

THE OTTAWA:
TRADERS OF THE UPPER GREAT LAKES

THE OTTAWA:
TRADERS OF THE UPPER GREAT LAKES
1615-1700

By
LEO GILBERT WAISBERG, B.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University
September 1977

MASTER OF ARTS (1978)
(Anthropology)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Ottawa, Traders of the Upper Great Lakes

AUTHOR: Leo Gilbert Waisberg, B.A. (York University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Richard J. Preston

NUMBER OF PAGES: xxii + 203

ABSTRACT

The fur trade of the Upper Great Lakes region during the 17th century is examined with the aid of ethnohistorical documents and source materials. Analysis is focused upon the role of the Ottawa, an important collection of native American middlemen, on the French-oriented fur trade. The Ottawa, a loose political federation of Algonkian-speaking peoples, exhibited a rather variable economic adaptation during this era; while territorial or ecological factors are considered in this study, it was concluded that social organizational forms and economic relations were modified, significantly and continually throughout the 17th century, by changing Ottawa perceptions of trade strategies. These perceptions revolved around traditional cultural norms and conventions as well as strictly market considerations such as supply/demand fluctuations. The trade itself, a melange of European and native customs and orthodoxies, was manipulated in various ways to ensure high levels of consumption. In effect, the trade financed an intensification of traditional reciprocity, egalitarianism and factional politics; international relations were also affected, as

the influx of wealth was used to extend the influence of Ottawa chiefs among other nations, or to engage in the subtleties of baroque power politics with the English and French.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Few studies are purely the work of the author alone. I would like to thank those who have been involved, and especially express gratitude to the members of my Thesis Committee: Dr. Richard Preston, Dr. David Damas, and Dr. Edward S. Rogers. They have provided expert advice, guidance and criticism, all of which were well appreciated. Dr. Rogers in particular devoted many hours, discussing some of the thornier dilemmas confronting me. My special thanks go to him.

Dr. James G. E. Smith and Mr. Clinton J. Wheeler also deserve mention. Dr. Smith first confronted me with the problem of who the Ottawa were, and has since provided helpful comments at intervals. Mr. Wheeler, as well as suffering silently through multiple but premature revelations about Ottawa kinship, gave constructive criticism on the problem, as well as insights into contemporary kin-based factional struggles among Algonkian-speaking peoples, some of which we watched together.

Lastly, in reply to an unnamed friend who, one evening, claimed that despite appearances my work in toto

was not science but science fiction, I devote this thought. If Stanislav Andreski (1974) is correct, then anthropology, when treated as a uniformly quantifiable science, conjures itself into a vast mechanical monster of sorcery and jargon. Each reader must decide if this work fits the picture of that true Killing Machine (1964) as seen by a real science fiction writer, Jack Vance (119):

Ponderously, the great machine
ingests its bales of lore; grinding,
groaning, shuddering, it brings
forth its product: small puffs of
acrid, vari-colored vapor.

If in your opinion this shoe actually fits, then, Great
Finagle, aid me!

The rabbi of Kotzk was asked how he knew what advice to give the hasidim who came to him in regard to their business affairs, since he certainly was above and beyond all such matters. He replied: "From where can you get the best all-round view of everything?" (Buber: 275)

PREFACE

This narrative concerns that culster of Algonkian-speaking peoples collectively called the Ottawa. As a study, it was motivated by a desire to investigate the historic origins of a people influential beyond their numbers: who are the Ottawa, and what was their role in the events leading to their current status? Many references have been made to them, but there is as yet no cohesive account of their early history. As an expression of a process characterizing the history of a native people, this study was provoked by a variety of anthropological citations either tantalizing or ambiguous, qualities mutually reinforcing. Commentators from Innis onward have ascribed to the Ottawa, on the basis of what seems to be very limited information, a middleman position in the fur trade during the heyday of the French regine in North America, an interpretation which overlooks the complexities of the period and the contradictions in the sources.

Information on the history of the Ottawa is derived from many viewpoints: traders, soldiers, bureaucrats, and priests, each group reflecting attitudes to

life remarkably different from one another. Where possible, original documentary sources have been utilized, especially for the crucial events of direct contact and the fur trade operations centered at Michilmackinac; these extend primarily over the course of the 17th century. While library materials constitute the bulk of the documentation, ethnographic experience among Ojibway peoples has clarified some aspects of the source reports. No oral history was collected, unfortunately, from elders at contemporary Odawa reserves.

Discursus: On Method

For interpreting ethnohistoric data, what approaches to an Ottawa history are possible? I would rather not strain credulity and insist that the author is a dispassionate wraith, coolly sifting and straining the information to derive an objective account of those facts which actually occurred. If these can be said even to have existed, they are now lost for all time. Only approximations are possible. Indeed, even in our original sources, we are dealing with informant interpretations. Objectivity in its ultimate sense is thus impossible. To embroider an argument now considered to reflect the approach of historical relativism, Beard noted (1959:141):

Every student of history knows that his colleagues have been influenced in their selection and ordering of their materials by their biases, prejudices, beliefs, affections, general upbringing, and experience, and if he has any sense of propriety, to say nothing of humour, he applies the canon to himself, leaving no exceptions to the rule.

I hold to an ideology of interpretation which stresses the finite and very limited quality of our knowledge of the 'true' historic facts. Consequently, I see the

structures of ethnohistory, those grand models of social change and evolution, as patterns more or less imposed upon the past by its observers; such persons may be either witnesses to certain events or they may depend upon the records of these individuals. Whatever the amount of critical intellectual effort, past actions are filtered to us, at any level of analysis, to first-hand witness or nighted scholar, through layers of feeling and interpretive processes in every mind through which the information seeps. Events have been selected and ordered, with varying qualities of care and conscience, by motivations scholarly, religious, ideological, economic, or by compulsions totally mysterious or unconscious. Each set of apparent historical ultimates is susceptible therefore to reinterpretation, as new personalities and new concerns are focussed. Such thoughts are as well aimed at this history as at any other.

Even if one accepts the notion that the form of an ethnohistoric presentation arises innocent and directly from the content of the sources, one must also recognize that these sources are, after all, only the impressions of people. What these say may be logical, coherent, even fitting, but they are not simply reflections of the past, as it actually happened, but also explanations valid to the involved personalities. Past events do not

exist except through our own minds. When the sense of an actuality of the past has been transcended, past and present become products of each other.

One can derive, perhaps not logically, a methodology from the assertion of this approach to historical relativism. Ironically, the recognition of how impossible 'history' is can lead to great care and irreproachable standards, the fullest presentation and the most honest interpretation of data. From a recognition of historical relativism, I found that the methodological path beyond led, interestingly enough, to standards of critical analysis similar to those that lay far back on the peculiar progression of historical philosophy. In this regard, there are parallels in method between a contemporary approach to ethnohistory, that of Bruce Trigger in The Children of Aataentsic (1976), and that presented by some military historians of Imperial Germany at the close of the 19th century; of these, a representative example is Hans Delbruck's History of the Art of War Within the Framework of Political History (1975).

Ethnohistory remains basically an attempt to use "historical documents and oral traditions to study the history of non-literate peoples" (Trigger 1976:12). Its branches are various, and include works with the limited aim of simply charting the history of the native peoples

(Anson 1970); alternatively, this history may be used to exemplify processes and patterns of cultural change in the native societies, especially within the context revolving around various anthropological ideas. As formulated in the most recent example of the latter, Trigger 1976, the preparation of an ethnohistory involves the use of historiographic techniques, particularly the critical evaluation of source material; this evaluation is mediated by an ethnographic appreciation of indigenous cultural patterns. It is this use of 'historical ethnography' which is central to the concept of ethnohistory and provides its greatest value. A detailed knowledge of the cultural behaviour of descendant or related cultures is the major basis for interpretations of recorded actions. This understanding is well-nigh impossible using only a strict analysis of the historic literature, most of it delivered or packaged by European observers with all the standard biases they exhibit.

In this sense, ethnohistory depends upon ethnographic experience plus a strict analysis of written source materials, both of which may or may not be subtly or grossly warped or out of phase with the 'actual' events. The idea that facts contained in the documentary sources are not necessarily true or valid is central to

this approach (Trigger 1976:17), a concept sometimes overlooked by those who place a heavy dependence upon one source of information, such as the Hudson's Bay Company documents (Bishop 1974; Hickerson 1967). The analysis of documents must take into account one's experience, whether ethnographical (Trigger 1976:16) or, in the case of the military historians, their participation in the day-to-day business of soldiering in both upper and lower ranks. Documents themselves do not contain the truth, for they are at best only the 'history' of history; as Delbruck stated (1975:84):

the farther the art of historical interpretation has progressed, the more it has become convinced that even contemporary reports are often falsified and clouded by fantasies of every type, and that in a case where the available material is not sufficient to permit checking one source against the other, objective-type interpretation remains the last resort.

In relying on the study of "objective" conditions, a personal testing of the technical possibilities of described events, Delbruck has stressed the interplay between this experiential mode of criticism and the more typical historiographic analysis (1975:12). Similarly, Trigger's ethnographic expertise provides the control over the documentary analysis of French material.

Unfortunately, we cannot, as Delbruck did, borrow several companies of infantry to test the assertions of Herodotus regarding hoplite maneuvers. Nevertheless, this mediation of historiography by the experience of these authors shows how the research methods of ethnographic and military historians must necessarily approximate each other. Historiography and experienced testing "must go hand in hand in every step and every observation, must constantly enlighten and control one another" (Delbruck 1975:12-13).

A recognition of the subjectivist biases, in the sources and in ourselves, thus returns us to what is basically a testing technique of the last century: 20th century relativism triumphant. That the end result of this individually-variable analysis is, naturally, as susceptible to relativistic "error" as any other, is a source of sardonic amusement that one must never lose sight of in reading any ethnohistory. It is a melancholy admission, Alexander Pope providing little solace (1970: 46):

Some have at first for wits, then
 poets passed,
Turned critics next, and proved
 plain fools at last;
Some neither can for wits nor
 critics pass,
As heavy mules are neither horse
 nor ass.

Ethnohistory, then, while it cannot be in my opinion a science and reveal objective truth, can be characterized by a unified and, within its limits, rigorous method. While it cannot mechanically describe or illustrate the past exactly as it happened, it can be an expression, personal, subjective, hopefully moving, of the interaction of other human interpretations with one's own intuitive certainties and experiences. As all readers must ultimately judge for themselves, the complete ethnohistory, in its approach, method, and design, will facilitate this. While this scholarly process can be classed as similar to that undergone by Trigger and Delbruck, it hopefully remains apparent philosophically that this scheme depends as much upon relativistic ideas as upon those which assert the presence of 'unified, scientific criticism' or theorizing. In this sense, an ethnohistory becomes more like the history produced by the native peoples of this continent America, concerned more with treating the great social themes of culture than with arriving at all 'true facts'.

Accordingly, critical textual analysis in this study will be aimed at the documentary sources and previous interpretations, a process mediated on the level of specific events by whatever cultural perceptions fieldwork or my education has managed to impress. The

written sources will be used in the ordering of those relevancies of Ottawa history which are immediately striking and which, within my own 'algonkian' experience, ring true. Such perceptions will be noted, hopefully, separated from the specific textual passages and placed within context.

As we can see, the index of subjective interpretation remains considerable. Unfortunately, it is impossible to present all of the facts, and those that remain in the manuscripts are already biased. Even in this collection of limited early historical data, facts, "multitudinous and beyond calculation, are known" (Beard, ibid.). However, where the narrative will not suffer, the original sources will be quoted at some length in order that alternate patterns may be discernible. The reader may apply, depending upon the view of history, his or her own deliberate criticism or tacit, unexpressed, or unconscious assumptions at will.

Excursus: An Overview of Ottawa History

Ottawa history before the 19th century can be classified into manageable eras. The first, initiated in our view by direct European contact in 1615 and following directly on the heels of an archaeological formative era,

is for our purposes conveniently interrupted by the massacres and migrations of the Iroquois wars of the late 1640s. This Early Contact Period is revealed in the intermittent relations between French and Ottawa. As a consequence, it is also characterized by some variation in descriptive aspects of Ottawa life; the sources are too often equivocal.

The Florescent Period, 1653-1700, stretched from the Iroquois defeats to the transfer of part of the Ottawa from Michilmackinac to Detroit at the beginning of the 18th century; the the Ottawa nations were in direct and continuous contact with Europeans, had reached the apogee of their economic and political influence, and, by the end of the era, were in a decline nonetheless real for it being almost imperceptible. These, the Early Contact and Florescent Periods, are the eras with which this study is primarily concerned.

The ensuing Beaver War Period, 1700-1760, reflected the further elaboration of the 'Florentine' trade and political maneuverings illustrated during the Florescent. The Indian polities, the French, and the English all strove mightily for advantage; the process climaxed with the battles of the French and Indian wars. After 1760, one can chart the Resistance Period, wherein the Ottawa, in concert with their neighbours and allies in the Ohio and

Michigan territories, frantically attempted to fend off the intrusions of American colonists. The effort, while marked by military tenacity over two generations, was at last unsuccessful. The close of the era was characterized by the migration outward of the refugees. One by one, families and bands of warriors arrived in the Prairies (Tanner, in James 1956) or southern Ontario (Clifton 1975). These latter two historic periods are not dealt with in this study.

Rabbi Bunam was once walking outside the city with some of his disciples. He bent, picked up a speck of sand, looked at it, and put it back exactly where he had found it. "He who does not believe", he said, "that God wants this bit of sand to lie in this particular place, does not believe at all" (Buber:249).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
PREFACE	viii
DISCURSUS: ON METHOD	x
EXCURSUS: AN OVERVIEW OF OTTAWA HISTORY	xvii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xxi
CHAPTER I: The Ethnohistorical Context	1
Odawa, Ottawa, and Some Other Variations	5
Ecotone Adaptations in the Upper Great Lakes	6
CHAPTER II: The Early Contact Period 1615-1650	14
First Contacts	14
Later References	26
Changes in the Trade Pattern During the Early Contact	30
Antecedents of the Situation at Contact	44
CHAPTER III: Economy and Trade During the Florescent Period 1650-1700	59
The Flight to the West 1650-1670	59
Foreign Policy and the Quebec Trade 1654-1670	69
Intrigue and Trade Relations During the Michilimackinac Years 1671-1700	87
Neither Brisk nor Constant: A Look at the Montreal Mart and the Fun Brigade of 1684	98
Subsistence and Economy During the Florescent Period	105
CHAPTER IV: Social Organization During the Early Contact and Florescent Periods 1615-1700	124
The Ottawa Tribes Before 1700	124
An Overview of Structural Groups 1615-1800	128
Previous Structural Classifications of the Ottawa	131
Social Structures and Their Manipulation in Ottawa Society 1615-1700	138
The Problem of the Corporate Families Among the Ottawa	148
CHAPTER V: The First Century of Contact	166
Ottawa Populations	166
Ottawa Adaptations	174
The Exchange Economy and the Manipulation of the Fur Trade	180

NOTES	191
BIBLIOGRAPHY	195
LIST OF MAPS	
Map 1: Biotic Provinces of the Great Lakes	9
Map 2: A Section from Champlain's 1632 "Carte de la Nouvelle France"	19
Map 3: Trade Systems at Direct Contact 1615-1620c.	40
Map 4: Trade System During the Early Contact 1620c.-1650	42
Map 5: Trade System During the Dispersal 1654-1665	81
LIST OF TABLES	
Table 1: Upper Great Lakes Fur Brigade Arrivals in Quebec	85

CHAPTER I

THE ETHNOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

In dealing with that (alliance of Algonkian-speaking peoples collectively called the Ottawa, this study examines a confederation of four tribes: the Sinago, Kiskakon, Negouichiriniouek, and Nassauaketon. Its aim is to reconstruct and interpret the shifting effects of the contact situation through the 17th century, the accelerating impact of a fur trade which eventually tied the Ottawa society into the European economic system.

By virtue of their skill in trade, the Ottawa seem to have had an effect out of all proportion to their numbers upon early Canadian history. Yet, few works have dealt with the Ottawa alone. Instead, we are more usually treated to scenes of the systematic expansion of French trade in Canada; Ottawa trading ability and the far-flung exchange network are treated as a prop in the larger story of Europe in America, moving onstage with the destruction of Huronia and slipping silently into the wings after the full exploration of the Upper Great Lakes. Hopefully this narrative will throw some more light upon the rest of the little known drama.

What were the effects of 17th century developments upon Ottawa society and culture? Little has been done specifically, although some studies have focussed on the effects of participation in the fur trade amongst related peoples. There have been some tendencies to see in native-European relations of the Early Contact Period the same implicitly disruptive and acculturative tendencies that are perhaps more often appropriate to the 18th and 19th centuries. In all eras, this degenerative process has sometimes been phrased in terms of environmental degradation (Bishop (1973) or social transformations arising from cultural ecological or adaptive changes (Hickerson 1970; Leacock 1954; Bishop 1970, 1974). This is most likely correct in the long run, and certainly has bearing on the internal colonialism of the 19th and 20th centuries (Usher 1971; Sanders 1973). But other views, some much older and more local in time and space, offer differing opinions.

A contrasting model is apparent in even a preliminary reading of some of the historic French sources which present the views of the earliest European witnesses. These note again and again the economic and diplomatic skills shown by Ottawa chiefs in the continual political or trade intrigues of the era, while those interests which were inconvenient were not infrequently ignored. Indeed, if we are to credit fully the complaints of Perrot

(in Blair 1911) and Radisson (in Adams 1961), acculturative strains were more apparent on the individual Frenchman, of which there were but a few spread over a considerable distance. While it is related that an infusion of wealth from trade led to an increase in Ottawa influence with other nations, the native society itself was seen as essentially resistant to European norms, especially those particular economic traits most advantageous to French interests.

Both of these models of reality have much to recommend them. The French were after all the primary sources for all original information; their views and opinions should be given a certain weight. On the other hand, the ethnohistorians have developed their analyses of the period into complex long-term schemes of progressive transformations, illustrating these by noting the varying changes in social organization flowing from those economic patterns associated with trading for furs. In essence, as each of these viewpoints are either European or analytical in outlook, for the purposes of this reinterpretation both contain elements of observation mixed with assumption, gold mixed with dross. Hopefully we will see eventually to what extent each of these notions of Early Contact relations are correct.

To do this successfully it is more than likely necessary to factor into our analysis the 'local' point

of view as well. This look at the 'inner' action, the native significance of events, involves an attempt (ideally, only at best partially successful) to invoke the perspectives of individuals in Ottawa society and the pan-tribal universe. An explanatory history will thus strive to make the actions of the Ottawa as intelligible as possible, not limiting itself to chronicle or the classification of evolutionary shifts in social organization.

Perhaps this can be attempted best by employing a modification of the idealist position in historical interpretation. While the thoughts behind the actions of the Ottawa traders cannot of course be re-experienced, a negation of classic idealism in favour of historical relativism, nonetheless the cultural realities impinging upon individual Ottawa can be defined substantially. Here, this reality is seen as affecting the response to the fur trade. Implicit to this orientation is the assumption that the effects of the trade will have been complex and probably convoluted. Not only will culturally prescribed ideals mediate the form of economic reaction to the Europeans, but also each individual as well will have a personally variable relationship with the rules and expectations of Ottawa culture.

Before these large questions can be dealt with, however, more mundane matters deserve attention. With some unavoidable risk of pedantry, we must consider first

who we are dealing with in discussing any such confederacy as the Ottawa. Additionally, it is probably necessary to place events within a biotic and geographical perspective.

Odawa, Ottawa, and Some Other Variations

At first contact, Champlain named the people he met Cheveux Relevés, standing or high hairs, locating their home villages on the south shore of Georgian Bay. Sagard seems to give the first version of over one hundred approximations to Ottawa, the Euro-Canadian designation; he identified his group of traders as Andatahouats or also Poils Levés in 1623 (Wrong 1939:66). Today, Odawa is the form preferred among native peoples. For those wishing to note the variation in the name before the 'invention' or standardization of spelling in the 19th century, I recommend Hodge (1969:378-9); some of the more fanciful renditions are included there, such as "Watawawiniwok or 'men of the bullrushes' or Ottawa River".

The name Ottawa in its many varieties has been extended over innumerable nations or localized over just one band or tribe. The named national divisions were not recorded until late in the 1640s, although Champlain did note different districts in Ottawa territory much earlier. The Ottawa confederacy of four tribes at Michilmackinac in the late 1600s has been taken as the fulcrum of this

study. Others, such as Radisson, will mention as Ottawa only the Ottawa of the Fork or the Nassauaketon, reserving for the Kiskakon or Sinago their tribal names, with Staring Hairs referring to, presumably, all the confederates. Champlain, however, referred to the several districts of Cheveux Relevés territory in southern Ontario, as we learned later from a 1640s Jesuit source to be inhabited by Sinago, Kiskakon, and Negouichiriniouek; the Nassauaketons are possibly in Wisconsin at direct contact. To further confuse the issue, the Jesuits on their part extended the name Ottawa to all Upper Great Lakes peoples who traded in Montreal, whether Sinago, Ojibway, Sauk, or Potowatomi.

As these few preliminary examples illustrate, extreme care had to be taken in identifying named groups, as regards specific identities, extensions of names to allied nations for trade purposes, (or the bounds of tribal 'territories' (especially when certain resource areas were used by 'polyethnic' bands).

Ecotone Adaptations in the Upper Great Lakes

The region of the Upper Great Lakes is composed of Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron and their watersheds. Within this region there are important ecological transitions on the south to north gradient. One way to classify these is to group certain plant and animal communities into

"biotic provinces", using factors of regional distributions of climate, soils, and distinctive species (following Dice). According to Cleland (1966:5):

Each major ecologic division of a continent that covers a continuous geographic area may be called a biotic province. These four biotic provinces are the Carolinian, Illinoian, Canadian, and Hudsonian.

Of these, the Canadian province is a transitional zone, in that its constituent plant and animal communities have their widest distribution in either the Carolinian or Hudsonian provinces. Naturally, this scheme is but one way to draw manageable boundaries at certain points of the biotic continuum in North America.

Implicit in the concept of boundaries on the continuum is the idea of ecotone, a zone of...

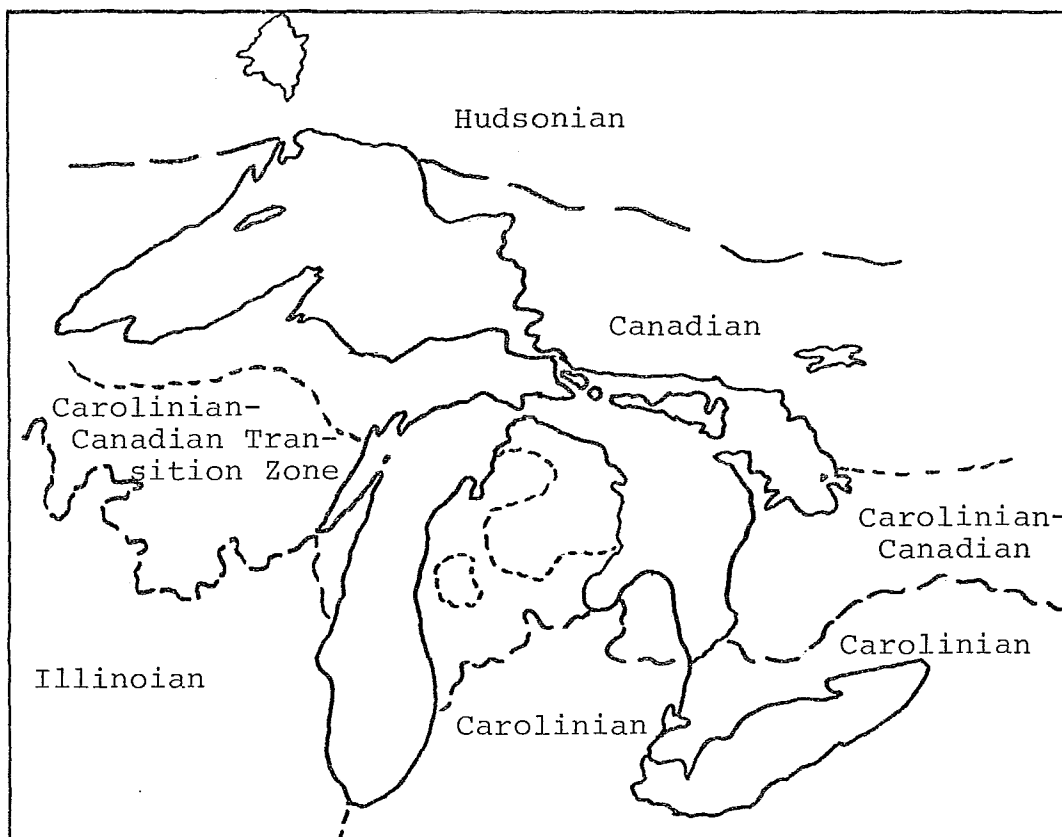
transition, or tension, in which the conditions for each of the adjacent communities becomes more adverse and there is often an intermingling of species from both communities (Knight 1965:251).

Characteristic of an ecotone is an edge effect, where the number and density of some of the resource species will be greater in the ecotone than in the adjacent communities (ibid.). While there is some question over the extent or width of an ecotone, the transition zones between the major continental provinces, such as the Carolinian-

Canadian transition zone sometimes over a hundred miles in width, have similar ecological attributes of ecotones.

In the Carolinian biotic province, one finds a frost-free season of 140-180 days, sufficient for aboriginal horticulture, and forests of the oak-hickory or elm-maple types overlaying grey to brown podzolic soils (Cleland: 7-9). In the Canadian province, the growing season varies from 80-140 days, the forest cover is in climax Great Lakes Deciduous, sugar maple plus elm and white pine, overlaying a rocky terrain with some areas of deep silty or clay soils.

At direct contact, the Carolinian province was inhabited by peoples practising horticulture, such as the Neutral, Erie, Five Nations, Potawatomi, Sauk, and Fox. The Canadian province contained the proto-historic Ojibway peoples on the north shore of Lake Huron, predominantly big-game hunters and fishers (Smith 1974; Smith and Rogers 1973). The Carolinian-Canadian transition zone generally contained the northern limit of corn horticulture but also some mammal and fish species characteristic of the adjacent Canadian province, such as moose, caribou, and the salmonoids. In this zone lived such horticulturalists as the Huron, Petun, and Ottawa, some of these nations or alliances taking advantage of important secondary sustenance resources. Also important to the economies of these transitional societies were the opportu-



Map 1

Biotic Provinces of the Great Lakes

(after Cleland 1966:6)

nities for trade, based on the interchange of resources and products between adjacent ecological zones: furs for corn, and so on (Trigger 1974).

Cleland suggested that the Ottawa, living in the northern sections of the Carolinian-Canadian transition zones and the southern areas of the Canadian province, drew upon subsistence techniques of both north and south, maintaining a flexible adaptation insulated from severe shocks, such as the failure of either natural or crop resources. The switching among different sorts of resources was possible in response to the micro-environments of the transition zone and its edge effect. Unlike the focal dependence upon either horticulture in the south or natural resources utilization in the north, Cleland believes that the Ottawa possessed a diffuse economy characterized by the ability to use both sorts of subsistence techniques and patterns; this provided for a maximum return in food and the development of economic mobility, an adaptation, therefore, to the edge effect. With the initiation of north-south trade sometime between the 12th and 14th centuries A.D., such edge cultures were in the peculiar position of having access to both sets of products as well as being able to provide transport. Trigger has justified the location of Huronia on this basis (1974), although Heidenreich has stated objections (1971).

This economic pattern developed in Cleland's interpretation stresses a form of economic opportunism which may or may not fit all the data. We shall see. Cleland obviously employed a form of cultural ecology which incorporates the positivist synthesis of history, charting the 'universal' relations governing social activities, a form of cultural materialism (a la Harris 1968).

This scheme has other attributes. In the broad transition zones, Cleland claims, the Ottawa "had permanent villages from which the people went out to hunt at least twice a year" (1966:73). This, and other traits noted, are reminiscent of the economic pattern exhibited during the Florescent Period at Michilmackinac in the late 17th century, rather than at direct contact in 1615. Furthermore, we are told, subsistence depended not only upon corn horticulture but also upon important secondary resources, such as fish and the products of the extended inland hunting in the winter. The pattern of these truly mixed economies can be seen in certain Late Woodland sites in the Carolinian-Canadian transition zone in Michigan and Wisconsin. Speaking of the Ottawa, Cleland states his overall position (73):

Their adaptation to this ecological zone was neither a simple one, nor marginal to the more highly agricultural societies farther south. When the Ottawa were expelled from their homeland by the Iroquois, they moved westward but stayed within the same ecological transition zone which they occupied on the Bruce Peninsula.

In this configuration, Cleland's 'strategic ecology' (to coin a term) emphasizes an Ottawa economic pattern adapted to the ecological diversity of its habitat, the transition zones with their edges. Social culture, the social relations of production, organization and settlement patterns, are thus related, in a queerly permissive form of determinism, to the varying techniques utilized to harvest resources, with the Ottawa, it is said, therefore 'pre-adapted' and non-specialized.

An Ottawa adaptation, the process by which a population alters its relation to its habitat, can be seen therefore as ongoing; its social forms and economic relations are said to be plastic, movements opportunistic. All in all, Cleland's scheme builds upon the notion of an expanded edge effect, leading to variable and pre-adapted organizational forms, the classic 'elastic' band. Perhaps it owes its philosophical orientation to Euro-Canadian notions of economic opportunism. Certainly in one sense the notion of 'strategic ecology' borrows somewhat from Julian Steward's method (1955); according to Cleland (13):

In order to relate a culture to its natural environment it is necessary to refer to the specific resources available in its particular setting and to the relevant physical features such as terrain, precipitation, and temperature. Cultural responses are made to the natural environment in reference to these resources and conditions.

While quite true, it is doubtful that this is the entire story. Cleland's strategy has limitations for the understanding of Ottawa movements, trade decisions, and the complex games of the political and social arenas. A primary emphasis upon environmental restraints or opportunities of the physical habitat may not be a completely valid explanation of historical or social process. But, as Steward has observed (1955:44), this becomes an empirical question in every particular case and can be recalled as the narrative of Ottawa history is related.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

1615-1650

First Contacts

By 1613 Samuel de Champlain had concluded that a profitable trade with the interior Indians could not be effectively prosecuted from the Quebec ports (Heidenreich 1971:235), a realization reached much later and in a different locale by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1615 he departed Quebec for the interior, accompanied by a party of Huron Arendarhonon and some Ottawa Valley Algonkian-speaking peoples; his object was to secure relations with the Huron Confederacy and to ensure a supply of furs. Champlain's narrative, Voyages to New France (Biggar 1922-36), reveals the measure of his success. Champlain's understanding that a political and military alliance was a prerequisite to trade was a profound development in Huron-French relations.¹ While Champlain was pessimistic of his allies' war efforts in that summer's campaign, the subsequent intensification of the fur trade indicates that his presence in this military adventure against the Iroquois was well appreciated.

The account of Champlain's expedition to the Upper Great Lakes provides the first documentation of the societies inhabiting the Lake Huron area. Among these were the conglomeration of peoples called the Cheveux Relevés, or High Hairs, several groups of Algonkian-speakers who were closely associated with the neighbouring Iroquoian tribes. Champlain twice made contact with the Cheveux Relevés. In the summer of 1615, while on his way to Huronia, he encountered a party of 300 men at the mouth of the French River, at the northeast corner of Georgian Bay. The chief gave Champlain a map of his country, and told him they were gathering blueberries to dry for the winter (Biggar 3:44).

The second contact was more productive of social material, containing as it did the most comprehensive description of the Early Contact. While wintering in the Upper Great Lakes region in early 1616, Champlain decided to leave Huronia and extend his contacts with other peoples. Southwest from Huronia, in the vicinity of Blue Mountain and what is now the town of Collingwood, he visited the Tionontateronon or Petuns, another Iroquoian nation of horticulturalists. Continuing his narrative, Champlain tells us that

After visiting these people we set out from that place and went to a tribe of the savages that we named Cheveux relevés, who were very glad to see us again. We swore friendship with them also, and they likewise promised to come and see us and to pay us a visit at our said settlement (Biggar 3:96).

From the context of the passage it seems that the home of these people was west of the Petun and north of the Neutral, somewhere between Beaver Valley and Colpoy Bay, midway up the Bruce Peninsula. This would be consistent with the placement of the Cheveux Relevés on Champlain's maps of 1616 (Heidenreich 1971:map 3) and of 1632 (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:28); a portion of the 1632 map is reproduced as Map 2, pp. 19 in this study.

As it appears that most Petun sites are clustered in the Nottawasaga Bay area (Trigger 1976:741), the locales of Cheveux Relevés occupancy lay in those areas west of the Petun which would be suitable for aboriginal horticulture; little precision is possible in this regard, as no direct evidence appears to specify the exact village locations, either in archaeological publications or in the archival documents. Heidenreich's placement of the Ottawa extends far into the Bruce Peninsula, and furthermore assigns specific areas to each Ottawa nation (1971:map 24), a position for which I can find little evidence. As well, the northern areas of the Bruce Peninsula strike me as relatively poor for corn horticulture; there was more

suitable sandy soil closer to the Petun.

Thus I suggest that the Cheveux Relevés occupied an area approximately midway between the Petun territory and the upper peninsula. While I cannot assert this placement as unquestionable, it is a reasonable supposition considering the cartographic evidence already considered. Naturally other evidence and other conclusions exist. However, while all French maps showing Early Contact information do not uniformly position the Cheveux Relevés or Ottawa as I have done, the several important maps made after 1632 are in certain ways unreliable. Bressani's Novae Franciæ Accurata Delineatio (1657) shows an "Ondatouauat pop." (populi) on the upper Bruce Peninsula in an enlargement of southern Ontario, but on the map's main section, shows the "Ondatauauat" on the lower peninsula closer to the Neutral; furthermore, Bressani's "Ekaentuton" (Manitoulin Island), marked on other maps as an insula or island (i.e. Du Creux 1660) appears on his own as a "pop." (populi or people). Du Creux's Tabula Novae Franciæ (1660) shows the pre-1650 Petun mission St. Simon and St. Jude on the Bruce Peninsula (certainly confusing local Bruce county historians); no mention is made of the Ottawa in this region of southern Ontario, following Sanson's similar omission in Amerique Septentrionale (1650). While I do not presume to present myself as a critical cartographer, it seems to me that a certain amount

of uncontrolled variation has entered some of these schemes, especially those which, like Sanson, have drawn upon a number of other maps as sources (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:12,34). As I am not intimately familiar either with the respective expertise or level of research of most of these other map-makers, I am more inclined to give credence to Champlain. He at least walked through the area in question, on snowshoes and in the winter at that. But, as we shall see, other maps do sometimes aid in the placement of particular bands.

Begging the as yet fully resolved question of precise location, there does appear evidence that a certain number of Algonkian-speaking peoples were residing in southern Ontario at direct contact; the region was not exclusively inhabited by Iroquoians, as some have indicated (Driver 1969:map 43).

To return to Champlain's account of his winter visit, the Cheveux Relevés were said to be "very numerous", "fairly well off", with the men being "great warriors, hunters or fishermen" (Biggar 3:96-7). According to the explorer (ibid.):

They have several chiefs who take command, each in his own district. The majority of them plant Indian corn and other crops. They are hunters who go in bands into various regions and districts, where they trade with other tribes, distant more than 400 or 500 leagues.



Map 2

A Section from Champlain's Map, "Carte de la Nouvelle France"
1632

in Public Archives of Canada
and
Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:28
(Special Thanks to C. J. Wheeler)

The Cheveux Relevés were also said to be allied with the Neutral, another group of Iroquoian horticulturalists living in what is now the Niagara-Hamilton region, against the Fire Nation, possibly the Assistarannon in what is now the southern Michigan and Lake St. Clair area. In the explanation to his 1632 map, Champlain added a bit more detail. Speaking of the Cheveux Relevés economy, he said (Biggar 6:248):

They are great hunters, fishermen and rovers: cultivate the land and sow Indian corn: dry blueberries and raspberries, in which they make a great trade with other tribes, taking in exchange peltries, wampum, nets, and other commodities.

While this large-scale trading of dried berries reminds us at once of the northerly focus to Ottawa subsistence and trade, the economic pattern appears similar to that of the Iroquoians for a number of reasons. The raising of corn and other crops is different in kind from that reported for such proto-historic Ojibway groups as the Nipissing and Amikwa; these peoples on the northern shore of Lake Huron often planted corn, but not other crops, and collected their maize green or in small quantities (Blair 1:280). This marginal horticulture appears simply as an adjunct of an otherwise hunting-gathering existence. The Cheveux Relevés, on the other hand, were visited by Champlain in the winter during

February of 1616 (Biggar 3:94); when they were wintering in aggregations large enough to throw an impressive feast at short notice, obviously a "numerous" people. All in all, the passage can be interpreted to indicate a winter subsistence based on a central accumulation of stored produce; while Champlain did not list the menu of his feast, his mention of "corn and other crops" while actually in a winter settlement may be indicative. Certainly he noted nothing so extraordinary as an absence of sagamité.

Overall, Champlain's description is not consistent with the patterns evident among the small dispersed hunting bands to the north, the winter pattern of Ojibway peoples. The Cheveux Relevés do not seem to have been organized in this fashion, living a bare subsistence existence in the winter. Champlain, by that time a veteran of political feasting, was suitably impressed with the party thrown on his arrival (Biggar 3:98-9):

They are a great people for feasts,
more than other Tribes. They gave
us very good cheer and received us
very kindly.

A similar argument is possible in terms of summer social organization. The all-male party Champlain met in the summer of 1615 indicates that group composition and sex roles were at variance from that of the adjacent proto-

historic Ojibway peoples (Blair ibid.). Corn gardening by the women in the summer would leave the men free for various tasks away from the fields, as among the Huron; men fished, warred, and travelled in large groups to trade, hunt, or process natural produce. Thus the sexual division of labour seems similar to that of the Iroquoians: men travel, while the women stay at the villages and cultivate the fields.

In his narrative, Samuel de Champlain has presented an interesting, if all too brief or occasionally equivocal, description of Ottawa social organization and subsistence at direct contact. Their adaptation bears a certain resemblance to that of the neighbouring Iroquoians but is also not lacking in features usually found among the Canadian Shield-oriented hunter-gatherers. The very clear distinction between Algonkian and Iroquoian, based usually upon economic differences and reflected in a variety of secondary sources (Heidenreich 1971; Driver 1969) is not reflected in Champlain's first statements about the Chaveux Relevés. At this first glance, Cleland's general scheme of an Ottawa 'edge-area adaptation' appears basically sound.

At direct contact, therefore, the record reveals several Algonkian groups centred in southwestern Ontario, possessing a corn-based subsistence economy well-diversified by reliance on fishing, gathering, and hunting. Food

surplus and production appears sufficient to permit winter aggregations of people in the villages, where Champlain visited them, although his mid-winter party cannot be accepted as a completely definitive account of winter subsistence or organization. In terms of economy and geographical position, those Cheveux Relevés contacted are not fundamentally different from Iroquoian groups such as the Petun; those differences which do exist are in relative population size, or in the utilization of important natural resources possibly rivalling maize consumption. As well as harvesting parts of the Canadian Shield for such items as blueberries, the Cheveux Relevés possessed extensive trading contacts, the men commonly venturing far from the villages and fields.

There is, alternatively, an indication from the Recollet, Gabriel Sagard, that in 1623, or some seven years after Champlain made his observations, this adaptation was not uniform among all groups of the Cheveux Relevés at all times. Unfortunately, Champlain did not precisely identify in his texts or maps which Cheveux Relevés he had actually visited. Speaking of the groups northeast from Huronia, Sagard described the "Andataouats" as leading a "nomadic life, except that some villages plant Indian corn" (Wrong 1939:66). The impression here of course is an adaptation comparable to that of the Nipissing or Amikwa, marginal cultivation which in no way

interferes with a basically hunting-gathering-fishing existence. Sagard, while he mentions trade contacts of the Andataouats which are 400 leagues away, makes no reference to winter village aggregations or to the harvesting of any crops other than corn. Sagard, however, made few major trips outside Huronia, and so his observations, while interesting, cannot be said to represent all Andataouat groups; the Andataouat-Huron market he saw lasted only a few days, and under such circumstances, 'nomadism' is a difficult concept to pin down. In my opinion, a strong probability exists that the several groups or nations of Ottawa, while possessing the techniques of multiple lifestyles including varieform horticulture, exhibited at this early time differing adaptations to life in the Upper Great Lakes. This would certainly be consistent with later reports from the post-1650 period; a horticultural adaptation, the corn-fish complex, was by no means consistently exhibited. As the owners of trade networks into many different biotic zones on the Great Lakes, the Ottawa, it can be assumed, utilized the exigencies of trade alliances, and the possibilities of social or economic gain via such relationships, in such a way that a uniform focal adaptation to 'southern' horticulturalism was seen as neither necessary nor desirable.

Nevertheless, the economic picture that emerges is

much more complex than some interpretations specify. Driver(1969) characterized the Ottawa as Canadian Shield Subarctic hunter-gatherers formed into patrilineal bands. These exist in the culture area bounded by the Canadian Shield. At this point, that classification appears incorrect. The occupation range of the Ottawa extended over the culture area boundaries for excellent reasons; material goods, people, and the 'property' of trade routes and alliance relationships were crossing regularly. The economic evidence in our sources is not in agreement with the ascription by Driver on subsistence, nor, for that matter, does the only population figure from the Early Contact agree with his indication of patrilineal bands. The datum on adult males, limited as this estimate is, prevents a categorization of the Ottawa as a collection of patrilineal hunting bands. Champlain recorded 300 men in the summer of 1615; no women were noted in this account. Possibly there were more men based at the villages later visited, as the Cheveux Relevés were, like the Neutral, at war with the Assistaronnon. As an accepted ratio of adult males to children, women, and old men is 1:4, then we have a minimum population figure of 300:1200, or 1500 in total. I suspect that this figure is low, as it would have been very unlikely that Champlain met all of the warriors while they were 'gathering blueberries' on the French River. If there were, as we shall see later,

four or possibly five named groups of Algonkian-speakers on the south shore of Georgian Bay during this period (JR 33:151), each segment had an approximate population of 300-350. Each segment is thus far above the 50-100 people we would normally expect for a patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1955:125).

Later References

It is surprising that the 1616 visit by Champlain to the country of the Cheveux Relevés appears to be the last for 50 years. Probably the Jesuits in Huronia were preoccupied with more immediate concerns, while the Huron discouraged European contacts with their trading allies (Trigger 1976). No other Early Contact Period description is as complete as Champlain's until that of Father Allouez in the 1660s, after the destruction of Huronia. While Huron power existed the Jesuits were not encouraged to attempt closer contacts with the Ottawa and the Neutral. References in the Early Contact to the Ottawa of southern Ontario are few and far between, but nonetheless tantalizing. These pieces fill in several gaps.

While the Jesuits were based among the Hurons, they often sent information gathering missions out to the surrounding nations, both Iroquoian and Algonkian. From one such trip, the nations around Lake Huron were enumerated, from Huronia outward, in the north and east as well as the

south and west. According to Ragueneau in 1648 (JR 33: 151):

On the south shore of the Fresh Water Sea, or Lake of the Hurons, dwell the following Algonkian Tribes, Ouachaskesouek, Nigouaouichiririk, Outaousinagouek, Kichkagoneiak, Ontaanak, who are all allies of our Hurons.

Several of these named groups on the south shore are, late in the 1600s, members of the Ottawa alliance based at Michilmackinac: these four are the Kiskakon, Sinago, Nigouachirinouek or the Ottawa of the Sable and the Nassauketon or Ottawa of the Fork (Kinietz 1940:247).

In southwestern Ontario, then, before 1650, lived at least three of the four named groups of what was later to be the Ottawa alliance: the Kiskakon, Sinago, and the Ottawa of the Sable.

There are other passing references to Ottawa peoples. Vimont in 1640 placed "Outaouan" groups on Manitoulin Island; "these are the people who have come from the nation of the raised hair" (JR 18:229-31). The "outoaukmigouek" were also present in the enumeration of nations northeast from Huronia in Ragueneau's Relation (JR 33:149), a statement which can be compared with Sagard's description of the short-term Ottawa trading mart at the mouth of the French River in 1623. There is no mention, however, if these noted occupations on the Pre-

Cambrian Shield were for short or long periods. The seasonal cycle is not treated by the French chroniclers in this period.

Most importantly, in 1634 Sieur Nicolet, the interpreter for the Company of One Hundred Associates, penetrated to Lake Michigan and the Green Bay area, in company with seven Indians, probably Ottawa (Trigger 1976:355-56). There he contacted the Menomini while wearing a robe of damask, hopefully under the mistaken impression he was very near the Orient and would soon contact a Chinese agent. Fortunately his journal has not survived. On the shore of the "second Fresh-Water Sea" were the Ouinipigou, probably the Winnebago. Other nations were all said to live in "the neighbourhood", the "Naduesiu, the Assinipour, the Erininouae, the Rasaouakoueton, and the Pououtouatomis" (JR 18:231; Knietz 1940:308). Since the Winnebago thus appear to be located on the shores of Green Bay or western Lake Michigan, the mention that Erie and Assiniboine are in "the neighbourhood" is somewhat perplexing. Was the occupancy for short or long term, was it for trade or sustenance? Such questions, while relevant, are not concerned with the immediate point, the identification of the "Rasaouakoueton" as the Nassauketon or Ottawa of the Fork, later spoken of as one of the four Ottawa nations but not living in southern Ontario at this time. Having observed the frequent shifts in spelling

and pronunciation among French authors, I think it likely that Nicolet's Rasaouakoueton are the Nassauketon. If this is indeed true, then here is one of the famous western contacts, constantly ascribed to the Cheveux Relevés in Ontario but always left very vague by the French. The Ottawa visiting Petun villages were described in this way by the Jesuits (JR 21:185):

These Algonquins are especially important to us, as we know that they have dealings with the Western Nations, which we have not yet found any means of reaching.

There is some slight evidence to support these western extensions of Ottawa alliance, although in this case the source derives from a later period, referring back to the pre-1650 era. Nicholas Perrot, writing near the end of the 17th century, spoke of early Ottawa village sites at Saginaw and Thunder Bay, both in Michigan, as well as Manitoulin, Mackinac, and later Huron Island at the entrance to Green Bay. All were supposedly abandoned because of the Iroquois menace (Blair 1:148). Several maps from pre-Perrot times place the Ottawa at least on Manitoulin Island: Du Creux (1660) has the island inhabited by the natio surrectorum capillorum, while Sanson (1656) places the more common French designation on that spot.

Many of the later references serve to confirm the first remarks made by Champlain regarding the extent of Ottawa western trade and their wide range of occupation.

Changes in the Trade Pattern During the Early Contact

The questions of alliance relationships, and the position of the Ottawa in the trade networks of the Upper Great Lakes, are not simple in the Early Contact period. Data are few; a certain amount of extrapolation becomes necessary if the pre-1650 events recorded are to maintain any coherence. Although the nature of the network, the form alliances took, apparently conforms to intertribal norms on the Upper Great Lakes, the difficult problems involve the precise extent of the Ottawa routes as well as the nature of the commodities. For neither of these issues do our early sources supply a comprehensive answer. Much must be inferred or constructed through indirect reasoning. Nevertheless, there are indications. In general, the existing documentation does not appear to show a period of any great stability.

It must be stressed that French trade goods, while profoundly affecting the trade alliances, neither initiated a fur trade nor modified the content and form of the social relationships around or through which the trade operated. It is evident that the French initiated an expansion of a

system already functioning, using its methods and techniques while being pressured to conform to its conventions (JR 6:11). Long range barter in furs and other goods, routes south and north, east and west, are all in evidence in 1615 and are aspects of the aboriginal and extensive pre-contact trade. Intrinsic to this process of exchange, was one of political alliance; generally, regular trade was conducted only with allies as only then, it was reasoned, would traders be relatively safe (Trigger 1976). These two sub-systems were constantly in flux, as inter-tribal affairs were both supple and subtle. In no sense were the Indian nations on Lake Huron diplomatically provincial. As a rule, the Ottawa nations were aware of their own best interests and usually took steps to maintain and extend these.*

Both Champlain and Sagard mentioned the far-flung trade of the Cheveux Relevés, up to 500 leagues away. Considering the hazy French notion of geography or the lack of absolute time/distance correlations among leagues, miles, or hours of travel by foot or canoe, little emphasis can be placed on this remark (Wheeler 1976). At best, 500 leagues means simply 'far away'. However, some specific western and northern contacts are noted by, among others, Gabriel Sagard. In 1623 he stated that a "Forest

*The position of middlemen in the trade was generally 'respected', at least by convention (JR 6:7-19).

Tribe" was dependent on the High Hairs; this tribe has been placed by Wrong northeast of Lake Superior and west of Lake Nipissing (1939:64-6); in other words, the group is one of the proto-historic Ojibway 'nations' of northern Lake Huron (see also J.G.E. Smith's reconstruction of this period and area 1974:II-2). Eight years earlier, Champlain had noted that Ottawa warriors carried shields made out of animals "like the buffalo" (Biggar 3:44). Such hides, catlinite, copper, and other western products could have been assembled by the Nassaueketon or other allies in Wisconsin and then shipped east to Ottawa groups in Ontario for distribution.

More certainly, Champlain notes the use made of dried berries, to "make a great trade with other tribes, taking in exchange peltries, wampum, nets, and other commodities" (Biggar 6:248). While this is as much as we can learn from Champlain, it is problematical whether or not this is the complete picture. We do not know the extent to which furs collected by the Ottawa in the north were exchanged (if at all) among the Neutral, for example; the amount of trans-shipment of material remains unknown. I have some reasons for this hesitancy in accepting Champlain's account at face value. Firstly, Champlain was discouraged from inquiring too closely into Ottawa-Neutral relations; it is difficult to imagine the Ottawa fearful of the French taking over their dried blueberry

trade with the Neutral. Secondly, the dried berry story given by the Ottawa headman to Champlain in the summer of 1615 strikes me as strange. I find it somewhat hard to credit: 300 men, a large complement of warriors, doing nothing but process berries, and during the raiding season at that; certainly the work of gathering berries is, at least in modern times, more appropriate to the activity of children, adolescents, or young women (as berry picking is often the local euphemism for 'duck hunting'). In brief, I believe it possible that Champlain here met an attempt at humour or evasion. It would not have been the first time he was misled in his estimations either by his own analysis or by his informants (Trigger 1976). Unfortunately, Champlain does not state if he directly witnessed the far-flung blueberry empire in operation or simply extrapolated from native testimony.

There are other lacunae in his description of the Ottawa networks of exchange. Maddeningly, Champlain did not differentiate fully between sources and markets in his comments. There are some indications of the trade termini, but these involve extrapolation beyond the textual account and cannot be considered definitive. The earliest focus of Ottawa trade appear to be the Neutral, with whom close relations were evident at direct contact. Champlain met several Neutral in the Ottawa settlement he visited in 1616. Because of such contacts, the alliance

with the Neutral seems to indicate that the Cheveux Relevés were the medium by which the Neutral obtained their western and northern goods at contact. Certainly the alliance with the Ottawa extended to military help against the Michigan Assistaranon. The northern connections of the Ottawa, coupled with their military and political alliance with the Neutral (Biggar 3:96), and possibly the Petun (JR 3:96), appears to indicate that the Ottawa provided those western or northern Algonkian products in demand among the corn horticulturalists of southern Ontario; considering the population figures of the Iroquoians, their lack of material fiber and consequent need for skin clothing, the demand may have been high. It is interesting to note that Champlain, while feasting among the Cheveux Relevés, was dissuaded from visiting the Neutral country by his hosts in the winter of 1616. The Ottawa told him that at the present moment there was an unfortunate enmity between their peoples on account of an uncompensated killing, a story which was not, however, corroborated by those Neutral Champlain happened to meet at the party (Biggar 3:97). This act bears resemblance to stories later told by the Huron to prevent the Jesuits from directly contacting the Neutral. Such subterfuge, in attempts to control access to information and people, was typical of trade relations in the Upper Great Lakes during all periods. Middlemen had in the past strenuously

objected to being bypassed; consequently the greatest discretion was usually observed by those attempting to evade the appropriate conventions (JR 6:7-19). Champlain, however, blundering about Lake Huron, was often direct to what I suspect to be the point of embarrassing his hosts. In the case of his requesting access to the Neutral, the diplomatic niceties seem to have been observed by the Ottawa, their refusal couched in terms they considered potentially comprehensible by the alien, 'uncultured' European. Simply enough, there are grounds to suspect that in 1616 the Cheveux Relevés were wary of permitting an avowed trader, with an expressed interest for furs, to penetrate to their allies. Were the contact to have been successful, it could have been seen as adversely affecting the middleman position of the Ottawa in some Neutral trade.

The picture I suggest is one wherein the Ottawa, as middlemen, funnel products between and among the Ontarian horticulturalists and the Subarctic hunter-gatherers. Northern furs were exchanged for various southern manufactures, such as nets and wampum, with an unspecified percentage of all purchases at either end of the network derived from the production of dried berries in some quantity. In this scenario the Ottawa were in a symbiotic trade relationship with the Neutral, and possibly the Petun, which was similar to that existing between the Nipissing and the Huron.

I perceive that some differences of course existed when we compared these symbioses in detail. Champlain's narrative does not contain references to Ottawa or other Algonkian-speakers wintering in the home territory of the Petun, directly outside the villages, paying for their corn with dried fish like the Nipissing. The Ottawa were themselves producers of, besides blueberries, corn and reed mats; corn especially could well have been one product desired by big-game hunters, such as Sagard's Forest Tribe, or the other proto-historic Ojibway groups to the north (Perrot, in Blair 1). These groups, presumably, had equal access to the northern berry resources; therefore, the noted Ottawa trade for their furs would have to have had some basis other than Ottawan blueberries, the close relationship with the Neutral suggesting that Iroquoian confederacy as the source of southern products. In essence, I find it possible to interpret the admittedly limited data to suggest that in the very Early Contact period, the Ottawa were already in a middleman role between northern and southern groups. This network, further complicated by native Ottawan products available in some quantity, would probably not have been either simple or stable; one factor which would obviously have varied from year to year was the sustenance situation among the Neutral, the sources

noting that people as prone to food shortages (M. Wright: pers. commun.). The alliances among the Ottawa and these northern and southern groups would probably have been cemented by marriage ties, the exchange of men and women, although direct evidence for this is not apparent until the post-1650 periods.

At direct contact, the Ottawa-Petun/Neutral network of trade and alliance appears to have been operating in parallel with the oft-noted Huron-Nipissing arrangement (Heidenreich 1971:229). Both networks fulfilled similar functions, with boreal products such as furs moving south, southern products, such as nets, wampum, and corn moving north, and social avenues existing in both directions. Unfortunately, no direct statements are in evidence for this, but the supposition appears reasonable to me in light of those trade products mentioned in the sources as well as the alliances noted there.

Assuming that they did exist, the two systems were evidently antagonistic, at least as far as their Iroquoian termini were concerned. In the opening years of the Early Contact Period, Huron-Neutral (Sagard, in Wrong 1939:151,157) and Huron-Petun (JR 20:43) relations were not close; hostilities were either incipient or had been recently terminated. Certainly Ottawa-Neutral ties were closer than Huron-Neutral, or Huron-Petun, or Ottawa-Huron ones in 1615; Champlain does not seem to have

mentioned extensive military or social alliances among any of these latter.

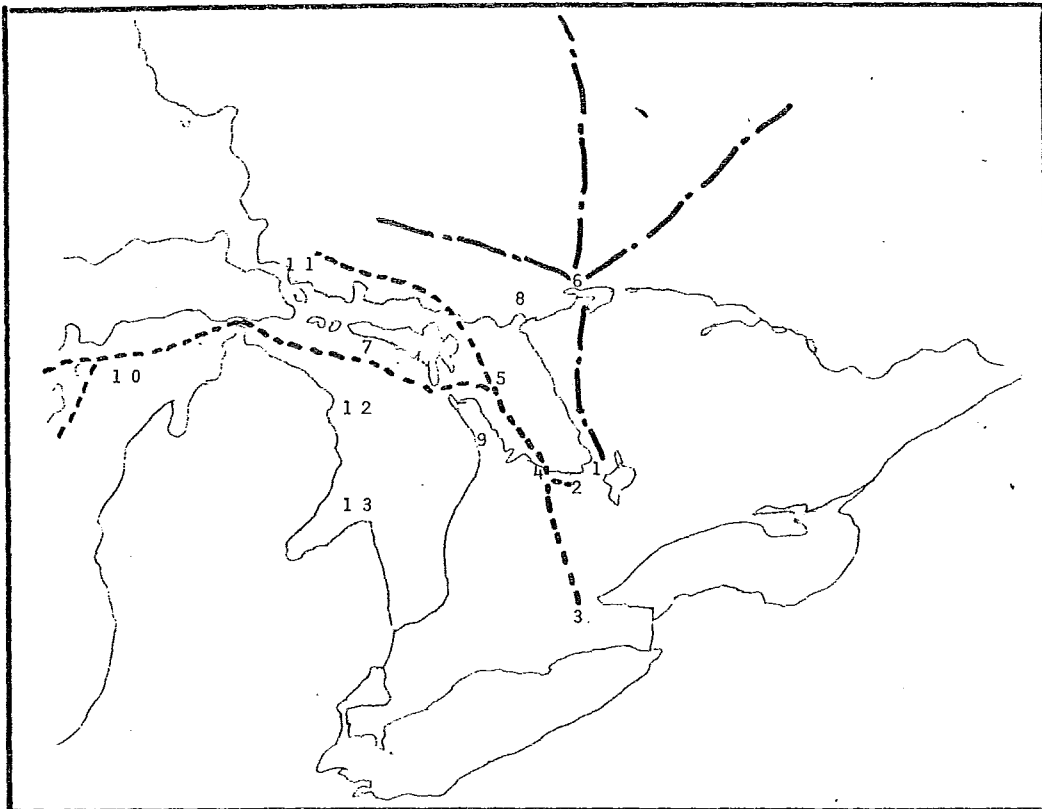
This early pattern was somewhat modified as soon as French goods began to arrive in any quantity on Lake Huron. After 1615, the previously little-travelled route to Quebec, controlled by the Nipissing-Huron and some Ottawa Valley Algonkians, such as the Allumette, became a more important source of goods than the western routes. New merchandise was in demand. Nevertheless, the Ottawa connections to the east and Quebec remained undeveloped in the Early Contact; the Ottawa River was at this time still the 'Great River of the Algonquins'. In 1616, Champlain tried to induce the Ottawa to come to Quebec to trade, but in 1623, Sagard found them obtaining their French goods at the summer mart near the mouth of the French River, from the Huron returning from Quebec. In describing the trading "village of Andatahouats, or, as we say, High Hairs", Sagard added some interesting observations to those recorded by Champlain eight years earlier (Wrong 1939:66):

I saw there many women and girls making reed mats extremely well plaited, and ornamented in different colours. These they traded afterwards for other goods with the savages of different regions who come to their village...They go in bands into many regions and countries as far off as 400 leagues or more (so they told me), and there they trade with their goods and exchange them for furs, pigments, wampum, and other rubbish.

Possibly Sagard, having a high impression of native manufactures, has commented upon the shoddy French merchandise traded to the Hurons.

In just eight years from direct contact, therefore, appears some evidence of a modification of earlier trade patterns; the change could be expected to intensify as the influence of the Huron grew. An Ottawa-Huron alliance, seemingly established at this time since trade contacts were noted by Sagard, but not by Champlain, grew as well. Undoubtedly the western connections remained in Ottawa hands; the Nassauketon in Wisconsin were later to become an integral member of the Ottawa alliance, while these western relatives were to provide an escape route for the Ontario Ottawa, the Petun, and to a lesser extent the Neutral and Huron, after the abandonment of southern Ontario after 1651.

Until the advent of French goods in quantity during the 1620s, Neutral-Huron trade was possibly limited to scarce or exotic luxury items, such as tobacco or wildcat skins (Trigger 1976), although there does appear to be archaeological evidence that this trade was more extensive than previously thought; Noble (pers. commun.) has mentioned the exchange of meat, skins, finished chert, oils, and other products during the immediate pre-direct-contact years, modifying Trigger's position. Later, Huron trade with the other Iroquoian groups in southern Ontario grew



Map 3

Trade Systems at Direct Contact: 1615-1620c.

Hurononia	1	Manitoulin Island	7
Petunia	2	French River	8
Neutralia	3	Bruce Peninsula	9
Ottawa settlements	4	Lake Michigan	10
Georgian Bay	5	Sault Ste. Marie	11
Lake Nipissing	6	Thunder Bay	12
		Saginaw Bay	13

Huron-Nipissing System — — — — —
 Ottawa-Neutral-Petun System - - - - -

even larger, enough so that in the 1630s and 1640s the Huron went to some length to prevent successful French contact with the Neutral or the Petun (Heidenreich 1971: 258). The Jesuits were blamed for the developing smallpox epidemics;² the tale was spread by the Huron and adversely affected the Neutral and Petun missions (Trigger 1976). As with the Ottawa attempt in 1616 to frighten Champlain away from the Neutral, this type of action is understandable as arising out of the middleman position in the trade.

In addition to these changes in intertribal trade relations, some Ottawa groups must have allied themselves with some Huron to be allowed to trade for French goods at the summer mart. Certainly by the late 1640s the southern Georgian Bay Ottawa nations are spoken of as "allies of our Huron" (JR 33:151). Such an alliance was not noted by Champlain at first contact, although his lack of a direct statement may indicate that at this time Ottawa-Huron relations were not strained, as were Huron-Petun relations. After the migrations westward, Huron refugees and the Ottawa cooperated extensively in war and trade (Trigger 1976); villages were established in adjacent locations, as at Chequamegon in the 1660s on Lake Superior.

As owners of an east-west aboriginal trade route in the Upper Great Lakes, the Ottawa were involved in the lucrative French trade very soon after direct contact by Champlain. However, this occurred only via the Huron.

Prior alliances in Ontario were modified, while new European goods were funneled out over both old and new networks.

The later decades of the Early Contact Period, therefore, can be characterized in certain ways if the reader permits a free rather than a literal 'translation'. The Ottawa nations, of which the Cheveux Relevés may have been the major or minor part, possessed an adaptation consistent with the demands of trade across the biotic zones of the Upper Great Lakes. Economic subsistence was based upon a variety of resources, but the important centers, of which we have direct information, were in the horticultural villages of southern Georgian Bay. Other locations utilized, according to contemporary documents, were Manitoulin Island, some areas northeast of Huronia on Georgian Bay, and perhaps certain unspecified regions of the lower peninsula of Michigan; these locations have no specific information about particular use by the Ottawa, or else the purpose was to harvest various natural resources or to engage in trade, both relatively short-term projects. Importantly, the historic Cheveux Relevés seem to be but a part of what was to become the Ottawa confederation later in the 17th century; one named group of this subsequent alliance was based, most likely in my opinion, not in southern Ontario but instead in Wisconsin or the northern Lake Michigan coast.

Internally, the groups which were later to be termed constituent "nations" of the Ottawa appeared in various locations. Externally, alliances for trade and war were multiple; they existed in varying intensities, over time and circumstances, with the Neutral, Petun, and Huron. These alliances shifted as the foreign trade situation fluctuated or intensified along certain parameters, such as the sudden Huron control of a series of desired French commodities. Ottawa social and trade contacts existed, throughout the period, north to Lake Superior and also west to Lake Michigan, where the Nassauketon had their own base of operations. These numerous western and northern alliances provided an avenue of escape during the massive Iroquois raids which brought the Early Contact period to a close.

Antecedents of the Situation at Contact

The aboriginal exchange networks existed at direct contact, with Ottawa traders traveling throughout the Upper Great Lakes. Pre-contact trade is apparent in the documents. The question of its depth in time remains.

Archaeologists have traditionally utilized ceramic classifications in their analyses of trade and social relations among widely separated peoples; the rationale has been that different ceramic complexes represent peoples with different cultural histories. These complexes are

seen as the aggregations of common sherd attributes, such attributes being certain classificatory types of ceramic form or decoration. Some of these complexes have very long histories. At any one site, the presence of more than one ceramic complex has usually been accepted as evidence of some form of contact between peoples. As one approaches the time of the Early Contact period, this association of different complexes, sherds of different styles and types, at any one site or level of a site, is said to represent the specific social relationships of its inhabitants. The common example is one wherein the presence of sherds from a wide range of traditions is seen as representing trade contacts, or more generally a social, political, or military alliance between the peoples who once inhabited the different sites. This alliance would, on the Upper Great Lakes it is argued, be bolstered by the exchange of women. As women are the potters, it is said, they will replicate their 'home-style' ceramics at their new locale; woman exchange therefore leads to the presence of sherds from different traditions or complexes on any one site. On stratified sites, alternating sherd styles therefore permit one to assign varying directions of social relations. The precise function of women in this scheme is problematical and may be dubious; it has not necessarily been proven that groups in the Upper Great Lakes were uniformly patrilocal, that pottery itself was not traded, and that

women in new settings refused to be innovative.

Such difficulties in argument are perhaps unavoidable and by no means restricted to any one sub-discipline. The range of trade data in Upper Great Lakes archaeology is restricted. Since Early Contact exchange appeared to be mostly in goods more or less perishable, such as nets, foods, gear, and furs, the use of ceramic and lithic comparisons has been widely accepted in the analyses of Late Woodland trade in the several centuries before direct contact (Wright 1974; Fitting 1965; McPherron 1967).

The practitioners have all placed caveats on their conclusions regarding aboriginal trade networks. Noting the discontinuous distribution through time and space of various ceramic traditions at any one site, J.V. Wright expressed caution in the sole use of sherd comparisons for establishing "broad space-time relationships" (1968:48). James Fitting has revealed that "Iroquois" pottery was often made by non-Iroquoian speakers (1965:142), a conclusion often reflected by sherds at sites most likely Ottawa. Perhaps in consequence, his colleague Charles Cleland has concentrated upon faunal as well as ceramic remains. By presenting the economic implications contained in certain Late Woodland sites, he derives from these an annual round, a subsistence cycle, and then relates this to early ethnohistoric information. Both sorts of emphases, the analysis of faunal and ceramic debris, offer certain

information about the interactions among societies inhabiting the Upper Great Lakes during the Late Woodland period. Neither are absolutely verifiable. In attempting to build any long chain of reasoning one becomes increasingly subject to Murphy's Law, even in a recent period like the Late Woodland. Absolute veracity is a tenuous commodity at best. Belief becomes severely strained by overdefinite assertions.

Technically, archaeology can be said to have dealt in some manner with two aspects of the pre-contact situation on the Upper Great Lakes: inter-site relations and the probable habitations of Ottawa peoples. Accepting those fragile ceramic premises outlined above, a base-line date for the development of a long-distance trade, similar to that existing at direct contact, exists. Far-flung contact between east and west, north and south, is evident from around 1200-1300 A.D. at the Juntunen site near Mackinac (McPherron 1967) and becomes progressively more certain at other locations. This contact is said to involve the exchange of goods and people between northern hunter-gatherer-fishers and southern horticulturalists, in other words, a system similar to that found at contact. Long-distance trade itself is of course much older than this, especially for such articles as obsidian and copper, but the post-1200 A.D. pattern is most comparable to that of the Early Contact.

Working on Bois Blanc Island, in the Strait of Mackinac between Lakes Huron and Michigan, Alan McPherron classified the ceramic history of the Juntunen Site. During most of the phases of the site's occupation, relations were most evident to traditions associated with Michigan's lower peninsula. By the Juntunen phase, however, tentatively dated 1200-1400 A.D., the orientation of the ceramics on the site "shifted strongly...toward the area of incipient Iroquois style pottery development." McPherron specifically noted marked ceramic similarities with the Barrie-Uren Sites in southwestern Ontario (1967: 278,297). This placed the eastern social connections of this western site into the Middle Ontario Iroquois Tradition (Wright 1973:101). According to McPherron, this stylistic pattern brought to mind similarities with the situation during the Early Contact period and

...may well show the gradual formation, 300 years before contact, of patterns of trading relations between shifting horticulturalists and fisher-hunters that formed the basis for the trading networks of the historic period (1967: 298).

J.V. Wright advanced objections to the association by McPherron between the Juntunen phase and Barrie-Uren pottery, arguing that the attribute parallels were of too general a nature (1968:15,49). Additionally, there is little direct evidence for the suggested trading pattern

beyond the pottery relationships. Nevertheless, some form of contact is perhaps indicated. Unfortunately, the Juntunen phase of the site, the youngest stratum, does not advance much closer than 1400 A.D. to the present.

Citing the Early Contact economic exchange in the Upper Great Lake, J.V. Wright sees "every reason to believe these trading patterns existed prehistorically" (1974:304), in a form little different than that described by Tooker (1967:25-7): corn, fish nets, and shells from the Huron were traded for fish and skins from the various Algonkian-speaking peoples. Unfortunately, continues Wright, these items, described as central to Upper Great Lakes trade, "either do not survive in the archaeological record or cannot be accurately interpreted as trade items" (ibid.). Nevertheless, Wright has uncovered what he believes to be definite proof of north-south contacts at the Nodwell site, a palisaded "Iroquoian" village on Lake Huron near Port Elgin. This mid-14th century site has furnished a relatively large amount of native copper, traditionally an element of the trade from the Lake Superior region; as well, he records Algonkian lithics and a small sample of non-Iroquoian pottery which may also indicate contacts with Algonkian-speaking peoples (1974:305). Wright, then, is prepared to accept a date of approximately 1350 A.D. for the operation of some north, west/south, east trade throughout the Upper Great Lakes, a pattern which well

might correspond to the events described by Samuel de Champlain.

Ceramics from the stratified Michipocoten site, on the eastern shore of Lake Superior, appear to evince more definite evidence of trade networks in operation. According to Wright, the Michipicoten site reflected influences from Wisconsin and Michigan throughout its history; during the mid-15th century, southeastern influences from an Ontarian Iroquoian group also appeared, generally from what was to become the 'Huron-Petun' branch of the 'Ontario Iroquois tradition' (1968:49-50).

Evidence of some recognized validity thus seems to assert the presence of east-west and north-south connections in the Middle to Late Woodland periods on the Upper Great Lakes. These connections were probably based on trade and social relations and were possibly characterized by the exchange of women (Wright 1968:50), or men as well. The base-line date for the system is approximately 1250 A.D., with ceramic and artifactual evidence becoming somewhat more acceptable by the 1350s. All in all, there is no substantive reason to doubt that the trade networks apparent at direct contact have a substantial depth in time. A quantity of data suggests, via current interpretation, that the trade pattern is of respectable antiquity. The precise relationships, actors, and historical

identifications are of course difficult to specify; the situation was probably characterized by a degree of flexibility consistent with the ebb and flow of economic and political influence among the participating peoples in the several historic periods.

Trade in furs and other goods does not appear with European intrusion. French goods modified a system of exchange that was already old, old enough to possess, among other attributes, a set of internationally recognized sanctions respecting the use and ownership of routes and social alliances (Heidenreich 1971:221; Trigger 1969:38-9).

The question of Late Woodland sites demonstrably Ottawa poses problems more irresolvable. Ottawa manufactures during the Early Contact, high-quality mats (Sagard, in Wrong 1939:102), dried berries and corn, are quite perishable, as are such transferred goods as furs. The villages in Ontario which Champlain visited in 1616, west of Petunia, have never been located to my knowledge. One finds little reference to any Ottawa presence in southern Ontario by Canadian archaeologists such as Lee, although those of Michigan are seemingly more familiar with the early sources. Quimby has suggested that Michigan was inhabited by Miami, Potawatomi, and Ottawa in the late Precontact (1960:109), a statement corroborated to a certain extent by Cleland (1966) and Fitting (1969). While based upon site analyses via ethnohistoric subsistence

information, this opinion agrees with the information collected from Ottawa elders by Nicholas Perrot in the late 17th century.

Ottawa artifacts, such as pipes and ceramics, are rather mysterious even in the historic periods; an Ottawa period (1660-1670) ossuary at Lake Superior's Chequamegon Point produces Huron style pottery and pipes (Quimby 1966: 114-5), while a slightly later 'Ottawa' cemetery at Gros Cap, five miles from a principle Ottawa village in Michigan, yields a veritable emporium of the ceramics usually assigned to other nations such as the Fox, Sauk, Miami, and Illinois, along with some obviously 'Iroquoian' or Huron pipes (Quimby 1966:125). A 1680 ossuary from Michilimackinac, the principal Ottawa village during this Florescent Period, provides Huron pipes, but also some ear screws and coils typically Ottawa, along with some "grit-tempered, smooth-surfaced rim sherds" (Quimby 1966:138). Quimby, following Maxwell (1964), has apparently delineated potential Ottawa type pottery from the "Middle Historic Period", 1670-1760 (ibid.). I can find no good plates or descriptions in my sources however, only these very general descriptions of limited usefulness, so the question must remain. Perhaps the Ottawa were a voluntary association of bachelor traders. Alternatively, perhaps our assumptions regarding women exchange or the ethnocentrism of potters should be re-examined.

The Michigan archaeologists, using another tack, have intensively utilized the early ethnohistoric literature in their surveys of sites, many of them small transitory camps. This method is interesting and deserves some comment. Dividing the economic adaptations of the Late Woodland period into two polar and one intermediate types, all of which correspond with the biotic macro-zones or provinces, site information began to reflect a pattern similar to that revealed in some of the earlier documents (Fitting 1969; Cleland 1966). In the Carolinian biotic province, winter and summer population concentrations were possible due to the large production of maize, while in the northern Canadian or Hudsonian provinces, summer concentrations contrasted with a winter dispersal. In the Late Woodland, accordingly, certain profound changes became apparent in the Michigan material. Northern populations became "specialized hunters and trappers supplying furs and meat to the south in return for other goods" (Fitting 1969:375). There was, however, an intermediate biotic zone, interacting with neighbouring provinces, inhabited by a people with an adaptation similar to that of the Ottawa living at Michilmackinac during the late 17th century. According to Fitting (1969:375):

In the intermediate region, the Canadian-Carolinian transition zone, a distinctive pattern developed similar to that of the historic Ottawa. This involved stable villages occupied on a year round basis primarily by women, while men spent summer trading, hunting and fishing in the coastal area and near river mouths, and the winter hunting in the interior. The interaction of these adaptations, stimulated by a possible demand for goods from the region in an outside area, led to the maximum population density of the pre-historic period.

The trade in local natural resources thus fell into the hands of the people of the transition zones.

While appealing, I sense a few problems. Ottawa ceramic and artifactual remains do not seem to have solidified, at least in the archaeological context, into a relatively continuous, distinct tradition; this effectively prevents the assigning of sites to particular peoples on the traditional basis of ceramic types. Methodologically, the Ottawa pattern used to classify the Late Woodland Michigan sites (Cleland 1966; Quimby 1960) is based upon the detailed and somewhat stable picture given by French sources during the Mackinac phase of the 1680s and 90s. Its application, especially in terms of subsistence and seasonal cycle, to an earlier period is questionable; while such Late Woodland sites in Michigan which exhibit these characteristics may be Ottawa, then again they may not be. The most apparent discrepancy

lies in the difference between the earliest description of Ottawa subsistence and annual round by Champlain in 1616, and that delivered approximately seventy years later by Perrot and Lahontan. Champlain, as I have shown, saw in his winter visit a population concentration at the village, something we do not find in the later Florescent period, when most men and some women are said to be hunting in large bands inland during the winter. The analysis of sites constructed by Cleland (1966:73), Quimby (1960:128-9), and Fitting reflect the later adaptation rather than that observable at direct contact. The Early Contact, moreover, can be characterized by a certain amount of variation in the Ottawa economies described; the pattern may not have been uniform within this broad group later called Ottawa. Such discrepancies emphasize the great care needed in direct historical identifications; when sites are analyzed according to one encompassing model, then archaeological investigation, already subject to the Fourth Law of Thermodynamics, becomes increasingly affected by Ginagle's Second Law. As we have seen, the range in Ottawa lifestyles and utilized artifacts is considerable. Sites are not necessarily Ottawa because they happen to correspond to one of a larger possible number of subsistence styles, especially when the original sources offer varying views. The use of ethnohistorical documents for site identifications is therefore

not as straightforward as it often may appear.

It does seem that, for the Late Woodland at least, little leeway is in existence on the question of Ottawa habitat. There is a choice between accepting either nothing or the tentative conclusions of the principle archaeologists. An Ottawa-style habitation of parts of the lower peninsula of Michigan possibly occurred in some fashion before direct contact. As specialists familiar with the range of material, the archaeologists can perhaps be tentatively accepted in their assertion that Ottawa groups inhabited parts of Michigan during the Late Woodland, although their reasoning and analysis is suspect. Certainly Perrot noted that, prior to the Iroquois wars and the westward dispersal, Ottawa had lived at Thunder and Saginaw Bays as well as at Mackinac (Blair 1:148).

On the whole and somewhat ironically, the most definite ethnohistoric information concerns the Ontario region, relatively untouched by archaeological concern about the Ottawa, while the Michigan scholars and archaeologists have laboured in a region not definitely mentioned as an Ottawa habitat by our earliest sources. Indeed, during the Early Contact, the surest recorded locations of Ottawa groups are in eastern Wisconsin and southwestern Ontario, while the most definite Late Woodland 'Ottawa' sites lie between these two locales, in Michigan. Considering the goals of this study, such a realization

provides a certain grim amusement. Certainly there should be more testing for Ottawa village sites on the south coast of Georgian Bay.

Conversely, certain generalizations do stand apparent, for both the Late Woodland and Early Contact periods. Suspected Ottawa sites, archaeological and historical, are placed in the Carolinian-Canadian transition zone, or in the Canadian biotic province, itself in some respects a transitional zone between the Hudsonian and Carolinian provinces. In this regard, the notion of strategic ecology utilized by Fitting and Cleland appears sound. Due to the nature of the very broad 'ecotone' or transition zone, the local environments supported habitats of both northern and southern species as well as soil and weather conditions minimally suitable for horticulture. Hence, the zone was doubly rich in resources. In the transitional zones, the potentialities of wealth, of being "well-off" (Champlain, in Biggar 3) were great, but were also not limited to the local resources. Ottawa adaptation to this zone was "neither a simple one, nor marginal to the more highly agricultural societies farther south" (Cleland 1966:77). Strategic locations in the transition zone, itself an avenue for the passage of different natural products, gave some command over the major transport routes and alliances between the boreal north and the maize-growing south. It was command over these routes that

gave those Ottawa Champlain contacted in 1615 their great reputation as long-distance traders. During the first visits of the French in the Upper Great Lakes, only the Nipissing possessed similar far-ranging trade contacts; these, however, were apparently oriented more to the north and Hudson's Bay (Sagard, in Wrong 1939:86), while the Nipissing economy did not possess any emphasis upon the production of corn and other crops.

From both the archaeological and early historical data, it is evident that the Ottawa nations utilized both their 'ecotonal' resources and their trade position to some advantage in their economic relations. Often they strove to protect their middleman position with some subtlety and skill. Despite setbacks, the increasing Huron-French trade, and the subsequent Iroquois wars, the several Ottawa groups retained their basic orientation well into the Florescent period.

CHAPTER III
ECONOMY AND TRADE DURING THE
FLORESCENT PERIOD 1650-1700

The Flight to the West, 1650-1670

In the 1640s the Five Nations Iroquois developed surprising strength. Their warriors demonstrated tactical innovation and strategic subtlety. War parties stayed longer in enemy territory, sometimes wintering there; despite supply difficulties, this gave the initiative and surprise to the Iroquois against selected Huron targets. Eventually, the decision was made to systematically destroy the Huron Confederacy. One by one, the villages were attacked, the survivors fleeing to neighbouring settlements. In 1649 the morale of the Huron tribes broke; the ensuing panic disrupted agriculture and was responsible for the starvation deaths of the refugee groups on Christian Island the following winter. Those who could escape fled, to Quebec, to the Neutral or Petun, to the Nipissing, the wisest westward. One by one, these other nations now received Iroquois attention. A Petun war party was outmaneuvered, its home village sacked and its relatives enslaved or massacred. In the early 1650s

many of the Nipissing fled to Lake Nipigon, the Ottawa Valley Algonkians fled to Quebec (Blair 1:150), and the Neutral were attacked. Everywhere in southern Ontario the nations were seized with fear at the expected onslaught of Iroquois power (Du Creux 1951:567). By 1652, the Ontario tribes were abandoning their villages and fleeing into exile (Trigger 1976).

The Ottawa in southern Ontario, the Kiskakon, Sinago, Sable, and some other groups, shared in the general ruin. As allies of the defeated Huron, their outlook was not favourable. Their relatively small number of warriors, the defeat of their old military allies the Neutral in 1651, the loss of their eastern bulwark the Petun, induced them to leave southern Ontario. Not much is known specifically of the details of the flight. Fifteen years later, a Jesuit noted the death of an elder Ottawa named Kekakoung who, much earlier, had tried to flee from the Iroquois across the ice of Lake Huron; sixty men were trapped on a floe detached by a storm. He was one of thirty who survived by harpooning fish under the ice. From this information it would seem that the panic was sudden, suggesting either an early or late winter attack, or the rumour of one. The Jesuit who recorded Kekakoung's tale however, did not specify where the elder had fled from (JR 52:211).

Concrete information did not arrive at Quebec

until July 29, 1653. Three canoes came from the Upper Great Lakes, carrying representatives of a new alliance of Huron, Nipissing, Ottawa, and several western nations. This news was recorded by the Jesuit Father (JR 38:181):

All the Algonquin nations are assembling with what remains of the Tobacco Nation and of the Neutral, at Aotonatendie, three days' journey above the Sault Skiae, toward the south.

There, an assembly of 1,000 people or, more likely, warriors, was gathering, including 200 "Outaouak, or cheveux relevez" (ibid.). It was also reported that 800 Neutral had survived the collapse of their confederacy and were planning to reach Aotonatendie by the following autumn, when the Petun would also join the assembly. The whole affair, related the Jesuit, was directed by Achawi, a Nipissing chieftain.

As the Sault Skiae was apparently Sault de Ste. Marie, Aotonatendie was perhaps either the southern coast of Lake Superior from Keweenaw eastward, or also perhaps Green Bay; the choice depends upon which incorrect European notion of geography was being employed. Green Bay district is an adequate choice for the location of the gathering. Both Perrot and the Jesuit Relation of 1654 placed the Ottawa there at this time (Blair 1:149). In that year the first Ottawa-Petun-Huron fur brigade

descended the River of the Algonquins, afterwards called the Ottawa. The Jesuit Relations noted that the Petun and the "Ondataouats", called Cheveux Relevés, had abandoned their country and moved westward to the Lake of the Puants, afterward called Baie des Puants or Green Bay, or else perhaps Lakes Illinois and then Michigan (JR 41:77-9); Warkentin and Ruggles 1970).

At Aotonatendie, then, appears the first grand alliance of the western nations against an eastern menace; some of these allies, we learn, had formerly been hostiles, but had been forced by the threat of the Iroquois to make peace amongst themselves. An added inducement, Radisson remarked, was access to French trade goods (Radisson, in Adams 1961:88). Allied councils continued to be held at Ottawa settlements over the next decade. Allouez reported ten nations in conference at Chequamegon during the trading season of 1665 (JR 50:279).

While details are vague and our sources do not always correspond, the decade 1653-63 saw the failure of repeated Iroquois attempts to destroy the vestiges of their enemies' power in the west. Three separate campaigns are recorded by either Perrot or Radisson between 1653 and 1662, in all of which the Iroquois were defeated soundly. These defensive campaigns by the western allies were all said to have involved full-scale engagements during the summer raiding season (Blair 1:151, 179; Adams 1961:88).

In each the Iroquois suffered heavy casualties, inflicted by various parties including Petun, Ottawa, Illinois, Saulteur, Nipissing, Amikwa, Nikikouets, and Missisakis. Ottawa raiding parties were sent into southern Ontario and New York, occasionally netting kills and captives; 30 Iroquois killed, for example, in 1657 (JR 44:205). While obviously the western peoples were far from defenceless, some specific details are obscure; the Ottawa brigades were trading for gunpowder, but the number of guns and the amount of powder they possessed is unknown. It may have been considerably more than had been customarily traded to the Huron before 1650; some young "outaouacs" accidentally caused a memorable explosion near Lake Nipissing (JR 50:257). As there was as yet no mission to the Ottawa, this indicates a change in the French policy of only supplying Christian Indians with powder and guns (Trigger 1976). Uncertainty in the Ottawa country occasionally became acute. In 1658 the Quebec trade was poor as it was reported that an army of 1200 Iroquois had set out to visit the Ottawa and revenge their losses of the previous year (JR 44:205). Generally, however, these threats were successfully met, and the initial panics which induced the westward flight did not long endure. With each success, the Algonkian-speaking peoples reoccupied more of the Lake Huron region. By 1670 the Nipissing were again on the lake that bears their name.

There is, however, no reason to deny the initial intensity of the panic in the early 1650s. These Iroquois wars are, in the narrative of Nicholas Perrot, inextricably linked with the extensive migrations of the Petun and the Ottawa. Perrot purported to have omitted details already contained in the Jesuit Relations, limiting himself to an account of that "which I have learned from the lips of the old men among the Outaoua tribes" (Blair 1:151). Perrot set forth an aeneid of migration and war. From Manitoulin and Mackinac the Ottawa and Tionnontaté together fled in 1653 to Huron Island, at the entrance to Green Bay. Subsequent Ottawa raiding and scouting parties in old Huronia angered the Iroquois, who dispatched a force of 800 to the island that year. The Ottawa-Huron retreated into Méchingan (now Wisconsin) and built a fort, where, according to Perrot, they were besieged for two years until 1655. The Iroquois, abandoning the investment, divided into two groups for their homeward trek; each took a different route, to be massacred either by the Illinois or by a mixed war party of Saulteur, Nikikoué, and Mississaki. From Méchingan, the Ottawa-Petun migrated to Pelee Island in the Sioux country of latter-day Minnesota. Poor trading relations and Ottawa or Petun contempt for the musketless Dakota led, after several years, to a disastrous war. The Ottawa were obliged to abandon the Sioux country and settled at Chequamegon on Lake Superior

around 1658-60. The unfortunate Tionnontaté Huron attempted retaliation against the Sioux, were captured, and, as Perrot explains, were sent back after distressing circumstances, somewhat fewer, to join the Ottawa on Lake Superior. Both peoples lived here until 1670. Neither provoked the Dakota until that year, when the still resentful Petun convinced the Sinago Ottawa to abrogate their peace with the Sioux, an occasion ratified by the eating of a Dakota envoy. The Ottawa Chief Sinagös was later captured and, like his former Dakota captive, became an ingredient in a ragoût de Sioux (Blair 1:148-70).

Perrot's tale seems to imply that the entire Ottawa confederacy left the vicinity of Green Bay to migrate into Sioux territory. However, caution is recommended before Perrot is accepted in all detail. First, Radisson met, probably in 1658 but possibly several years earlier, a village of Ottawa, more than likely somewhere on Green Bay, perhaps on Huron Island (Adams 1961:87-8; Kinietz 1940:245). Secondly, the 1673 ingathering at Mackinac was noted by the Jesuits as including some 60 Sinago Ottawa who came from the Green Bay area (JR 57:249). Thirdly, the Relation of 1660 mentions the Ottawa as scattering to Keweenaw, a district famed for wild rice, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, a few days' journey west of the Sault (JR 45:105). These sources indicate that not all Ottawa left the Green Bay area in

1653 for a prolonged journey into the interior. The traders arriving at Quebec with the first brigade in 1654 had said that they were from the Lake of the Puants, the Lake Michigan or Green Bay area; the two year siege and the presence of Iroquois warriors near their home villages does not, uncharacteristically, appear to have affected the Quebec trade that year. This account, moreover, presented by the Ottawa traders to the Jesuits, mentioned a Petun alliance with the Cat Nation's 2,000 warriors, probably Erie (JR 21:191; JR 33:63); this was seen as sufficient to have driven off the Iroquois raids (JR 41:79).

The account by this trading group is of course somewhat similar to Perrot's, but it differs in particulars, emphases, and implications. These other sources show that not all Ottawa participated in every migration, that groups were separate and dispersed, utilizing different resources and strategies. Not everyone was frantically fleeing the Iroquois, especially after these latter had suffered substantial setbacks. Perrot himself narrates that, around 1662, some Amikwa, Saulteur, Nipissing, and Ottawa were gathering at the Sault to take advantage of the whitefish runs in the autumn, where they defeated an Iroquois war party. Obviously at this time there were Ottawa groups at places other than the interior of Wisconsin and Minnesota, or at Chequamegon, although there

is no reason to suspect that some Ottawa, bolstered by their latest efforts against the Iroquois but still fearing retribution, did not attempt to intrude upon the Dakota. Perrot records them reaching the prairie before being driven back to the Great Lakes. The initiation of hostilities with the numerous Sioux does not really seem consistent with Perrot's portrayal of a defeated collection of miscellaneous refugees. Doubtless Perrot, evincing a standard French bias against the Ottawa (Blair 1:258-268), has edited his own information to conform to his orientation.

When taken together, our sources provide some evidence of Ottawa movements and history during the flight to Wisconsin and the west. There were evidently two concentrations of Ottawa groups during this time span: the minor node at Green Bay, the major node at Chequamegon on Lake Superior. Several other focal points were located, based either upon trade (Blair 1:173) or subsistence requirements, such as the use of the Sault whitefish runs. These locations were utilized jointly by the Ottawa and their allies: Keweenaw, the Sault, Nipigon, and the Sioux-Ottawa border zone south of Superior. From 1665 we have good descriptions of large villages at Chequamegon, one built by Petun, the other by several nations of Ottawa, the latter approximately 2,000 people living in 40-50 "large cabins" (JR 50:301). Chequamegon

was abandoned due to trouble with the Sioux in 1670, with one disgruntled tribe of Ottawa, the Kiskakon, going to Sault Ste. Marie (JR 57:15), the others to Manitoulin Island (JR 55:133). Factional divisions among the tribes had been aggravated by the Jesuits and the poor military performance of the Kiskakon contingent in the invasion of the Dakota country (Blair 1:189). Both groups were eventually reunited at Michilimackinac by 1673.

By 1654, Ottawa traders had assumed some measure of control over the trade routes to Quebec; the subsequent inflow of wealth during these two decades corresponded with increased political influence of the Ottawa tribes. Trade marts at Ottawa villages provided a convenient fulcrum for general councils of the western nations (JR 50:279). While the Ottawa augmented their new levels of prosperity and power (Blair 1:283) during the entire fifty years of the Florescent period, this was accompanied by numerous social disruptions, many of them of an internal or factional nature and most of them consistent with florescent developments of northern Algonkian-speaking peoples elsewhere (Smith 1974). Factions were organized around prominent chiefs, tribal and alliance councils were more often than not rancorous in spirit or deed, while the Jesuits interfered in internal affairs, clashing with the conjurors and attempting to divide the more

Christianized tribe, the Kiskakon, from their allies and relatives (JR 50:301-5; 54:171-5; 57:15). While the foreign wars with the Iroquois were, after the initial panics, relatively successful, the Dakota inflicted severe defeats on the Ottawa tribes, the Huron, and their allies. Ottawa fortunes, nevertheless, had a solid basis in the realities of Upper Great Lakes trade and soon again reached their apogee at Michilimackinac.

Foreign Policy and the Quebec Trade, 1654-1670

The dispersal of the Nipissing and the Huron left a vacuum in trade between the French and the Indian nations, one which the Ottawa ended in 1654 by sending the first brigades of fur-laden canoes down the River of the Algonkians to Montreal (JR 41:77-79). Because of the flight of the former 'owners' of the French River, Lake Nipissing, Ottawa-Mattawa River route, the Ottawa and their allies were the only ones remaining who maintained an organization efficient enough to move goods and furs over such long distances. At contact, the Nipissing-Huron system, operating in parallel with the Ottawa-Neutral network, had moved goods into southern Ontario from areas outside. Because of the advent of the French, the Huron acquired a great advantage which they used to expand their trade to Ottawa allies as well as the Ottawa themselves;

the Neutral and Petun greatly desired French goods, while Ottawa groups in southwestern Ontario in the late 1640s are said to be Huron allies. Before 1650, the Ottawa themselves had not come to Quebec even though they had promised Champlain to do so. Sagard found them in 1623 obtaining their French goods from the Huron; the Huron, of course were at this time special allies to the French, a position which under inter-tribal convention granted trade primacy. The Allumette, on the other hand, controlled the water access route to Quebec, and so were, before 1640, entitled to a share of the trade. Successful trade, therefore, rested upon two pillars: alliance relationships and control of geographical trade routes. After 1650, the Ottawa nations, along with the small numbers of Petun or Huron refugees, had the advantage of both.

From this point in time onward, the "great River of the Algonkians" assumed the name of the alliance which controlled it, the Ottawa. As one Jesuit Father explained the situation (JR 51:21):

The Outaouac claim that the great river belongs to them, and that no nation can launch a boat on it without their consent. Therefore all who go to trade with the French, although of widely different nations, bear the general name Outaouac, under whose auspices they make the journey.

The Ottawa were the third important group of native middlemen after direct contact to control the access of other Indians to the French and to the Ottawa-Mattawa Rivers, Lake Nipissing, French River routes. Unlike the Allumette in the 1620s and 30s, or the Huron before 1650, they made no consistent attempt to forbid French penetration to the other nations around the Great Lakes.

The beneficial aspects of the middleman position in such a trade were various. Several features were associated with this initial Ottawa control over both producers and markets: a high return on investment, a wide net of potential allies clamouring for European goods after the Huron defeat, and access to the conveniences of French manufactures. From Perrot's narrative, there is additional information that the Ottawa were quite pleased with their new-found economic strength. The advantages of a dominant position in any business partnership were not obscure to the Ottawa, who in the Early Contact had maintained the "Forest Tribe" as "dependents" (Wrong 1939). The rush to turn a profit in the rapidly expanding fur trade after 1650 led, for many tribes, into this sort of relationship. To take advantage of the boom, an alliance with the Ottawa was seen as a necessity. Naturally, the Ottawa 'charged' what the market would bear, phrased, of course, in the conventional

language of partnership and in the traditional form of 'reciprocal' gift exchange, within an alliance framework,

From an ethnohistoric point of view, this extension of alliance, including permission to other nations to use the Ottawa routes and contacts, makes tribal identification of fur brigade participants rather difficult and indefinite. The problem is compounded by the Jesuit style of reporting. While the Fathers may have been meticulous in recording their perceptions of religious detail, they must also bear the major part of the blame for the confusion over what peoples actually are the Ottawa. The exact situation is often vague in the Relations. It was the Jesuits' peculiar custom to extend specific names over extensive groupings of related peoples; thus the Petun nation, the Tionnontaté Huron, rapidly became known as simply the Huron after their migration westward, even though, of course, many of them had not lived in old Huronia at all. Similar processes happened to 'Saulteur'; specific names were applied generally.

So it was with the Ottawa, a situation complicated further by the (extensive marriage contracts with allied nations.) This was said of the participants in the early fur brigades (JR 54:127):

They are commonly given the name Outaouak, because, of more than thirty different Nations that are found in these countries, the first to come down to our French settlement were the Outaouaks, whose name afterward remained with all the others.

The Jesuits, one hopes, were aware of what they were doing, but their generalizing makes for needless complexity in our interpretation of trade and movement. One frequently finds that a chapter in the Relations entitled "Outawats Arrive" will contain a breakdown in numbers of men by tribe. Of the 220 Indians who arrived in Montreal for the fur mart of 1664, 80 Kiristinon (Cree) were differentiated as especially desiring a Blackgown (JR 48:237). There are other examples (Radisson in Adams: 102). Such reporting makes it impossible to base population estimates of the Ottawa on the number of male traders appearing as 'Ottawa' in Montreal.³

For the Ottawa nations, the 1650s and 60s were their most profitable for trade, as Indian-French contacts were maintained mainly via the Ottawa-Huron fur brigades; this was especially true of the earlier years. Few Europeans had yet penetrated into the Upper Great Lakes. While Ottawa economic interests would seem to dictate a separation of Frenchmen from prime markets, a classic and understandable reaction on the part of middlemen

(Trigger 1976), the Ottawa traders did not always have this latitude of action. They did not always act against French incursion into their markets, even though this was ultimately to lessen their economic advantage and neutralize their lucrative position in the middle of a host of exchange networks. Defence against the Iroquois necessitated both a French alliance and a continuing supply of muskets and ammunition. The French alliance meant a restriction on overtly hostile acts against missionaries and traders, a position French authorities since Champlain had advanced. As well, the French were the source of European goods which enabled the Ottawa to extend their influence to other tribes.

The profit margin on goods was apparently considerable. Inflated values for fur commodities were funneled through the Ottawa traders, who naturally allocated goods to finance Indian luxuries, French imports, and the purchase of the system's linch-pin, beaver fur. The web of social relations, tying the Ottawa into both the European-oriented fur trade and the Indian tribes, revolved around traditional cultural values and forms to a substantial degree. Social and alliance aspects in trading relationships are as observable in this time period as they were immediately after contact in 1615. Nevertheless, economic self-interest, a definite profit motivation, did lead the Ottawa to further entangle

themselves into a network of social relationships and intertribal competition. While Perrot's attitude is likely quite different from our own, his views appear to be characteristic of many French traders. Discussing the French inability to uniformly control its nominal subjects, especially regarding trade policies, Perrot complained (Blair 1:263):

All the savages who trade with the French are such only in name; equally with ourselves, they are bent on availing themselves of everything that they see and understand can be to their advantage. Ambition and vainglory are, as I have already stated, the supreme passions that sway them.

Indigenous goals are not always non-competitive. The Ottawa expressed trade, especially to their native allies, in terms of traditional values, reciprocal exchanges of gifts and people, and were offended by non-conforming French actions (Blair 1:264); much of the wealth acquired through trade was utilized in this way, by both the Potawatomi (Blair 1:302) and the Ottawa (Blair 1:189). Such exchange, expressed in traditional forms and conforming to cultural conventions of liberality, reciprocity, and egalitarianism, was mediated by a pretty fair notion of market value; this was especially evident in the early days of the trade, when the economics of scarcity operated. The Ottawa or "French Nation" (Adams 1961) were the special

friends of the Europeans and the source of their goods.

Cultural expectations, therefore, combined with notions of economic self-interest, were influencing the fashion in which trade on the Upper Great Lakes operated. The French sometimes commented upon the marketing skills of the Indians, whether these were expressed in a traditional form to native allies or in a free market sense to the Montreal merchants (Lahontan 1970:92). In its simplest terms, there was little hesitation in acquiring wealth or using it to augment and advance personal prestige or political power.⁴ New forms of wealth made the traditional pursuit of the 'good life' that much more gratifying (la Potherie, in Blair 1:280,283,303). Bound by somewhat contrasting expectations of his partners, the Ottawa trader utilized each of these economic styles in manipulating the markets to augment his contacts and income. The use of wealth occurred within the still extant social forms of the indigenous cultures.

This 'syncretism' of economic style arose from the particular situation existing in the Upper Great Lakes at this time; successful and adaptive inputs were derived from traditional reciprocities as well as market considerations. For a ten to fifteen year period, the Ottawa had a middleman's control over the access to a boom in a commodity, one very profitable in terms of exchange value at either

terminus of the trade. Each market was moreover well educated in the merits of the goods they desired, while the demand was intense since the flow of goods through the system had been completely interrupted by the destruction of the Huron and the Iroquois blockade. Yet even after inland trading posts were established and after French traders had bypassed the Ottawa and initiated some direct contact with primary fur producers, the social relations initiated or intensified by the Ottawa during these years of dispersal remained operational; they maintained their fur-funneling effect long after strictly economic considerations could have been considered appropriate. While the French after 1665 had good access to the geographic trade routes, Ottawa alliance relationships maintained the middleman position to a substantial degree; this orientation existed in a gradually diminishing fashion until well in the late 1600s, when the originating trade pioneers were increasingly becoming deceased, French alliance relationships through individual traders were proliferating, and direct sale to French merchants decreased the profitability of the old style fur brigades and the Montreal mart. Economic relations, therefore, are not entirely based upon ostensibly 'rational' market considerations but are also affected by cultural conventions; the interface

between the two idealized and polar styles is not necessarily distinct and may shift as individuals resolve immediate concerns. Long term economic and military strategies of alliance mediated against strict market economics, especially when they involved favoured customers, partners, or relatives.

Slightly after the dispersal westward, the fur trade intensified and then increased dramatically. Contacts were formalized; both refugees and new trading nations were brought into the system by far-ranging Ottawa parties. These groups moved extensively following the shifts of allied peoples about the Great Lakes. Short and long term residence patterns were complex, whether for reasons of seasonal subsistence or for the more notable wars. The varying geographical positions of the trade partners is thus more understandable. The Saulteurs at Keweenaw, the Nipissings and Amikwa at Nipigon, and the Kristenaux on the north shore of Superior were in 1662 using the Ottawa as their suppliers of French trade goods, an arrangement sarcastically described by Perrot as the exchange of old knives, blunt awls, and worn-out kettles for furs (Blair 1:173-4; Radisson, in Adams 1961:90). These sorts of remarks by Radisson and Perrot can be placed into context; although allied with the Ottawa, Perrot's and especially Radisson's mission to

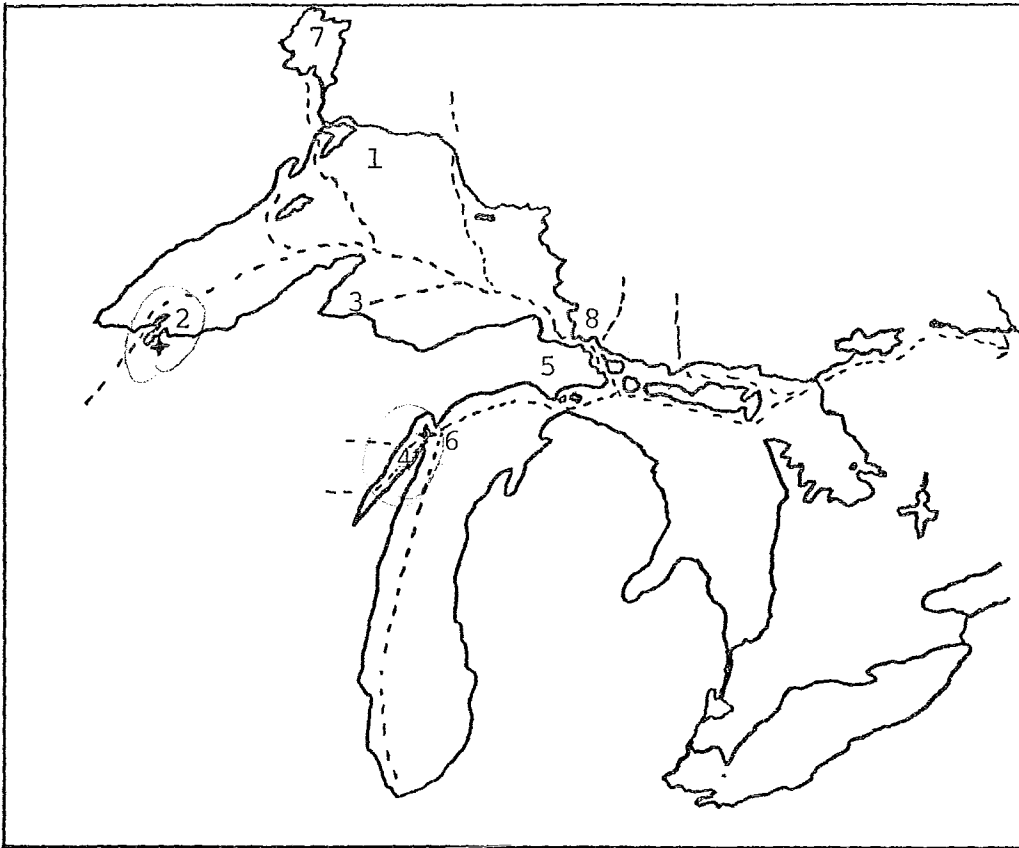
contact new tribes directly was inimical to Ottawa trade interests. Radisson's protests of being constrained by the policies and laws of the Ottawa he was with indicates possible reasons for these two authors to indulge in their periodic fulminations against Ottawa trade policies (Adams: 144).

Notwithstanding the interpretations advanced to us by our primary sources, it is clear that in a fifteen year period, the Ottawa, with groups based at Green Bay and Chequamegon Point, developed effective command of the major portion of trade on the Upper Great Lakes. Trade contacts were numerous; these included most of the Central Algonkian peoples, such as the Miami, Potawatomi, Menomini, Sauk, and Mascouten, but also included those northerly groups previously mentioned such as the Cree (Radisson, in Adams:89-90). For a time in the mid-1660s the Sioux also contributed to Ottawa prosperity, an alliance abrogated by pressures from the Tionnontaté Huron in 1670 (Blair 1:160). La Potherie noted that the Ottawa carried French goods to the Potawatomi, who reciprocated with furs (Blair 1:302). Because of alliance relationships with other tribes coming to Chequamegon, such as the Sauk, we can probably ascribe similar trade with the 800 undifferentiated warriors and traders whom Father Allouez noted when he first arrived at Chequamegon in 1665; they

had come from seven different nations (JR 50:273-9). In the south, Radisson observed that the Ottawa at Green Bay were going to the farthest part of the Bay, or alternately Lake Michigan, to trade for light pottery, woven "goat" belts, and sea shells or wampum (Adams:90).

The major commodity, of course, was for the French, beaver or castor gris, and for the native peoples, French trade goods, but as Radisson shows, we cannot discount the importance of other trade goods. Price differentials on different levels of the trade, to primary producers on one hand and to the French on the other, were manipulated to concentrate wealth and exchange opportunities at the middle level, among, as we might expect, the Ottawa themselves. It is small wonder that French individuals, especially those relatively independent of royal companies, attempted to increase their own share of the trade by bypassing wholesalers and dealing directly with consumers and producers.

The Chequamegon Ottawa were using their access to French trade goods in other ways than strictly economic, such as political leverage among the surrounding tribes. Because some trade and warfare alliances were cemented by bonds of marriage and gifts, we can infer that these connections were often useful and occasionally vital in any enterprise, particularly military. Speaking of the combined Ottawa-Huron expedition against the Sioux in 1670,



Map 5

Trade System During the Years of Dispersal: the
Classical Ottawa Middleman Position 1654-1665

Lake Superior	1	Michilimackinac	5
Chequamegon Bay	2	Huron Island	6
Keweenaw Bay	3	Lake Nipigon	7
Green Bay (Baie de Puants)	4	Sault Ste. Marie	8

Major Ottawa Settlements ✚ (2,6)

Ottawa-French System -----

Perrot narrates (Blair 1:189):

Their forces were increased along the way; for Chief Sinagos had for a brother-in-law the Chief of the Sakis, who resided at the Bay; and the Pouteouatemis and the Renards were his allies. As the Outaouas had brought with them all the goods which they had obtained with the French in trade, they made presents of these to the Pouteouatemis, Sakis, and Renards, who formed a body of over a thousand men, all having guns or other powerful weapons of defense.

As with the Spanish windfall after Peru's conquest, increased wealth was channeled into military avenues and used to repay old debts and grudges.

The wealth was definitely tied to the transport by the Ottawa of the furs to Montreal, an undertaking always major and often disastrous. Between 1654 and 1670, the Jesuit Relations and Perrot mention ten years when the Ottawa or the Ottawa-Petun fur brigades descended the "Ottawa" River, and I suspect several others did so without finding their way into the Relations; Radisson (Adams:101) and Perrot (Blair 1:210) both mention substantial brigades which may or may not have received Jesuit attention. The maximum number of canoes recorded as arriving at a Quebec post were one hundred in 1665, with four hundred "Outawak" (JR 49:163). In 1659, when sixty canoes arrived, 50,000 livres in fur were unloaded at

Montreal, a respectable sum; the rest were unshipped at Three Rivers (JR 45:161-3). Following the Relations and some other sources, Table 1 charts the arrivals by year, listing where available the number of canoes and traders, with some earlier and later brigades listed for comparison. For those years between 1654 and 1670 which are unrecorded or which have a small number of arrivals, we can assume either that some or all of the arrivals were not included in the Relations or, perhaps, that few came because of various difficulties. For fifteen years, first and foremost among these reasons were the probabilities of Iroquois attacks on the convoys, each year calculated anew at Chequamegon or Green Bay.

From 1660 Jesuits began to successfully accompany the canoes returning to the Ottawa country. The Fathers often complained at some length about the speed at which they were forced to paddle to keep up with their Ottawa escorts. These traders were rightly nervous; Iroquois parties would often ambush a brigade on the lower reaches of the Ottawa river. The fur brigade that grudgingly took Father Menard in 1660 had already been ambushed below the Great Falls, losing three men (JR 46:119). Similar events occurred to the brigades Radisson accompanied on his returns. The 1665 convoy that took Father Allouez upcountry had fought twice with small groups of Iroquois;

only their large numbers saved them from outright assault. Casualties were usually light as the Iroquois often contended themselves with firing volleys into the convoy from the river banks (JR 49:243-9), although the dangerous portages often saw more major engagements (Radisson, in Adams:102). As a result the Ottawa were usually hasty, disliking to take more feeble and bothersome missionaries than absolutely necessary to please their allies the French authorities.

The number of men who made the voyage each year varied according to how serious the Sioux and Iroquois threat was perceived. Warriors had to be retained for defensive purposes in the summer raiding or trading season, contributing, as we might expect, certain tensions in relations between younger men and old, trading and war chiefs. A bad year was 1658. The Relations mention only nine canoes arriving (JR 44:111). The Jesuits reported that there was no trade at all in 1666, fearing for the safety of Allouez, who had departed the year before. Quebec Hurons and Algonkians were continually ambushed, while there were occasional reports, as in 1658, of Iroquois armies setting out to avenge thirty war deaths by a retaliatory raid into the country of the Ottawa (JR 44:205). In 1662, according to Perrot, such a party was defeated by a mixed Ottawa-Ojibway group near Sault Ste. Marie (Blair 1:179).

Table 1
Upper Great Lakes Fur Brigade Arrivals in Quebec

YEAR	NO. OF CANOES	NO. OF PEOPLE	NATION- ALITY	DESCRIP- TIVE COMMENTS	SOURCE
1624	60	200	Huron	pre-1650 average	Heidenreich 1971:280; Trigger 1976: 336
1654	?	120	Petun, Ondata- ooaouats		JR 41:77
1656	50- 60	250	Outaouas, Saulteurs		Blair 1:157; JR 42:225-33
1658	9			rumoured Iroquois raid	JR 44:111
1659	60	300	Ottawa	40 more canoes aborted	JR 45:163
1660		300			JR 46
1663	35	150	Outaouax		JR 47:307
1664		220 (80)	Outawat (Kiristinon)		JR 48:237
1665	100	400 60	Outawak and "various nations"; Nipissing		JR 49:163; JR 50:249
1667	?	?		Allouez came with a party, no figures given	JR 50:177
1670	90	400	Outaouas, some Nipis.	alternate fig. say 900 Outa.	Blair 1:210-1
1684	50 25-30		Outaouas; French		Lahontan 1905:92-5

The almost constant hunger of the traders and priests along the water route to Quebec can be explained by the haste with which the voyages were made. Of particular severity was the north shore of Georgian Bay. Fathers Allouez, Menard, and Andre all recounted such alluring dishes as stew of rock tripe, a barely edible lichen, pulverized fish bone flour, pounded boiled bark, corn meal, and, if one were fortunate, some fish. It is not reasonable to assume that the trading traffic had diminished game in the region, for it was here, a few years later, that a band of Ojibway managed to snare 2,400 "moose" (Blair 1:221).⁵ The important factor in the starvation of the merchants was that no one felt sufficiently safe to tarry in the region long enough to hunt effectively. Additionally, the seasonal movements of big-game animals did not cause them to congregate on the water routes. Game was sufficiently far from the lakeshore to render it unavailable to parties attempting to move quickly; if one was lucky, a line trailed behind the canoe would allow a tasty addition of fish to the corn flour soup. Allouez said that the area around the Sault was renowned for its hunting, but he passed his one night there supperless. His party had not caught any fish (JR 50:263).⁶

Intrigue and Trade Relations During the Michilimackinac Years, 1671-1700

Conditions for trade improved somewhat after 1670, when peace with the Iroquois was established. French traders had been based at Chequamegon at least since 1665, and by 1670 the mission and trading post at Mackinac had been established. French traders had been successful in directly contacting other nations which had until then been supplied with European goods by Ottawa traders. In this regard, the travels of Nicholas Perrot, among other individuals, in the late 1660s to the Potawatomi, the Outagamis, the Maskoutens, and the Miamis were decisive in cementing the contacts initiated by Radisson a decade earlier (Blair 2:252). Some of these nations, favoured by particular coureurs de bois and developing special relationships with them, began to undertake middleman operations of their own (Blair 302,319). Other examples occur where the French trader, for political, social, or economic reasons, influenced the trade in particular directions, creating temporary windfalls for new middleman tribes. As La Potherie notes (Blair 1:319):

The French thought it prudent to leave to the Sakis for the winter the trade in peltries with the Outagamis, as they could carry it on with the former more quietly in the autumn.

Other tribes had also journeyed to Quebec, such as seven Saulteux canoes sometime in the early 1660s.

The Potawatomi in particular reaped many benefits from this arrangement, or rather certain of the clans did; the Bear family were notably friends of the French. Under the auspices of the Ottawa their allies, the Potawatomi had journeyed to Montreal in the late 1660s, also making an alliance with the French there (Blair 1:316):

These people were so delighted with the alliance that they had just made that they sent deputies in every direction to inform the Illinois, Miami, Outagamis, Maskoutechs, and Kikabous that they had been at Montreal, where they had bought much merchandise; they besought those tribes to visit them and bring the beavers.

While the Potawatomi appear, by 1670, to be local middle-⁷men on Green Bay, the immediate position of the Ottawa was enhanced; as owners of the water route and the possessors of the European alliance, the Ottawa had some rights,⁴ usually recognized by their allies, to a 'tithe' or favoured position in marketing the furs collected by the Potawatomi. This is similar to the tithe in skins given when hunters utilize meat from another group's area. Another expression of this payment was the 'marriage' alliance and its obligatory 'presents' (Blair 1:70). At this time the Potawatomi did not sell directly to the

French. According to la Potherie, "most of the merchandise for which the Outaouas trade with the French is carried among these people" (Blair 1:302).

By 1670 we find then a series of inter-related tribal middlemen operating in the Great Lakes, funneling the bulk of fur production through the Ottawa. These nations, connected by reciprocal alliances, made substantial profits. Nevertheless, the weaknesses of the middlemen were evident by the early 1670s. French traders were roving the hinterland, offering direct alliances and some savings. These were at this time not a major hindrance to the Ottawa-centered system, but the implications of this trend was clear. No middleman, especially one bound to the French for defence against the Iroquois, could hope to restrict French direct trade for any substantial period of time. Coureurs and bourgeois were increasing in number constantly in Michigan and Wisconsin. These, sometimes in competition with both the crown monopolies and the Ottawa traders, made offers that were not refused. Direct trade was progressively advanced to all the individual tribes. As factions waxed and declined, the tribal alliance with the Ottawa oftimes fell out of favour. By eliminating the necessity of 'gifting' (i.e. paying) the Ottawa to transport the goods to Montreal, direct trade resulted in substantial savings at both ends

of the network. The decline of the celebrated Montreal marts, although not noted until the 1670s (Innis 56), was discernible even as the Ottawa and Potawatomi were at the apex of their economic strength in the trade; furs were increasingly traded and collected at French posts on the Upper Great Lakes. In 1670 the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and their respective allies embarked on a military adventure against the Sioux, using their French goods to enlist aid. The ensuing disastrous war of 1671 (Perrot, in Blair 1:189), and the attendant factional disputes among the Ottawa nations (JR 54:175), served to emphasize the fragility of economic and military strength based solely upon temporary command of the fur trade.

In the late seventeenth century, the Ottawa turned increasingly to winter hunting in order to ensure continued marketable furs for their foreign exchange. While the loss of power, prestige and position in the trade system was gradual, the Ottawa in 1673 nonetheless modified their economy by a move to a position immediate to the developing depot and fort at Michilimackinac. Although trade revenue still continued due to some acceptance of Ottawa mediation with the French, it appears that the Ottawa in their move recognized new opportunities for profit. The service 'industries' at Mackinac became locked into Ottawa control. Their economy became

increasingly diversified in its interface with the French. In addition, of course, the old trade routes, in their social and geographical aspects, were utilized as long as possible; to ensure continuation, the Ottawa occasionally acted directly against French interests.

French trading posts in the Upper Great Lakes region, and in the interior towards Mississippi, expanded and proliferated during the Mackinac years. French personnel grew in numbers and social contacts. Trade to the French increasingly was seen as not having to pass through the hands of various Ottawa. The "Poutouatami", for example, dealt directly with La Salle's men in 1680, trading "a great quantity of Furrs and Skins" (Hennepin 1974:119).

It must be continually emphasized that the Ottawa influence in the trade, while declining during the Mackinac years, was still considerable, with much of the middleman position being retained. The loss of this advantage was gradual, Ottawa-French relations were ostensibly friendly and one of alliance against common enemies. La Barre in 1683 stated that the Outaouacs had been French allies for thirty years, and alone supplied "two-thirds of the Beaver that is sent to France" (Innis 52). According to his contemporary Du Chesneau, Ottawa policy was to restrict the passage of other unallied nations to Montreal, often intimidating such carriers

(Innis 45). The goals of Ottawa policy thus become clear: retain middleman/transport control through various means while appearing to be solid allies of the French; both the French alliance and the trade intermediation had value. While these aims are at first glance not complimentary, it seems that the Ottawa, subtle and skilled at intrigue, believed it possible to attain both ends.

Foreign policy actions of the Ottawa tribes, therefore, are by no means always quiescent or strictly defined by French interests. Occasionally, Ottawa aggravations at French encroachment of their interests is very evident. Strategies were quite different, reflecting variations in political thinking by the tribal chiefs, who, while officially allied to other Ottawa, also strove for their own status. In sum, the Ottawa did not hesitate to advance their own affairs. The methods used included intimidation of other tribes, diplomatic overtures to the Iroquois, negotiations and secret deals with English traders, and military ventures against tribes the French wished especially to cultivate, such as the Miami or Sioux (Blair 2:74).

The narratives of late seventeenth century affairs by La Potherie and Perrot are replete with examples of Ottawa "perfidy", understandable in terms of the increasing divergence of Ottawa and French aims in

the fur trade. Political maneuvering for advantage became endemic during this phase. Chiefs built their reputations and their following upon their adroitness, while French success depended upon the diplomatic astuteness of such bourgeois or soldiers as Perrot, Du Luth, Lahontan, and Cadillac.

Intimidation took a number of forms. In 1680 there appeared at Green Bay the Griffon, La Salle's thirty ton bark. This ship promised to revolutionize trade on the Upper Great Lakes. La Salle's men had traded directly with the Green Bay peoples, such as the Potawatomi, had built fur depots, and were planning to use the Griffon to transport furs to Montreal; the scheme would have effectively bypassed the Ottawa at both the distribution and transport ends. Fortunately or unfortunately, the bark disappeared on its attempted return trip, lost with all hands and cargo. Although Hennepin mentions only the dismay of the Ottawa "because of the Griffon", and their successful rumours and "seductions" aimed at La Salle's local men (Hennepin 1974:117), La Potherie is more forward in his accusation. He credits the wreck of the Griffon to an Ottawa conspiracy with both the Sauteurs and the Illinoets. While we must conjecture as to his evidence, his tale is plausible, considering the motives of the actors. On the return of the Ottawa delegates from the Illinois, they chanced upon the Griffon, at which

point it was seized, looted and burned. As La Potherie records his interpretation of events (Blair 1:353):

Monsieur de la Salle, who, after the tokens of esteem and frindship which those people had given him, had never suspected such perfidy, believed that his ship had been wrecked. The savages, on their part, considered themselves freed from a burden which to them had seemed heavy...

La Potherie and Perrot provide extensive and complicated narratives of the rivalries, assassinations, wars, and secret negotiations characteristic of the fur trade in the Upper Great Lakes. Political fortunes of individual chiefs fluctuated as their factions waned or waxed in power, shifting their followings or tribes from one or another set of alliances. Perrot narrowly averted a French disaster in the 1680s as the Ottawa were only at the last moment convinced to withdraw protection from an expedition of English traders to Mackinac (Blair 1:267; 2:22). The Huron took the English side in this dispute, at which point the Nansouaketon chief took that of the French. The Ottawa, perceived as the closest and most powerful of the French allies, often secretly dealt with Iroquois and English embassies (Blair 1:266; 2:44). Huron-Ottawa disputes were also noted, although precise events are clouded. Both La Potherie and Perrot are not to be implicitly trusted, or, for that matter, totally

discounted; the French viewpoint is, at best, self-interested. Both Blair and Tailhan offer different interpretations for what Perrot called a Huron conspiracy against the Ottawa during the hostilities attendant to the massacre at Lachine in 1689. Although Perrot described a desire by the Huron to wipe out the Ottawa with the help of the Iroquois at this time, the Iroquois had also been conspiring with Little Root, the Ottawa chief, to wipe out the Huron (Blair 2:44); both conspiracies called for the removal of the French. The Huron had informed the French about the Ottawa plan, while, immediately afterwards, an Amikwa informed the French about the Huron plan.

All in all, these narratives are complex, subtle, and in every way representative of a general spirit of intrigue. It is probable that the French on hand at the time were not always sure themselves as to individual motivations in the strange events, doublecrosses, and dirty tricks they witnessed. According to la Potherie (Blair 2:44):

The Hurons feigned not to join in the revolt of the Outaouaks; the policy of those peoples is so shrewd that it is difficult to penetrate its secrets. When they undertake any enterprise of importance against a nation whom they fear, especially against the French, they seem to form two parties--one conspiring for and the other opposing it; if the former succeed in their projects, the latter approve and sustain what has been done; if their designs are thwarted, they retire to the other side. Accordingly, they always attain their objects.

The high stakes of the fur trade depended upon the judicious use of tension, factionalism and strategem. It is obvious that, like the Huron councils, the Ottawa had pro-French (Blair 2:51) and pro-English or pro-Iroquois chiefs (ibid. 95); their precise influence in the grand councils of the Ottawa alliance depended upon circumstance and prior successes and therefore varied with the situation at hand. Consistent with the general picture of intrigue arising from the period are the odd references to renegade Frenchmen dispersed among the nations, apparently trading independently and often to the English or Dutch (Innis 53), the passage of wampum belts between the Iroquois and Ottawa, chiefly in regards to the intermittent negotiations, and the occasional citation in regards to Iroquois traders in the Michigan territories. These indications point to an awareness of English trade possibilities by the Ottawa and the other Upper Great Lakes nations. It is quite possible that repeated Indian attempts to utilize the disparate pricing schemes and goods provided by these antagonistic European powers may have led to the 'Florentine' politics pictured in our French sources. The Indian nations, particularly the Ottawa and the Tionnontaté Huron, were past masters of intrigue, especially when attempting to maximize their own economic and political interests and satisfactions. It is not necessary to insist further that the wealth obtained from

these mercantalistic activities was utilized on culturally-defined goals and values: gift-giving, influence-peddling, warfare, 'dynastic' marriage alliances, elaboration of the curing and burial societies. Individual Ottawa traders were thus interacting with both the market-oriented system of the Europeans as well as the reciprocal exchanges and alliance expectations of the traditional cultures, a statement which is necessarily as true of the French traders.

In this period, wealth was achieved by trade or service activities and protected by shifting alliances, by playing off both French and English, by diplomatic niceties, and occasionally by the judicious use of force. The French maintained their own interests in the Upper Great Lakes only with constant effort and skill, and with more than a little good fortune. As la Potherie mused (Blair 2:67):

The savage's mind is difficult to understand; he speaks in one way and thinks another. If his friend's interests accord with his own, he is ready to render him a service; if not, he always takes the path by which he can most easily attain his own ends; and he makes all his courage consist in deceiving the enemy by a thousand artifices and knaveries.

This diplomatic process is not unlike the international politics of any era. The stakes of course, are the same.

Neither Brisk Nor Constant: A Look at the Montreal Mart and the Fun Brigade of 1684

After the 1660s, direct trade was opened to many of the tribes by fur traders based in the Upper Lakes, primarily at the main depot at Michilimackinac. Thereafter, an increasing proportion of people exchanged their peltries on Mackinac, to save themselves the danger or expense of maintaining relations with the Ottawa to sell the furs in Montreal. For unfriendly nations like the Miami, the decision to deal directly with the French gave them more latitude in their dealings, political, military or otherwise, with the former middlemen.

The transport of furs to Montreal, and their sale there, reflects the economic power of the middleman position in the trade; when the native marts provided the majority of New France's furs, then control over distribution and supply rested with the Ottawa middlemen. We might therefore expect that as long as the Ottawa sat astride the trade routes, the Montreal mart was operating in a profitable manner. Otherwise, at Montreal the coureurs de bois would be merely trans-shipping their furs, already collected in the Upper Lakes, to France.

Innis noted that the mart was in decline by 1676 (56). Rich stated that French inland posts eliminated the need for Ottawa brigades (1966:18-20). Nevertheless,

large numbers of furs were still marketed in Montreal in the 1680s and 90s (Hennepin 1974:584), thirty years after French posts were established inland.⁷ While economic considerations would seem to have rendered the Ottawa middlemen superfluous, many peoples were still connected to the Ottawa and Huron traders by reciprocal military and social relations. With the onset of direct trade, purely economic considerations did not immediately intervene in these social arrangements. The Ottawa were recognized as special allies of the French, often assisting them in their wars (Lahontan 73). Indigenous trade conventions still operated to some extent in restricting direct sale past an ally. For trading chiefs, all factors had to be weighed, long term strategies and needs considered. Additionally, the Ottawa were themselves at this time hunting large quantities of beaver. All of this served to ensure that, while the decline in the mart was noticeable, it was not catastrophic, and by 1683, a large proportion of the furs which found their way to Quebec still passed through the medium of the mart. Both Hennepin and Lahontan mention "great troops" of native traders in Canada, "with their canoos loaden with Furrs" (Hennepin:584-5).

Baron de Lahontan, a military officer, left a fairly detailed record of one four day fur mart, held in

1864 at Montreal (92-5). A large brigade had come from the Upper Lakes laden with beaver. Twenty-five or thirty "cannows" belonging to the Coureurs de Bois approached first, followed closely by fifty more of the Outaouas and Hurons, "who come down every year to the Colony, in order to make a better market than they can do in their own country of Missilimackinac" (92). This price differential reveals one reason why middlemen would not market their production at Mackinac. The relative number of canoes appears to confirm du Chesneau's statement that larger numbers of furs came via the Ottawa and Huron as opposed to the coureurs de bois.

On the first day the 'Outaouas' and Hurons ranged their canoes, pitching their bark tents 500-600 paces from town. On the second the merchandise was unloaded, and preparations made. On the third, the Indians demanded a public audience with the Governor-General. This was granted. Each nation made a ring and sat on the ground. Pipes were smoked. An Ottawa orator then made a speech, importing, as Lahontan recollected (93):

That his Brethren are come to visit the Governour-General, and to renew with him their wonted friendship. That their chief view is, to promote the Interest of the French, some of whom being unacquainted with the way of Traffick, and being too weak for the transporting of goods from the Lakes, would be unable to deal in Beaver-skins, if his Brethren did not come

in person to deal with 'em in their own Colonies: That they know very well how acceptable their Arrival is to the Inhabitants of Moreal, in regard of the Advantage they reap by it: That in regard the Beaver-skins are much valued in France, and the French Goods given in exchange are of an inconsiderable Value, they mean to give the French sufficient proof of their readiness to furnish 'em with what they desire so earnestly; That by way of preparation for another Year's Cargo, they are come to take in Exchange, Fusees, Powder, and Ball, in order to hunt great numbers of Beavers, or to gale the Iroquese, in case they offer to disturb the French settlements; and, in fine, That in confirmation of Words, they throw a Porcelain Colier with some Beaver-skins to the Kitchi-Okimā (so they call the Governour-General) whose protection they lay claim to in case of any Robbery or Abuse committed upon 'em in the Town.

After interpretation for the Governor, that official gives "a very civil answer" and a present, at which point the Council is disbanded, the Indians making further preparations for the next day's trade.

Lahontan's synopsis, a trifle leaden, does however permit the fine irony of the original to shine through. The orator presents Ottawa economic advantage as a special consideration and liberality to allies, who are too weak to either transport the furs or to defend themselves against the Iroquois. However, the orator declares, as an indication of the high regard placed on the French alliance, the Ottawa have exerted themselves

to, as usual, disadvantage. The impressions conveyed in this speech are exactly opposite to those contained in, let us say, Perrot's narrative. Naturally, both Ottawa and French employed their own propagandists.

Other things are noticed also. In this very mercantalistic setting trade is still preceded by a formal council wherein the social alliance and military friendship is reaffirmed, the whole process ratified by an exchange of gifts. The entire procedure is very traditional, and reminiscent of Huron trips to the St. Lawrence sixty years before, when several days were also devoted to speeches, feasts, exchanges of presents, and so on (Trigger 1976:363). That cultural conventions always lend an aura of semi-facetious respectability to crass mercantalism is the apparent tone of Lahontan's remarks. Perhaps in these observations he is misinterpreting the gestures and attitudes of the chiefs, although his years in close association with the Ottawa peoples should perhaps have influenced his aristocratic biases or his continual concern with his personal honour or dignitas.

On the fourth day, the Indian traders have their "slaves" carry the skins to the houses of the merchants. These and the common Montrealers then proceed to bargain, employing various inducements and lures, clothing, ammunition, utensils, material luxuries and sex. Service professions also bartered directly for furs or for the

profits gained by the traders. By the end of the day the affair is well out of hand. Motivations for the trade become clearer upon perusal of Lahontan's memoir. A purely economic rationale, the higher price for furs in Montreal, is apparently not a completely sufficient explanation for undertaking the long trip to Quebec (Lahontan 94):

All the Inhabitants of Moreal are allow'd to traffick with 'em in any commodity but Wine and Brandy, these two being excepted upon the account that when the Savages have got what they wanted, and have any skins left they drink to excess, and then kill their Slaves; for when they are in drink, they quarrel and fight, and if they were not held by those who are sober, wou'd certainly make Havock one of another. However; you must observe, that none of 'em will touch either Gold or Silver. 'Tis a comical sight, to see 'em running from Shop to Shop, stark naked with their Bow and Arrow. The nicer sort of Women are wont to hold their Fans before their eyes, to prevent their being frighted with the view of their ugly Parts. But these merry companions, who know the brisk She-Merchants as well as we, are not wanting in making an offer, which is sometimes accepted of, when the Present is of good Mettle. If we may credit the Common Report, there are more than one or two Ladies of this Country, whose Constancy and Vertue has held out against the Attacks of several Officers, and at the same time vouchsaf'd a free access to these nasty Lechers. 'Tis presumed their Compliance was the Effect of Curiosity, rather than of any nice Relish; for, in a word, the Savages are neither brisk, nor constant. But whatever is in the matter, the Women are the most excusable upon this Head, that such Opportunities are very unfrequent.

While one can wonder at the probable extent of Lahontan's envy, it is clear that the attractions of Montreal are thus both various and intense. As Lahontan narrates (95):

To conclude, they did a great deal of good both to the Poor and Rich, for you will readily apprehend, that everybody turns Merchant upon such occasions.

The inducements of urban life obviously play a role in the continued utilization of this mart, an economic system centering on the transfer of furs directly to Montreal, and therefore functionally antiquated economically after the 1670s. These "fun brigades", to borrow a term (Dobbs and Searle 1970), reveal some aspects of the fur trade not usually considered in the literature. What has been perceived in purely economic terms can also be seen as an affirmation of aboriginal alliance and trade practices in native Canada, both played out in a very mercantalistic setting. As well, there rises to our notice the initiation, as early as the seventeenth century, of a now traditional ritual, the business binge, associated, then as now, with the periodic visitation of the Indians of the North and perpetrated among the urban European Savages of the South.

Subsistence and Economy During the Florescent Period

The geographical areas most commonly utilized by the early Ottawa were the Canadian biotic province and the Carolinian-Canadian transition zone. Both broad regions provided, in greater or lesser amounts depending upon the local micro-environments, habitat for both boreal and southern biotic communities, a characteristic sometimes generalized as the famous "edge-effect", leading to "edge-area adaptation" (Knight 1965:251; Noble 1974: 162).

Associated with this 'overlapping' of natural resources more commonly associated with regions farther north or south were the mammoth concentrations of fish at particular points, seasonally, on the Upper Great Lakes: sturgeon and stream trout runs in the spring, pickerel schooling in the spring and summer, and the impressive whitefish runs in the autumn. Subarctic and temperate animal species such as moose, caribou, beaver, and white-tailed deer were present. In addition to this relative variety of animal resources, the inhabited areas are also within the range of possible corn-beans-squash horticulture. Coincidentally, this region of great variety in game animals is also located on the Great Lakes, a natural avenue for long distance trade. The Ottawa, while enjoying access to both 'northern' and 'southern'

subsistence products, were also located directly on the major trade routes, north-south, east-west, noted as so very important in the systematic exchange of furs for European commodities.

The Ottawa appear in the record as horticulturalists in the very first year of direct contact. In his visit during the winter of 1615-16, Champlain wrote of a numerous people, great traders, with the men occupied as warriors, fishers, and hunters. Since Champlain noted a large concentration of people at the village he visited in February, including some of the members of the all-male party of three hundred he had met the previous summer far to the north, we may infer that the resource base, including as it did fields of corn and other crops (Biggar 3:96-7), was adequate enough to allow winter ingathering. This is completely different than the regular small group, dispersed pattern we might expect if the Ottawa were truly bands of big-game hunters, as Harold Driver would have us believe (1969:map 3). The subsistence pattern of 1615 appears at first glance as somewhat similar to that of the neighbouring Iroquoian-speaking peoples; corn, beans, squash, fish, and woodland game were utilized. As further evidence that the Ottawa were adapted in a pattern similar to the contemporary norm of southern Ontario, the presence of three hundred men and no women on the French River in 1615 seems to show that

women were working elsewhere, presumably tending the fields at the villages Champlain later visited. Unfortunately, no further evidence was presented by Champlain. Except for this, during the Early Contact, only a trading party of both sexes was recorded by Sagard in 1623; his remarks on subsistence are at variance with Champlain, but he did not visit any of the villages in southwestern Ontario. Thereafter, the Ottawa, as a people following a seasonal round, disappear from the record until first Radisson and then the Jesuits travel to Chequamegon on Lake Superior in the 1660s.

The situation at Chequamegon is less than clear. The Jesuit Relations alternate between stories of starvation and tales of a never-ending abundance of fish. Part of the confusion stems from the Jesuit penchant for generalizing. Thus a Father could report no game in the country of the Ottawa, regaling his readers with recipes for pounded fish bone flour or lichen stew, while analysis of his itinerary indicates that, by country of the Ottawa, he meant the water route to Quebec (JR 50:177), not Chequamegon Point or Mackinac. The Father's choice of words leads to confusion in our minds between conditions of the home territory and the route. The near starvation does not usually apply to Chequamegon, where Father Allouez noted the chief sustenance was fish (JR 50:297), and that in abundance. Hunger on the trade route to Quebec was

probably due less to the lack of fish and game than it was to the desire of the travellers to make haste for fear of an Iroquois attack.

During the years of the dispersal westward, the food staples seem to have been corn and fish, rather than corn and game. Hunting was usually described as poor, but still carried out (JR 50:285), and sometimes successfully. Perhaps the Sioux-Ottawa tension prevented deep Ottawa penetration into the interior, as thirty years after, the Saulteux at Chequamegon were living well there as allies of the Dakota (la Potherie, in Blair 1:277).

Allouez mentioned corn fields in 1665; he found eight hundred warriors of seven different nations, subsisting there on corn and fish, when he arrived that year on October 1st (JR 50:273-279). At all times of the year great numbers of herring, whitefish and trout were taken, with whitefish runs being exceptionally heavy from November until the formation of the ice (JR 54:151). The settlement at Chequamegon is frequently attributed to the abundance of fish (JR 50:305). No specific mention is made by the 'blackgowns' of gill nets or winter fishing. Corn does not bulk so large in the diet according to the Relation of 1669-70. The people were poor, living for the most part only on fish, in default of hunting and corn (JR 54:151). At Chequamegon, fish appears as the most important food, followed by corn, followed by meat. It

is possible that different groups, even different nations of Ottawa, were utilizing various and different resources. The converted Kiskakon division are noted as paying particular attention to their fields. Radisson very often missed meeting some Ottawa groups because of their close association with northern Cree bands, often travelling with them (Adams:90).

Annual movement is vaguely defined. Some Ottawa are reported by the Jesuits to be leading a constantly nomadic life in the forests (JR 51:261), while others are settled in the areas of the great villages and fields (JR 50:273), with frequent but relatively short outward journeys to cabins, into forests, onto lakes (JR 50:281). Some were obviously depending on more boreal products for sustenance due to trade requirements north of Lake Superior (Radisson, in Adams:90). Definite statements by the Jesuits as to complete winter dispersal of the Ottawa are not to be found. The only such statement dealt with a spring dispersal and an autumn ingathering (JR 54:185), but analysis of the temporal context yields a date of 1670, the year Chequamegon was abandoned. The unclear picture of the seasonal cycle during this period is a product of at least four things: inconsistent reporting, different economic strategies followed by different groups of Ottawa, fluctuations in the trade, and therefore relative absence of men, due to the intermittent Iroquois

raids, and the general confusion resulting from a periodic and large concentration of merchants and displaced persons, most of whom were travelling about at least some portion of the year, for trade, the hunt, or for war.

By contrast, the Mackinac years, 1673 to 1700, are exceedingly clear; we have sources other than the Jesuit Relations, which end detailed annual reports by 1673. Cadillac noted that corn, peas, beans, squash, and melons were grown (1947:12), as did Lahontan (1905:148):

The Outaouas and the Huron have very pleasant Fields, in which they sow Indian Corn, Pease, and Beans, besides a form of Citruls, and Melons, which differ much from ours, and of which I shall take occasion to speake in another place.

Horticulture at Mackinac was swidden farming. Lahontan mentioned that harvests varied in quality, although the impression left is that corn is a more dependable crop here than on Lake Superior. A similar idea of the importance of corn at Mackinac is contained in Hennepin's comment that "they have nothing else to live upon, except fome Fih" (116).

At Mackinac, as at Chequamegon, fishing also appears important. In 1695 Cadillac remarked that Mackinac was a fixed settlement because of its excellent fish resources (Cadillac:ibid.):

It is a daily manna, which never fails;
there is no family which does not catch
sufficient fish in the course of the
year for its subsistence.

Earlier, Lahontan had exclaimed over the "vast shoals"
of whitefish caught in the channel, noting the importance
of the fishery to the Huron and Ottawa (147). Luckily,
he provides some specific information about technique
(148):

Here the Savages catch Trouts as big
as one's Thigh with a sort of Fishing-
Hook made in the form of an Awl, and
made fast to a piece of Brafs wire,
which is joyn'd to the Line that
reaches to the bottom of the Lake.
This sort of Fishery is carried on
not only with Hooks, but with Nets,
and that in Winter, as well as in
Summer: For they make holes in the
Ice at a certain distance one from
another, thro' which they conduct the
Nets with Poles.

We find here, then, a very early reference to the possi-
bility of winter fishing by Algonkian speakers, an obvious
recourse if the winter hunt is less than successful and
mobility is still possible. At Mackinac, therefore, it
seems that fishing was carried on all year, an observa-
tion only implicit in the Jesuit Relations. Other
thoughts are attendant upon this, especially in regards to
an Iroquoian-type adaptation; Heidenreich believes that
fish, rather than game, were the important protein source

of the early contact Hurons, a resource hitherto largely passed over in ethnohistorical works (1971:212).

Concrete patterns of hunting surface in the Mackinac records. Traders, explorers, and soldiers appear to have been more conscious of ethnographic information, and to have presented it more clearly, than the Jesuits. Hunting was important, but necessitated leaving the settlement. In addition to winter fur hunts, there were summer hunts for meat (Kinietz 1940:237); in these, however, the men usually left their families at Mackinac, and hunted for a short time relatively close to the village (less than a hundred miles from it). Winter hunts were for fur bearers, with some women and children leaving Mackinac to return in the spring. The majority of these people, however, remained. As la Potherie recorded (Blair 1:281):

The Hurons, Outaouaks, Cinagos, Kiskakons, and Nansouaketons usually make their abode at Michilimackinac, and leave the greater part of their families there during the winter, when they are away hunting; for these they reserve the slenderest provision of grain, and sell the rest at a high price.

More information on this winter activity is available.

In the spring of 1688 Lahontan met 400-500 Ottawa returning from their winter hunt. They had spent it hunting beavers along the Saginaw River in Michigan (1905:143). With a total population of Ottawa at Mackinac

approximately 1300 (JR 1:34), then this is evidence that approximately a third of the people definitely dispersed for the winter into central-eastern Michigan.⁸ The figure of 400 is large enough to show that there were at least some women and children along, as it is too high to be just adult males. The role of women in processing meat and furs is of course vital.

The need for winter hunting of beaver is indicative of a decline in the previously favourable middleman position of the Ottawa. With French traders in the western lake, other tribes could sell direct. To maintain their own supply of European goods at previously high levels, the Ottawa began a number of other enterprises; among these was hunting on a large scale for furs, a pattern that is not apparent in Champlain's account. Considering the trade patterns of the Early Contact, an emphasis on winter dispersal would have been as superfluous as it was unrecorded.

Hunting areas and conservation practices are also noted in this period by Lahontan (Kinietz 1940:237). Conservation included leaving a nucleus of beaver in each colony as well as not returning to the same area each year. Kinietz describes this differential utilization (ibid.; for Lahontan's geographical terms, see 210,319):

The country around Glen Lake, for instance, was only hunted every third year, whereas the valley of the Saginaw was visited every other year.

While questions arise as to the length of observation required for these statements, or the evident difficulty in reconciling a two year with a three year pattern in terms of hunting locations, the basic information remains that the Ottawa were aware of productivity fluctuations and actively planned their utilization strategies to conserve sustained yield. These conservation attempts appear to pre-date, substantially, those noted for the Ojibway in the nineteenth century (Bishop 1974), and is indicative of a relatively sophisticated approach to resource management. The possibility exists of similar beaver conservation measures practised by the Cree or Cristinos (Radisson, in Adams 1961:147).

Naturally the subsistence situation is not without variety. Hennepin in 1681 met the Ottawa chief Talon on Lake Erie, who complained of failures in the chase and fisheries that year, at least in Lake Erie, causing six of his family to starve to death (Hennepin:316-317). Shortly before, Hennepin's party had killed a bear. Probably Talon had penetrated into and beyond the Ottawa-Iroquois neutral zone (Lahontan:503), during a time of relative peace, expecting good hunting, and had become poor. As Talon was a noted trading chief, this shows that

merchant families did not consistently journey to Montreal each summer. Whatever the motivation, Talon's case seems to show that, as the Jesuit's reported previously, not all families, even notables, consistently based their operations at the large villages. Families occasionally dispersed even in the summer for particular tasks. For satisfaction of sustenance requirements, the Ottawa plainly kept one 'foot' amongst the horticulturalists and the other amongst the fisher-hunters. Talon's fortune later reversed. La Potherie mentions his sons acting in council after his death (Blair 2:80-81).

Although the picture presented so far in this chapter is one wherein the individual subsistence quest is the prime consideration in the use of natural resources, this is, upon close examination of the documents, not always the case. The Ottawa, as noted above, were probably aware of the short-term prospects of an economic boom based solely upon their middleman position in the fur trade. Their concentration at Mackinac, however, an important French depot by 1673, indicates something else about Ottawa perceptions of their economy and the use of their own crops and manufactures. It seems to me that the Ottawa tribes realized that, while the fur trade of the French could not operate without furs, it could also not operate without local food and indigenous Indian equipment.⁹ Mackinac's locale, well suited to the varied

economy of the Ottawa, was strategically placed for control of transport and storage of furs; it had to be passed on the route to the Illinois and Miami, or to Green Bay and the rapidly developing French trade in the Mississippi regions (Lahontan:146). Additionally, transportation depended upon the canoe, as proved by the disastrous lesson of la Salle's Griffon. While slow, limited in capacity, and dependent upon large numbers of expert Ottawa and Ojibway handlers, canoes could at least be beached in heavy weather, a process which for a thirty ton bark presented greater difficulties. In short, European style transport facilities were inadequate. Boats of the French type appeared to be either technically unfeasible or, an additional consideration, threatening to close allies on whom one depended for food, services, and protection.

Production of corn by the Ottawa was at least partially oriented towards sale, or to phrase it in a different way, we see here further development of a cash crop for 'foreign exchange', to either the French or other Indian nations. The mention of the sale of corn by la Potherie has already been noted. Lahontan, in charge of a company of soldiers, was sometimes required to purchase corn at Mackinac, once by bartering 200 pounds of tobacco (140). Prices were generally steep, the most common complaint of the Frenchmen in the Upper

Great Lakes at the time. Lahontan ruefully remarked (148):

Sometimes, these Savages sell their Corn very dear, especially when the Beaver-Hunting happens not to take well: Upon which occasion they make sufficient reprisals upon us for the extravagant price of our Commodities.

In May of 1695 Lahontan purchased 3,000 pounds of corn (sixty sacks @ fifty pounds)¹⁰; despite a general scarcity because of the previous year's "bad harvest" (144). The production and sale of corn, and its presence as insurance after winter is over, appears considerable even after relatively poor years. Needless to say, the presence of a cash crop, which is alternately a food crop, acts as insurance for the ensuing winter and spring. This alone makes it a favourable choice of cash crop; it can be used for food if the commodity market falls or if it is required for sustenance, a consideration important in terms of the viability of the economy; specifically, its ability to respond to fluctuations both in the natural resources and the marketplace. Other works have stressed the frequently harmful impact of cash cropping by indigenous societies, especially when this activity usurps land and labour from food products (Geertz 1963).

Other commodities furnished exchange. It is apparent that the Ottawa had a clear idea of the market value of their products. Sale price fluctuated according

to supply and demand, as Lahontan noted about corn. It can be said that an emphasis upon only fur exchange in any picture of Ottawa trade is an over-simplification. In the Early Contact, an Ottawa product, high quality, coloured reed mats, had figured in the trade on the French River (Sagard, in Wrong 1939). At Mackinac, other, more vital commodities assumed importance. The prices demanded caused obvious displeasure to the French, according to la Potherie (Blair 1:282):

The Savages who dwell there do not need to go hunting in order to obtain all the comforts of life. When they choose to work, they make canoes of birch-bark, which they sell two at 300 livres each. They get a shirt for two sheets of bark for cabins. The sale of their French strawberries and other fruits produces means for procuring their ornaments, which consist of vermilion and glass and porcelain beads. They make a profit on everything. They catch whitefish, herring, and trout four to five feet long. All the tribes land at this place, in order to trade their peltries there. In summer the young men go hunting, a distance of 30-40 leagues and return laden with game; In autumn they depart for the winter hunt (which is the best for skin and furs), and return in the spring laden with beaver, pelts, various kinds of fat, and the flesh of bears and deer. They sell all of which they have more than enough.

As there is the occasional reference to sale of fish at Mackinac by the Sauteurs, it is possible that this sort

of transaction occasionally provided some French goods to members of tribes other than the Ottawa. The Ottawa, however, based at Mackinac, depended to a greater extent upon this sort of production of exchange goods. Few other nations had such an advantageous and strategic position, or dominated it as effectively.

During the Florescent Period, the Ottawa tribes appear to exhibit an unusual economy. Based upon a wide biotic zone of transition, with its varied resources, this economy was diversified by the manufacture of a substantial range of marketable products; in addition, it was characterized by an exploitation of a unique access to strategic routes and locations. In this regard, and more specifically in terms of an annual cycle, the Ottawa economy is quite dissimilar to that pictured for their cousins and allies, the Subarctic Ojibway (whether of the seventeenth or nineteenth centuries). Market production of crops, foods, and indigenous commodities loom large in French descriptions; these provide evidence that foreign exchange, the ability to purchase French or other consumer goods, was to some extent not tied only into the sale of furs, nor was it dependent upon the ephemeral position of trade middleman. Both of these latter emphases had, eventually, outstanding negative effects upon native societies which relied upon nothing else; for example, the Allumette in terms of middlemanship (lack of friendly

allies against Iroquois raids) and nineteenth century Ojibway bands (in terms of lack of 'cash' during short or long-term game fluctuations) (Bishop 1974).

Thus we see variations in economic strategies, differences in technique, subsistence crops, and overall focus of adaptation, often followed by different individual Ottawa families or bands. These alternate strategies were facilitated by the diversity in the range of resources which could be tapped, and aided by a great deal of mobility via canoe or foot. This range included: spring, summer, fall and winter fishing grounds and techniques, autumn ricing grounds, horticulture including berry-gathering and processing, intensive summer and winter hunting of game by task groups or families, sale of services or productions of goods, summer trading enterprises, and so on. Additionally, most of these food resources were storable with proper processing. Resources could be utilized for subsistence and for market exchange; to a certain extent, these were either complimentary (such as beaver meat and pelts) or could be treated as exchange or subsistence requirements necessitated, such as meat and corn (to sell or not to sell...).

The Ottawa societies, then, exhibited several overlapping but distinct modes or foci of production. This switching among particular techniques and means of production, for both and/or either exchange or household

use, involved continual, substantial alterations in the social relations or modes of production. Some sustenance techniques were in conflict with others; the harvest of wild rice in the early autumn corresponded with crop processing, for example. Task group composition shifted, families realigned sustenance orientations. The annual rounds of families also varied depending upon, let us say, the decision in the summer to trade in Montreal or to fish and hunt in the Upper Great Lakes (Hennepin 1974: 316-7). A market-based manufacturing and marketing possessed an interface with hunter-gatherer subsistence techniques of natural resource harvesting as well as with a low energy horticultural system. Differential participation created shifts from year to year in production relations. Put in another way, various activities were possible for families and some individuals, as personnel frequently shifted their productive efforts from means to means, leading to short-term shifts in group patterns of jobs and movements. These shifts occurred continually. It becomes extremely difficult therefore to ascribe with our data one uniformly Ottawa mode of production, especially for taxonomic purposes within the band-state continuum. While this taxonomy is well loved and somehow articulated with a notion of societal evolution (Sanders and Marino 1970), diverse Ottawa types of production cannot easily be

conceptualized as a social formation set at a particular level of evolution,¹¹ at least without running amok through the complex and convoluted webs of data. Adaptations shifted, in the short and long runs and on every demographic level. This appears to have been done as often for reasons of personal caprice or interpersonal relations as for perturbations in game supply, decline in crop productivity, or perceived economic opportunities involved in trade.

The Ottawa economy was neither dependent upon boreal or horticultural adaptations nor was it marginal to those larger Indian polities to the south. Ottawa manufactures, merchants, fishers, hunters, farmers, and gatherers, had organized a complex, shifting, and flexible adaptation to the 17th century conditions, social as well as environmental, in the Upper Great Lakes. This variable adaptation, evident in the multiple economic strategies, corresponded with the wider range of choice and subsistence techniques in the transition zones. It articulated well with the ability to directly exploit the French fur trade industry, either as middlemen or as the producers of necessary and high-priced goods and services. While both Ottawa and French were busily exploiting one another, the wealth generated by the trade provided for the Ottawa their most powerful period. The subsistence strategies of

Ottawa families, the work the people had to do to make a living, are as much a product of social relations or economic decisions as they are of environmental prerequisites. For the wealthy Ottawa, astride the strategic nexus of economic life in the Upper Great Lakes, man-environment relationships were neither direct nor one-to-one.

As we might expect, French sources often seem personally vindictive. Successful relations with the Ottawa often called for subtlety and appeasement, but no matter the counter strategy, the Ottawa always seemed to skim off some percentage of profit during this period. Furthermore, our source authors never understood how an economically supple people could succeed in terms of trade practices that were usually expressed in non-European ways, gift exchange with a mark-up. French style marketing, with its supply-demand and other characteristics, was altered and adapted to pre-existing exigencies of the social environments. In addition, the Ottawa, after showing such skill in manipulating the market structures and strategic weaknesses of the French, usually seemed to use this wealth in traditional non-European fashion. As la Potherie complained of the Ottawa (Blair 1:283):

They would be exceedingly well-to-do if they were economical; but most of them have the same traits as the Sauteurs.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION DURING THE EARLY CONTACT

AND FLORESCENT PERIODS: 1615-1700

The Ottawa Tribes Before 1700

At first contact Champlain christened the people he met Cheveux Relevés, Standing or High Hairs, locating their home territory on the south shore of Georgian Bay. Sagard appears to have given the first version of over one hundred approximations to Ottawa, the accepted Euro-Canadian designation (see Hodge 1969). Today, Odawa is the form preferred by the people themselves. Sagard identified his group of traders as Andatahouats, the Huron version, or Poils Levés, in 1623 (Wrong 1939:66). Tribal divisions were not recognized until later.

From the Jesuit Relation of 1648, we find a list of Algonkian-speaking 'nations' on the south shore of Georgian Bay west of the Petun: Ouachaskesouek, Nigouaouichiririk, Outaouasinagouek, Kichkagoneiak, and Ontaanak (JR 33:151), each numbering approximately 300-350 people (see pages 2-7). The Sinago and Kiskakon were, along with the Negouichiriniouek, later named as

allied tribes of the alliance, while Ontaanak could be the Ottawa of the Fork, the Nassauaketon. At Mackinac, the four allied tribes of Ottawa were the Kiskakon, Sinago, the Ottawa of the Fork or Nassauaketon, and the Ottawa of the Sable; according to Kinietz (1940:247), Negouichiriniouek means people of the fine sandy beach or sable. It is important to note that Champlain, having visited the country, spoke of several districts, each governed by important men; even in 1616, an Ottawa or High Hair could have been from one of several different, though allied and related, 'tribes'. We thus seem to have at least three of the four tribal divisions of the future alliance in Ontario before 1650: Sinago, Kiskakon, Sable, and possibly the Ottawa of the Fork or Nassauaketon, although these latter are perhaps first named as a Wisconsin group in the mid 1630s.

Chequamegon settlement, 1660 until 1670, definitely includes several of these named tribes; however, the Relations exclude others. According to one report sent to Quebec (JR 51:21), entitled "Of the Mission to the Outaouacs, Kiskakoumac, and Outaouasinagouac":

I group these three nations together because they have the same tongue, the Algonquin, and form collectively one village.

Definite identification of the tribe "outaouac" eludes me.

Are they Sable, or of the Fork, or of yet another unnamed group? Elsewhere the three 'nations' at Chequamegon, that collectively form the Ottawa alliance, are given as follows: Sinago (JR 54:171), Kiskakonk (JR 54:175), and Keinouché (JR 54:173). I am unable to find in the Jesuit Relations mention of Ottawa of the Fork or of the Sable at Chequamegon. Moreover, the only Florescent Period tribal division we have noted at Green Bay are Sinago, although during the Early Contact possibly the Nassauaketon were based there. Throughout the years of the Dispersal, it is difficult to isolate consistently those different units termed Ottawa, or even to ascertain if such French traders as Radisson were always clear themselves. The term "Outaouac" might refer to only one of the four tribes or, for some Jesuits, to all the nations of the Upper Great Lakes.

While the Keinouché vanish from the record after the abandonment of Chequamegon, the Ottawa tribes of the Fork and of the Sable reappear at Michilimackinac. This village received at least three different groups: Sinago from Green Bay, Kiskakon from Sault Ste. Marie, and the others, including some Sinago, who had fled from Chequamegon to the Manitoulin area of northern Georgian Bay. Ingathering was complete by the middle 1670s. Cadillac, commandant of Mackinac (1694-7) says this (1947:10):

It should be borne in mind that four different tribes are included under the name Ottawa, The first is the Kiskakon, that is the 'Cut Tails', and it is the most numerous; the second is the Sable Tribe, so called because their former dwelling place was in a sandy country, their village being in a sandy cove, but the Iroquois drove this Tribe from its lands; the third is the Sinago, and the fourth the Nassauakueton, that is the Tribe of the Fork, a name derived from that of the Chief, or more probably, from the river from which they originally came... These four tribes are allies and are closely united, living on good terms with one another, and now speak the same common language.

This statement as to national composition of the Ottawa is corroborated in an oral assertion by a Chief Otaotiboy, a spokesman at a conference with Governor Callières in 1700 (Kinietz 1940:246):

I speak in the name of the Four
Otaoais Nations to wit: The
Otaoaes of the Sable, the Otaoaes
Sinago, the Kiskakons and the
people of the Fork who have sent me
expressly here...

In short, the Ottawa confederacy included at least four tribes during the years of direct contact and reporting. By terming these tribes as 'nations', the French appear to imply unspecified variations of custom and dialect that permitted separate cultural identities, within a framework of an overall confederation. This confederacy was not indelibly bonded; the factionalism

inherent in a system of competing tribes and families did occasionally disrupt it, as did external pressures from the Jesuits or the Sioux in the late 1660s. However, this disruption was soon patched over, the tribes gathering again at Mackinac in the early 1670s.

An Overview of Structural Groups 1615-1800

At direct contact Champlain noted that the Ottawa in southwestern Ontario possessed several chiefs, "each in his own district". This is as much particular information as we find in the entire Early Contact period. Of the five named groups enumerated in this area in 1648 (JR 33:151), three, the Negouichiriniouek (Sable), Sinago, and Kiskakon appear as later member tribes of the confederacy; Ontaanak could be the Ottawa of the Fork, while the Ouachaskesouek,¹² the muskrat group, never are in evidence at Mackinac or Chequamegon. At the former, the Sinago, Kiskakon, and the Ottawa of the Fork and of the Sable form the Ottawa Confederacy.

Although the major tribal divisions seem to have a substantial continuity over time in the 17th century, the smaller social groupings are not as often discernible. The details of family structure, and its relationship to the tribe, are neither overly apparent in the documents nor easy to analyze. There seems little definite evidence

of any major system of lineage, as apparent among such Central Algonkian societies as the Potawatomi (Clifton 1975), Miami or Sauk (Callender 1962), or, by the 19th century, for the Ottawa and Ojibway themselves. Totemic clans do not appear to exist, although there seems to be totemic named-groups (Smith 1974; Levi-Strauss 1962:4-5), having limited religious functions. As we shall see, these totemic groups appear to cross-cut the tribal groupings. Their complete operation, in terms of property, whether ritual, relationship, or land usufruct, is problematical. The smaller units termed "families", while neither totemic groups nor unilineal clan segments or lineages, however, appear to possess corporate characteristics in terms of land and alliance property.

In the middle decades of the 1700s, the Ottawa have undergone several changes from the period of concentration at Mackinac. Although a sizable population is centered at L'Arbre Croche immediately south of the Mackinac straits, there is another large village opposite Detroit, plus many small Ottawa settlements in Ohio and on the Maumee River (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974). In addition, several Ottawa bands or hunting groups later appear in the Red River country and the Boundary Waters region (Tanner, in James 1956), often in 'polyethnic' bands but usually closely associated with Plains Ojibway. John Tanner, an American captured as a boy in the 1790s and raised by an

Ottawa mother, Net-no-qua, describes one such mixed group of Ottawa and Ojibway. His adoptive mother was married to an Ojibway, and was related to emigrant Ottawa warriors from Lake Huron, who were often met on the Prairies hunting bison. Tanner's narrative and information leaves a clear description of an Ottawa clan system, functionally identical with that of the Ojibway described by Warren (1885). The clan system was totemic, descending patrilineally, and had the same roles as Ojibway clans, with which the Ottawa system often articulated: long term integration of neighbouring bands by providing identity, cooperation in terms of warfare and the hunt, and as marriage-regulating groups. Michelson's brief list (1911) of about thirty Ottawa clans in the early 20th century is virtually identical with Warren's or with Tanner.

While bear and squirrel totemic clans are obvious in Michelson's list, the large tribal divisions of the 17th century, the Kiskakon and Sinago with their own symbols of the Bear and the Grey Squirrel, are not evident as patrilineal clans per se. The features of these social groups are quite different; clan-like descriptions and attributes are not noted by the earlier French writers. Perhaps these tribes have formed the basis of the 19th century clans, being subdivided due to the greater dispersal of the Ottawa peoples after 1700. Possibly

they form, at least in the retrospect of oral tradition, the idealized basis for some of the contemporary clans of the 20th century. However, others of the allied tribes of 1700 have no particular animal referents mentioned. These, the Ottawa of the Fork and of the Sable, seem to have their insignias chosen because of prior localities, and do not appear in later clan lists. Yet they are member nations of the confederacy at Mackinac. All in all, over the span of two centuries, we see among the Ottawas some shift in structure analogous to that of the southwestern Ojibway of Minnesota and Wisconsin (characterized briefly by Smith 1972:15).

Previous Structural Classifications of the Ottawa

Harold Driver has classified Ottawa descent at contact in 1615 as patrilineal (1969:map 32). However, there is no discussion of descent, or marriage, in the works of Champlain, Sagard, or the first Jesuit Relations. Perhaps Driver noted only the initial 1615 contact between Champlain and a gathering party on the Canadian Shield near the French River, and failed to take into consideration the 1616 village description; possibly, Driver then characterized 'northern' Algonkian bands as Subarctic in type, ipso facto patrilineal in descent, patrilocal in residence, and patridominant in subsistence

techniques. Nevertheless, no direct evidence is apparent in the sources. Driver's ascription remains unsubstantiated.

Population figures for all periods do not accord with Service's and Steward's ranges for hunting bands. Dividing by four or five our minimum total population figure for the Early Contact period, 1,500 people, we have an average figure per named group of 300-350, outside the range of an Ojibway 'patrilocal' band (Service 1971:58) or an Ojibway 'composite' band of big-game hunters (Steward 1955:149). If we accept an early population estimate of 2,000, then our average figure per named group becomes that much higher. The subsistence pattern evident at contact also appears to argue for a more southerly focus for the Ottawa. As the population figures are more consistent with an adaptation which lays some stress on horticulture, this orientation is hardly surprising. At direct contact and later, the Ottawa do not appear to be a collection of fairly small, patrilineal or local bands, isolated, widely dispersed groups following big and small game on the Pre-Cambrian Shield.

Problems arise with other classifications recorded much earlier. The first direct statement of descent was that of Cadillac. Unfortunately, it is contextually difficult to specify which group of Indians he

referred to, although his groups were nearly all Central Algonkians and the Ottawa were definitely named in his texts. Cadillac asserted generally that Indians "trace their genealogy through the women, when they wish to prove their claim to nobility" (1947:39). Matrilineal descent is a common French view, also expressed for the 17th century Montagnais, for which one Montagnais, the Sorcerer, expressed surprise at the French lack of comprehension (JR 6:255).¹³ Cadillac, however, leaves one somewhat unconvinced, although his statement, as we shall see later, still provides certain evidence when interpreted in a different light. His particular biases appear to have led him to draw on as many parallels as possible to prove his major thesis. In writings on native America, Cadillac's opinion is a popular one (Wauchope 1962). Cadillac set forth statements that would lead the reader to think, as he did, "that all these tribes are descended from the Hebrews and were originally Jews" (54). Drawing on his Bible, and his Josephus as well I suspect, Cadillac noted the many Jewish-Indian parallels including their common perfidy, treasons, and horrible massacres. Needless to say, such sources, while informative, cannot be removed from their indigenous context and taken strictly at face value. The phrasing and context by Cadillac may imply the results of paternal

abandonment (1947:38), or possibly the opportunistic attempt to establish oneself in a usually hereditary chiefly office through one's relationship to the female side of a patriline.

Charles Callender (1962) investigated the structure and evolution of such Central Algonkian societies as the Potawatomi, Sauk, Miami, Shawnee, and peripherally, the southern Ojibway and the Ottawa. His reconstructions advanced the idea of an aboriginal Proto-Central Algonkian social organization; these Middle Woodland prehistoric societies, ancestral to the historic tribes, were small, nomadic, and loosely-organized. In form, they were bilateral and agamous, responding directly to fluctuations in local environments; marriage was structured in cross-cousin terms (Callender:105). Essentially, Callender postulates, these societies were similar to the Ottawa or Ojibway bands of the Early Contact period throughout most of their habitat range. However, Callender noted, due to greater environmental richness in the south, the more southerly Ojibway bands found greater cultural elaboration and social complexity both necessary and desirable; an overlay of clan and rather variable phratry linkages developed among the southern Ojibway-Ottawa bands in the Late Woodland, along with other non-kin associations. These clans extended the kinship system patrilaterally "but remained marginal to it and did not affect kinship

terminology" (Callender:106).

Among the more southerly Central Algonkians, such as the Sauk or Potawatomi, other formal lineage features developed which were even more 'complex'. These lineages were corporate in respect to some property, chiefly ritual but also secular, articulating with a complex clan system (Callender:64-70). The system was, in Callender's view, highly organized, due to the 'demands' of high population, abundant natural resources, and "intense" horticulture (106):

The lineage structure evident in all Central Algonkian systems replaced a cross-cousin structure by one offering a wide integration, and--through its expression in a clan system--better suited to an expanding population.

Callender's reconstruction, while broadly plausible, has concentrated upon environmental determinants and has tended to somewhat overlook ethnohistoric information. Difficulties arise from his sequence of evolutionary changes initiated among the Ojibway by the fur trade and the movements to the southwest. The few formal community structures, which, following Warren, he places in the 17th century and which he believes were disrupted by the fur trade dispersal (106), are not overly apparent in the documents of this early period and were instead probably initiated later (Smith 1974).

James G. E. Smith has, in a short review (1972),

rearranged this sequence, drawing upon reasonably ample 17th and 18th century records. Speaking of the southwestern Ojibway, Smith stated that, again, after the southwestern move to Minnesota during the 18th century, environmental considerations led to a florescence of populations in terms of density and sedentariness. Cultural and social forms adjusted to these changed conditions. Non-kin associations proliferated, and the Proto-Central Algonkian structures shifted through greater emphasis on patrilinearity, the totemic named-groups achieving greater significance as villages grew in size. The totemic clan-grid "provided a basis for long-term integration of neighboring bands by providing identity, hospitality in more distant areas, cooperation in warfare and the hunt, and the transmission of chieftainship" (Smith 1972:15). Additionally, there is some indication that land tenure for wintering purposes was conceived in terms of clan rights in the middle 1760s (Henry 1901:142).

While emphasizing some of the more formal aspects of Ojibway collective life, Smith has dealt with the ability of Ojibway social segments to continually fission and re-align. In essence, Callender's typing of the southern Ojibway and Ottawa as least developed and most 'atomistic' of the Central Algonkian societies is still appropriate. As Smith notes, aboriginal Ojibway social

norms remained intact during the move southwest, among them an emphasis upon egalitarianism, personal freedom, and family autonomy; component units of the larger societies, whether extended family or hunting group, still acted independently. Regardless of greater elaborations due to the southward movements, Smith remarked, "the historical facts show frequent fragmentation, fission, and dissension at all levels of organization as these developments occurred" (1972:14). Integrative functions, while maintained by seemingly formal structures and associations among the Ojibway, were not organized around typically Central Algonkian unilineal principles and the complex clan system. In a corresponding fashion, Callender typifies Ottawa and Ojibway as alike representative of the more amorphous northern type of society most similar, except in outward appearance, to the simple Proto-Central Algonkian societies.

In short, the evidence for determining Ottawa descent and kinship structure is indirect, and those previous ascriptions in the discipline, which are not obviously incorrect, are somewhat conflicting. Both Callender and Smith have, for different periods, accepted a northerly focus for the Ottawa or the Ottawa-Ojibway. }
At first glance, the merging of these two 'tribes' appears }
appropriate. The Ottawa themselves are often more diffi-

cult to ascertain in the record than the Proto-historic Ojibway groups, although closely associated with the latter.

Social Structures and Their Manipulation in Ottawa Society
1615-1700

Between 1670 and 1700, the major village of the Ottawa Confederacy was situated on the Upper Peninsula mainland near the island of Michilmackinac. Here were the four tribes, called nations by the French, the Sinago, Kiskakon, Nassauaketon, and the Sable (Cadillac 1947:10). This was a clear division, according to Cadillac, as the allied tribes "now speak the same language"; some previous cultural distinctions are implied.

Each tribe appeared to be composed of what the French vaguely termed 'families', generally conceived of as the sub-sections which form a tribe. Little precise information is given about these units, limiting immediate attempts to draw comparisons with various ethnographic statements (Dunning 1959; Rogers 1962, 1963). Importantly, these families are corporate and collective entities, but their definition, composition, and identification is imprecise over time. Individual groups or families seem to lack continuity as a corporate unit. Specific names are not given, except in terms of individuals, a very

clear distinction from Perrot's treatment of other tribes such as the Potawatomi, where the families, such as Bear, Black or Red Carp, can be seen as typically Central Algonkian clans or clan segments. The Ottawa 'families' may or may not have been totemic named-groups, lineages, or clans. The evidence, limited as it is, admits to alternate interpretations and will be discussed in a later section. Regardless of their classification, the social role of these 'families' at any particular point in time can be defined precisely. They act as observable units. Only over time does the absence of names and continuous affiliations cause a blurring of a precise view of this situation. Family affiliation does not appear constant over the years. The families do not integrate with each other as if they were the component lineages of clans, preserving a clear 'named' continuity over time.

Whatever their identification and extent, the families of the Ottawa tribes act as distinct entities. In an action similar to that recorded later for the Ojibway (Henry 1901), the late 17th century Ottawa families possessed usufructory rights to certain types of 'property'. As Cadillac noted about the four Ottawa and one Huron tribes at Mackinac (1947:12):

With regard to the land, each tribe has its own district and each family marks out its piece of land and its fields.

Family rights to property included items both material, such as land for gardening and probably for winter hunting, or 'cognitized', such as alliance relationships, the social paths to trade.

The rights and privileges of these families involved definite rules regarding inter-family alliances and marriage. Marriage is described by these early authors as an arrangement made between families, with both sets of relatives, especially the mothers, deeply involved in the proceedings and transactions. Marriage appears as an alliance between families. Both the levirate and the sororate operated, with sanctions existing against non-compliance. At betrothal, goods were exchanged both ways (Perrot, in Blair 1:68), in the form of bride-price paid by the man's family and mother, and with a gift of provisions coming from the bride's family. Both bride and groom had responsibilities to their respective mothers-in-law, even after the spouse's death. Perrot and Cadillac leave us with extensive descriptions of the sanctions operating against those who broke their marriage connections. Deserted wives and their relatives frequently plundered the goods of the former husband

(Blair 1:64), while a man's relatives undertook, occasionally with violence, to return a recalcitrant wife.

Despite the frequent disputes between families when marriage alliances broke down, Cadillac (1947:38) and Perrot (Blair 1:66) describe trouble-free terminations of marriage by mutual consent. The Jesuit Relations also mention "loose marriage" (JR 50:291). Perrot in particular notes the economic rationale of such short-lived unions; husband and wife would accompany one another on a hunting or trading expedition, with each sharing the profit between them. Although he minimizes Ottawa involvement in this, a quite different observation is revealed by Allouez at Chequamegon, where this type of divorce appears frequent.

I suspect that the economic motives of Ottawa marriages are substantial. While love and life-long marriage are mentioned by Perrot as important for the Ottawa, marriage involved the regulated transfer of both mobile property and rights to land or trade. Families retained certain rights to a hunting territory, a garden, a trade 'route' or relationship. For another family to achieve access to these, it would be obliged to form an alliance with the controlling family. As with pre-1650 Huron lineages and tribes, such 'property' was held by usufruct and was bolstered by traditional convention,

with incessant and recurrent disputes attendant upon individual evasions. Divorce, the termination of one family's access, involved hostility or plundering when one or the other group perceived itself as losing an advantageous position without the requisite compensation, gifts, or involvement in the affairs and profitable schemes of their relatives-in-law. Factional and diplomatic considerations, such as rights to 'gifts' obtained by foreign trade and inter-tribal alliances, substantially affected the use of marriage connections by individual Ottawa.

To the 'families', marriage, like playing the French against their spectre of the English or Iroquois traders, was but one more aspect of dynastic intrigue. Mention is made of the difficulties of having wives from different families, a justification for the desired sororal polygyny (Cadillac:40). Each wife worked to advance the interests of herself and her family by accumulating grains and produce (Perrot, in Blair 1:72-3). Beyond this, husbands were obliged to give some trade goods and the results of the hunt to his mother-in-law, however many he may have had. Needless to say, probably only major chiefs or trading chiefs went to such lengths in dynastic alliances because only they could afford the expense of initiating and maintaining these investments.

Intra-confederacy politics occasionally necessitated such offers as the granting of daughters as "second wives"; one example involved an attempt to renew a Sable-Sinago alliance with the Kiskakon at the Sault. Presents were given to the disaffected Kiskakon elders to induce them to come to Manitoulin in the early 1670s. Young men were also given gifts, as well as an offer of young girls of their choice as second wives (JR 57:211).

Families, therefore, are extensive bodies containing reasonably large numbers of people but are smaller than tribes. Boundaries may have been discrete or permeable. Families are corporate in holdings and frequently collective in action. No indication of their specific number of members exists in the sources; the families are, however, larger than nuclear. They may possibly correspond to the nodal or the major kindred of 17th century Ojibway reconstruction (Smith 1974). Rituals of particular families are difficult to ascertain, but there is little evidence that the families practised anything along the lines of the lineage cult of the Central Algonkians (Callender 1962). There is some suggestion that particular 'families' in tribes supplied 'hereditary' chiefs, ability of the successors being at least adequate. Two tribes, the Nassauaketon and the Sinago, may have had chiefs provided from particular high status families.

In addition to tribe and family, occasional 'bands' appear in the record, generally named after the predominant individual, with succession and influence being expected to descend to his sons, even though, in one case, this did not occur¹⁴ (Blair 2:80-1). How these bands articulate with the tribe is uncertain, although the 'band' chiefs did appear at a general council. Possibly, I suspect, these 'bands' are families which have left the settlement for extended periods of time.

Post-marital residence patterns appear vague, with different rules applying at different times, but not always. Generally, there seems to be preferred initial matrilocality, unless excessive bride-price was given, in which case patrilocal residence was preferred. These preferences were often not applied consistently and Perrot evinces some confusion in attempting to abstract definite rules. Decisions as to matri- or patrilocality would depend upon the season of marriage, the incidence of game, the availability of grain, the amount of space vacant in either the longhouses or the smaller domed lodges, or the differences in trade opportunities between groups. Murdock, in discussing ambi- or bilocality, adds two more considerations (1949:17): "relative wealth or status of the two families, and personal preferences." Matrilocality had distinct advantages for some men: they could augment their personal command of labour

and warriors and increase their influence, for often husbands, when living with their wives' group, had input into the decisions affecting younger in-laws.

All in all, the pattern can be termed ambilocal, marriage and residence patterns depending upon both individual choices and prerequisites of trade logistics. In an earlier period I can infer the same rather amorphous quality. Champlain reports in 1616 that the Ottawa were allied and trading with the Neutral, an Iroquoian people with matrilineal descent. Sagard mentions in 1623 a Subarctic group allied and trading with the Ottawa; these have been identified with one or another band of proto-historic Ojibway (Sagard, in Wrong 1939:64), with either patrilineal (Hickerson 1970), patrilocal (Service 1971), or, more likely, bilateral structure with a patrilineal emphasis (Smith 1974). If marriage was instrumental in establishing and maintaining alliances for trade between nations, then the frequent exchanges of people, with nations having different kinship customs, could not have been supported by hard and fixed rules of post-nuptial residence. As Perrot depended upon both his own observations and statements from Ottawa elders, his frequent uncertainties and confusions over marriage practices may be perhaps accepted as evidence for the oft-noted 'dialectic of social life'. Statements, idealized

notions, and rules usually remain at variance with day-to-day actions and strategems.

The exigencies of movement, the demands of the trade, the necessity to have relatives at critical junctures of the thousand mile Ottawa range, all these required adaptability and flexibility of organization and residence. Combinations of loose marriage, family alliances, and ambilocal residence are definitely complimentary.

The Jesuit Relations mention one man and his family who established shifting neolocal residence, with no base at the village. While they led a wandering life in the woods, the man "remained one of the most important men of the tribe" (JR 51:261). The lack of rigidly defined rules of post-nuptial residence reinforces the view that the Ottawa, both families and individuals, oftentimes chose to manipulate the environments to maximize their social and economic advantage, a process upon which their early reputation as traders par excellence depended.

Instead of a patrilineal, patrilocal system of discrete hunting bands for the Ottawa, we find prior to 1700 an ambilineal, ambilocal pattern, with general preferences on the patriside, but with other considerations, such as matrilineal descent, allowing for affiliation with 'target' families. Post-nuptial residence articulates with the family alliance systems. No evidence exists for bilateral cross-cousin marriage in the 17th century, nor

are kin terms extant. Considering demographic factors, such as a semi-sedentary lifestyle with more than a thousand people gathering in the non-winter months, bilateral cross-cousin marriage should be unexpected, at least according to some prior schemes in reconstruction (Callender 1962; Smith 1974). For the 17th century Ottawa, such villages are not new forms. Nevertheless, marriage patterns are characterized by extreme flexibility over a range which extends through several different types of physical environment and among many tribes, all of varying social forms, complexity, and population, whether Sauk, Wyandot, or Saulteur. Marriage among the different nations of the Ottawa was seen as participation in alliance and was highly valued. Gift exchange, bride service, groom service, profit sharing, and mutual competition united the families (Perrot, in Blair 1:64-74).

Marriage was often an international event in that it formed bonds of alliance. In 1670, a Sinago chief was able to attract Sauk warriors for an attack on the Sioux because the Sauk chief was married to his sister (Perrot, in Blair 1:188). Similarly, economic motives played an important role in the decision to marry, and this marriage was an alliance between families. These families, while discontinuous or indistinct over time, were seen by day-to-day observers as corporate and cooperative; this corporate-ness was carried to an extent much greater than that

postulated by Callender for the Ottawa-Ojibway or North-Central Algonkians.

The Problem of the Corporate Families Among the Ottawa

The interpretation of the form of these families, regardless of their activities, is an intriguing endeavour. Evidence is inconclusive and points to a number of plausible alternatives. Generally, these can be expressed in terms of identifying the families either as totemic clans and clan-segments, ostensibly unilineal, or as bilateral kindreds, which are here non-characteristically corporate entities.

There are some considerations, often of compelling cultural ecological significance, for classifying the families as clans or clan segments. The Ottawa, it must be remembered, were living in large semi-sedentary villages during the 17th century, with the population at times in excess of 1,000 people. It is generally accepted, as Callender remarks, that these concentrations of people are too large for cross-cousin marriage, the Proto-Central Algonkian structure retained by the northern Ojibway bands, to be an effective means of organization (1962:78); however, Smith (1972:15) postulates that for the southwestern Ojibway, the proscription of cross-cousin marriage occurred in the 19th century, while large villages were present a century earlier.

There is a very limited indication that tribal chiefs were of families that possessed the same name, such as Sinagös. Possibly, therefore, inheritance may have passed through the patriline. There was some expectation that this should have taken place in one instance, when it did not (Blair 2:81). Unfortunately, there is no further evidence of a formal lineage group with a collective cult, as Callender specified for other Central Algonkians. Family membership or leadership was not exclusively dependent upon patrilineal descent, although a patrilineal emphasis does appear. Historically, the Ottawa could not have developed clans in a move south, as did the Ojibway following the reconstructions of Eggan and Smith. The environmental considerations, which are accepted as somehow explaining the development of the Ojibway clan grid during this move, are applicable to the Ottawa since direct contact. All tribal divisions had been in areas where horticulture was productive and had moreover been in close proximity to societies such as the Huron or Potawatomi, where such lineage principles were established. The Ottawa, present in the Central Algonkian areas such as the Nassauaketon, should therefore in theory have followed the standard and indigenous development of Proto-Central Algonkian societies into their classic forms (Callender:78). As the Early Contact Ottawa were also sometimes intermarrying with their Iroquoian

allies, however, this may have restrained the development of patrilineal corporate groups characteristic of other horticultural Central Algonkians.

There are accepted environmental reasons for the development of lineages in all Central Algonkian societies, out of the Proto-Central Algonkian system of 'Ojibway-style' hunting bands with bilateral cross-cousin marriage and an implicit patrilineal bias. According to Callender's reconstruction, as resources increase in availability and supply with the intensification of horticulture, population increases lead to larger bands and greater organizational "needs"; these cause elaboration of existing unilineal emphases (75-8). The evolving lineages proliferate, segment, and become more corporate in nature, transforming eventually into clans as organizational forms require it; all in all, a classic deterministic explanation of Central Algonkian societies by Callender (78). The evidence that the Ottawa families are corporate in regards to material and non-material property seems an important consideration in believing that the Ottawa have followed standard Central Algonkian evolution. As the Ottawa appear within the territorial range of such lineage bearing societies as the Potawatomi, and from contact have exhibited a substantial reliance upon horticulture, it could then be argued that the Ottawa probably exhibited all Central Algonkian structures; for the moment, only direct evidence

of a lineage principle is lacking. Indeed, although Callender noted that Central Algonkian clan property was generally ritual rather than material, Ottawa families more often possess real economic property.

If a lineage/clan system existed among the Early Contact Ottawa, was it totemic? There are brief and temporary occurrences of animal-named nations or groups: the Ouachaskesouek, or Muskrat People (Baraga 1878) in southern Ontario in the late 1640s, or the Keinouché, the Pike People (Baraga 1878) at Chequamegon two decades later. Moreover, two of the four tribes, Sinago and Kiskakon, have animal badges. According to some styles of interpretation, the presence of animal-identified groups immediately indicates totemic clan divisions. In my opinion, this is an overstatement. Animal insignia and symbols appear in many contexts, some personal, some tribal. Groups named after animals, or tribes carrying animal badges, or persons with animal spirit guardians, are not necessarily representative of the same clans recorded so clearly in the 19th century. The inference level is high.

Yet the Ottawa act in a manner incompatible with small-scale dispersed northern bands. The corporate character of their 'families' is somewhat reminiscent of their neighbours' clan systems, although their own lineage principle is at best problematical. The ecological reasons for the development of Central Algonkian clan

systems in the Late Woodland are identical to those applicable at direct contact to the four major tribes and their component families. Lacking is only the presence of pervasive unilineal ideas, although some patrilineal bias is present. The Ottawa evince all of these characteristics many years before the Ojibway clan 'grid' (Eggan 1966) appears in the south. Perhaps, if one cares to accept the clan ascription to the 17th century Ottawa, then the intermarriage and close association between the Ojibway and the Ottawa during the historic fur trade was responsible for the development of the later Ojibway clan grid. Ottawa-Ojibway contacts, whether marriage, trade, or political alliances, were close throughout all periods, involving tribal 'boundaries' so permeable as to be effectively non-existent. (1-

All of this, of course, piles up ideas on top of inferences. Involved reasoning does not necessarily yield historic 'facts'. Unfortunately, the lineage/clan system is not very evident in the original sources. The above considerations by which the lineage principle can be ascribed to the Ottawa are more convincing in an 'ecologically' deterministic retrospect than they are reflected in the documents. The argument of proximity to neighbouring unilineal systems over long time periods, for example, is not always valid. The 19th century Wyandot, descendant of the Tionnontaté Huron, retained matrilineages,

their formal divisions into eight clans and three phratries, as well as the ritual functions of the above, for over two centuries after the Petun and Huron dispersal and close association with both Ottawa and Shawnee (Clarke 1870, in Trigger 1976:825).

The French trader Nicholas Perrot was aware of totemic identifications of lineages or clan segments, the French "families" again, in other tribes such as the Potawatomi, describing differences in trade policy and alliance among the Bear, Red and Black Carp groups. For the Potawatomi, the French term "families" seems to mean the clan segments or lineages, whose individual policies were so important in trade. Perrot, although he describes similar differences among the Ottawa tribes and their smaller 'families', never refers to them in terms of animal names. There is thus no direct evidence of totemic principles at the 'family' level, as well as no evidence of direct unilineal descent or inheritance, or of lineage rituals or cults. Depending upon context, as Cadillac noted (1947:10), descent in either line was utilized for purposes of validating leadership, a cognatic principle. Additionally, the presence of bands which are not in our sources identified with any one of the four tribal divisions, and the lack of hereditary patrilineal descent in one particular case, leaves us with little basis on which to postulate a segmentary lineage or clan organization.

The marriage patterns of the Ottawa, according to Perrot's information, indicated a large degree of personal choice and were not mentioned as organized around totemic prohibitions (Blair 1:63-74). A formal lineage/clan system, while sociologically orthodox given the environmental or 'corporateness' situations, the patri-bias, and the future patrilineal clan grid of the 19th century, rests as an imposition on the available evidence of the operation of Ottawa families.

Two of the allied tribes, the Fork and the Sable, are never referred to in terms of animal badges, while two other tribes are, the Sinago and the Kiskakon (Grey Squirrel and Bear's Cut Tail, respectively). This structure is apparent for thirty years at the Mackinac village and was stated directly by an Ottawa chief. In addition to the four tribes and their constituent 'families' appears one bit of evidence for three totemic groups which, according to the Jesuit Rasles during his short visit in 1692, held collective assemblies to consider religious issues. These three groups, each said to be 500 strong, were the "Great Hare" family, the "Carp" family, and the "Bear-Paw" or "Machoua" family. The Great Hare People differed in their mortuary customs from the others as they cremated their dead. The form of these groups is, following Hickerson's standard of evidence, that of a totemic clan (JR 67:153):

They declare that they have come from three families, and each family is composed of 500 persons.

Note again the variable use of the French word 'family'. While Rasles uses it to describe these groups, they are evidently too large to form the 'families' of Cadillac or Perrot which are segments of the four tribes. Additionally, only the bear symbol is reasonably similar to the emblem of the Kiskakon. Rasles did not mention any 'Squirrels', a strange omission if these 'clans' are equivalent to or the same as the four major tribal segments.

The use of animal referents, emblems, or insignia in this system can hardly be said to delimit a unilineal clan, contrary to Hickerson's rationalizations (1970). It is uncertain, at best, that Rasles' words "come from" implies lineal descent from the totemic animal, as the Jesuit does not distinguish whether this was a religious idea of creation, implied in many myths (Stevens 1971), or was instead an aspect of segmentary unilineal clan organization. Totems or totemic named-groups can exist without unilineal clans. In Algonkian societies, as Levi-Strauss reminds us (1962), 'Totems are good to think'. To date, neither the Ottawa nor Ojibway information from the 17th century would lend itself well to the interpretation of clans. The Montagnais have animal-named bands or nations, but no one, not even Leacock, has attributed clan organization to them.¹⁵ While the Ottawa families

appear in the historic literature as corporate entities, there is little evidence that these are exogamous patrilineal clans or clan-segments, nor is there evidence of a developed lineage principle or unilineal cult. Both of these characteristics are seen as conforming to the classical Central Algonkian pattern south of the Great Lakes (Callender 1962).

Alternatively, both the Ojibway and the Ottawa have been classified as retaining much of their Proto-Central Algonkian structure, specifically bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Operational definitions are apparent for the Ojibway groups, and it may perhaps be instructive to examine these. Relationships of any individual centered around his locus of kinship, the nodal kindred, sometimes identified with a hunting group of 2-4 hunters and their families. Kin relations are 'structured in layers' outward from ego, the fulcrum. In the late 18th and 19th centuries, descriptions of the composition of hunting groups or bands began to appear in our documentary sources of the Ojibway-speaking peoples. The hunting group was an association of related nuclear families based usually, although not always, on the parent-children or the sibling bond. Additional components were often included via bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Cameron 1890:247) and initial or permanent matrilocality (Grant 1890:320; Cameron:251-2), with sororal polygyny, the

levirate, and the sororate occasionally in evidence (Cameron:252). In addition, marriage alliances were often "dissolved by mutual consent", with new connections being rapidly initiated (Grant:321). Affiliation and kinship, at the level of the hunting group, operated in two ranges; families more or less nuclear (2-6 persons), and what has been termed the nodal kindred (15-30 persons), in Smith (1974:III-12) and in Helm (1965:380). Social linkages to this kindred were based primarily on bilateral connections; 'corporate' emphasis was placed on the parent-sibling or, alternatively, the sibling bond, although this by no means exhausted the reasons for affiliation and collective identity. As expressed by Helm, with corroboration and refinement provided by Smith, affiliation between men rested upon not only consanguinity, but also affinal links through mother, wives, sisters, or daughters (Helm:380). Cadillac's statement on the use of the maternal blood link (1947:39) should be considered appropriate within this context. John Tanner, the Ottawa-Ojibway captive, indicates also the place of fictive kinship and adoption (James 1956). All in all, the nodal kindred appears as an organizing focus of a "bilateral" society in an area of fluctuating human and natural resources (Smith 1974:25).

The 17th century Ottawa families, while they may be reasonably concrete and collective entities, reflect

certain 'Ojibway' characteristics; lineal principles and the institution of the 'chief' are not emphasized. Neither of these are expressed in terms of descent rites as with the more southerly Central Algonkian societies, at least in the 17th century. The major difference, of course, lies in their respective degrees of corporateness, especially in terms of trading or alliance actions and the usufruct of property (although we can indeed note Ojibway anomalies, Henry 1901:142). Still, many resemblances between the 17th century Ottawa and the Ojibway of the 19th century do exist. Social 'boundaries' between families are not defined and are very tenuous due to a lack of any lineal affiliation perceived by our French sources. One can note further a correspondence between certain descriptions of 19th century Ojibway inter-kindred relations and Perrot's examples of the way in which Ottawa alliances were structured between groups. Descriptions of the content of Ottawa 'families' are vague but their actions in terms of alliances and property are quite concrete. Perhaps personal actions generate structure, as with the concept of kindreds. The families, as tribal segments except for the lack of unilineal principles, seem to function as lineages on the model of the Central Algonkians. Needless to say, the presence of a bilateral structure, with the nodal kindred assuming corporate features, is rather unsettling and goes against a tradi-

tion in North American anthropology. The lack of definite membership by a descent principle would tend to make its form rather specific to certain contexts or locales, with continuity expressed only through the patri-, or sibling, bias, or if these are in any one case inappropriate, other descent links or affiliation.

All in all, the concept of a corporate kindred is amorphous and slippery, containing within itself numerous contradictions. Individuals, possessing overlapping rights and responsibilities to different but overlapping 'corporations' centered around primary parent-child or sibling bonds, would conceivably often have excessive room for play and strategem. This situation is reinforced by such fluctuations as shifts in locale by groups, variable death rates in any family, periodic alienations among individuals, and shifts in kindred structure and composition over time. All of this would contribute to a certain 'tension' in social relations, apparent today in Ojibway individuals in terms of decision-making in the inter-kindred political contests or in the day-to-day observance of the 'norms' of kinship behaviour.¹⁶ In discussing the ecological vagaries and their effects on social organization, we would have to include not only environmental fluctuations of natural resources but also the differential success of groups or nodal 'dynasties' in war, trade, marriage, and politics.

Cultural ecological correspondences have incorporated in their schemes south to north organizational dichotomies and subsistence variations, with such continuums as lineage to kindred/hunting group. As one approaches the transitional biomes at the center of this established social gradient, the choice between the two becomes capricious. Because of the lack or pervasive and consistent principles of a unilineal descent group in Ottawa society at the level of the 'family', the overall social organization has many attributes of the more dispersed hunting and gathering groups to the north, usually subsumed today under the name Ojibway. One hesitates to ascribe a similar system to the semi-sedentary Ottawa; it would have to include a complex of nodal kindreds operating in large villages, at least since direct contact in 1615. This social and ecological shift, to greater organizational elaboration due to semi-sedentary residence, is usually accepted as reason for a transformation among the Ojibway to their patrilineal clan grid. One may be forced therefore to explain why this shift did not affect the Ottawa much earlier than the Ojibway or to question cultural ecological processes and explanations as they affected the southern Ojibway. Luckily, such a choice is premature, at least within the context of this study.

Studies of corporate bilateral kindreds do exist, although somewhat far afield and, temporally, within the 'ethnographic present' rather than in an ethnographic reconstruction. Several tribal societies exist, where social viability of corporate groups or families can be achieved without corporate unilineal descent: notably among the Subanun (Frake 1960) or, perhaps even more appropriately, among the Iban (Freeman 1960). Among Southeast Asian horticulturalists, "forms of social organization building on nuclear families and personal kindreds have developed that are fully workable and adaptive" (Keesing 1975:98-9). Nodal kindreds, recruiting through affinal ties as well as cognatic descent, own property, function as a production unit, and operate within conventional legal frameworks of alliance and trade relationships. According to the context of the situation, the wider bilateral kin, the major and maximal kindreds, can mobilize in appropriate instances (Smith 1974). As Keesing exclaims (1975:97):

These modes of organization can, in the absence of corporate descent groupings, assume a much heavier 'functional load'. The family, as a corporation, and the kindred, as a way of mobilizing larger groups when needed, can provide adaptive solutions to the organizational problems of a tribal society.

As we might expect unless we were diehard diffusionists, Ottawa and Subanun social units do not precisely align. There are limitations in such a comparison, such as the question of respective inter-family cooperation and tribal organization, differing economies, differences in population size, and so on. Nevertheless, one essential point is clear. One may question an acceptance on unilineality as a major yardstick of corporateness of social groups.

In this light, the Ottawa 'families' can be seen as relatively discrete corporate groups in most specific contexts. Collectively, they form overlapping segments in each of the four tribal divisions within the Confederacy. These families apparently retain their ability to fission at will and fragment from the tribe; they are also not internally organized by way of a lineage principle. In terms of group membership, descent principles exist in the breach as well as the observance. At any one time, membership can be traced either through cognatic descent, with a simultaneous preference for patrilineal inheritance of the weakly-developed 'chiefly' positions, or through marriage links with affines. Flexibilities in affiliation are reminiscent of our earliest descriptions of Ojibway nodal kindreds, structured by bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Unfortunately, no direct evidence, as in kinship terms, exists either for or against this

notion's full applicability to the 17th century Ottawa. The demographic and subsistence situations would render, in a traditional view, such a structure unlikely. However, the exigencies of trade relations and economic advantage, strategies to utilize situational shifts or deaths in related groups, quarrels and interpersonal differences, emphasized this corresponding fluidity of affiliation. There is an amorphous quality in Ottawa social groups which strikes me as similar to that of the earliest Ojibway sources. A man, for example, may alternately have chosen to live with his wife's, his mother's, or his father's people, his choices depending upon his own or his relatives' economic situations. Multiple marriages, serial monogamy, add further wrinkles to the system.

This sort of organization lacks definite lineal principles for inheritance or membership, but functions as a collective unit at any one point of time. Structurally, this necessitates "a continual process of corporate group formation and dissolution" (Frake 1960:63) or accretion and fragmentation. Continuity, while rationalized by informants in our sources, is ephemeral in our own traditional sense of corporate descent groups. Viewed in this way, the lack, over three and four generations, of consistent unilineal or totemic identifications of the sub-tribal families is more understandable.

Apparently, there exists manipulation by individuals in their quest for position, membership, and access to the good life; 'structures and rules are reinterpreted and played with, as the use of matri-descent in one particular case seems to show. The social fabric is woven and unwoven in peoples' minds, the warp continually shifted to correspond to new ideas and opportunities, with, as we might expect from our own lives and machinations, the reality never quite corresponding to that intended. While conducive to interpersonal tension, ambivalence, and social movement, the choice and flexibility implicit in this structure is adaptive. They provide the social 'habitat' for a diverse potentiality of personal and family decisions; these, although often disadvantageous or even destructive, serve the prerequisites of the immense trading range as well as the variations in subsistence strategies, extending within and progressively without the transitional biomes that constitute the heart of Ottawa occupation.

Unspecialized social adaptations are maximally efficient in areas or times of change. Paradoxically, the concomitant decision-making provides as well greater opportunities for personal faux pas or failure. Manipulation of the social and physical environments, whether on the individual, family, tribal, or confederacy levels, thus becomes an attempt to avoid this. That the Ottawa

prospered as well as they did rests as much on their organizational amorphousness as on their diplomatic or business acumen. Far from being structurally simple, the shifting systems of Ottawa families carried complex cultural overtones implicit in the wide range of choice. The 'swidden', as an ecological technique for gardening or hunting, thus extends into the realm of the ego-centered kindreds. Like environmental fluctuations, idealized social expectations impinge upon individual choices, shifts in situations affect notions of respectability. These provide catalytic energy and tensions to the ambivalences and keep in operation the social processes of group fragmentation and formation.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CENTURY OF CONTACT

Ottawa Populations

Notwithstanding their trade or political influence, the Ottawa never composed more than a relative handful of people in the 17th century. Disturbing events often increased mortality, via the Sioux and the Iroquois. Although the figures vary, a general range of 1300-2000 is observable throughout the century.

At first contact on the French River, Champlain met 300 men. Acting on a map given to him by a headman, the next winter he visited their territory south and west of the Petun, where he found a "numerous" people living in several districts. If the Ottawa had 300 men on an expedition to the north of their villages in the summer, then the minimum population figure would have to be 1500; this assumes an approximate ratio, 4:1, of women, children, and old men to adult males. We should bear in mind, however, that the Ottawa were at war with a western nation, that summer is the time of raiding as

well as trading or, as Champlain records the statement of the Ottawa chief, "picking blueberries". It thus seems rather unlikely that all adult males would have been in that one party which was contacted. Others would be raiding or defending their villages. Probably the true range of Ottawa population during this period was at least 1500-2000 persons, or 400 warriors.

During the years of Dispersal, 1650-1673, population estimates are steadily dropping, with the greatest decrease occurring just before the move to Mackinac in 1673. As we might expect, the most confusing picture is from the Chequamegon years, 1660-1670, when a population estimate dips to 1000.

Mobility and variable intertribal residence patterns also complicate the issue. There are warrior figures at Ottawa settlements, such as one of 800 at Chequamegon (JR 50:273-279). Unfortunately, these numberings are for the summer and fall, and so include traders from other nations. Additionally, there appears evidence that "polyethnic" groups were regularly congregating, composed of culturally distinct but allied nations (Radisson, in Adams:95; Blair 1:179). Sharrock (1974) has noted 19th century examples of this phenomenon; composition of localized or specific bands often included peoples of different national, tribal, or ethnic identities. As on the Plains in the 1810s, in

the 17th century there are also polyethnic groups, such as significant numbers of Ottawa traders visiting the 'Creeps' north of Lake Superior, or mixed proto-historic Ojibway-Ottawa 'bands' gathered for the harvest of specific natural resources, such as fish runs or wild rice. The whole question of polyethnic bands, the extended or even short-term association of peoples of different heritages, is troublesome. It complicates historic identifications, as with the Ottawa in Montreal, and may adversely affect archaeological culture sequences, especially as these latter are used in social reconstructions of specific sites.

Early population estimates of Chequamegon from the 1660s are similar to those of 1615. There were two villages at the Pointe de Saint Esprit, on the south shore of Lake Superior, in this decade; one was Petun, Tionnontaté Huron, whose inhabitants were originally from the Collingwood area but also included some Huron and Neutral refugees. The larger one, the "great village", as Father Allouez termed it, had in 1665-67 an estimated population of 2000 souls (JR 50:301), living in 45-50 lodges. This figure indicates an average lodge held about 40 people, from which we can infer longhouses, of the type ascribed to the Ottawa thirty years later (Cadillac 1947:9). The Jesuits sometimes mentioned other hamlets and scattered dwellings in the surrounding forests,

but they did not indicate if the inhabitants exclusively resided in them or also, more likely, had apartment space at Chequamegon.

In a footnote to Perrot's narrative, Emma Blair provided another estimate of slightly more than 1000 Ottawa at Chequamegon Point in 1669 (1:165), following as source the Jesuit Relation of 1670 (JR 54:167). This discrepancy, of almost 1000 people over five years, can be explained in a variety of ways. The alliance system connecting the Kiskakon with the other Ottawa tribes was severely strained at this time. By 1670 the Relation notes that the Kiskakon had gone to the Sault, while the other divisions had abandoned Chequamegon Point for Manitoulin Island. It is possible that some families, alarmed at factional disputes and the prospect of renewed war with the Dakota, had left the Point a year earlier than the mass exodus was recorded. Alternately, the high death rate due to disease, mentioned by Allouez, could have been a factor (JR 50:287). As well, the Relations note that movement by individuals was frequent and variable, perhaps implying that, at best, their own population figures were but an estimate.

It is possible that population at Chequamegon did decline. While periodic movements might introduce a random factor into any European guess, they probably would not influence Allouez's count of longhouses,

stationary by nature. The Jesuit's statement that disease was depopulating the village is significant.

By 1673 the Kiskakon had reunited with the other Ottawa nations and the Petun at Mackinac's mission of St. Ignace. The figure for the Ottawa village is 1300 (JR 1:34), which includes some sixty Sinago moving in from Green Bay (JR 57:249). After 1673 there are no yearly Relations for the Ottawa missions.

A relatively constant estimate of Ottawa population, 1500-2000, endures for half a century from 1615 to 1665, although some loss due to an epidemic (70 deaths) is reported for one village in 1637 (JR 14:99-103). In the next decade, there is a perceptible decrease in estimates by a factor of one-third. The decrease to either the 1669 Chequamegon estimate of 1000, or the 1300 estimate from Mackinac in 1673, can be attributed to the escalating effects of war and disease, aggravated by periodic famines. These appear after the disastrous 1670 war with the Sioux (JR 55:133-155).

Casualties to traders from Iroquois attacks on the route to Montreal were, for the Ottawa, light but constant. By themselves, these cannot explain the decrease. Hostilities with the Sioux were of a different magnitude. The sporadic but occasionally large-scale outbreaks of violence are one factor for the decline in population; although these are mentioned in the Relations, only Perrot

gives a consistent report of the course of the war. The Ottawa provoked the Dakota into hostile action, gathered a collection of allies about themselves through the judicious use of the profits of one year's trade, and invaded Sioux territory. In 1670, the army of Kiskakon, Sinago, Potowatomi, Sauk, and Fox were defeated, with the Sinago and Potowatomi suffering the majority of the casualties by covering the flight of the others (Perrot, in Blair 1:189). At minimum, one hundred Ottawa warriors were killed, captured, or died of starvation. Along with the Kiskakon council's avowal of Christianity in 1668 (JR 54:175), the Kiskakon performance aggravated conflicts and led to a temporary split of the Kiskakon with the rest of the Confederacy (JR 55:133; JR 57:15).

Although Perrot's account has a natural drama, the rapid population decline cannot be entirely explained by war. Famine and disease were important factors. It is possible that increasing contact with Frenchmen was introducing a number of diseases to which native Americans had no natural immunity. Unspecified diseases were noticed by Allouez; in 1667, they were depopulating the village at Chequamegon (JR 50:287). This date is over a decade after Ottawa began to travel to Quebec in some numbers. For an example, from Lahontan's description of the delights of Montreal to the Ottawa in 1684, we might assume the probability of social diseases from 1654 onward. When we

add to this consideration a host of imported illnesses, then we have another explanation for the sudden drop in population figures among those nations who had extensive contact with Europeans. As middlemen in the fur trade, the Ottawa were the highway of disease. Its effects, declining numbers of people in the first decades after extensive contact, corresponds closely with the increased presence of Frenchmen, traders, missionaries, and soldiers, in the western Great Lakes from 1665 onward.

Additionally, Father Andre reported that the Ottawa who had returned to Manitoulin in 1670 were experiencing great difficulty by 1671. The "Outaouacs" were starving, "having poor success in hunting and fishing", reduced to roots, acorns, rock tripe (JR 54:143). The famine was becoming increasingly severe as the Father was forced to leave the area in the spring of 1671. This starvation, suffered during the occasional migrations before the 1673 congregation at Michilimackinac, is one additional factor we can consider as a contributing cause of a drop in reported population.

War, disease, and famine were not without their effect in the first century of contact with the Ottawa. Compared to an Ontario Ottawa population of 1500-2000 at direct contact in 1615, or an observer's estimate that Chequamegon held approximately 2000 Ottawa, the Mackinac figures indicate that in the early 1670s there were 1300

surviving Ottawa. When we consider that the Michilimackinac village was settled by both Chequamegon and Green Bay groups, and that perhaps the Nassauaketon were not included in the 1615 estimates from Ontario, then the extent and rapidity of the decrease suffered by the Ottawa from Chequamegon becomes startling.

The population at Mackinac appeared to increase slightly to about 1500 in 1692, according to Rasles, although his figure is suspect (in the Relation of 1723, JR 67:153). La Potherie mentions 300 warriors in the late 17th century (Blair 2:74), again giving an estimate of 1500 (1:4=300:1200). This may show some return to previous levels during the main phase of the Florescent Period, resulting from the relative peace and security of Mackinac itself, plus the extended truce with the Iroquois and the abandonment of direct efforts against the Dakota. Population continues to rise during the last decades of the 17th century, and apparently throughout the following 100 years. On the whole, while demographic damage following direct contact occurred, no disaster on the scale of the Mesoamerican or Huron experience appears to have happened to the Ottawa tribes.

Ottawa Adaptations

As introduced earlier, the tenets of strategic ecology, employed by Charles Cleland (1966), emphasize the close relationships of a society to its habitat and its subsistence techniques. The Ottawa economy and social structure remained in a homeostatic relationship to a transitional biotic province, one characterized by the contiguous presence of floral and faunal communities more commonly representative of provinces farther north or south. Bounded in this way, the ecological system contained substantial micro-environments, edge effects, and seral continuums. The adaptation utilizes flexibility and the switching of resources; the economy is diffuse rather than focal (Cleland 1966:42-45). Ottawa social institutions, the semi-sedentary villages and the extended winter hunts, are seen as representative of both the classical Mackinac lifeways as well as those of the Late Woodland. Ottawa westward migrations, while immediate reactions to Iroquois threats, are more understandable as attempts to maintain resource situations similar to those required for the diffuse economy. All in all, Cleland suggested, these cultural ecological ideas suggested a continually adjusted equilibrium with the varying natural resource factors of the transitional zone: seasonal and fluctuating fish runs, the northern limits of corn

horticulture and year to year adjustments to changing yields, and differences in local and regional availabilities of boreal or temperate big game.

In many ways Cleland's analysis is insightful. Focal and diffuse distinctions are possible in characterizing Upper Great Lakes economic forms, while access to the natural resources of the adjacent biotic provinces do mold subsistence relationships to greater habitat opportunities. Corn horticulture is important to the village inhabitants while beaver and bear are necessary for extended hunting and trapping expeditions in the winter; both patterns characterize Ottawa subsistence according to Cleland. His views are representative of cultural ecological studies focused on our traditionally conceived 'small-scale band society'. Procedures of Julian Steward's method of cultural ecology are applied, particularly one wherein "the behaviour patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed" (1955:40-41). The method underlies the strength of Cleland's viewpoint. He has patterned very amorphous social descriptions and movements in the ethnohistorical literature by relating them to a grand adaptive strategy. These strategies are seen as an Ottawa ability to shift from a focal dependence and exploit a variety of resources (Cleland 1965:73-74).

Considering Cleland's paleoecological background

and the time frame from which his ideas spring, his reliance upon what some have interpreted as Stewardian cultural ecology is understandable (Cox 1973; Harris 1968).¹⁷ The varying pattern of Ottawa subsistence, the diffuse economy, is seen as a response to the presence of a variety of environmental resources. Somewhat deterministic, the scheme deals only with those relevant and technoenvironmental influences of the subsistence requirements: the indigenous cultural techniques and the physical environmental factors. Steward, on the other hand, phrased, as an empirical problem in every particular case, the extent to which subsistence activities prescribe sociocultural organization. Cleland's rather one dimensional view of Ottawa movements specify a society-environment relationship which is rather direct and one-to-one, without a full consideration of 17th century historical changes. Adaptation is specific to the case and Ottawa adaptation responds to fluctuations in the natural or technological sectors; it only incidently provides opportunities and latitude for the flexibility and choice demanded by indigenous cultural ethics and pressures on the individual. Still, although Cleland's interests do not extend to "other key cultural factors" (Steward 1955:42), his works are one of the few to place the Ottawa in some coherent pattern or to relate them to flexibilities in subsistence techniques and focus.

While Cleland has dealt with some of the biotic complexities, his considerations of cultural factors in the specific Ottawa adaptation he cites, that of the Florescent period at Mackinac 1673-1700, is minimal. Rappaport's work, Pigs for the Ancestors, while criticized for its "neo-functionalist" constructions, did attempt to include non-material aspects of culture as related components of the Tsembaga ecosystem. It is perhaps generally conceded now that these cultural considerations do find a place in ecological anthropology. To derive useful processes from Ottawa history for this study, a strict technoenvironmentalist position a la Harris was augmented by one of human ecology. The ecosystem model derives its definition from the relation of man and the natural environment, but the utilized natural environment is culturally defined; its utilization depends upon Ottawa ethical, economic, and social value considerations (for a more modern archaeological recognition of this, see Jochim 1976:9). As Rappaport states (1969:185), one should perhaps recall that "the culture...of a human population is regarded as part of the distinctive means by which a population maintains itself in the ecosystem."

From a recognition that the cognized environment may differ from that defined by the cultural ecologists, one moves to a consideration that, in a natural environment characterized by extreme variability and recurrent

edge effects, the choices which lead to particular subsistence or economic forms are not immutable. Subsistence variations in the transitional biotic provinces do not all lead directly to the classical Mackinac pattern of the 1690s. As has been shown, not all Ottawa exhibited this, groups frequently employing trade, social, or political considerations to choose to affiliate with Cree, Ojibway, or Pottowatomi groups, or to cluster at natural resource areas not included in the classic pattern, such as the rice grounds at Keweenaw (JR 48:121-123). As well, Champlain's earliest references include winter aggregations at villages rather than inland hunting groups, as Cléland would specify for both the Late Woodland and Early Contact eras.

There is not necessarily a most efficient or consistent adaptation within these large transition zones, in a region where resource supplies or crop yields vary in quality or supply. Environment-man relations are not direct but are mediated by social and political constraints perceived by Ottawa tribesmen. A variety of subsistence choices are possible, either in terms of mobility among micro-environments, the recurrent edges, or simply because the transition zones possess within themselves different resources, these precluding any consistent mode of subsistence organization across the biome. The Ottawa village, with its population of more than one thousand at certain times of the year, is in the Canadian biotic province;

this zone of transition, however, extends through the north shore of Lake Huron, where such proto-Ojibway groups as the Amikwa, Mississauga, Saulteur, or Nikikouet exhibit very different lifestyles (Raudot, in Kinietz 1940:370-371; la Potherie, in Blair 1:279).

Underlying determinist assumptions are too easily exhibited by some of those who follow Steward's strategy of cultural ecology. Scholars of band societies, traditionally seen as low energy systems of the most basic sort, are especially prey to this. Occasionally this is expressed in terms which state that the means of subsistence appear to substantially regulate the social relations of production (Cox 1974:13). In grappling with the observable processes of Ottawa history and economic adaptations, it soon became apparent that the 'energy' available in such a natural system was not a uniform or consistent factor, and that sustenance requirements were not a limiting or determining factor for social modes of organization or the content of social relations (also see Vayda and McCay's analysis 1975:296). Fluctuation and variation in the natural system thus interacts with strategems of the cultural actors themselves. At worst, the Ottawa organized social relations to make, in their mapping of economic strategies, at least minimally effective use of the energy potentials of their habitat for subsistence purposes.

Ottawa adaptations, their relation to their macro-habitats the transition zones, are complex. Local variations, in terms of the sometimes incompatible sustenance or economic forms, or residence or settlement patterns, were considerable in extent. Changing economic strategies can be derived not entirely from adaptational subsistence requirements alone. The choices involved in trade, war, or affiliation at the individual, family, band, tribe, or confederacy levels were significant in number.

The Exchange Economy and the Manipulation of the Fur Trade

At direct contact in 1615, the Ottawa were one group of middlemen on one of the important trade networks of the Upper Great Lakes. From the narratives of Champlain and Sagard, it is evident that extensive trade was aboriginal and pre-dated European involvement. The important north-south and east-west routes, organized into two parallel systems of exchange, the Huron-Nipissing and the Neutral-Ottawa, were already pioneered and had been since at least the mid-14th century. The demand for French goods led to an intensification and extension of the Huron oriented network. Until 1650, the Ottawa had access to French goods only through this latter system.

Due to the Iroquois and the fortunes of war, the

Huron Confederacy was demoralized and effectively non-existent by 1650. Ottawa traders, in concert with some Petun and Huron refugees, subsequently took over command of the trade routes to the French. For about ten years, 1654-65, the Ottawa maintained a classical middleman relationship between the French and the native fur producers, establishing themselves as a powerful confederacy and solidifying their inter-tribal alliances. After 1665 French bourgeois and coureurs de bois established an increasing number of fur trade depots in the Upper Lakes, hoping to undercut the middleman position and augment their own profit. While the French were partially successful in this, the Ottawa maintained substantial control over a major portion of the trade well into the last quarter of the 17th century.

This continuation of Ottawa middlemanship indicates that transactions on the Upper Great Lakes, often market-like in their particulars, involve much more than simple cost analyses by trade partners. The Ottawa economy straddled what can be seen as opposite economic 'poles': while a 'market principle' was peripherally present, especially in terms of inter-family competition and supply-demand controls (see Sahlins 1972:297-301), the wealth generated was used in very traditional forms. Bolstered by egalitarian values, gifts were frequent and the needy often aided.

The aboriginal and pan-tribal conventions of trade emphasized both material and non-material aspects or concepts of property. 'Rules and regulations' covering these were evident on direct contact between Huron and French. The Ottawa 'path to trade' involved, according to the Jesuits, an actual assumption of property or control over the 'Ottawa' River routes. Additionally, an alliance relationship, between the social termini of the trade path, was also conceived as reciprocal property; this concept applied generally over the entire Ottawa confederacy or "French" nation (Adams:89-90) and over more personalized relationships, such as between corporate Ottawan families and Potowatomi totemic lineages or clan-segments. Trade between the Ottawa middlemen and their suppliers, particularly the Potowatomi but also the Sauk and Ojibway, was organized in the same way.

The original basis of the increased Ottawa control over this flow of wealth rested upon their command of the reciprocal alliances, the nexus between the French, the source of European goods, and the tribes of the Upper Great Lakes, the source of beaver. The other tribes purchased French goods at substantial mark-ups and carrying charges. Additionally, if they wished to trade at Montreal, they had to obtain permission to engage in the brigade. A tithe or present was the customary due, no less a matter of obligation for it being expressed in

terms of short-lived marriages and bride prices or of the traditional reciprocal gift-exchanges. This tithe is perhaps similar in form and meaning to the gift of all animal skins caught on the 'territory' or 'area' of another group. These economic alliances were frequently referred to in the historic literature and usually involved aspects of military coordination and intermarriage. The Ottawa alliances, forged during the ten year period when they retained nearly absolute control over access to French goods, endured in gradually attenuating forms for at least three decades after strictly economic considerations, such as local French traders, should have caused them to lose effectiveness. Yet even twenty years after the French entered the Upper Great Lakes trade directly, the Ottawa fur brigades still carried substantial quantities of peltry to Montreal. A trade alliance with the Ottawa, therefore, was a composite package, including interwoven economic, social, and military threads. Economic costs for the allies balanced other benefits; the gift tithes, as well, gave access to the fur mart at Montreal, which offered better prices than French posts in the Upper Lakes.

The Ottawa economy thus seemed to be heavily 'traditional' in some of its exchange practices and its outright forms. Nevertheless, market principles were present. These increased when the Ottawa intensified their productive efforts as their middleman position became gradually untenable. Locating to Mackinac after 1673, the

new center of French trade on the Great Lakes, they supplied most of the service and supply needs to the French, from canoes through transport labour to food. Their 'foreign exchange' came from their production of trade necessities together with primary production of beaver pelts through hunting plus, of course, their share of profits from the long distance trade to Montreal. Certain sectors of the economy were constituted directly around supply and demand pressures by price fluctuations. This is true for the sale especially of commodities produced by Ottawa labour and intended as a support for the French transport networks and such loci as Mackinac or the Sault. Prices of corn, meat, and canoes offered for sale to Europeans definitely responded to demand or supply pressures, while the transfer of French goods to some tribes involved an astonishing mark-up in 'beaver', particularly in the early years when some nations were without French goods during the Iroquois wars. Needless to say, this was of course expressed in the traditional form, a classic case of gift-exchange with a mark-up.

The Ottawa economy during the last decades of the 17th century is diversified and, viewed in terms of conflict between Indian and European forms, 'syncretic'. Production of commodities such as crops, meat and supplies could be switched from the subsistence to the exchange sector if conditions such as food shortages warranted

this; value on these goods was relative to the situation and adjusted to supply and demand. The frequently expressed disputes between families over economic returns indicate that partnership, while expressed in classically 'native' forms, often involved covert competition for profit from trade or the hunt. Such conflicts impacted with the pervasive ethics of liberality and egalitarianism and often involved factional or political disputes among the families or the four tribes; tension and conflict were endemic to the system, and the contradictions between 'boreal Algonkian' values and 'market' factors are noticeable both in the 17th century and much later in the 19th (Tanner, in James 1956).

Although supply and demand price changes were seen as quite appropriate to the French sector by most Ottawa, redistributational ethics mediated market-style competition among the families, expressing it along with other considerations in the very traditional form of factional politics. While such family trade disputes were not usually made to seem as symmetrical competition among buyers and sellers, for economic purposes along (although the French tried to induce this), such actions did take place. Factional considerations left some productive units untied to erstwhile partners, at which point new routes might be pioneered, possibly explaining the small but regular indications of trade and negotiating missions

to the Iroquois and English. Short-term switching from sector to sector, and from "domestic modes of production" to "exchange modes of production" (Tanner 1976:11), depends upon the factional situation, the extent of social relationships with the buyers or sellers, and the contexts, varying from the French marts with their overt price manipulations to 'reciprocal' partnership exchanges on Green Bay.

The fur trade among the Ottawa thus included both 'reciprocal' and market forms for acquisition, while notions of reciprocity applied to the dispersal of wealth. The conflicts and contradictions entering the economic sectors were similar to those always present in the political sector; the family, kindreds, or lineages consistently strove to augment their social 'rank', the chiefs attempting to provide leadership, gain influence, and therefore wealth (or vice versa).

It is unwise to see in this tension-ridden atmosphere an implicit disruption model of acculturation to European economic norms. There is little evidence that trade was conducted very differently in the pre-contact eras. Although formal marts and competitive price manipulations were probably intensified in the French-oriented exchanges, the pre-contact purpose of Ottawa trade is clear, to use the relative values of commodities in different locales to augment profit. The French, such as

Champlain and Perrot, were also obliged to align economic interests with those of social and military natures, to use 'favoured' trade partners, and to engage, diplomatically, in the subtle and often baroque political contests. Formally-conceived supply-demand economics, price manipulations, and intra-tribal competition can be seen as logical extensions of traditional social and economic contests and contexts, rather than as simple acculturative tendencies (a notion of effects similar to Townsend's description of native Alaskan trade, 1975:26). There is on the Upper Great Lakes no irrevocable shift from production for use to production for exchange in the 17th century, or from a 'domestic mode' of production to an 'exchange' mode of production. Generalizations of these types are illusory. The Ottawa were not so influenced by the trade that they became a dependent group whose social institutions and ecological adaptations had been profoundly and negatively altered in a process of acculturation (Leacock 1954:7). The process sometimes called involution (Geertz 1963) did not advance far, as market commodities were either native manufactures from natural or wild products or could also be utilized for sustenance; crops such as meat and corn were transferable from market use to table use and vice versa. Additionally, land and resources were not progressively alienated to supply the increased demands for exchange capital. Environmental degradation,

requiring a maximization of labour input while gains progressively decrease, did not occur.

Ottawa and French traders, feeding on each other, imposed acculturative strains upon each other. If Perrot's complaints provide any indication, the pressures were weighted against the French. At best, a mutual exploitation, similar to the early relationship between the western peoples such as Cree and the competing European powers, existed (Burpee 1927). The state of affairs is very appropriately reconstructed by the Hudson's Bay Company's very unofficial historians, Ronald Searle and Kildare Dobbs. Speaking of the Early Contact trade, they cite the company's motto, pro pelle cutum, which, "being loosely translated, signifies: Skin me, cutey, and I'll skin you" (1970:39).

The Ottawa Confederacy was much more than a collection of subsistence hunters, short-term middlemen, or primary producers of furs, locked into a colonialist relationship with a European state. Even their temporary command of the geographical trade routes does not provide all the reasons for their evident power and influence during the 17th century, one which led the French to exercise constant care in diplomatic relations. Previous considerations for this, such as the middlemanship, recede in importance somewhat when we consider the

gradual decline of the economic reasons of this, or the evident diversification of the economy and the reciprocal short-term switching of modes of organization and profit. The complex patterns of cooperation and competition among families interacted with the bundle of egalitarian or redistributive values, in turn affecting the extent and shape of political issues. Ottawa traders and families took advantage of the French advent to bolster their personal and national wealth and to make their confederacy, with its relative handful of people, a power on the Upper Great Lakes. The Ottawa had "made themselves feared by all the tribes who are their enemies, and looked up to by those who are their allies" (la Potherie, in Blair 1: 283). Ottawa economic and social groups and networks, amorphous but complex, pervaded with both egalitarian and market principles, was not simply a response to the European-oriented fur trade. The French, whatever intentions they reflect in their writings, were not standard intrusive phenomena, debilitating in their effects. Instead, their desire for a trade in furs was adopted and adapted for Ottawa purposes by the Ottawa themselves, already familiar with the benefits and dangers of pre-contact trade. The intensity of Ottawa acquisition of European merchandise related directly to its usefulness in terms of pre-existing economic and political considerations and internal social formations. The 17th century fur trade was not imposed

upon the aboriginal societies but was instead seized by them, with much of the profits channelled into traditional gratifications. The changes initiated during this time lead to a florescence of Ottawa strength, culture, and power in the last half of the 17th century.

Naturally this florescence was marked as well by complex and frequently chaotic or uncomfortable relations among all units of society. Fragmentation or classical 'atomism' existed at every level, expressing itself most clearly via this study in the gradual and continual dissolution and formation of 'family' or dynastic groups. All of this leads to an observation that both social florescence and disruptive degradation are inducible from the same data base, the same space and time. It becomes clear therefore that interpretative style and philosophical orientation become of primary concern in any ethnohistoric configuration.

NOTES

1. (p. 14) For a more comprehensive evaluation of Champlain's personal style and his relations with the Huron, Trigger (1976) presents some interesting observations, most of them non-complimentary to Champlain's perceptiveness.
2. (p. 41) In 1637 a Cheveux Relevés delegation visited the Jesuits to obtain a release from the diseases sent by these powerful shamans; the death rate was said to be seventy in one village (JR 14:99-103).
3. (p. 73) The incidence and duration of regular congregations of culturally distinct but allied peoples appears to be much greater than commonly supposed. Besides trade, natural resource areas such as whitefish runs often influenced the creation of both short and long-term "polyethnic" bands. The whole problem is considered by Sharrock (1974), at least in relation to the 18th and 19th century Prairies. If this conception of polyethnic groups has validity, it poses a problem for territorial designations based upon such documents as the Jesuit enumeration of Algonkian nations around Lake Huron; these designations have been used by some (Heidenreich 1971) to map band "territories". Yet movement and amalgamation frequently involved common resources and extended across any individual group 'territory'. Such specific territories may well be based upon European attempts to solidify a fluid round of activities.

The idea of polyethnic groups focused at various natural resource harvesting areas seems applicable for the Early Contact period at least, and probably for the Pre-Contact, especially if trade was as extensive as is now generally agreed. Naturally, more adequate mapping of duration, demographic variations, and 'emic' or native perceptions of these gatherings is required; one approach might consist of detailed charting of harvestable natural or crop resources used by the Algonkian peoples of Georgian Bay.

If one accepts this concept, and its implicit notion of variation and fluidity in proto-historic Ojibway 'bands', then one will be hard put to accept these amalgamations as documentary evidence of the "disruptions" caused by

the early fur trade (Bishop 1976:49). The major economic resources, whether natural products or trade, were not localized within any one specific 'band territory', leaving notions of discrete land units rigidly possessed by patrilineal, patrilocal clans rather unlikely. This does not fit the ecology of the region very well. It is much more difficult to isolate 'national' boundaries and 'territories' than Bishop seems to understand.

4. (p. 76) When we consider the Ottawa facility in trade, the protectionist and paternalistic policies of the Department of Indian Affairs in the last century become an obscene joke.
5. (p. 86) That the 2400 animals killed were moose may be questionable. The figure appears high, furnishing almost 2,000,000 lbs. of meat (White 1953), and leaves the notion of dispersed winter groupings high and dry. Considering common Algonkian habits of food consumption, the sights and sounds, the whole atmosphere of this resultant party must have been mind-boggling, if not well nigh toxic (JR 6:283). Possibly several nations participated, and lucky enough for Father Andre, he seems to have missed the party and starved instead. As Andre was a rather inflexible man, he might well not have survived the aggregation around this kill.

Other problems have been noted regarding this take in "moose". Editorial discretion by Emma Blair is problematical, as I do not have ready access to the original French; even standard terms such as original may have been vaguely and indefinitely used or perceived by our French chroniclers. Considering all of the above factors, E. S. Rogers has suggested that these 2400 animals may have been woodland caribou, especially as the source notes that the kills were mostly made with snares, probably combined with a chute and pound (Champlain, in Biggar 3). Rogers has also suggested that moose production appears very high on an island the size of Manitoulin (pers. comm.).

Upon reviewing the demographic literature, I perceive no reason that these animals may not actually have been moose. Moose population on Isle Royale, a much smaller island than Manitoulin, irrupted to approximately 3,000-5,000 in the temporary absence of predation in the early 20th century (Mech 1966:22). The Iroquois wars may well have decreased the opportunity of harvesting moose on Manitoulin for a ten to twenty year period. Notably, the Jesuit Relation for 1670-1 (JR 55) indicates that a group of Ottawa on Manitoulin during the early winter of 1670 were not successful in hunting, suggesting that

the moose yield represented a substantial portion of the island's population. Still, Roger's comments are apropos. Considering winter habits of moose or their demography in general, we are both somewhat skeptical that this hunt occurred in the manner recorded.

6. (p. 86) The situation was also poor upon the Ottawa River. No longer fastidious, Allouez recounted that on his journey upcountry in 1665, he had fended off starvation by recourse to a lucky discovery, the carrion of a "stag".
7. (p. 99) As we see from the Table of Brigade Arrivals, the mid 1680s figures for native canoes is not much lower than the average figure of pre-1650 Huron brigades or those of the 1654-1670 Ottawa.
8. (p. 113) Unfortunately, as Lahontan only met the group as they were returning, we have no direct information as to the extent of winter dispersal, or whether these 400 spent the winter aggregated or dispersed. Considering Alexander Henry's information, based on his participation in family life with Ojibway during a winter eighty years later in the same area, I would consider it feasible that environmental conditions would point to the dispersed pattern as most appropriate. If this is so, then Lahontan did not meet a wintering group returning, but a spring concentration of people.
9. (p.115) For the Ottawa, therefore, Frenchmen 'runs' were a seasonally exploitable resource leading to long-term semi-sedentary residence or concentration at Michilimackinac.
10. (p. 117) The extent of corn processing remains unnoted. Did each sack contain flour, meal, kernels, or whole ears?
11. (p. 122) A similar point is made 'theoretically' by Legros (1977:28).
12. (p. 128) Read French ou as English w.
13. (p. 133) Dr. Bishop has by now probably found these few early cases of Cree 'matrilineality'. We may expect his paper on the matrilineal Cree momentarily.
14. (p. 144) J. G. E. Smith: "I am reminded of the significant clues in Sherlock Holmes' cases of Silver Blaze and the Hound of the Baskervilles; the dogs did not bark."

15. (p. 155) J. G. E. Smith: "Is that a spectre we can now expect?", i.e. matrilineal Cree clans, disrupted by the Early Contact fur trade, devolving into simpler bilateral forms.
16. (p. 159) Ruth Landes (1937) realistic description of some of these particular tensions is recommended.
17. (p. 176) For a more complex, comprehensive, and subtle treatment of the same strategy, see Damas (1974).

FINAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

I would like to thank Dr. W. C. Noble for his various incisive comments and criticisms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, A. T. (ed.)
 1961 The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson.
 Minneapolis: Ross and Haines.
- Andreski, S.
 1974 Social Sciences as Sorcery. New York: Pelican.
- Anson, B.
 1970 The Miami Indians. Norman: University of
 Oklahoma Press.
- Baraga, Bishop R. R.
 1878 A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language.
 Facsimile edition, 1973. Minneapolis: Ross
 and Haines.
- Beard, C. A.
 1959 Written History as an Act of Faith, in The
 Philosophy of History in Our Time, Hans
 Meyerhoff (ed.). Garden City: Doubleday.
- Biggar, H. P. (ed.)
 1922-36 The Works of Samuel de Champlain. 7 vol.
 Toronto: Champlain Society.
- Bishop, C.
 1970 Hunting Territories Among the Northern Ojibwa,
 in Ethnology 9.
- 1973 Ojibwa Cannibalism. IX International Congress
 of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences,
 Chicago.
- 1974 The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade.
 Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- 1976 The Emergence of the Northern Ojibwa, in
American Ethnologist 3.
- Blair, E. (ed.)
 1911 The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi
Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes.
 Cleveland: Clark.

- Buber, M.
1974 Tales of the Hasidim: The Later Masters.
New York: Schocken.
- Burpee, L. J. (ed.)
1927 Journals of La Verendrye, Champlain Society
Publication XVI. Toronto: The Champlain
Society.
- Cadillac, A. Lamothe
1947 Memoir, in The Western Country in the 17th
Century, M. Quaife (ed.). Chicago: Donnelley
and Sons.
- Callender, C.
1962 Social Organization of the Central Algonkian
Indians. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Pub. Mus.,
Pub. in Anthro. No. 7.
- Cameron, D.
1890 The Nipigon Country, in Les Bourgeois de la
Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, L. R. Masson (ed.).
New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960.
- Cleland, C. C.
1966 Prehistoric Animal Ecology and Ethnozoology
of the Upper Great Lakes Region. Ann Arbor:
University of Michigan, Mus. of Anthro. No. 29.
- Clifton, J.A.
1975 A Place of Refuge for all Time. Ottawa:
National Museums of Canada, Canadian Ethnology
Service Paper No. 26.
- Cox, B.
1974 Introduction, in Cultural Ecology, B. Cox
(ed.). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Damas, D.
1974 Environment, History, and Central Eskimo
Society, in Cultural Ecology.
- Delbruck, H.
1975 History of the Art of War. Vol. 1, Antiquity.
London: Greenwood.
- Dobbs, K. and R. Searle
1970 The Great Fur Opera. Toronto: McClelland
and Stewart.

- Driver, H.
1969 Indians of North America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Du Creux, Father F.
1951 The History of Canada or New France. Champlain Society Publication, Toronto: Champlain Society.
- Dunning, R. W.
1959 Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Eggan, F.
1966 The American Indian. Chicago: Aldine.
- Fitting, J.
1965 Late Woodland Cultures of Southeastern Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Mus. of Anthro., no. 24.
1969 Great Lakes Region Settlement Analysis, in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 25, Albuquerque.
- Frake, C.O.
1960 The Eastern Subanun of Mindanao, in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, G. P. Murdock (ed.). New York: Wenner-Gren.
- Freeman, J. D.
1960 The Iban of Borneo, in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, G. P. Murdock (ed.). New York: Wenner-Gren.
- Geertz, C.
1963 Agricultural Involution. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grant, P.
1890 The Sauteux Indians, in Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, L. R. Masson (ed.). New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960.
- Harris, M.
1968 The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York: Crowell.

- Heidenreich, C.
1971 Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Helm, J.
1965 Bilaterality in the Socio-Economic Organization of the Arctic Drainage Dene. In Ethnology, 4, no. 4.
- Hennepin, Father L.
1974 A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America. Toronto: Coles.
- Henry, A.
1901 Travels and Adventures. Toronto: George Morang.
- Hickerson, H.
1967 Land Tenure of the Rainy Lake Chippewa, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 2, Washington, D.C.

1970 The Chippewa and Their Neighbours. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hodge, F. W.
1969 Handbook of the Indians of Canada. New York: Kraus.
- Innis, H.
1970 The Fur Trade in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- James, E. (ed.)
1956 Thirty Years Indian Captivity of John Tanner. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines.
- Jochim, M.
1976 Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement: A Predictive Model. New York: Academic Press. ✓
- Keesing, R. M.
1975 Kin Groups and Social Structure. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kinietz, V.
1940 The Indians of the Western Great Lakes. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. ✓

- Knight, C. B.
1965 Basic Concepts of Ecology. New York: Macmillan. ✓
- Lahontan, Baron de
1905 New Voyages to North America, 2 vol., R. G. Thwaites (ed.). New York: Burt Franklin.
- Landes, R.
1937 Ojibwa Sociology. New York: Columbia University Press. ✓
- Leacock, E.
1954 The Montagnais Hunting Territory and the Fur Trade. American Anthropological Association, Memoir 78, vol. 56, Pt. 2.

1971 Introduction, in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, E. Leacock and N. Lurie (eds.). New York: Random House.
- Legros, D.
1977 Chance, Necessity, and Mode of Production: A Marxist Critique of Cultural Evolutionism, in American Anthropologist, 79, no. 1, Washington, D.C.
- Levi-Strauss, C.
1962 Totemism. Boston: Beacon Press.
- McPherron, A.
1967 The Juntunen Site and the Late Woodland Pre-history of the Upper Great Lakes Area. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, no. 30.
- Mech, D.
1966 Wolves of Isle Royale. U. S. National Parks, Fauna Series 7.
- Michelson, T.
1911 Note on the Gentes of the Ottawa. American Anthropologist 13:338. Washington, D.C.
- Murdock, G. P.
1949 Social Structure. New York: Macmillan.

1967 Ethnographic Atlas. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

- Noble, W.
1974 The Tundra-Taiga Ecotone, in International Conference on the Prehistory and Paleoecology of Western North America and the Subarctic, S. Raymond and P. Schledermann (eds.). Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Pope, Alexander
1970 Selected Poetry, M. Price (ed.). Toronto: Signet.
- Quimby, G.
1960 Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1966 Indian Culture and European Trade Goods. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rappaport, R.
1968 Pigs for the Ancestors. New Haven: Yale University Press.

1969 Some Suggestions Concerning Concept and Methodology in Ecological Anthropology, in Ecological Essays, D. Damas (ed.). Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Bulletin 239.
- Rich, E. E.
1966 Montreal and the Fur Trade. Montreal: McGill University Press.
- Rogers, E. S.
1962 The Round Lake Ojibwa. University of Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum Occasional Paper No. 5.

1963 Hunting Group-Hunting Territory Complex Among the Mistassini Indians. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, Anthropology Series no. 63.
- Rogers, E. S. and J.G.E. Smith
1973 Cultural Ecology of the Canadian Shield Subarctic. IX International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Chicago.
- Sahlins, M.
1972 Stone Age Economics. Chicago: Aldine.

- Sanders, D. E.
1973 Native People in Areas of Internal National Expansion, in Saskatchewan Law Review 38, Saskatoon.
- Sanders, W. T. and J. J. Marino
1970 New World Prehistory. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Service, E.
1971 Primitive Social Organization. New York: Random House.
- Sharrock, S. R.
1974 Crees, Cree-Assiniboines and Assiniboines: Interethnic Social Organization on the Far Northern Plains, in Ethnohistory 21, no. 2. Tucson.
- Smith, J.G.E.
1973 Leadership Among the Southwestern Ojibwa. National Museums of Canada Publication in Ethnology, no. 7, Ottawa.
1974 Kindred, Clan, and Conflict. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology.
- Stevens, Frank
1971 Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Steward, J.
1955 Theory of Culture Change. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Tanner, A.
1976 Bringing Home the Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. McGill University, Department of Anthropology.
- Thwaites, R. G. (ed.)
1896- The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.
1901 74 vol. Cleveland: Burrows Bros.
- Tooker, E.
1967 An Ethnography of the Huron Indians. Midland: Huronia District Development Council.

- Townsend, J.
 1975 Mercantalism and Societal Change: An Ethno-historic Examination of Some Essential Variables, in Ethnohistory 22, no. 1, Tucson.
- Trigger, B.
 1969 The Huron: Farmers of the North. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
 1974 Settlement as an Aspect of Iroquoian Adaptation at the Time of Contact, in Cultural Ecology, Bruce Cox (ed.). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
 1976 The Children of Aataentsic, 2 vol. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Usher, P.
 1971 The Bankslanders: Economy and Ecology of a Frontier Trapping Community, vol. 3, The Community. Ottawa: D.I.N.A.
- Vance, J.
 1964 The Killing Machine. New York: Medallion.
- Vayda, A.P. and B.J. McCay
 1975 New Direction in Ecology and Ecological Anthropology, in Annual Review of Anthropology, B. J. Siegel (ed.). Palo Alto: Annual Reviews Inc.
- Warkentin, J. and R. Ruggles
 1970 Historical Atlas of Manitoba. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society.
- Warren, W. W.
 1885 History of the Ojibways, in History of the Ojibway Nation. Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 5.
- Wauchope, R.
 1962 Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wheeler, C. J.
 1976 The Historic Assiniboine: A Territorial Dispute in the Ethnohistoric Literature, in Actes du Huitieme Congres Des Algonquiniestes, W. Cowan (ed.). Ottawa: Carleton University.

- Wheeler-Voegelin, E.
1974 An Ethnohistorical Report on the Wyandot, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa of Royce Areas 87 & 88, in Indians of Northwest Ohio. New York: Garland.
- White, T.
1953 A Method of Calculating the Dietary Percentage of Various Food Animals, in American Antiquity, 4:397-8.
- Wright, J. V.
1968 The Michipicoten Site. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Bulletin 224.
1973 The Ontario Iroquois Tradition. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Bulletin 210.
1974 The Nodwell Site. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Archaeological Survey Paper no. 22.
- Wrong, G. M. (ed.)
1939 Sagard's Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons. Toronto: Champlain Society.