

# An Unusual 19th Century Portrait Pipe from Northern Ontario

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*An unusual portrait pipe from a 19th century site in the upper Great Lakes is described. The effigy pipe tradition is reviewed using examples from other North American sites. Evidence suggests that the pipe may be a French product that arrived by way of American trade networks. This inference is used to help interpret the origins of the 19th century component associated with the portrait pipe.*

## Introduction

Clay pipes often constitute a large part of the artifact sample on historic sites. Pipes can provide dating clues for their archaeological contexts and many of the marked pipes indicate the supply sources used by traders. One unusual clay pipe was excavated from the Whitefish Island site (CdIc-2) at Sault Ste. Marie, which lies on the international border between Ontario and Michigan. This pipe and associated 19th century artifacts are examined for insights into the origins of the component and the sources for the artifacts.

## Archaeological Setting

Whitefish Island is a low island in the St. Mary's River at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. It borders on Whitefish Rapids, which served as an Ojibwa fishery for 2,000 years. Excavations at the Whitefish Island site were undertaken by the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation for Parks Canada as part of a planning study (Conway 1977b).

During fieldwork on Whitefish Island, four excavation areas were opened through systematic testing of the site. The excavations sampled a variety of prehistoric and historic occupations. The test pits indicated a concentration of 19th century historic components on the eastern one-third of the island representing a small village of Ojibwa fishermen. Archaeological remains of Ojibwa cabins and middens reflect the use of Whitefish Island as an Indian Reserve from 1850 to 1907. Excavation of this Indian Reserve component yielded an artifact pattern which is distinctive for late 19th century native sites (Conway 1978). Aside from sub-surface testing, the extent of the 19th century Ojibwa component can be identified by low stone walls and rectangular

clearings in the boulder field. The latter were found to be native house sites. Two excavation areas, A and B, were opened to sample the 19th century settlement.

In 1978, excavation unit B was placed on the southern shoreline of Whitefish Island at a small cove protected by several islets (Fig. 1). The location was chosen due to the unusual concentration of clay pipes and 19th century ceramics that appeared in the test pits. It was also the only area on the island with historic period artifacts dating before 1850. Unit B extended beyond the original shoreline of Whitefish Island onto the dry riverbed. In the 1970's, water levels were a meter lower than natural due to power company diversions. The extension onto the riverbed followed a cleared boat or canoe slip. The unit B trench continued inland for twenty meters to the edge of a low stone wall. This wall represented the footing of an Ojibwa cabin. It was identical to the footing walls found throughout the main part of the late historic Ojibwa village sampled by the unit A excavation area.

The unit B excavations covered 48 square meters of which 12 square meters were situated offshore and 7 square meters sampled a shoreline midden. Excavation was done by trowel in 15 cm levels and all cultural items were mapped *in situ*. This part of the site was a boulder field covered with cultural material to a depth of 30 cm. Prehistoric artifacts occurred from the surface to the bottom of the site but the 19th century material was restricted to the upper 15 cm. There was admixture of earlier 19th century items with post-1850 artifacts in the upper 15 cm, probably due to the shallow deposits.

A total of 3,653 19th century artifacts was recovered from unit B (Table 1). The artifact assemblage includes numerous bowls, cups and saucers, but very few plates. A stove, coal, mica from the stove door, nails, window glass, and plaster document a dwelling. These architectural artifacts were found throughout the excavation trench. They undoubtedly came from the cabin indicated by a stone footing at the north end of unit B. Clothing artifacts are rather under-represented in contrast to the many pipes and ceramic vessels. Earliest artifacts from the

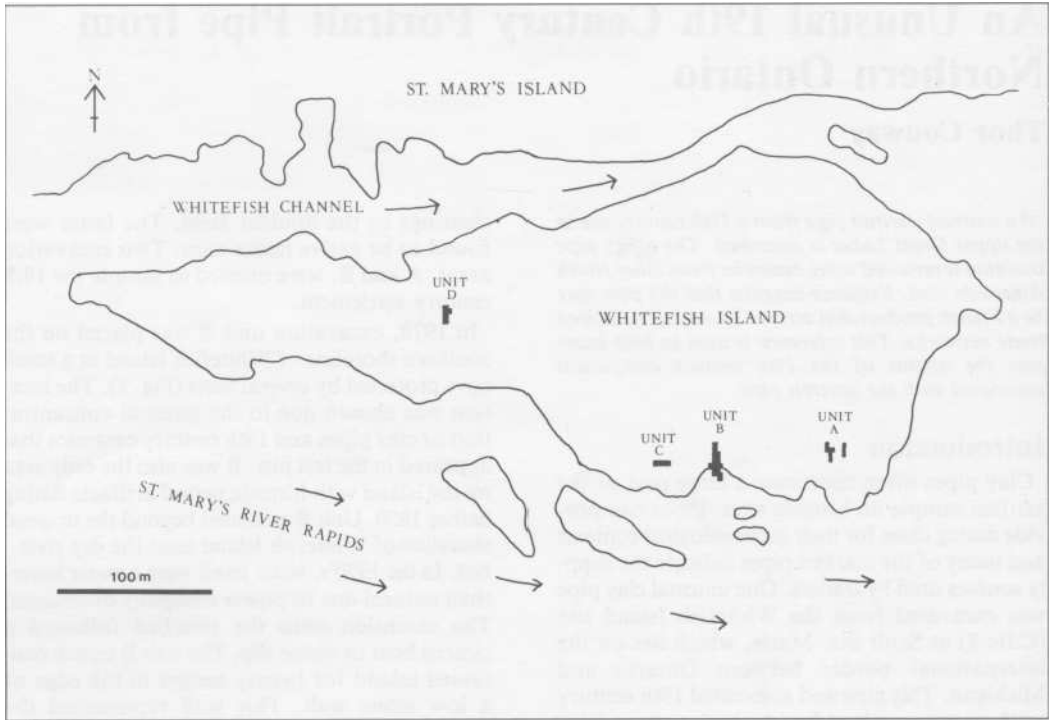


Fig. 1

Map of Whitefish Island with the location of the excavation units. These excavation units are shown slightly larger than scale for clarity.

TABLE 1

### Historic Artifacts from Whitefish Island Unit B

#### Kitchen Group (1011)

Ceramics 967 (88 vessels)  
(170 decorated & 797 white)  
Stoneware 17 (5 vessels)  
Round bottles 12  
Case bottles 8  
Wine glass 1  
Decanter top 1  
Cut glass dish 1  
Tableware 2 - Forks  
Stove 1  
Mica 1 - stove part  
Shells 4  
Gun flints 5

#### Personal Group (494)

Combs 2 - 1 bone & 1 plastic?  
Rings 3  
Key 1  
Marbles 13  
Coin 1 - 1815 Half penny token  
Clay pipes 100 bowls

#### Architectural Group (2066)

Window glass 1343  
Nails 715  
Coal 3  
Lamp 1 - piece of glass globe  
Brass tacks 2 - furniture  
Plaster 2

#### Clothing Group (58)

Pants hook 1  
Buttons 28  
Beads 19  
Thimble ornament 1

Jewelry 1  
Brass ornaments 2  
Buckle 1  
Leather shoes 5

#### Miscellaneous Group (11)

Disc I - Goodyear P-T 1851  
Misc. metal 3  
Birch bark 5  
Net weights 2

midden in unit B consist of a few creamware and pearlware ceramics, and an 1815 half penny token which displays a sailing ship and the words *SUCCESS TO NAVIGATION AND TRADE*. Following the 19th century ceramic chronology developed by Kenyon (1987), the midden appears to receive continuous use until circa 1870 with blue edged wares, spongewares, various colored transfer prints, banded and painted wares, white ironstone ceramics, and yellow wares well represented. The ceramic tableware items and their dates of popularity in Ontario are summarized in Table 2. Most of the ceramics, blue transfer printed wares and painted wares, fall in-to the period between 1820 and 1870. The only artifact with a direct date other than the 1815 token is a washer-like disc with *GOOD YEARS P-T 1851* embossed on one side.

The midden was unusually rich in pipes. There

were 100 separate pipe bowls and 374 stems. The bowls included a wide range of effigy pipes, floral pipes, fluted pipes, TD pipes, and a few topical bowls (Table 3). The component also can be dated by several of the marked pipe stems. Stems with raised dots inside enclosures are common. These boxed dot stems are also present at the 1826 to 1830 Kipps Post site (Woolworth and Wood 1960) and the 1826 to 1830 La Cloche 1 Hudson's Bay Company post (Conway, current research). Raised dot stems do not occur in con-texts later than circa 1847 (Omwake 1964). Several marked pipe stems provide age ranges consistent with the bulk of the ceramics. These include *Murray Glasgow (1833-1861?)*, *W & D Bell Quebec (1862?-1880?)*, *Bannerman Montreal (1858-1907?)*, and *Henderson Montreal (1847-1876) (Walker 1971)*.

TABLE 2

## Ceramic Tableware Types from Whitefish Island Unit B

| Type                       | N  | Dates                |
|----------------------------|----|----------------------|
| Pearlware                  | 2  |                      |
| Creamware                  | 1  | (1830 terminal date) |
| Spongeware                 | 5  | (1843-1875)          |
| Yellowware                 | 2  | (1842-1890 +)        |
| Banded & Painted ware      | 36 | (1830-1870)          |
| Blue Transfer print ware   | 20 | (1820-1860)          |
| Black Transfer print ware  | 1  | (1832-1845)          |
| Green Transfer print ware  | 2  |                      |
| Brown Transfer print ware  | 1  | (1829-1850 & 1880's) |
| Purple Transfer print ware | 2  |                      |
| Blue edge ware             | 3  |                      |
| Whiteware                  | 8  | (1847-1890 +)        |
| Porcelain                  | 2  |                      |
| Brown glazed ware          | 1  |                      |
| <b>Total 86 Vessels</b>    |    |                      |

TABLE 3

## Pipe Bowl Groups at 19th Century Sites

| Bowls         | Whitefish Island Area B |            | Whitefish Island Area A |            | Ermatinger House |            | Michipicoten HBC Post |            | La Cloche HBC Post I |            | La Cloche HBC Post H |            |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
|               | N                       | %          | N                       | %          | N                | %          | N                     | %          | N                    | %          | N                    | %          |
|               | Effigy                  | 11         | 11                      | 2          | 8                | 20         | 17                    | 1          | 3                    | 2          | 10                   | 1          |
| Fluted        | 34                      | 34         | 9                       | 36         | 31               | 26         | 12                    | 38         | 9                    | 45         | 14                   | 54         |
| Floral        | 10                      | 10         | 2                       | 8          | -                | -          | 2                     | 6          | 2                    | 10         | 1                    | 4          |
| TD            | 36                      | 36         | 8                       | 32         | 28               | 24         | 13                    | 41         | -                    | -          | 9                    | 34         |
| Topical       | 4                       | 4          | 2                       | 8          | 1                | 1          | 2                     | 6          | 4                    | 20         | -                    | -          |
| Plain         | -                       | -          | -                       | -          | 36               | 30         | -                     | -          | 1                    | 5          | 1                    | 4          |
| Other         | 5                       | 5          | 2                       | 8          | 2                | 2          | 2                     | 6          | 2                    | 10         | -                    | -          |
| <b>Totals</b> | <b>100</b>              | <b>100</b> | <b>2</b>                | <b>100</b> | <b>118</b>       | <b>100</b> | <b>32</b>             | <b>100</b> | <b>20</b>            | <b>100</b> | <b>26</b>            | <b>100</b> |

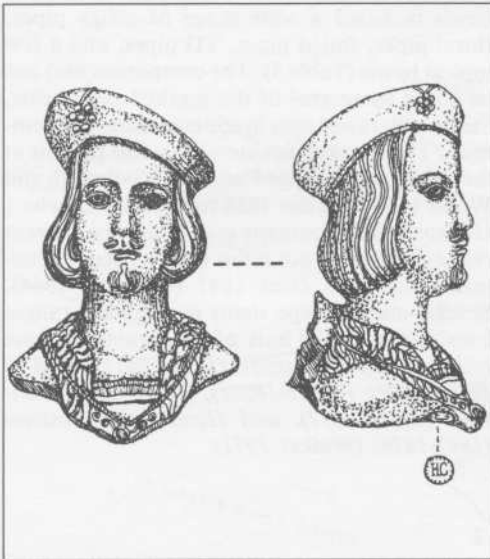


Fig. 2  
Front and side view of the portrait pipe found on the Whitefish Island site.

### The Portrait Pipe

The portrait style effigy pipe is a detailed bust of a gentleman wearing a beret and sporting a small moustache and goatee (Fig. 2). The eyes are quite detailed with the pupil area of each eye deeply recessed. His hair cut is reminiscent of a 'page boy' style. This pipe appears to be a portrait. Its overall resemblance to a bust is heightened by the unusual bowl base, which includes portions of the upper chest and shoulders covered by an elaborate robe or cape.

A round mark with the initials HC is stamped onto the base (Fig. 2). Other attributes include the careful removal of mould marks and general polishing of the face and base. Unlike American made effigy pipes, the specimen under discussion was produced in a mould that divided the bowl perpendicular to the long axis of the entire pipe. In other words, one part of the mould produced the front half of the head and bust, while the other mould piece produced the back of the head and upper torso.

American effigy pipes, often called Turk's heads, Caesar pipes etc., came from differently arranged moulds that divided the pipe in half, through the centre of the face (Fig. 3). Typically the mould line was not removed from the illustrated American effigy pipe.

Finally, the bust-like pipe from Whitefish Island is larger than other effigy pipes found in the same

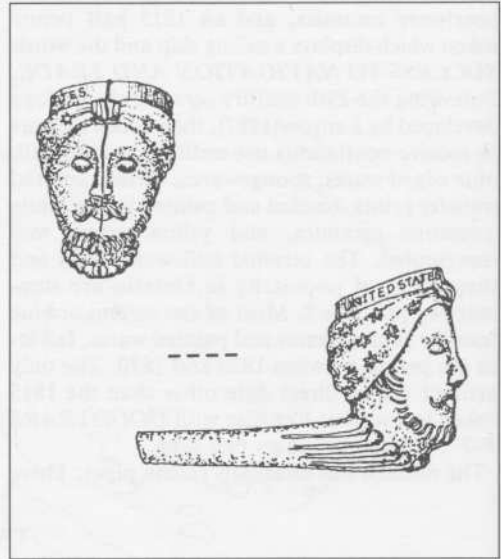


Fig. 3  
Front and side view of a common effigy pipe marketed in the United States found on Whitefish Island.

midden. It is 5.5 cm high, while the base measures 3.4 cm by 3.7 cm; compared to other effigy pipes measuring only 3.2 cm high. One separate section of the stem is preserved at the mouthpiece. It too is larger than contemporary Scottish, Canadian and American pipe mouthpieces. The outer diameter of the stem is 1.1 cm and the actual stem hole is a staggering 0.5 cm. The pipe appears to be a status item not previously documented at 19th century sites in Canada or the United States.

### Other 19th Century Pipes

Examination of the other pipes from the excavation provides background information pertinent to the unusual portrait bowl. The 13 star TD pipes and effigy pipes are not often found in northern Ontario, except in contexts that imply American contacts (Reid 1976). When pipe collections from Hudson's Bay Company posts are examined, effigy pipes are found to be infrequent occurrences (Table 3).

One of the most common effigy bowls is a bearded man's head wrapped in a turban with *UNITED STATES OF AMERICA* on the top of the turban (Fig. 3). This pipe is believed to have been produced in England for the United States market since evidence from American pipe firms shows only removable stem effigy pipes (Sudbury 1979). Stems marked with boxed dots also indicate that many of the pipes from Whitefish Island came

from American suppliers. Boxed dot stems occur on pipes with fluted bowls. Omwake (1964) studied the distribution of boxed dot pipes and concluded that they were English products supplied to the United States market.

The presence of a fur trade component of American origin at Whitefish Island is supported by the stems and bowls just mentioned. There also is a general representation of tobacco pipes normally found on Canadian sites in the upper Great Lakes. Marked pipes such as Henderson Montreal, W & D Bell Quebec, W. White Glasgow, and Murray Glasgow are present. These items are commonly found at Hudson's Bay Company posts. The nearby Sault Ste. Marie Hudson's Bay Company store is the likely source for the Montreal and Scottish pipes.

### Types of Effigy Bowls

There were at least three separate effigy pipe traditions in the 19th century. Almost all ball clay, effigy pipes from North American sites seem to be American products, or English goods produced for the American market, although their history remains to be fully documented.

The first broad group of effigy pipes includes individuals with turbans, men wearing laurels reminiscent of Caesar, men with moustaches and other portrayals. Turbans and Caesar-like effigy bowls are found in small quantities at sites like Whitefish Island at Sault Ste. Marie and other historic sites in northern Ontario (Table 3). The same items appear with more diversity and frequency at southern Ontario locations (Kenyon 1970, 1971). Their distribution and popularity appears to be even greater in the United States (Wilson 1961).

We know that such effigies have not been found with marked stems. By inference they would not likely be products of Canadian or Scottish pipe manufacturers who usually marked their pipe stems by the mid-19th century. They are believed to be English products.

A second major group of portrait pipes is included among the products of Ohio and Virginia pipe makers. These reed stem or stub stem pipes are glazed earthenware products, quite different from the ball clay pipes in the first group. Although reed stem pipes were manufactured before 1850, their popularity grew after the mid-19th century (Murphy 1976; Sudbury 1979). Like the ball clay effigy pipes, the reed stem effigy pipes bear no resemblance to the Whitefish Island portrait pipe. The French pipe industry during the middle of the 19th century represents a third effigy pipe tradition. We know that the larger pipe manufacturers

in northern France made and marketed some of the finest 19th century pipes. Gambier was famous for its well moulded bust pipes which were often plagiarized by other manufacturers (Walker 1977:293-297).

The portrait bowl from Whitefish Island may be contemporary with Gambier products. Gambier did use JG in a circle at the same location on the base of their bust bowls. The maker's mark, HC inside a circle, is not presently known as a Gambier mark, but it does not necessarily rule out the firm. Plagiarisms of pipe forms, and even maker's marks or names, are frequently found among French, Belgian and German clay pipe firms from the latter half of the 19th century.

The confusion over the national origins of Peter Dorni pipes provides a typical example of brand name imitations by European pipe makers (Omwake 1961). Dorni pipes with marked stems, which are believed to be French or Dutch products, were manufactured in the period circa 1850 to 1880 (Omwake 1961:14). Two Dorni stems were present in the Whitefish Island area B midden. These items indicate French and Dutch pipes coming to the site and they add support for the pro-posed French origin of the portrait bowl.

### Pipe Discussion

Pipe research for North America is in its infancy, and a distribution map of specific historic pipes is more often an indication of archaeological activity than a real pattern. However, we can note with certainty that effigy bowls are not common at Hudson's Bay Company posts in the upper Great Lakes (Gall 1967; Dawson 1969; Forma 1971; Conway 1977a).

The noted authority on clay pipes, the late Iain Walker, examined a drawing of the Whitefish Island portrait pipe in 1978 and kindly supplied the following observations:

"It is extremely unusual for such an ornate pipe as yours to occur on North American archaeological sites, and I think there is no doubt but that it is French (or possibly Belgian) in origin. The famous north French firms such as Gambier and Fiolet were producing superbly-moulded pipes of this style last century, and your example may well be an imitation of a Gambier product" (Iain Walker: personal communication).

The maker's mark on the Whitefish Island pipe cannot be traced to a specific firm at present, assuming that the company's name began with C. None of the French firms whose products appear sporadically on North American sites can be linked to this mark. These firms include Gambier,

Fiolet, Noel, Dumeril, Gisclon and probably many Dorni pipes. Archaeological contexts suggest that their general popularity occurs in the third quarter of the 19th century (Humphrey 1969). The Whitefish Island pipe may have had a marked stem but it was not recovered in excavation. All of the foregoing French firms commonly marked their products with the company name and decorative patterns.

There is additional information that suggests a possible date and manufacturer for the portrait pipe. In 1851, a Great Exhibition was held in London. Iain Walker's unreferenced quotes from the English judges of a pipe competition at the exhibition are quite germane to this study:

"Commenting on the Fiolet pipes, which were 'mostly in the form of heads', they felt that these were 'not remarkable for any of that excellent taste usually displayed by the French.', and they were apparently particularly put off by the fact that the eyes on bowls representing prominent personages were picked out 'with two dabs of black'" (Walker 1979).

The portrait pipe from Whitefish Island was examined under a microscope for black paint on the eyes but none could be found. If the reference to 'picked out' eyes refers to the deeply recessed pupils, the description is apt.

### Dating The Portrait Pipe

Two overviews of 19th century tobacco pipes document certain trends in pipe styles (Walker 1977; Conway 1980). Historical evidence indicates that the elaborate portrait bowl from Whitefish Island dates to the 1850's. If the portrait pipe came to the site with the American market TD star pipes, this date is acceptable. Thirteen star TD pipes generally enjoyed popularity from 1845 to the 1860's (Humphrey 1969). The more common effigy pipes also belong to this period.

Two Dorni and two A. Sparnaay pipes occurred in the Whitefish Island midden with the portrait pipe. Pipes marked *Peter Dorni* and *A. Sparnaay in Gouda* do not occur regularly in northern Ontario (Conway 1980). Dorni stems have been documented mainly at sites in the United States including an 1852 context at Old Sacramento (Humphrey 1969:15-17) and an 1853 to 1867 context at Fort Ridgely (Sackett 1943:78). Ten other American sites also have Dorni stems (Conway 1980). Sparnaay marked stems are very rare, appearing only at the Michipicoten post (Forma 1971) and the Longlac post (Dawson 1969).

Although many pipes from the Whitefish Island area B excavation predate the middle of the 19th century, none can be attributed to a time period

later than 1865 to 1870. This aspect of the site is important, since it defines the temporal range for the portrait pipe.

Effigy pipes are more often reported from sites dated after 1850. Effigy bowls are absent from an 1813 to 1834 British component (Grange 1982) and an 1829 to 1842 house (Grange 1980). Effigy bowls are present in dated contexts at the 1863 to 1891 Fort Union site (Wilson 1966). Only one effigy bowl was recovered from the large pipe sample at the 1825 to 1850 Hunter site in southern Ontario (Kenyon 1971), but numerous examples are present at the 1842 to circa 1883 Glen Airn sawmill (Kenyon 1970). The earliest effigy bowls occur at the 1826 to 1830 first La Cloche Hudson's Bay Company post located on northern Lake Huron (Conway, current research).

Although more precise dating of the portrait pipe is not possible without comparable specimens, a date within a decade of 1850 appears probable. The only pipe which bears any close resemblance lacks a provenience. It is an unusual portrait pipe depicting a bearded fellow with a beret similar to the Whitefish Island example (Sackett 1943:78).

### Historical Background

There are two documented 19th century components on Whitefish Island. These are the Euro-American, non-native American Fur Company employees (1820-1847), and the Saulteur Ojibwa settlement (1850-1907). Both groups left archaeological evidence of their occupations. Unfortunately, the archaeological record did not preserve these occupations as separate components in the excavation B area. In recent years, studies of disturbed middens have shown that horizontal stratigraphy often remains intact despite vertical movement (King and Miller 1987). Horizontal spatial analysis was done for the excavation to determine if the two historic components were separate. There was a tendency for recognizable pre-1850 items to cluster in the shoreline midden. However, the effigy pipe bowls and the recognizable post-1850 artifacts occurred throughout the entire excavation without horizontal separation. It was not possible to assign many artifact groups to a specific component because their range of popularity spanned both sides of the 1850 change in occupation. It is necessary to use circumstantial evidence from well-dated artifacts, supplemented with archival documentation, to interpret the archaeological remains.

Fortunately, considerable historical records are available for the Sault Ste. Marie area. We know that both the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company exploited the fish

resources from Whitefish Rapids. In fact, the Hudson's Bay Company factor complained in 1824 that traders from the American Fur Company were camped on Whitefish Island, trading goods to the Ojibwa for fish (MacDonald 1977:74-86).

It would appear that the American Fur Company was most active at the rapids during the period from the 1820's until the company's financial demise in 1842. By 1847, the booming commercial fishery, centered on the St. Mary's River and Lake Superior, finally collapsed due to over-speculation by wholesalers in the United States (Nute 1926). The time span of 1820 to 1847 accords well with some of the artifacts found in the unit B midden. The artifacts which predate the Indian Reserve period are believed to be items brought to the site by the American Fur Company.

In George Catlin's accurate 1836 watercolour painting of Sault Ste. Marie, native settlements are shown on the Michigan shoreline, but Whitefish Island is portrayed as uninhabited (Catlin 1973). Photographs from the 1830 to 1850 period also document the extensive Ojibwa occupation of the Michigan side of the river. These sources, combined with an absence of pre-1850 artifacts elsewhere on Whitefish Island, strongly suggest that there was minimal use of the site by the Ojibwa in the first half of the 19th century.

The unit B artifacts suggest that the European component continued without interruption until circa 1850. Archival sources do not mention Euro-American or Euro-Canadian groups operating on Whitefish Island after the demise of the American Fur Company. After the Robinson Huron treaty of 1850, Whitefish Island was a formal Indian Reserve with only Ojibwa residents.

There is additional evidence at the site which suggests that non-native individuals once favoured the area uncovered by excavation unit B. A canoe-skid, or small boat docking area, is present on the shoreline abutting this part of the site. Some of the wood lining remains preserved in the feature. The sawn boards help date the feature to the 19th century.

Whitefish Island's shoreline is a naturally boulder-strewn area. Some group cleared an inclined ramp-way in the small cove on this part of Whitefish Island. No other comparable boat skidways are known at this, or other historic Ojibwa sites. It is believed that this feature belongs with the non-native component. In fact, the existence of somewhat adequate docking facilities may have continued to attract traders to the location. The area likewise may have been considered a traditional camping spot for American and Canadian traders. Established sites did seem to gain a

momentum that reinforced their continued use in the Great Lakes. By 1850, only the Canadian side of the rapids was available for native fishing and riverside settlement due to construction of shipping locks on the American side. This development brought several families of Ojibwa back to Whitefish Island after a 200 year absence (MacDonald 1977; Royce 1896).

The best documentation of the second half of the 19th century Ojibwa settlement on Whitefish Island comes from an unsigned land surveyor's map on file in the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority office at Sault Ste. Marie (Fig. 4). The wing dam on the map helps place the map between 1890 and 1900. Several Ojibwa houses are shown. The buildings uncovered in excavation unit A lie below the letter V in 'Indian Village' on this map. No buildings are shown near the cove and shoreline area sampled by excavation unit B. This supports the chronological interpretation from the later unit B artifacts that the Ojibwa cabin in that area was abandoned circa 1870.

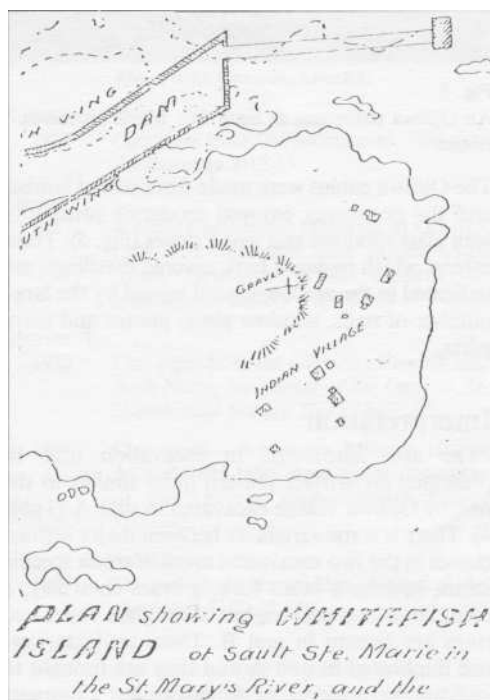


Fig. 4  
A late 19th century land surveyor's map showing the Ojibwa village and cemetery on the eastern end of Whitefish Island.

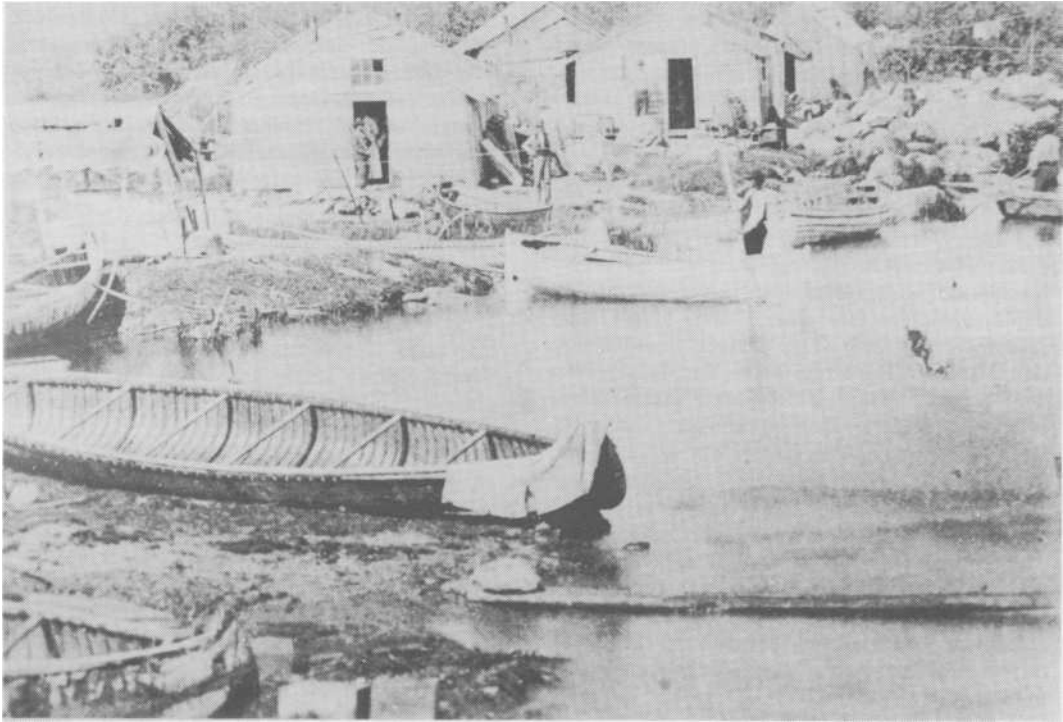


Fig. 5

An Ojibwa settlement at Sault Ste. Marie on the St. Mary's River circa 1860-1880. The location may be Whitefish Island.

The Ojibwa cabins were made from milled lumber and the occupants enjoyed moderate prosperity with glass windows and wood stoves (Fig. 5). These cabins, which replaced bark covered dwellings, are indicated in the archaeological record by the large number of nails, window glass, plaster and stove parts.

## Interpretation

The area uncovered in excavation unit B, presented an artifact pattern quite similar to the nearby Ojibwa village excavated in unit A (Table 4). There is some variability between major artifact classes in the two excavation areas. Certain specific items, such as a brass fork, a brass chest key, a coin, large lead net weights, a cut-glass vessel and rings are present in unit B. These artifacts were not duplicated in unit A and they are thought to indicate the presence of American Fur Company traders. The personal group of artifacts is much higher in unit B due to the quantity of tobacco pipes. This too suggests trade activity.

Whether the portrait pipe belongs with the American trader's component or the Ojibwa corn-

ponent remains unknown. The absence of Dutch and French continental European pipes from the single component Ojibwa settlement in unit A suggests the portrait pipe belongs with the American Fur Company component. Portrait pipes are very rare. None have been previously found in Ontario and only one is published from an American site in Minnesota (Sackett 1943).

TABLE 4

### Artifact Group Comparisons for Excavation Units A & B

| Artifact Groups | Area B      |             | Area A      |             |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                 | N           | %           | N           | %           |
| Kitchen         | 1011        | 28%         | 1112        | 26%         |
| Architectural   | 2066        | 57%         | 2580        | 59%         |
| Weapons         | 13          | *           | 12          | *           |
| Clothing        | 58          | 1%          | 402         | 9%          |
| Personal        | 494         | 14%         | 165         | 4%          |
| Miscellaneous   | 11          | *           | 70          | 2%          |
| <b>Totals</b>   | <b>3653</b> | <b>100%</b> | <b>4341</b> | <b>100%</b> |
| * less than 1%  |             |             |             |             |



Presumably, the portrait pipe once belonged to a person able to afford an uncommon imported pipe, and that person might have had direct contact with European suppliers. The evidence, however incomplete, points to a leading trader in the American Fur Company

## Conclusion

The research conducted on the Whitefish Island portrait pipe suggests that it may have been a French product that arrived on the site with French, Dutch and American market pipes sometime around 1850. The portrait pipe is one aspect of an effigy pipe tradition that spread across American markets in the middle of the 19th century.

This study indicates the potential that clay pipe research offers chronological studies and the identification of supply networks. The change in the ethnic and national origins of the 19th century components on Whitefish Island around 1850 is difficult to interpret archaeologically due to some mixing of the components and the lack of directly comparable sites with narrower time ranges. This study provides some directions for future research in late historic native archaeology and pipe research for the upper Great Lakes area. It also documents the brief presence of the American Fur Company in Ontario.

## Acknowledgements

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