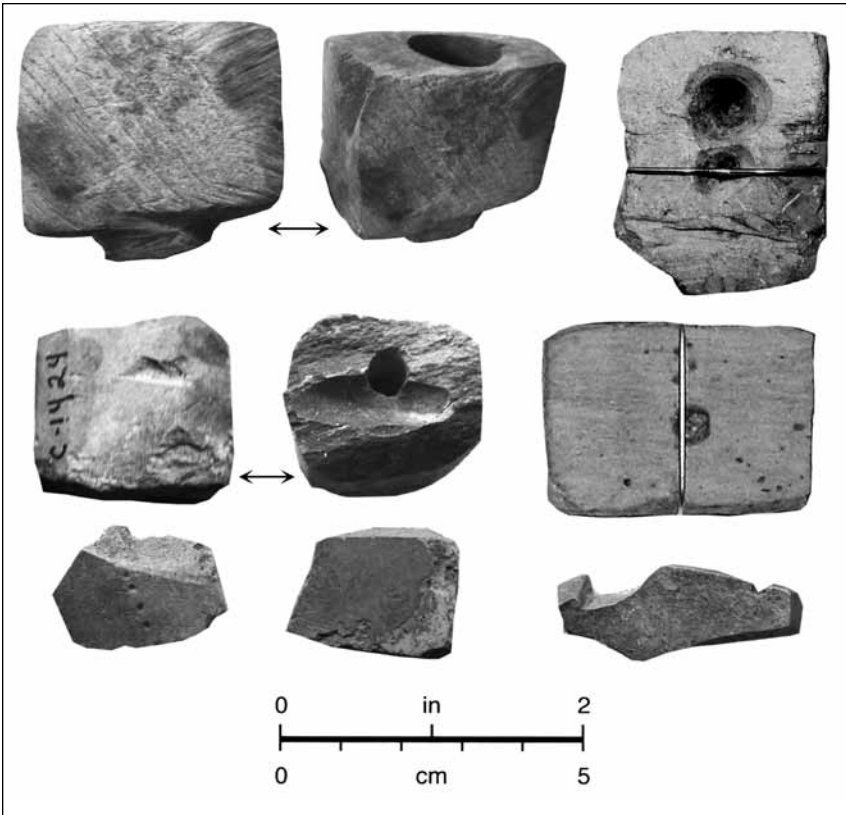


Figure 10. Finished pipe, unfinished pipes, and worked fragments of gray Chequamegon Bay pipestone.

Stone Smoking Pipes. The Cadotte site has also produced a sizable sample of debris from the manufacture of stone pipes. Several intact or nearly finished specimens are also present, as are pipes that may have been made elsewhere and broken on site. Two types of stone were used in pipe making activity. Seven fragments of worked red catlinite-like stone are represented in the site-wide collections, as are fourteen broken red stone pipe fragments. Only two pieces of red stone are present in the isolated Component 1 sample, however, and it is possible that most of it was in use after 1790. Kohl reported the manufacture of red stone pipes in the area as late as the 1850s (Kohl 1985:282–283).

The second type of pipestone found at Cadotte is an unusual, fine-grained gray stone with a pinkish cast (Figure 10). Specimens in this stone consist of crude rectangular pipe blanks and block-shaped bowls. A total of 14 worked fragments, 12 small flakes, two broken bowls, and two blanks in this gray stone

were collected from Cadotte. Of this total, 12 flakes, eight fragments, and the two broken bowls are present in the isolated Component 1 sample. The largest single concentration of fragments in the isolated sample consists of 12 flakes, and five fragments found in association with 50 aboriginal sherds, charcoal, burnt nutshell, and two chert flakes (Unit 124).¹ It seems likely that the gray pipestone was in use during the seventeenth century occupation of the site.

Notably, this unusual pipestone has been sourced to the southern shore of Lake Superior, with outcrops occurring on the eastern side of the Keweenaw Peninsula, as well as Chequamegon Bay (Broihahn 2003). The Chequamegon quarry was visited by Kohl during the mid nineteenth century:

On one of my canoe excursions from our mission, I visited a small quarry on the shores of the lake, from which I was told the Indians obtained a soft dark stone for pipe-heads... Here, then, as I said I found a small pipestone quarry of grey stone. This soft stone lay wedged in like a thick vein between two strata of the common sandstone, and the Indians had dug a considerable hole in it [Kohl 1985: 282–283].

That pipe making with this stone was occurring at Cadotte before 1670 is notable in light of the fact that the Huron-Petun are known primarily for their history of clay pipe making. Such traditional Iroquoian style clay pipes are also well represented in the Cadotte site assemblage. The manufacture of stone pipes by these groups, however, appears to have been less frequent. The earliest components of the Rock Island site produced no stone pipes. At the Huron village site in St. Ignace, which is thought to date primarily to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, clay pipe manufacture appears to have even continued after the cessation of clay pot manufacture, although there is little evidence of stone pipe making (Branstner 1991).

The gray stone pipes at Cadotte seem to reflect a seventeenth century tradition that was not necessarily indigenous to the visiting Huron, Petun or Odawa. Instead, they may represent a minor tradition that was introduced to the community on the Island and expressed in local materials. The knowledge and use of a reasonably obscure local pipestone source, however, suggests a local tradition and thus a local people.

European Trade Goods: Isolated Component 1 Sample

The general character of the isolated Component 1 trade goods sample is small and conservative, consisting primarily of small pieces of recycled kettle

brass and fragments of iron or iron tools. From the isolated sample are 102 artifacts of European manufacture. However, 67 of these are probably intrusive into the seventeenth century sample, and include machine cut nails, British pearlware and whiteware sherds, post-1790 bottle glass, as well as a small number of seed beads. Thirty-five artifacts from the isolated sample are interpreted as potentially belonging to the Component 1 occupation.

Iron. Based on the accession records, eighteen iron items are present in the isolated Component 1 sample, and may be affiliated with the pre-1670 occupation of the site. These items include 14 small, corroded, indeterminate fragments, two "iron bars," an awl, and what may be a cone-shaped projectile point. At least one of the bars is a small fragment of square iron stock, measuring about 8 mm square. The awl is a small, offset, bi-pointed example, probably used for leatherworking (Figure 11f). Measuring 7 cm long, one end of the awl has been broken and resharpened. The possible projectile consists of a 3 cm long cone with a closed proximal end and well-folded seam (Figure 11a). Generally, tinkling cones (used as dangling ornaments) have open proximal ends, to accommodate cords for hanging. This specimen, with a closed end, has been carefully made and may have been fitted over a wooden shaft for use as an arrow point. The lack of a larger number of common iron artifacts (such as knife blades or broken axes) in the isolated sample is notable.

Brass. Comparatively little very little scrap brass was found at the Cadotte site. Only six pieces of general kettle scrap are present in the isolated sample, from a total of 28 in the Wisconsin Historical Society collections. Additionally, the isolated Component 1 sample includes two riveted kettle patches, three tinkling cones, a flat, round ornament, and a tubular brass bead. The patches are small rectangles that still contain worn or damaged rivets (Figure 11b). These probably reflect losses from repaired kettles, as opposed to the repairing activities themselves. The two extant tinkling cones from the isolated sample are small and fine (Figure 11c). The brass ornament consists of a piece of very thin brass that has been cut into a 2 cm circle and pierced with two holes (Figure 11d). A hole in the center of the item is larger than a second hole pierced near the edge of the circle. The latter appears to have been for suspension from a thin cord. Finally, the tubular bead is narrow and measures 75 mm long (Figure 11g).

Lead. The accession records for the Cadotte site list only three lead musket balls, one lead shot, and six pieces of lead waste in the entire site wide collection, and the isolated Component 1 sample contains only two of those piec-



Figure 11. Artifacts of European origins from Isolated Component 1 sample: (a) iron cone-shaped projectile; (b) brass kettle patches; (c) brass tinkling cones; (d) round brass ornament; (e) Type IIa1 glass bead; (f) iron awl; (g) tubular brass bead. Artifacts of presumed Component 1 affiliation, from mixed contexts: (h) brass iconographic ring; (i) brass clothing or sword belt buckle.

es of lead waste. These have not been identified in the extant collections, and whether they represent casting waste or other forms of scrap is unknown. The paucity of lead in the isolated sample suggests little use of firearms.

Gunflints. The isolated seventeenth century sample includes only one French gunspall (Figure 9). Most of the European gunflints collected by Cooper's crew are eighteenth/early nineteenth century blade style flints (of both French and British chert), found in upper levels or mixed contexts and belonging to Component 2. The specimen from Component 1 began life as a small spall shaped flint, but has been so thoroughly used as a firesteel flint that it has become a small, concave-sided triangle.

Glass Beads. Of the 11 glass beads present in the isolated Component 1 sample, nine are white seed beads that may be intrusive from the post-1790

Component 2. A blue faceted bead is also affiliated with that later occupation. A single red Type IIa1 bead (Kidd and Kidd 1970) (Figure 11e), however, is probably affiliated with Component 1.

Clay Smoking Pipe Fragments. While the accession records list 12 fragments of "clay pipes," it is impossible to separate aboriginal, Iroquoian pipes from European white clay pipes without more information. As many of the latter could be intrusive from the Component 2 occupation, the pipe fragment counts are not included in this discussion. A recent study of pre-1680 trade good assemblages in Illinois and Wisconsin determined that fragments of European pipes are few in such contexts (Mazrim and Esarey 2007:182)

General Collection Items of Possible Component 1 Affiliation. Several items found in disturbed contexts may have been redeposited from the seventeenth century Component 1 remains. The most probable of these include an additional rolled brass bead, three glass beads commonly found in mid seventeenth century contexts, a Jesuit-style ring, and an early brass clothing buckle.

The ring consists of a round, engraved plaque with a ridged band (Figure 11h). The plaque is decorated with a crude rendition of an L-Heart motif. The buckle is a small (2.5 cm), crudely cast, asymmetrical double-frame belt buckle (Figure 11i). It may have used on clothing, or it may have served as a sword belt buckle. The shape and general appearance of this specimen is quite similar to sixteenth century buckles illustrated by Deagan (2002:182–189), but it may also date to the seventeenth century. The buckle would be out of place in post-1790 contexts, however. Finally, two additional Type IIa1 beads were found in disturbed contexts, as was a Type IVa5 bead (Kidd and Kidd 1970). These are probably affiliated with the seventeenth century occupation of the site. Both types were found in the pre-1660 components at Rock Island, and the latter was found exclusively in those contexts (Mason 1986:188–193).

Rethinking the Age, Function, and Occupancy of the Cadotte Site

If, as in the past, the documentary record is used as the primary guide to dating the Cadotte site, the Huron and Odawa arrived around 1660 (or perhaps one or two years earlier) following their departure from the Mississippi Valley. By 1665, however, they were living on the mainland, when French priests first observed their agricultural villages. In 1671, the Huron and Odawa departed for the straits at St. Ignace. This chronology would suggest that

if the Cadotte site was the locale of the refugee village, it was occupied for about five years.

At Cadotte, which has only been partially excavated, 1500 potsherds from a conservative minimum of 65 vessels suggest an occupation that spanned more than a few years during the 1660s. From that minimum of pots, perhaps 50 are of Wendat traditions. If we accept that it is unlikely that Huron/Odawa were using Madeline Island during their flight from Huronia between 1649 and 1658, then we must consider the likelihood that many of these pots were broken well before the Dispersal of 1649, or into the late 1630s. If the site was only occupied seasonally (as discussed below), then the age of the site must be pushed back again. The character of the more traditional Wendat pots in the sample also supports a pre-Dispersal occupation of the island.

The time compression that results from an exclusive application of dates from the historical record creates another problem when considering the Cadotte site. Given the utter lack of Wendat pottery from the St. Ignace area (Branstner 1991; Cleland 1971; Nern and Cleland 1974), it is widely accepted that the Huron were no longer making pottery by 1671. Even if Madeline Island were entirely vacated by 1665 (when the Huron/Petun were seen living on the mainland), the ancient tradition of copious pottery making by the Huron would have been utterly abandoned in a matter of five years. This unlikely scenario, coupled with size of the ceramic assemblage at Cadotte, demands we accept a greater time depth to the Wendat tradition ceramic assemblage at that site. This does not contradict the archival record, it simply enhances that record. The parallels between documents and archaeological sites can remain intact, but they should not restrict our concept of how or how long the sites were in use.

By 1600, the Ontario Odawa (consisting of at least three regional bands) were living on the Bruce Peninsula (between Georgian Bay and Lake Huron) and also on Manitoulin Island (Fox 1990:459). Fox also suggests that at least some of the Odawa were occupying the eastern shore of Lake Michigan (at L'Arbre Croche) by the 1630s (Fox 1992:56). Champlain wrote in 1615 that the Odawa traveled in bands over "four or five hundred leagues distant" to trade with tribes in the interior (Champlain 1971:97-98). There is also every reason to consider that the westward trade witnessed by Champlain during the 1610s was built upon a series of routes, sites, and relations that predated the desire for European goods.

From the perspective of Ontario Odawa archaeological assemblages and early seventeenth century French observations, Fox has stressed the antiquity of these western trade systems:

Sixteenth and seventeenth century archaeological data from Ontario, when combined with early French observations concerning Odawa exchange activities, clearly document a Native trade network stretching between at least Georgian Bay in the east and Lake Superior to the west. Goods which traveled this network included dried berries and probably corn, reed mats, nets, Native fabrics, pelts, pigments, ceramic vessels, marine shell and native copper; as well as [a] range of lithic materials and finished items. European goods, when they appeared in the region, were simply incorporated into this existing exchange network [Fox 1992:56].

Certainly by 1620, seasonal journeys made by the Odawa into the far western interior had become commonplace, and fundamentally important to the Great Lakes economy. The trading of regional commodities and European goods must have been significant events, and included ritualized feasts, gift exchanges, and the creation of trade based alliances (Fox 1992, Garrad 1998, Smith 1996). Such missions probably continued until attacks by the Iroquois collapsed the trading system at Huronia during the late 1640s. With this in mind, we should expect archaeological reflections of this early seventeenth century trade throughout the western Great Lakes.

Later, as refugees during the 1650s, it seems unlikely that the Huron and Odawa fled into an unknown wilderness. Instead, they probably retreated to familiar yet remote territory where they would encounter known trading allies. Their destinations during the flight of the 1650s were anticipated by earlier patterns of peacetime exchange (Fox 1992, 2002). By the 1660s, priests at St. Esprit found the Huron and Odawa gathering with members of at least seven other nations, some of whom (such as the Illinois) were also a long way from home. They were traveling to the Bay for trade, probably as they had for decades.

Sites such as Cadotte (as well as Rock Island) likely served as rendezvous places within this trading system. They were probably selected for their strategic or easily recognizable locations, and the specific sites may not have been the "homes" of any one group. As far as their settings are concerned, Cadotte and Rock Island are quite similar. Both are islands located at the mouths of prominent bays. Both are situated on low sandy terraces at the southern ends of the islands, and are easily accessible by canoe. The islands offered secure yet highly visible settings for trade-based gatherings.

At a predetermined time, groups living in the interior may have gathered at these entrepôts for exchanges and feasts. In Huronia, trading time during the early seventeenth century was July and August (Garrad 1998), and Father Menard was told of a springtime rendezvous on the south shore

of the lake in 1661 (Thwaites 1902:22). The archaeological signatures of such sites have yet to be defined, but they may look different than a typical summer village or wintering camp. At Cadotte, the sample is dominated by non-local pottery and animal remains. A specialized function may also explain the paucity of recycled brass scrap and lithic debris: general repairs, metal craft, and stone tool making may have been less common activities at such encampments. Further, if Cadotte were considered as a seasonal occupation before the Dispersal (lasting only a month at a time) this would significantly extend the age of the site, as reflected by the number of broken pottery vessels. A conservative estimate of circa 1620 is suggested here as the initial occupation of the Cadotte site.

In this trade-based scenario, dozens of Wendat tradition pots reflect the seasonal feasts held between traders from Ontario and their regional trading clientele. Mixed in with that pottery is a range of wares apparently reflecting the presence of customers from the south, west, and north. At least three shell tempered Allamakee or Ogechie vessels are very probably affiliated with the early years of trade on the island. As late as 1655 (when they first settled in the Mississippi Valley), the Huron and Odawa maintained reasonably stable relationship with the Sioux, and these pots may reflect a similar time of trade between the two groups. It has also been suggested that the Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) may have made Allamakee Trilled pots (C. Mason 1976). Given the ubiquitous presence of the Winnebago in pre-1650 trade accounts (including their interaction with the Odawa during the 1630s), their presence at the Cadotte trading locale during the early seventeenth century would not be surprising. At least two Danner series vessels probably reflect visits by the Illinois, such as those witnessed by Marquette in 1669. Again, there is no reason to assume that trips to the little mission represented the first time the Illinois saw Chequamegon Bay. Finally, at least one Selkirk vessel may reflect the presence of, or interaction with, the Cree.

The conservative trade good assemblage affiliated with the isolated Component 1 sample closely mirrors our current understanding of pre-1670 trade good schedules west of Lake Michigan (including the first two components of the Rock Island site). Component 1 at Cadotte spans several distinct eras in the chronology of trade in the western Great Lakes (Mazrim and Esarey 2007:185–187). These include the earliest historically documented period of down-the-line trade in the region (ca. 1615–1650), the post-Dispersal depression (ca. 1650–1665), and the subsequent western shift of direct trade between the French and the Native Americans (ca. 1665–1680).

Very conservative archaeological assemblages of European goods mark the first two eras. These are dominated by scrap and recycled kettle brass

(including tubular beads, tinkling cones, and simple brass ring bands), a few iron tools (consisting primarily of broken knife blades and awls), and a limited quantity and range of glass beads. This period also predates the arming of western tribes with significant numbers of guns. The single, heavily worn and reused gunspall from Component 1 at Cadotte appropriately reflects the preciousness of these goods during this era.

After the early 1660s, French traders were bringing goods directly to their western customers, although how much of this presumably wider range of materials entered the archaeological record before 1680 is unclear. An increase presence of trade guns, however, probably resulted in more French gunspalls, musket balls, gun parts, and spilled lead in the ground. These items are notably lacking at Cadotte, fitting well with the presumed abandonment of the site by or before 1670.²

After their circa 1660 arrival as refugees, the Odawa were using the region differently than they had in the past. Now joined with the Huron, the two groups were living and farming in two mainland villages along the bay during the summer, and wintering in the forests to the south. Chequamegon Bay had become home, as opposed to a seasonal place of rendezvous. The old meeting place on the island may have remained relevant, however. Menard learned that the "Algonkins" were still conducting spring rendezvous at Chequamegon Bay in 1661, and felt compelled to visit the event from his station at Keweenaw Bay (Thwaites 1902:22). The early 1660s were still a time of depression, however, and any trade in European goods at the bay was probably light (Mazrim and Esarey 2007). By 1671, threats from the Sioux pushed the Odawa, Huron, and the French out of the area, and Cadotte Site was probably abandoned around that time.

Huron Pottery Elsewhere In Wisconsin

The presence of significant quantities of Ontario Wendat tradition pottery at archaeological sites in the western Great Lakes is unusual, and Cadotte is the only site in the region to produce an assemblage dominated by such pottery. An important, and singular, analog to the Cadotte site is found at the mouth of Green Bay. Not coincidentally, both locales have an associated historical record that indicates the presence of the Huron/Petun and Odawa during the mid seventeenth century.

The Rock Island II site, investigated during the early 1970s, consists of a stratified deposit that contains four discrete occupation layers that include European trade goods, as well as underlying prehistoric deposits (Mason 1986). Synthesizing the historical record (Nicolas Perrot, the Jesuit Rela-

tions, etc) with the aboriginal pottery and trade goods assemblage, Mason affiliated each of these layers with specific Native American occupations known to have occurred on an island at the mouth of the bay after 1640. The earliest two occupations are relevant to the Cadotte site collection.

The earliest era, assigned a date of 1641–1650, is thought to have occupied by the Potawatomi. The initial date is based primarily on vague seventeenth century interpretations of the westward movements of that group. That date is also based on the assumption that the “protohistoric” period at Green Bay begins around 1640 (Mason 1986:210–211). Our subsequent understanding of down-the-line trade contradicts that assumption, and some of the aboriginal and European materials found in this component quite possibly predate 1640.

Occupation 2 at Rock Island is thought to have been affiliated with refugee Huron/Petun and Odawa, who are known to have occupied an island at the mouth of the bay between 1650/51 and 1653. Indeed, that stratum includes not only Wendat-like pottery, but also evidence of a palisaded encampment, presumably constructed by the refugees in defense against the Iroquois. From the historical record, then, we might assume that the very people who were living on Rock Island during the early 1650s were responsible for at least part of the assemblage at the Cadotte site. While the archeological record at both sites very probably reflects a more complex history than what was recorded by the French, the two sites are clearly linked within the mid seventeenth century history of the region, and the history of the Huron/Petun and Odawa. For that reason, the assemblage from Rock Island is important when considering the events on Madeline Island during the mid–1600s.

Both Components 1 and 2 at Rock Island produced conservative trade goods assemblages consistent with pre–1670 sites in the region (Mason 1986:212–217, Mazrim and Esarey 2007). From Component 2 was a small sample of Huron tradition pottery, consisting of a minimum of seven vessels. These were culled from fewer than 400 sherds, 250 of which were attributed to one pot. Two additional vessels with Huron-like characteristics were attributed to the Huron/Petun/Odawa amalgam, but fall outside of traditional Ontario Wendat types (Mason 1986:163–178). The seven Huron/Petun tradition pots from Rock Island included four that Mason described as “like Huron Incised,” two Sidey Notched, and one MacMurphy Scalloped. Three Ontario scholars were asked for their opinions on certain vessels from Rock Island, and their opinions were divided as to whether such vessels represented the work of Wendat potters or were instead Algonquin imitations (Mason 1986:172).

Who Made the Huron Pots Found In Wisconsin?

The grit tempered, collared-rim, incised vessels found at Cadotte are immediately reminiscent of Ontario Wendat traditions. However, many of these styles (such as those in the "Group 2" category described above) are not comfortable fits with the traditional styles published by MacNeish. Mason appropriately labeled his specimens "like Huron incised" and "like MacMurchy Scalloped" (Mason 1986:163–166). Likewise, most of the Cadotte samples seem to only generally conform to certain published styles, and sometimes combine attributes of more than one style.

Back in the east, Wendat pottery traditions were changing. During the early years of the seventeenth century there was an observable trend (at sites such as Hanley-Cook) toward a discontinuity in traditional pottery types, and the introduction of new forms (Garrad 2001: 23). Slightly later, short-term sites affiliated with the Petun at the eve of the Dispersal (such as Plater-Martin and Plater-Fleming), reflect a decline in pottery production. While the samples from these sites are dominated by Sidey Notched ceramics, they produce a larger than average percentage of Warminster Horizontal and exhibit a decline in Huron Incised (Garrad 1980:109–110). Garrad suggested that the enhanced presence of Warminster Horizontal might reflect the 1640s arrival of Huron at Petun villages (Garrad 1980:111).

Also during the second quarter of the seventeenth century was a notable "Odawa/ Algonquin" presence in many Petun villages (Garrad 2001:23). This presence was not directly visible in the pottery sequence, unless it could be attributed to new forms such as MacMurchy Scalloped, or simply to the changes in the character of traditional styles. Garrad speculated the Odawa had "wholly adopted Petun pottery" during early 1600s, and then recognized the "unanswerable question" posed by these later assemblages: "how much 'Petun' pottery was actually made by the Odawa, particularly when the manufacture of Petun pottery declined during the second quarter of the seventeenth century?" (Garrad 2001:24). Fox observed that the most notable attribute of Ontario Odawa ceramic assemblages of the period is diversity, reflecting long distance travel and exchange with other groups (Fox 1990: 463, 473). Following the publication of the Rock Island report, Garrad even suggested that it might have been the Odawa that maintained the Wendat ceramic traditions after the Petun themselves ceased to make pots (Garrad 2001:25).

A number of authors have suggested that Algonquin groups living on the eastern shores of Lake Superior mimicked Huron style pottery (Clark 1999:21). Wright concluded that at least one vessel from Rock Island (which consisted of a MacMurchy Scalloped rim with a cordmarked body) was an

Algonquin “copy” of Huron traditions (Mason 1986:172). Similar mixes of Iroquoian rim decoration characteristics and Algonquin-like use of cord marking or cord wrapped sticks were found at the Michipicoten site (Wright 1968). Such obvious cordmarked hybrids are not present in the Cadotte sample, but those that were observed at Rock Island occurred on only one vessel. Instead, like what was recognized by Garrad in Ontario, there appears to have been a general degradation and mixing of old Huron styles during the time of disease, warfare, and a direct Algonquin interaction with the Huron.

The principal point to take from this discussion is that by the second quarter of the seventeenth century, there is probably little distinction between Huron/Petun and Algonquin authorship of the “Wendat-like” ceramics. The old ways of pottery were breaking down, and new amalgams of people were making new (and fewer) pots. Garrad sees this occurring by the 1620s or 1630s in Ontario, and attributes it in part to the amalgamation of the Huron and Algonquin people (Garrad 2001:23–25). During the same time, disease was significantly reducing populations as well, and this must have effected pottery-making traditions.

The contemporaneous Cadotte site may reflect a similar situation. Here, two groups of Wendat-like pots seem to reflect changes in both time and personnel. Reasonably well made Huron Incised and Warminster Horizontal pots (“Group 1 vessels”) comfortably reflect the pre-1625 Ontario traditions of the Huron and Petun. A second group of pots (“Group 2”) exhibits certain Wendat traits, but these do not conform to traditional typologies. They may reflect a breakdown or hybridization of old traditions, but they may also suggest the possibility of non-Wendat manufacture, perhaps by Algonquin neighbors and trading partners. Such vessels may have been made in Ontario, or they may have been remotely-made copies (Charles Garrad, personal communication 2009).

A hint of the possibility of local production of such facsimiles might be found at the Marina site, located one mile north of Cadotte on Madeline Island. There, several grit tempered, trailed body sherds similar to Huron or Petun wares were recovered from what appear to be good eighteenth century contexts (Birmingham and Salzer 1984:184, 187). These, then, would have been deposited at least 30 to 50 years after the departure of the Huron, as well as their subsequent abandonment of pottery making. The implication, albeit based on a very small sample, is a local continuation of Wendat-like copies. At the Michipicoten site, on the eastern shore of Lake Superior, similar Huron-like pots were recovered from the eighteenth century³ Stratum II (Wright 1968:14), again postdating (by at least one or two

generations) the presumed cessation of Wendat pottery making. Importantly, both the Marina and Michipicoten sites were occupied by the Ojibwe.

An Ojibwe Presence At La Pointe Before 1680?

Once the possible authorship of at least some of the pottery at Cadotte is attributed to the nebulous "Odawa" of the seventeenth century, one is faced with the possibility that Algonquin groups that we now recognize as distinct from the Odawa were also present on the island during the first half of the seventeenth century. This occurred at a time when the French were first identifying regional western groups, and at the same time lumping many of these groups into broader taxonomic identities. Meanwhile, those local groups were establishing new relationships and tribal affiliations in response to disease, warfare, and economic opportunities. From the Native American viewpoint, the various groups of people gathered together at times of change knew full well who they were, if not what would become of them. The French were not as clear, however, and during much of the seventeenth century, many of the "Odawa" probably referred to themselves by other names.

Addressing the character of some of the Huron-like pottery at Rock Island, Mason considered the "cultural patterns juxtaposed in and on the clay" of a particular vessel as:

not typically Huron, though it is reminiscent; [and also] virtually identical with some of the ceramics reasonably identified as Ojibwa on Lake Superior. If a compulsion to posit linguistic affinities is given in to and an Algonquin ethnicity embraced, then in Northern Michigan "Ojibwa" on the relevant time level may more properly be "Ottawa" [Mason 1986:172].

Mason was referring to James Wright's interpretation of sites such as the multicomponent Michipicoten site on the eastern shore of Lake Superior. From his archaeological and ethnographic research, Wright concluded that any reality of discrete tribal designations was limited by the "broad mosaic" of independent but loosely related groups that defy our "units of anthropological convenience" (Wright 1965:190). Thusly, his designation of the Ojibwe included many of the known Algonquin residents of the Great Lakes. While this interpretation is generally considered too broad to be of practical utility when discussing the identity of occupants of a given archaeological site, it appropriately challenges us to reconsider how finely we partition central Algonquin groups, and just who composed the "Odawa" in the western Great Lakes during that period.

Wright also concluded that the proto-Ojibwe inhabiting the eastern shores of Lake Superior did not maintain a strong ceramic tradition of their own, but instead borrowed the ceramic traditions of others (Wright 1965, 1968). He posited that this would have resulted in erratic ceramic assemblages that should differ between sites and change over time, presumably based on their relationships with other groups. Unfortunately for archaeologists, it would also confound attempts to trace the culture history of proto-Ojibwe group through particular ceramic styles.

The Ojibwe themselves maintained that the Odawa were in fact an older division of the Ojibwe, having split off from a westward-moving tribe long before the arrival of the French (Warren 1984: 82), to become a group known as “traders” or *adaawewinini*. Claude Dablon, writing from the Sault in 1670, seemed to include the Saulteurs among the “30 nations” that the French knew as the Odawa (JR 54:127) and in 1683, Father Beschefer specifically included the Saulteurs as members of the Odawa (JR 62:193). The Odawa spoke a southeastern dialect of Ojibwe (Feest and Feest 1978:772), and it is generally accepted that proto-Ojibwe groups shared the shores of Georgian Bay with the Odawa before 1650 (Feest and Feest 1978, Rogers 1978:760, Trigger 1987:166). During this time, however, the French would have not have distinguished between the two, and thus references made by the French to the “Odawa” during the first half of the seventeenth century could have included proto-Ojibwe groups.

The blurring between the Odawa and the Ojibwe has special resonance on Madeline Island, and relevance to the interpretation of the Cadotte site. William Warren (writing of the island as it was during the 1830s and 1840s) observed that the “common class of the tribe” claimed that Madeline Island was the “root from which all the far scattered villages of the tribe have sprung,” and that the practice of the Midewiwin was in “its purest and most original form” on the island long before the arrival of Europeans (Warren 1984:80). Even before Warren wrote his history, visitors to the area remarked on the perceived antiquity of the Ojibwe presence:

[Chequamegon] is the ancient seat of Chippewa power in this quarter. It is a central and commanding point, with respect of the country lying north, and west, and south of it. It appears to be the focus from which, as radii from a centre, the ancient population emigrated; and the interior bands consequently look back to it with something of the feelings of a parental relation [Schoolcraft 1834:270].

Warren's history of the Ojibwe and Madeline Island is often cherry-picked by ethnographers, choosing certain details as fact and disregarding others as inaccurate reflections of the vagaries of Native American allegorical oral tradition. In his ethnohistorical studies of the Ojibwe, Hickerson (like many scholars) relied heavily on details provided by Warren's informants, but at the same time roundly dismissed their claim of a pre-1680 occupation of Madeline Island as "tribal myth" (Hickerson 1970:55). Based on his survey of the various mid-seventeenth century French documents, Hickerson subscribed to the common notion that the Ojibwe could not have resided at Chequamegon Bay before 1680, when the Saulteurs are thought to have followed Daniel Greysolon Duluth's westward trading enterprises. Importantly, this schedule provided support to Hickerson's thesis that the Midewiwin ceremony was a post-contact, nativistic reaction to European interaction (Hickerson 1970:54). More recently, Schenck has stated that the importance of Chequamegon Bay in the history of the Ojibwe has been "greatly exaggerated" (Schenck 1997:78) and subscribes to the traditional post-1680 westward expansion of the Saulteurs as the beginning of the Ojibwe occupation of Chequamegon Bay. This schedule also supports her thesis that narrowly defines the original Ojibwe as the Outchibous, who were living on the *north shore* before 1670.

With regards to gauging time depth from the historical record, there can be no primary references to a multiple-clan "Ojibwe" in western Lake Superior, as the French recognized only the Saulteurs, and the Saulteurs were named by their geographical location. As early as 1648, French priests were reporting that the Nation of the Sault were gathering there to fish, and also that they were the key to communication with "numerous other Algonquin tribes" that dwelt further west, on the shores of the "superior lake" (JR 33:64). The widely cited post-1680 move west by some of the Saulteurs (following Duluth's peace negotiations between them and the Sioux) does not preclude the possibility that those people, or their relations, had occupied or utilized places such as Chequamegon long before that particular date. In fact, it seems just as likely that they knew where they were going, and that Duluth's measures were reactions to a preexisting economic opportunity, as opposed to the creation of a new one.

Further, pre-1680 references to what have been recently interpreted as various clans of proto-Ojibwe, living west of the Sault, do exist. In 1670, Father Dablon met the Nouquet, Outchibous, and Marameg while they were visiting the Saulteurs (JR 54:133-135). He stated that the latter two groups were residing on the north shore of the Lake Superior, while the Nouquet resided somewhere on the south shore of the lake, "from wence

they [took] their origin." Hickerson, in his close examination of this passage and its translation, deduced that the French erroneously named spatially separate clans as discrete nations. Further, he concluded that the Nouquet (Bear Clan), Outchibous (Crane Clan), and Marameg (Catfish Clan) had a preexisting relationship with the Saulteurs (Hickerson 1970:42–45). Using the various "nations" of the Illinois confederacy as an example, he essentially made the argument that the three lake-area clans and the Saulteurs were politically independent elements of a larger cultural group linked "through ritual practice and common stores of legends and myths" (Hickerson 1970:45). The Saulteurs themselves simply acted as a kind of "hub," perhaps due to their strategic location.

From this perspective, the "merging" that took place at the Sault during the 1670s may not have been as formative as it appears in the literature. Instead, already related groups appear to have joined together for strategic purposes associated with changes brought about by the fur trade, or as part of an oft-repeated pattern that extended into late prehistory. Further, it seems likely that such alliances were fostered by previous relationships and shared identities. The actions witnessed by the French after 1670 gave the appearance of a new, amalgamated nation, but the shared language, history, and ritual practices that had bound these clans together may have been, as Warren's informants insisted, much older.

The concept of several protohistoric Ojibwe clans distinct from, but related to, the "Saulteurs" has been accepted by a number of authors (Bishop and Smith 1975; Clark 1999 Greenburg and Morrison 1982; Ritzenthaler 1978; Rogers 1978; Wright 1965). As discussed above, even Hickerson supported this concept in his interpretation of the events at the Sault around 1670. More recently, however, Schenck has argued against this broader view. While she willingly combines the Saulteurs and Outchibous (in order to link the Saulteurs to the derivation *Ojibwa*), she chooses to divide these people from their neighbors who "were not originally Ojibwe, but who became so through intermarriage and alliance" (Schenck 1997:17).

To support this division, Schenck states that the Ojibwe were "indeed a single totemic group" upon contact (Schenck 1997:31). Thus, the antiquity (as Ojibwe) of the four additional ancient totems described by Warren's Mide informants is dismissed, and the complexity of the pre-contact Ojibwe is reduced to the Outchibous (Crane Clan) who probably numbered less than 300 people during the mid-seventeenth century. All others, such as the Amikouets, Marameg, and Nouquet, were essentially "strangers," in the context of the Algonquin concept of the *oten* or village. She further suggests that the identification of these groups as "merely" proto-Ojibwe is to

disregard their equality and independence (Schenck 1997:17, 29). In fact, the acknowledgement of such relationships does not conflict with the concept of deeply related, but politically independent, totem-based societies. Nor does it diminish the importance or standing of these groups, as does the comment that they became “a memory, a footnote” soon after their contact with the French (Schenck 1997:35). Certainly, the old men who spoke to Warren on Madeline Island (some of whom were members of the Bear Clan) would beg to differ.

From Schenck’s reductive perspective, each of the totemic groups seen by Dablon at the Sault, numbering fewer than 600 individuals in aggregate (Rogers 1978:760) become individual “nations” (Schenck 1997:35). This, of course, is the same perspective held by the French upon first contact, and which ethnographers and archaeologists have subsequently deconstructed over the past 50 years of study. Ultimately, the selective partitioning of these interrelated groups fosters the same oversimplifications made by Europeans 350 years ago. The result is the troubling definition of “true” or “original” identities, new social hybrids, and rapid cultural extinctions, all of which are predicated by post-contact frameworks of native response to European agency, as opposed to indigenous native traditions of social interaction and seasonal movement.

If one accepts the broader and more complex view of the existence of several independent, clan-based, proto-Ojibwe groups having shared a cultural identity (long before they become known as “Ojibwe”), then one finds a number of seventeenth century remarks that support the antiquity of protohistoric Ojibwe clans on the shores of Lake Superior. As Dablon observed, the various groups gathering at the Sault in 1670 were arriving from territory that they recognized as ancestral. The Outchibous “claimed” the north shore, and the Nouquet traced their “origin” to the south shore.

The Nouquet were probably the “Roquai” mentioned by Le Jeune in 1640 as living beyond the Sault, somewhere on Lake Superior (JR 18:229). Nicolet may have supplied that information, from his 1634 trip to meet the Winnebago at a much-debated location on the shore of western Lake Michigan or southern Lake Superior (Hall 2003; Mason 1994; McAfferty 2004). In 1661, Radisson traveled with the Saultuets to Chequamegon Bay, and along the way he encountered a number of other groups thought to have been affiliated with the protohistoric Ojibwe (including the Nouquet) (Adams 1961:159–160). It is probably significant that the Saultuets who guided Radisson brought him to Chequamegon, which was then serving as the connecting route to their interior wintering grounds at Lac Court D’Orielles. By the mid-1660s the Saultuets were seen returning to Chequamegon, where

they “dwelt in peace” (Thwaites 1902: 26) until hostilities with the Sioux forced them to leave (along with the Huron and Odawa) in 1671. During the same period, the priests at Esprit mentioned no tribal names that can be linked directly to proto-Ojibwe groups. However, it is quite possible that such groups were included in the vague “3 nations of Ottawa”, “3 nations from the north, including others”, “7 nations”, or “10 nations” (JR 50:249–305, 54:169–175).

Unless the historical identity of the Ojibwe is narrowly defined, it can be argued that there were people occupying the southern shores of Lake Superior well before 1680 who can be considered ancestors to those who made their home on Madeline Island. If we are to rely on the written record, then Nicolet’s trip indicates that the Nouquet, or Bear Clan, were already in the general neighborhood by 1634. Information obtained by subsequent French explorers and priests years later indicates that some of these people had been residing somewhere on the south shore for years, and by the 1660s (or the earliest appearance of first hand accounts of the region), Chequamegon Bay is mentioned specifically.

William Warren learned from his elder informants that the Ojibwe had lived at Chequamegon Bay for nine generations prior to 1850 (Warren 1984:90). Calculating 40 years to a generation, Warren reckoned that the Ojibwe arrived sometime during the late fifteenth century. If a more typical 25–30 year generation were considered, the traditional arrival of the Ojibwe on the island would have occurred between 1580 and 1625, or very close to the initial occupation of the Cadotte site. While subsequent authors have suggested that it was the post-1680 arrival of Ojibwe clans from the Sault that marked the beginning of their tribal presence at the bay, the mid-seventeenth century records from which this interpretation sprang make no such demands on these proto-Ojibwe groups. The historical record does little to limit the antiquity of a protohistoric Ojibwe presence on Madeline Island, and the archaeological record supports a cosmopolitan mix of people during the first decades of the seventeenth century.

Conclusions

The artifact assemblage from Cadotte site indicates that it was occupied by the Odawa long before their late-1650s arrival as refugees. It seems likely that both Madeline Island and Rock Island were quite familiar to these people before the Dispersal, having played roles in their widely cast trading activities for decades. The historic record states that long distance journeys west were commonplace by the 1610s. Sites such as Michipicoten on the

eastern shore of Lake Superior produce Huron ceramics from mid-fifteenth century contexts — a century before the first Frenchman saw the St. Lawrence. In each western case where Huron pots are recovered, they are found in a distinctly cosmopolitan mix of regional and non-regional traditions. In the west, Wendat tradition pottery seems to reflect a circumstance as much as a particular cultural group: diverse peoples gathering together.

The interpretation of the Cadotte site has been inadvertently limited by the fortuitous parallels with moments recorded in the historical record. However, archaeological assemblages should not be bound to the incomplete calendars drawn during the seventeenth century. Indeed, it is from the archaeological record that we should hope to fill the many gaps in those histories. The materials excavated at Cadotte clearly suggest a time depth and complexity that extend beyond the events and names written on seventeenth century paper. Specifically, we must expect the presence of European trade goods in the furthest reaches of the western Great Lakes by the first years of the seventeenth century. Conversely, iron knife blades and glass beads found in the forests of Wisconsin cannot be assumed to postdate Nicolet's brief visit. Europeans did not bring "historic artifacts" here, Native Americans did. And they did so during a period (the "protohistoric") that was longer and more dynamic than a simple prelude to the physical presence of the French.

By the 1620s, and probably before, traders known collectively as the Odawa were traveling to the western limits of Lake Superior to meet customers living in the interior. Business with a number of widespread groups may have been facilitated by seasonal rendezvous at predetermined places. Chequamegon Bay, Green Bay, and probably the site of Chicago served as strategic and highly visible meeting places for regional groups. These gatherings played an important role in the maintenance of alliances between Algonquin groups, and the ritual feasting and gift giving that occurred at places such as Cadotte represented more than opportunities to acquire iron awls and brass kettles.

Just who composed the "Odawa" at this time depended in part on where they were seen by the French. Clearly, this group was not a culturally homogenous one, particularly by the second decade of the seventeenth century. From an archaeological perspective, those that frequented Chequamegon appear to have been stocked with traditional Wendat pottery when they first arrived, but may have also made their own versions of those wares as disease and warfare quickly diminished the production and traditional character of Wendat ceramics in Ontario.

The early visitors to Madeline Island also brought with them a predictably limited range of European goods, including small iron tools, brass

kettles, beads, and eventually an occasional French fusil. Perishable European goods, as well as more traditional native products, were probably exchanged, but are invisible archaeologically. Meeting the traders at the island were a number of regional groups, which may have included the Winnebago or the Sioux, as well as the Illinois, Cree, and others who have yet to be identified. The lack of Bell Types I and II ceramics (affiliated with the Meskwaki and Potawatomi respectively) seems surprising given the cosmopolitan mix of pottery traditions at the site. The lack of the former, however, may reflect the age of the sample, as most of the “classic” Bell Type I ceramics originate in what are thought to be post-1680 contexts (Behm 2008). Bell Type I sherds have been recovered at the nearby Marina site, from eighteenth century contexts (Behm 2008; Birmingham and Salzer 1984).

It also seems likely that clans affiliated with what would become known as the Ojibwe were among the cosmopolitan mix of Algonquin people who gathered at Chequamegon Bay. During the early years the seventeenth century, some of these people may have traveled to the area as middlemen traders, in the company of other Algonquins or their Huron trading partners. Some proto-Ojibwe may have already been living in the neighborhood as well. The Nouquet were living along the southern shore during this time, and they may have greeted the traders from the east. The historical record, once used to preclude the Ojibwe from the area before 1680, actually supports the possibility of their presence, and the archaeological record of the Cadotte site simply provides an early seventeenth century context for such interpretations.

Local hosts, who contributed their own local material culture to the mix, may have supported such entrepôts. Green Bay and Chicago are surrounded by archaeological sites that produce Oneota pottery and very early trade goods. The shores of the greater Chequamegon Bay area should also contain similar habitation sites. If they were occupied by proto-Ojibwe they may, as Wright suggested, be without the attendant regional pottery traditions. Instead, “local” pottery may look like a subset of the Group 2 Wendat tradition vessels at Cadotte. These consist of largely unclassifiable imitations of Ontario tradition ceramics, perhaps borne out of generations of close contact between Algonquins and Hurons. It may be the unusual pipes fashioned from bay-area pipestone that reflect the most distinctive local material traditions.

The southern end of the island was probably used as a seasonal trading locale for a full generation before the Iroquois disrupted the old networks during the late 1640s. Soon, the Odawa, Huron, and Petun became refugees, and fled to the familiar but remote locale during their diaspora of the

1650s. Now full time residents of the area, they settled on the mainland to farm, but may have continued to utilize the island for rendezvous that were recorded as late as 1661. By the 1660s, however, it is unlikely that much (if any) Wendat tradition pottery was in use on the island, as it appears that the Huron, Petun, and Odawa had ceased to make their traditional ceramic vessels by the early 1670s. That is, of course, unless other local residents such as the Ojibwe maintained the production of some of the as-yet unaffiliated styles of "Wendat-like" pottery for a time. It seems likely, however, that most of the pottery lying on the ground at Cadotte during the 1660s was brought to the island from Ontario, and reflected earlier days of prosperous trade.

As it adds a layer of time and complexity to our previous notions of the role of Chequamegon Bay during the early years of the fur trade, the Cadotte assemblage also reminds us of William Warren's observations, made over 150 years ago. For generations, the residents of Madeline Island spoke of its antiquity and significance in their economic and religious history. The depth and complexity of those traditions however, has often been compressed by the limitations inherent in the subsequent historical record. Upon closer inspection, the cryptic remarks made by French traders and priests, as well as the "juxtapositions in clay" found scattered in the black sand at the south end of the island, actually say little to oppose those very old stories told on Madeline Island.

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Notes

1. This concentration was recovered from Levels 2–5. Level 2 was generally the horizon at which the clay floor feature was normally encountered. From the base map of excavations, it is evident that Unit 124 was located at the edge of the block, and also along an edge of the clay floor. Although this large concentration of aboriginal pottery was found approximately 4 inches higher than was typical, it appears that the clay feature and general disturbance affiliated with C2 was not uniform across the site, and that the Unit 124 sample is sound. For this reason it is included in the seventeenth century samples.
2. Four French gunspalls were recovered from disturbed or Level 1 / Level 2 contexts at Cadotte. Some of these may have been lost during the 1660s, or they may have also have been in use during the Component 2 occupation. While blade style flints appear to have largely replaced gunspalls by the late eighteenth century, some may have been brought to the island by Michel Cadotte's company during the 1790s.
3. This stratum produced British blade gunflints, and thus stretched into the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

