

The Forgotten Beginning of Canadian Palaeo-Indian Studies, 1933 - 1935

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Recent archival research has revealed a forgotten early beginning of Canadian Palaeo-Indian studies. Between 1933 and 1935 Canadian material sent to Jesse Figgins of the Colorado Museum of Natural History, provided crucial data about the range of Folsom culture and the typological distinction and chronological priority of Folsom fluted over "Yuma" projectile points. The Canadian geology student who alerted Figgins to this material, William J. Patterson, was chastised by local academic authorities for investigating "Folsom" finds in the London, Ontario area, and his discoveries were ignored in Canada for some fifty years. These events, here examined through the eyes of Figgins and Patterson, suggest that Canada was not prepared to accept evidence of Late Pleistocene man within its borders.

Ontario fluted points illustrated by Figgins in his 1934 paper, and credited to Patterson, have been re-examined from surviving specimens and photographs. This story shows how powerful are the bonds of social constraint and reactionary attitudes on scientific endeavour.

Introduction

On September 3rd, 1933, an astonishing letter was sent to Jesse Figgins, Director of the Colorado Museum of Natural History (Figure 1) from a Canadian geology student at the University of Western Ontario. William J. Patterson, writing from his home in London, Ontario, described a series of surface finds in the collections of A.H. Jury & Son of Komoka, Ontario. Enclosing outline drawings of five distinctive concave-based fluted points found near London, Patterson asked how these finds might be explained in view of their great distance from the newly discovered sites of fluted points and extinct bison in the American Southwest, and their recovery from surface contexts.

Jesse Figgins' three page typewritten reply of September 14th, 1933 is a classic encapsulation of his thinking on the Folsom problem and meticulously answered each question put by Patterson. As he noted:

That fine examples of the Folsom type of artifacts are contained in the collection to which you refer is highly interesting but not altogether surprising, for the reason that they have now been located from nearly every

state east of the continental Divide and that being the case there is no reason why that culture could not easily find its way into Canada. Those you illustrate are undoubtedly "Folsom" but perhaps not to the ultimate fineness of workmanship that marked those from the type locality and elsewhere in this region.

Patterson was quickly persuaded of the importance of his Ontario finds. No longer questioning the age of Figgins' own discoveries, he wrote on September 28th, 1933 to say that he was now continuing the search for both Folsom and Yuma artifact types and would have "some interesting data" for Figgins in the near future. This was to prove something of an understatement.

The Colorado Museum and Canadian Archaeology

A measure of Figgins' increasing interest in the London material is that on September 20th, 1933, within a week of first writing to Patterson and before Patterson's own reply, he sent a letter to his friend Harlan I. Smith, archaeologist with the National Museum of Canada:

Lately I had a letter from Mr. William J. Patterson of London, Ontario, in which an outline was included of five Folsom artifacts taken in that vicinity. You will doubtless be interested in this for the reason that they represent the northernmost record of which I have information. I gather from Mr. Patterson's letter that the parties making the collection have saved only complete artifacts as they found them, rather than all fragments. The Folsom type of artifact is rarely other than badly damaged as we find them here. In fact, we do not have a single example that is complete out of some hundred or more that I have examined.

It was undoubtedly a great surprise to Figgins to recognize in Smith's subsequent correspondence a complete lack of interest in the subject. The entire text of Smith's reply of September 25th, 1933 follows:

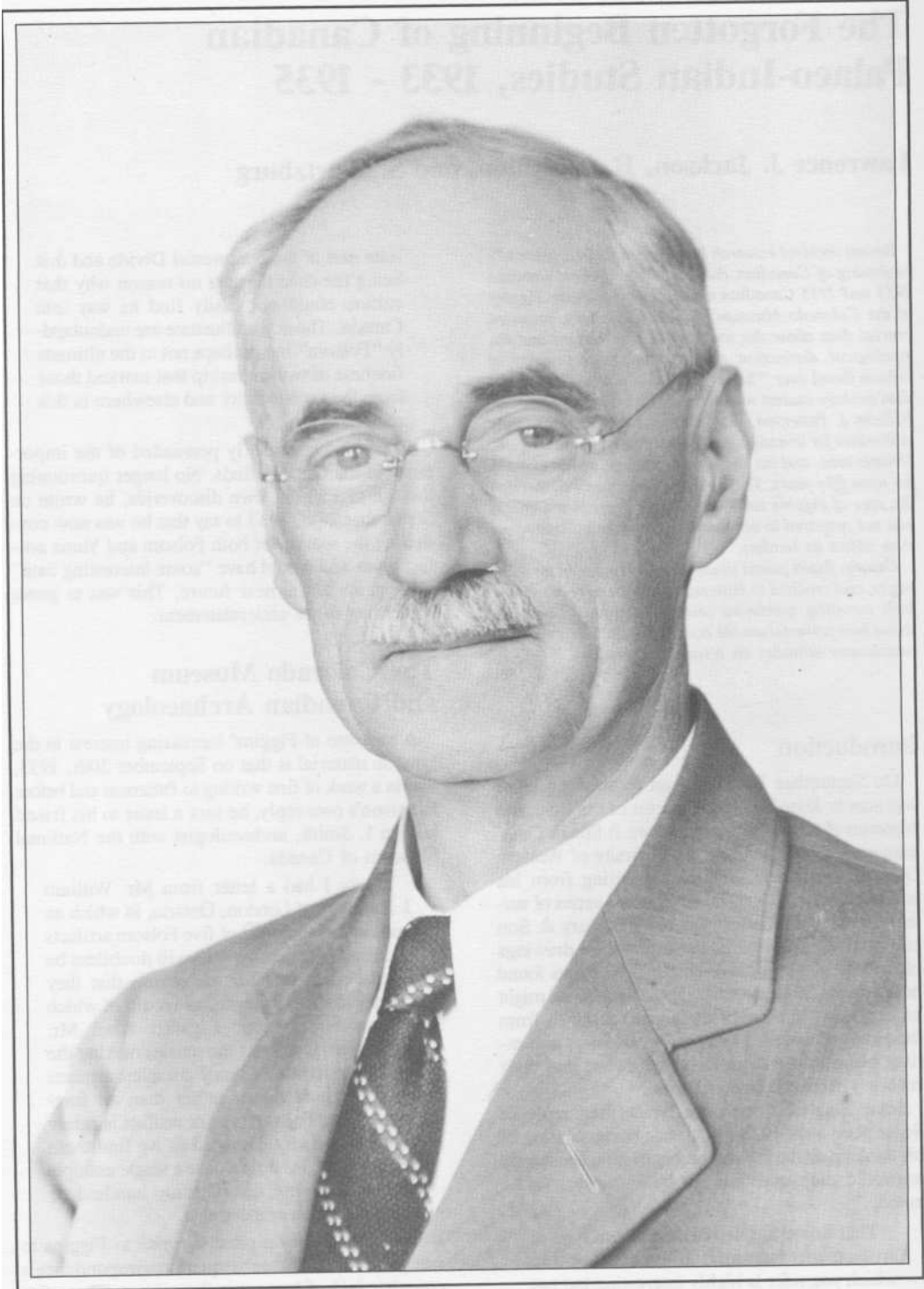


Figure 1
Formal portrait of Jesse Figgins, circa 1934. Courtesy DMNH.

Thank you for your letter of September 20th. I have had it copied for the Archaeological files of the National Museum of Canada, to be filed under (1) Folsom (sic) (2) London, (3) Antiquity and (4) Colorado.

I expect to retire in about 3 years or less and if you know of a Park, Zoo, Museum, or Botanical Garden, I could then label, etc. I might be interested in a western or quiet country place and might not expect profit, only a chance to do work I like.

Figgins did not mention Patterson's finds again although he did send Smith papers on Folsom which were acknowledged and dutifully filed.

Jesse Figgins' contact with William Patterson, on the other hand, was increasingly productive. On October 3rd, 1933, Figgins wrote to him again:

I am delighted to learn that you are finding more of the Yuma and Folsom types of artifacts, and if I may be of assistance in comparing them with our series, I shall be very glad to render this aid.

...A great many of the archaeologists of the states are now specializing in these with a view to working out the range of the culture and it occurs to me that you should publish the results of your searches there.

Although this was an enormous undertaking for a geology student, Patterson devoted considerable time in the following months to local investigations. On January 9th, 1934, Figgins wrote requesting the privilege of examining the Ontario artifacts and on January 15th, Patterson shipped the first collection of Ontario points to the Colorado Museum. Gathered on his own initiative, most were examples of the Yuma type, selected according to E.B. Renaud's typology, but Figgins verified one definite and one probable Folsom point, the first Palaeo-Indian artifacts to be identified from Canada.

On February 6th, 1934, Patterson was able to write detailing the occurrence of both fluted points and mastodon remains in southwestern Ontario, enclosing a map showing sites, fossils, and collection locations (Figure 2). He also mentioned his contact with archaeologists T.F. McIlwraith of the Royal Ontario Museum and W.J. Wmtemberg of the National Museum. Although both men wrote expressing some interest, their responses were non-committal. The real significance of this letter of February 6th was in its mention of growing difficulties which Patterson was experiencing with his Canadian university authorities:

Now I am going to try to give you an insight to the peculiar position I am in with this Folsom business. The Jurys will not send, nor permit me to send, the fluted arrowheads

to you for examination. We have had many quarrels over the subject and I have been very much disappointed in them regarding their attitude on this affair. Dr. W.S. Fox, President of the University of Western Ontario, persistently denies that these peculiar arrowheads may have any archaeological importance. One day he called me into his office to tell me that he had 'discussed the matter with authorities from Toronto and Ottawa who agreed with him that these points were merely accidents in chipping'. He has done much to discourage the Jurys or myself from pursuing the subject further.

As a consequence of either the disinterest or the unwillingness of Canadian academics to become involved, Patterson was forced therefore, to work independently with only Figgins' guidance. He succeeded in recording the existence of some 25 fluted points in the London area, as well as about 250 examples of Yuma points. This was a remarkable achievement considering that no one in Canada had recognized the presence of such early material or even acknowledged the validity of finds in the Southwest.

In his reply of February 13th, 1934, Jesse Figgins offered these observations pursuant to further examination of some of the Ontario points:

Quite independent of the geographical importance of the six artifacts, it is my belief that #2,3,4,5, and 6 are of greater value in showing: either primitive stages of Folsom and Yuma culture, or crudities because of the material at hand and employed. In either case these six artifacts are of the highest importance.

The Jury collection of five fluted points, referred to by Patterson in his first letter to the Colorado Museum in 1933, had not yet been seen by Figgins and was to become the focus of considerable difficulty.

From his own experiences with reluctant American scientists, Figgins offered some advice to Patterson in a letter of February 14th, 1934:

One of the items you will, or have, encountered is the antagonism to any proposal that interferes with Biblical time elements. It sometimes happens that persons in, or having prospects of, official positions fear to risk expressions and attitudes that might endanger them in the eyes of their superiors or other influential persons....

Your description of Dr. Fox's attitude perfectly fits that of certain men here. Hrdlicka is rabid. I believe that religious

considerations enter to a larger degree in Canada than here and occupying the position he does, Dr. Fox may feel it is his duty to discourage important (sic) being attached to the artifacts.

... it appears to be up to you and if there are circumstances which make it inadvisable for you to record your discoveries, I will be glad to do so myself, making your name too prominent to admit of a doubt as to your part ...

With this encouragement, Patterson succeeded in persuading the younger Mr. Jury of the importance of the Jury collection fluted points. On February 25th, 1934, Patterson wrote to Figgins that Wilfrid Jury had turned over his five Folsom points. Patterson also enclosed a personal letter from Wilfrid Jury in which Jury explained his delicate position with both the president of the university and his father, Amos Jury.

On March 3rd, 1934, Figgins wrote to Patterson acknowledging receipt of the Jury collection artifacts including five definite Folsom points.

Your letter of February 5th, enclosing that of Mr. Jury came two days ago, and yesterday the artifacts arrived in good condition. There is no question whatever that five of these points are of the Folsom type. In four there is displayed a crudity of workmanship which may be easily traceable to the character of the material employed, but you established beyond all question that the Folsom culture is present there. When I have studied these fully, I will write you again, but in the meantime, I offer you my hearty congratulations upon your discoveries. I am enclosing herewith a note for Mr. Jury.

Figgins' note to Wilfrid Jury was a convincing demonstration of his appreciation of human nature and differing viewpoints. He urged Wilfrid Jury not to engage in conflict with his father but rather try to persuade him that the importance of the material outweighed personal considerations.

On March 9th, 1934, Figgins again wrote to Patterson offering these observations on the Jury collection specimens and their implications:

A further examination of the artifacts strengthens the belief that they represent a stage of development that probably culminated in the best examples from the type locality - Folsom, New Mexico. That five of them are Folsom there is no question whatever. ...

I am now convinced that Folsom people reached the states by way of Saskatchewan, the Mackenzie Basin, and the Arctic Coast of Alaska; that searches in those regions will

reveal cruder types in relation to northward latitude.

I hope that conditions will ultimately make it possible for me to see all of the types from the vicinity of London, for the reason that they appear to definitely illustrate progressive stages of development.

They represent the most northern record that is known at the present time. It is a privilege to have examined these artifacts and I assure you of my appreciation.

By March 15th of 1934, Patterson was able to write encouraging news to Figgins which also revealed some of the attitudes that prevailed in Canadian academic environments at that time:

Professor Russel, head of our department, formerly a Keith-Hrdlicka man, has been won to our side and promises his full cooperation. I am to lecture to his 'Historic Geology' class on 'The Antiquity of Man in America'. ...Professor Reavely is keen to assist me in determining the age of clays, gravels, etc. I have been promised the assistance of the Dept. of Zoology and the Dept. of Chemistry.

Patterson was attempting to organize a team of investigators from several disciplines to excavate mastodon sites in the London area and determine whether Folsom points might be found in association. Figgins wrote on March 20th, 1934 with the following advice:

I am greatly pleased with the contents of your letter of March 15th, and I offer my best congratulations for the prompt and thorough manner in which you have started investigations for determining the age of the deposits there. I predict that when the mastodon sites are excavated that artifacts will be found in association with skeletal remains. The utmost care should be exercised in searches....

The number of Folsom points that have been found there indicates the location is of the utmost importance and the manner in which you are handling the problem is bound to attract the attention and the approval of the archaeological world. Of course I am glad to learn that Professor Russel is lending his support and that the Hrdlicka virus has not left a permanent scar. What a pity that Hrdlicka persists in his attitude, when his associates and co-workers have, almost to the last man, deserted his cause.

Figgins' enthusiasm was premature for it was at this point that Patterson began to have serious problems, having attracted the critical attention of his university administration. That no mastodon site

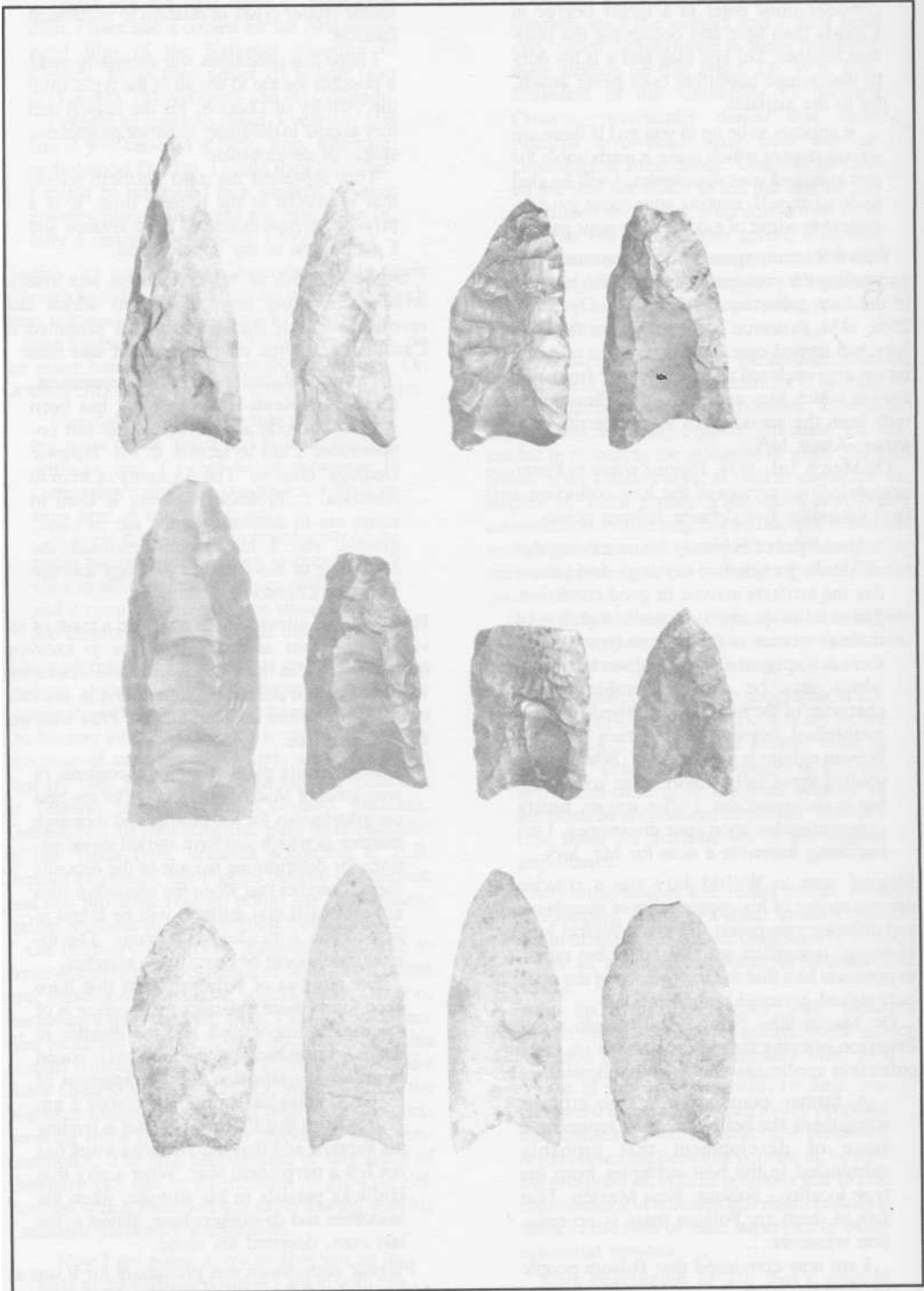


Figure 3
Plate I reproduced from Figgins (1934). Courtesy DMNH.

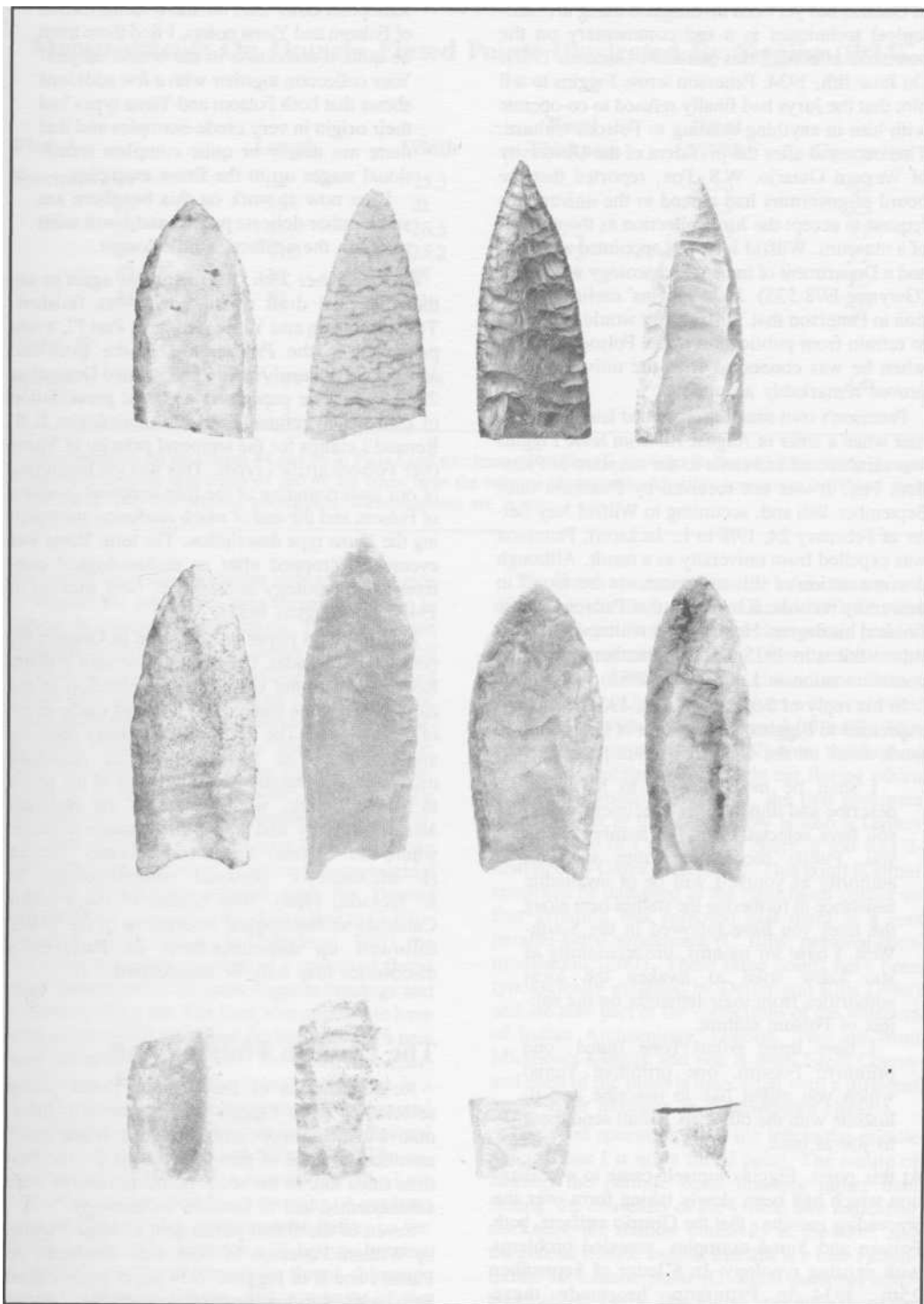


Figure 4
Plate II reproduced from Figgins (1934). Courtesy DMNH.

in Ontario has yet been investigated using archaeological techniques is a sad commentary on the pervasive effects of this attention (Jackson 1987). On June 11th, 1934, Patterson wrote Figgins to tell him that the Jurys had finally refused to co-operate with him in anything relating to Folsom Culture. This occurred after the president of the University of Western Ontario, W.S. Fox, reported that the board of governors had agreed to the university's request to accept the Jury collection as the nucleus of a museum. Wilfrid Jury was appointed a curator and a Department of Indian Archaeology was begun (Gwynne 1978:535). Jesse Figgins' earlier prediction to Patterson that Wilfrid Jury would be forced to refrain from publication of the Folsom artifacts when he was connected with the university had proved remarkably accurate.

Patterson's own situation worsened later that summer when a letter of August 7th from Jesse Figgins was misdirected and came to the attention of President Fox. It was not received by Patterson until September 16th and, according to Wilfrid Jury (letter of February 24, 1978 to L. Jackson), Patterson was expelled from university as a result. Although documentation of this event can not be found in university records, it is known that Patterson never finished his degree. He may have returned as a part-time student in 1935-36 (D. Chambers: personal communication to L. Jackson, 1986).

In his reply of September 16th, 1934, Patterson expressed to Figgins his intention of continuing to work alone on the Ontario Folsom problem:

I shall be most pleased to have you describe and illustrate the specimens which you have selected from the number I sent you. Public recognition from such an authority as yourself will be of invaluable assistance in furthering the studies here along the lines you have followed in the South-West. I have for months, unsuccessfully as you know tried to awaken the local authorities from their lethargia on the subject of Folsom culture.

I have three points (one fluted, one primitive Folsom, one primitive Yuma) which you might like to describe and illustrate with the other 26. I shall send these to you at once.

At this point, Figgins himself came to a realization which had been slowly taking form over the preceding months - that the Ontario artifacts, both Folsom and Yuma examples, revealed problems with existing typology. In a letter of September 25th, 1934 to Patterson, he made these observations:

When I began studying the subject from a

standpoint other than the mere identification of Folsom and Yuma points, I find there must be quite a revolution in the whole subject. Your collection together with a few additions shows that both Folsom and Yuma types had their origin in very crude examples and that there are nearly or quite complete transitional stages up to the finest examples.

I am now at work on this but there are some rather delicate points, and I will want to retain the artifacts a little longer.

On December 26th, Figgins wrote again to say that the final draft of his paper was finished. Titled "Folsom and Yuma Artifacts, Part I", it was published in the *Proceedings of the Colorado Museum of Natural History* and printed December 29th, 1934. The paper was a classic presentation of data which refuted French archaeologist E.B. Renaud's claims for the temporal priority of Yuma over Folsom artifact types. This was the beginning of our understanding of the true temporal position of Folsom and the end of much confusion surrounding the Yuma type description. The term Yuma was eventually dropped after an archaeological conference on typology in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1941 (Wormington 1957).

Figgins' 1934 paper was ignored in Ontario for nearly three decades. Only when American William Roosa came to the University of Waterloo in the early 1960's were some of his students made aware of its existence. The extent of Patterson's research and contact with Figgins, however remained unknown. Figgins did provide copies of his paper to Harlan Smith, who filed it in the National Museum Library, and to the Royal Ontario Museum where an original copy was recently located (J. McAndrews: personal communication to L. Jackson, 1986). Why neither of these major Canadian archaeological institutions of the 1930's followed up announcement of Patterson's discoveries may only be conjectured.

The Ontario Fluted Points

Re-examination of the Ontario fluted points selected by Jesse Figgins for illustration is informative in the light of current typology. It also draws attention to some of these specimens for the first time since four of the seven points illustrated were subsequently lost to Ontario archaeology.

Seven of the fluted points sent to Jesse Figgins by William Patterson in 1934 were illustrated on Plates I and II of Figgins' 1934 paper (reproduced here with the kind permission of the Denver Museum of Natural History) (Figures 3 and 4). Of these seven (representing more than one-third of

TABLE 1
Measurements On Ontario Fluted Points Illustrated By Figgins (1934).

Plate I	Length	Width	Basal Thickness	Basal Width	Concavity
Specimen #1	65	25.5		25.5	4.5
#2	56	21		21.5	3.5
#4	51	26.3	7.2	26.3	5.1
#6	51.5	25.2	7.2	25.2	5.2
#7	36	25	—	21	3.0
#8	39	21		20.5	4.0
Plate II					
Specimen #5	64.7	25.6	6.3	22.7	4.4

* Measurements on specimens #4 and #6 in Plate I and specimen #5 in Plate II are from Deller and Ellis (1986). Length measurements on specimens #4 and #6 are taken from the original photograph. All other specimens in Table 1 were measured from the original photograph. Measurements are in mm.

the North American examples selected by Figgins to support his arguments only three are known to survive in institutional collections. These have been analyzed by Deller and Ellis (1986) and typological assignments made. The remaining four points are known only from the illustrations in Figgins' paper. Measurements for the three surviving points confirm that Figgins' illustrations are at natural size. Assuming that this is the case for the four 'lost' points it is possible to provide a list of basic measurements for all seven specimens (Table 1).

In Plate I, the first and second points from the left in the top row were examined from original paste-up photographs curated with the Denver Museum of Natural History. According to C. Ellis (personal communication to L. Jackson, 1987), the first point is a good example of a reworked fluted point. Elongation of the point suggests breakage and reworking of the tip. The base also appears to have been snapped and reworked for hafting with a new basal concavity chipped on. The wide base, parallel sides, and lack of a fishtail suggest it is a Gainey point. This is the earliest type recognized in the Ontario sequence and may be a good regional Clovis analogue (Deller and Ellis 1986). The second point in Plate I is not a fluted point but a Late Palaeo-Indian type with basal thinning. A preform stage scar gives it the appearance of fluting on the illustrated face. It is classed as a Hi-Lo type because of the shallow basal concavity, basal thinning, quality of surface flaking, and convexity of the visible face indicating thickness (C. Ellis: personal communication, 1987).

The fourth specimen from the left in the top row of Plate I was illustrated by Garrad (1971:#15) and is a Gainey point of Onondaga chert with a reworked tip. The second specimen from the left in the middle row of Plate I is also classed as a Gainey point. Made of Upper Mercer chert with a reworked tip, it was also illustrated by Garrad (1971:#13). Ellis (personal communication, 1987) notes that both of the above specimens have slight ear flaring which is not that typical. In Plate II, the first specimen from the left in the middle row is also a Gainey point. Made of Collingwood chert, it too was illustrated by Garrad (1971:#27). This point is either reworked or damaged at the right basal corner so that grinding was removed and there is a less parallel-sided appearance (C. Ellis: personal communication, 1987). These three points have been typologically assigned by Deller and Ellis (1986) and are now part of the collections of the Museum of Indian Archaeology, London. Two are from Middlesex County and one is from Elgin County and each of the three is associated with a different major river drainage in southwestern Ontario.

The third specimen from the left in the middle row of Plate I is not a fluted point. The nature of flaking, the definite basal thinning rather than fluting, the convexity of the visible face indicating thickness, the shallow concavity at the base, and the general outline suggest that this is a Late Palaeo-Indian Holcombe point (C. Ellis: personal communication, 1987). The fourth specimen from the left in the middle row of Plate I, however, is classed as a Gainey point. The wideness of the base,

parallel sidedness, concave and regular basal arc, lack of a fishtail, and the nature of resharpening make this specimen distinctive from a reworked Barnes type fluted point (C. Ellis: personal communication, 1987).

Current typology of the Ontario fluted points illustrated in Figgins' 1934 article assigns five of the seven examples to the Gainey type, believed to be the earliest type in the Ontario Palaeo-Indian series. This observation fits perfectly with Figgins' own conclusion that the Ontario points he saw were generally cruder and earlier than those found at the Folsom type site. It seems to have been a matter of chance that the Ontario examples sent to him were earlier and not later type examples such as Barnes. The two remaining specimens are misidentified fluted points but both are definitely Palaeo-Indian. Confusion of basal thinning or preform stage scars with true flutes is a common problem even today.

Of the five true fluted points illustrated, four

show evidence of reworking and it is an impressive achievement for Figgins to have placed this material as closely as he did. The typological confusion at the time regarding Folsom and Yuma, lack of knowledge of Clovis antecedents, and the lack of stratigraphic context for any of the Ontario specimens all combine to make Figgins' judgement enviable in retrospect. The three points now held by the M.I.A. have secure provenances from surface collections. They document a broad southwestern Ontario distribution over three townships in two counties, aligned with three major river drainages. Also, each is fashioned of raw material from a different source. Two quarry sources from widely separated points in southern Ontario and one source in Ohio are represented. That this material was not sought out by Canadian archaeologists of the 1930's after the appearance of Figgins' paper clearly meant loss of a unique opportunity for the advancement of our knowledge of the first human inhabitants of Ontario.

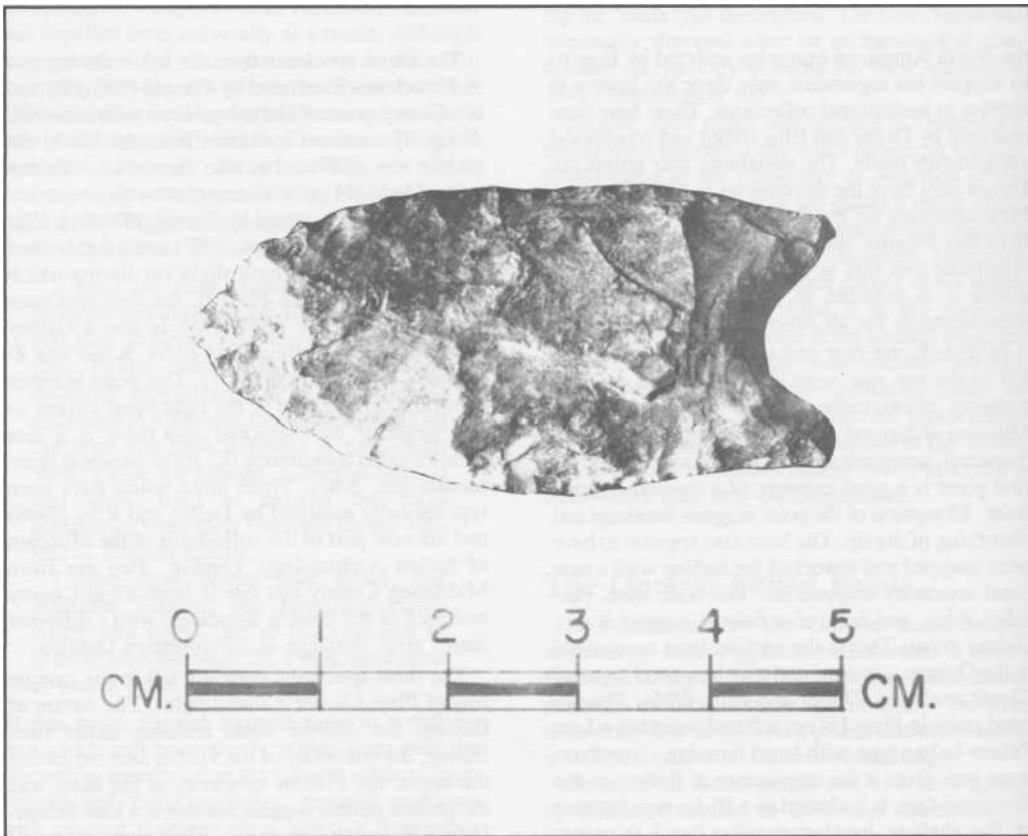


Figure 5
Late Palaeo-Indian projectile point identified by W.J. Patterson to W.J. Wintemberg as an "unfluted Folsom". From collections of Canadian Museum of Civilization. Courtesy J.V. Wright.

Concluding Events of 1935

The last letters known to have been written between Figgins and Patterson were in January and February of 1935. They reveal not only the culmination of Figgins' thinking on separating Folsom and Yuma but also the fruition of a friendship developed over the preceding two years. On January 7th, 1935, Patterson wrote to Figgins offering his support on both separation of Folsom and Yuma and the significance of the Ontario material.

Again I would like to state how pleased I am that you are taking the stand that Folsom and Yuma are separate cultures. I believe it to be the most significant step since your original one in 1924. I assure you that on the publication of your report, the co-operation of the local authorities can no longer be withheld and a wealth of material will be available to further substantiate your claims.

I most sincerely hope you get out your report without further delay. Robert's find has been given such publicity that I am afraid someone else may come out with the 'First Report of Folsom Culture in Canada' with a subsequent loss of credit to you as well as myself.

In replying January 18th, Figgins emphasized again that the southwestern Ontario artifacts were central to his hypotheses on Folsom migration and on the Folsom/Yuma question. As he wrote Patterson: "Your artifacts are, in my opinion, the key to the entire situation". On February 2nd, 1935 Patterson acknowledged receipt of Figgins' 1934 paper and congratulated him on the "masterly way" he had struck at the heart of the Folsom/Yuma controversy. Almost with a sigh of relief, Patterson confided that he had found selection of specimens using E.B. Renaud's typology a very confusing process.

Two final letters, both from Figgins to Patterson, were essentially ruminative. Dated February 9th and 15th, 1935, they emphasize Patterson's role as a confidante and colleague — something which Figgins sorely missed after his break with Renaud over Yuma. Regrettably, the archival record ends at this point and we do not know if Figgins and Patterson were ever again in contact. Patterson's death in early 1978, before the senior author could locate him, forever closed the door on events not left in writing. He was the last survivor of the Canadian archaeologists of that era. Jesse Figgins died in 1944 in Lexington, Kentucky at the age of 77.

Canadian Archaeology in Social Historical Perspective

When a one page description of eleven Ontario fluted points was published by Kenneth Kidd in *American Antiquity* in 1951, it was widely believed to be the first publication of Canadian Palaeo-Indian material. Patterson's earlier fears had been well-founded. Despite being sent to Canadian archaeological institutions, Figgins' 1934 paper was ignored and Patterson's discoveries forgotten. Two decades which could have been devoted to critical research in this new field were lost, as was most of the Palaeo-Indian material gathered by Patterson.

In 1978, the senior author learned that the Jury collection, which had led Patterson to the recognition of Folsom in Canada, included a fluted point reportedly found in the 1920's embedded in muck-silt beside a mastodon tusk and ribs in the Thames River valley of southwestern Ontario (E. Jury: personal communication to L. Jackson, 1978). A second fluted point from this site, although not found with the mastodon, was known to Patterson and was illustrated in Figgins' 1934 paper (Plate I, Fig. 6). Unfortunately, Patterson was never told of the existence of the first specimen and a remarkable opportunity to investigate possible association of man and mastodon in the Northeast was lost. An attempt was made in the 1960's by Charles Garrad to locate the site of the mastodon/fluted point find but he discovered that the details of its provenance had been incorrectly recorded.

Throughout the 1960's and 1970's, Patterson's predictions concerning the wealth of Palaeo-Indian material in southwestern Ontario were fully confirmed by other researchers (Deller 1976, 1979; Deller and Ellis 1986; Jackson 1983; Roosa 1977). Individual specimens originally recognized by Patterson even resurfaced in publications. Garrad (1971) illustrated three of the Jury collection fluted points first published by Figgins. Wright (1978) also illustrated a point that Patterson had identified to W.J. Wintemberg of the National Museum of Canada as an "unfluted Folsom". This specimen was shown by Wintemberg (1931: Plate III, Fig. 5) in a report on Algonkian and Iroquoian artifacts. Reproduced in Figure 5, it is a good example of a Holcombe/Hi-Lo style point of Late Palaeo-Indian age (J.V. Wright: personal communication to L. Jackson, 1986).

Knowing the accuracy of Patterson's judgement on the nature and presence of Folsom culture in Ontario and Canada, it is necessary to ask why the Canadian scientific establishment in the 1930's reacted with disinterest and denial. Patterson's

The MANITOULIN EXPOSITOR



"AUTHORIZED AS SECOND CLASS MAIL POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, OTTAWA"

VOLUME 66 No. 17

LITTLE CURRENT, ONTARIO

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1947

New Publisher



W. J. PATTERSON

On Monday, September 15, became editor and publisher of The Manitoulin Expositor. Mr. Patterson resigned as Financial and Farm Editor of The London Free Press to assume his present position.

Buyers Need Rooms

The influx of cattle buyers on September 22 and 23 will again tax the housing capacity in town, but as this is important to accommodate them for the few days, house-holders are again requested to co-operate. Anyone having room for these dates can phone Borge Jarnel at The Expositor Office, who again acts for the Lions Club.

The yards are now being prepared for the more than 2,000 cattle being sold by the Manitoulin Co-operative Livestock Association and they will be ready for the 21st and 22nd.

The Natives will continue its regular runs on the Ferry Service at Tobernary-South Bay, those attending the buyers to come here without transportation trouble.

The women's organizations of the United Church will serve meals in the Assembly Hall for the travellers and help out the restaurants in handling the lunch and coffee during the buyers' stay.

Expositor Changes Ownership

MRS. J. G. MORPHET PASSES AFTER ILLNESS

A highly respected citizen passed away on Tuesday evening when Mrs. J. G. Morphett died after a lengthy illness. For some time she had been a patient in St. Joseph's Hospital, after suffering from a stroke.

The funeral will take place from the United Church on Friday, September 19, 1947, at 2:30 p.m.

PROPOSES CLOSED LAKE TROUT SEASON

At a meeting held at the residence of Chas. Kennedy, local hatchery manager, here on Monday, September 15, the decrease in lake trout was thoroughly discussed. It was proposed that a closed season be enforced during the spawning of lake trout in Lake Superior. No final decision was reached and another meeting will be held in the near future at Port Arthur.

Among those present were: Messrs. Harold and George Purvis, Gore Bay; Dr. Blackhurst, Port Dover; A. Colby, C. F. Bibby, Sudbury; Game Warden Mithson, Nodwell; T. Taylor, Dagaastini; J. H. Harvey and C. H. Young.

GET 7 WOLVES IN 14 DAYS

Wellington Leason, Big Lake, is gaining quite a reputation for himself as a wolf killer. During the last two weeks he has brought down seven wolves, which have been causing great damage to the lamb and turkey flocks on the Manitoulin. On Monday he brought three wolves to The Expositor office and they were good wolves—dead game. One was a large dog and the two others female pups almost full-grown. Leason brought them at bay only a few miles from town on the Strangways property in Howland. The others to his credit, he got in Tobishmash Township.

If anyone is bothered by the murderers, they are requested to contact Mr. Leason and he will take care of them.

A change in ownership of The Manitoulin Expositor was effected Monday, September 15, when W. J. Patterson of London, Ontario, purchased the business.

The retiring owner, Borge Jarnel, had been in charge since March, 1936, first as manager and later as owner. He purchased the business from the McRae Estate in March, 1934.

Associated with The London Free Press since his discharge from the R.C.A.F. on V-E Day, Mr. Patterson retired as Financial and Farm Editor to become editor and publisher of The Expositor. The new editor served for four years with the R.C.A.F. A pilot with 1,500 hours flying time, he acted as instructor in pilot-navigation.

With his daily newspaper experience, Mr. Patterson comes well-equipped for the position of Publisher in a community where farming is a main source of income.

One of the fundamentals in the make-up of a country editor should be a variety of interests with a keen liking for the part of the country he selects to serve. After viewing several possibilities in lower Ontario, Mr. and Mrs. Patterson were convinced after one visit that Manitoulin, with its friendly population, beautiful scenery and promising future, was the place for them. Both are keenly interested in out-door activities.

Mr. Patterson, a member of the Ontario Historical Society, is interested in archaeology, geology and local history. Manitoulin offers much opportunity in these lines. It is expected his writings will prove interesting to subscribers of The Expositor.

We bid Mr. and Mrs. Patterson a hearty welcome to Little Current and wish them success and happiness in their chosen field of endeavoring to serve the readers, advertisers and general business of Manitoulin Island.

LESS BUT BETTER WHEAT

The western wheat crop this year in spite of its disappointingly small yield is proving on the basis of tests so far made to be considerably high in protein content, according to reports.

Editor Retires



BORGE JARNEL

Retires as editor and publisher of The Expositor to move to British Columbia for his health. Mr. Jarnel became managing editor in March 1939, purchasing the business in 1941.

Thank You!

With this issue, I will complete my last week as editor and publisher of The Manitoulin Expositor. Since beginning to work on The Expositor in March, 1939, the time spent in Little Current has been most enjoyable. Manitoulin, as you know, is a remarkable island—the only one of its kind in the world and perhaps for this reason, it is also a most pleasant place to live and work.

I take this opportunity to thank the many patrons of this newspaper—the advertisers, subscribers, news contributors and all who gave us business even in the smallest way. They are all integral parts in making the community paper. Their paper and ultimately the connecting link of thoughts and ambitions of the community. It will always be remembered that The Expositor came through the world's greatest depression and survived. For this survival, credit is due only to the loyalty shown by the people of Little Current and Manitoulin.

To my successor, Mr. Patterson, I wish every success and hope that he may enjoy the same success.

Continued on Page Four.

Figure 6
Front page of the Manitoulin Expositor, September 18, 1947 with photo of W.J. Patterson circa 1945 on left.
Courtesy R. McClutcheon.

academic career came to an end and Ontario Palaeo-Indian studies were abandoned with him. The timing of the Ontario fluted point discoveries is germane here. (P. Reid: personal communication to L. Jackson, 1986).

The first evidence of Late Pleistocene man in Canada was discovered in southern Ontario during the Great Depression. The existing social structure within Canada, including its conservative academic elite, was threatened by a variety of disruptive forces. During a time of general social discontent, radical political movements flourished leading Allen (1961:341) to comment: "Not even in 1917 had the country been in such political ferment as in that seething year of 1935". The dramatic appearance of the Canadian Communist Party had earlier culminated in the 1931 arrest and trial of its leaders. In 1934, the CCP's main proponent, Tim Buck, was released from prison and "on the night of his first public appearance, Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto was packed with seventeen thousand people" (Allen 1961:334). Such an event would not have made the Canadian establishment, academic or otherwise, eager to accept intellectual innovations.

In western Canada, the right-wing Social Credit Party was founded in 1935 by radio-evangelist William Aberhart and the left-wing CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) was founded in 1932 by Methodist minister J.S. Woodsworth (P. Reid: personal communication to L. Jackson, 1986). In 1935, thousands of unemployed staged the trek to Ottawa to protest conditions in the British Columbia relief camps. The march was halted with violence in Regina. Confusion in politics spread to other aspects of Canadian life. The riots, marches, and other social upheavals combined with the general uncertainty of the Depression to make Canadians suspicious of change. Religious fundamentalist ideas which began to gather strength after World War I contributed to a growing conservatism (Silverberg 1966:220).

In the history of North American archaeology, the Figgins/Patterson story stands out as one of the last instances of reactionary attitudes effectively suppressing early man studies. Only now are we beginning to realize the tremendous loss to North American archaeology represented by ignorance of Patterson's early discoveries. Canadian archaeologists were left decades behind their American counterparts and were terribly handicapped when their own Palaeo-Indian studies began without knowledge of the wealth or diversity of Canadian material — something which had been known to Folsom and was integral to his early formulations on Folsom.

Opposition to Folsom in Canada was exceptional only as a final episode in a long history of denial

of the reality of Palaeo-Indian finds early in this century. Rogers and Martin (1986) have noted that many virtually identical discoveries of projectile points associated with extinct bison, the earliest being the 1895 12 Mile Creek discovery in western Kansas, were ignored or dismissed by the American archaeological establishment. The reasons for such denial ranged from fear of censure by religious fundamentalists opposed to any notion of early human occupation of the New World, to a general rejection of evolutionary thinking on the part of American archaeologists (Willey and Sabloff 1974).

The Figgins/Patterson story is not, appearances to the contrary, a negative one. William Patterson's discoveries played a crucial role in defining how Folsom was to be distinguished as a discrete cultural entity and guided Figgins' thinking on origins and dispersal — questions which still concern us today. The history of North American Palaeo-Indian studies would have been much different had these two men not known one another.

Holton (1986) has aptly commented that although "new science" may begin in the head of an individual, it will not survive unless it becomes part of the consensus of the community:

Science, by its nature, is cumulative and consensual, a social activity across space and time. ...any new scientific finding has the potential of changing, sooner or later, some part of the life of mankind, and not in every case for the better (Holton 1986:242).

Figgins knew this well and, through his strong academic position at the Colorado Museum and careful presentation of data to leading American archaeologists, eventually won acceptance for the idea of Late Pleistocene man in the United States. William Patterson, his young Canadian colleague, was quick to learn from Figgins and almost succeeded in engaging the interest and approval of the Canadian scientific community. He faced insurmountable obstacles, however, in the fears and prejudices of an academic elite in troubled social times. Through lack of repetition of his work in ensuing decades, Patterson's efforts were forgotten and lost to the Canadian archaeological profession.

Although thwarted in his academic pursuits, Patterson went on to a successful career as a newspaper editor (Figure 6). In addition to his unacknowledged achievements in Ontario Palaeo-Indian studies, he played a significant role in the 1950's in achieving recognition and protection for the Sheguiandah site on Manitoulin Island, perhaps Canada's greatest and most controversial prehistoric quarry site (Jackson and McKillop 1987). That William J. Patterson is being remembered now speaks of a new consensus in

the Canadian archaeological community and is a positive sign for the future. Jesse Figgins' belief that no advancement in science is made without personal sacrifice could have had no better exemplar.

Acknowledgements

We are deeply indebted to the Denver Museum of Natural History, particularly Kristine Haglund, Head of Archives, and Liz Clancy, Photo Archivist, for generous assistance with this work. Without the cooperation of their institution, the story of Canada's earliest Palaeo-Indian studies would have remained untold.

Mrs. Marjorie Patterson of Little Current, Ontario very kindly shared part of her life and encouraged our efforts. Mr. Charles Garrad of the Ontario Archaeological Society took an early interest in these events. He assisted with identification of surviving fluted points in the Museum of Indian Archaeology collections in London, Ontario, as did Brian Deller of McGill University and Elsie Jury of the Museum of Indian Archaeology. The late Dr. Wilfrid Jury had the courage to share some of the events surrounding the early Ontario fluted point controversy although he and his colleagues were not supportive of W.J. Patterson.

A number of scientists commented on the need for critical analysis of the historical events of Canadian archaeology. These included Dr. Rufus Churcher, University of Toronto, Dr. Vance Haynes, University of Arizona, Dr. Bill Irving, University of Toronto, and Dr. Herbert E. Wright, University of Minnesota. Dr. Peter Reid of the University of Windsor thoughtfully provided comments on Canadian social historical events of the 1930's. Dr. James V. Wright of the Canadian Museum of Civilization granted permission to publish Figure 5 and kindly provided a print. Mr. Rick McLutcheon, editor and owner of The Manitoulin Expositor, courteously gave permission to publish Figure 6. Figure 1 through 4 are reproduced courtesy of the Denver Museum of Natural History.

Finally, we wish to thank Dr. Chris Ellis of the University of Waterloo for taking the time to provide his careful evaluations of the Ontario fluted points illustrated by J.D. Figgins in 1934.

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