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Clay Pipes in the Upper Great Lakes:

The Ermatinger Assemblage

C. S. "Paddy" Reid

INTRODUCTION

The Ermatinger Old Stone House site (CdIb-2) is located on the north bank of the Saint Mary's River, which connects Lake Superior with Lakes Huron and Michigan. The main building (Figure 1) has been restored to its early 19th century elegance by the Sault Ste. Marie Historic Sites Board, and excavations were conducted on the grounds under the author's direction in 1974 under the auspices of the City of Sault Ste. Marie, Algoma College of Laurentian University and Sault College of Applied Arts and Technology (Figure 2).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The main building was begun in 1814 by Charles Oakes Ermatinger, a fur trader who had commanded a portion of the volunteers during Captain Charles Roberts' daring capture of Fort Michilimackinac 2 years previously. Ermatinger was married to Mammamowe, daughter of the great Sand Lake Ojibway chief Catawabeta (Schoolcraft 1847:161), and had arrived in Sault Ste. Marie from Montreal in 1805. He had been employed as a clerk by the North West Company

and had been offered a Company share (Chambers 1968:2). His elegant "mansion in the wilderness" remains as the oldest stone house in Canada northwest of the Toronto area.

The history of the house is closely interwoven in the fabric of 19th Century Canadian history—the years of the emergence and survival of the new Dominion. Fur traders, settlers, soldiers, writers, and artists criss-crossed their way through the bottleneck of the Saint Mary's River and stopped for the night at the stone house on the north bank. It was while enjoying Ermatinger's hospitality that Lord Selkirk, founder of the Red River Colony, learned of the Seven Oaks Massacre (Gray 1963:151). Early American ethnologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, resident on the south bank of the river, often dined with Ermatinger, albeit commenting after one of the famed "cariboo dinners" that he could not "recollect any wise or merry remark made during dinner which is worth recording (Schoolcraft 1851: 144)!!" Writer Anna Jamieson, painters Paul Kane and George Catlin, and victor of the Red River Rebellion, Colonel Garnet Wolseley—all stayed in the Old Stone House on their way west. This house provides not only considerable information concerning the architecture and material culture of 19th century Canada, but also considerable records of social, artistic and political life in Canada's early years.

THE PIPES

Of the 968 clay pipe fragments recovered, none were complete or near-complete and no pipes could be completely reconstructed. Fortunately a number of bowls were complete, near-complete or reconstructable. All pipes are of white clay with the exception of 4 light brown, stub-stemmed items. The assemblage generally falls into mid-19th century time range; however,



Figure 1. Ermatinger Old Stone House.



Figure 2. Site Excavation.

there are some earlier examples which may date to the Ermatinger occupation. A breakdown of pipe portions recovered is shown in Table 1.

Bowls

The pipe bowls are described according to their decorative motifs in the case of the white clay examples, with the coloured clay stub-stemmed pipes classed separately on the basis of form and material. The major pipe "types" are illustrated by scale drawings in Figures 4-6 with the photograph at Figure 7 added to provide more 3-dimensionality. The "types" are broken down alphabetically—for example, all TD pipes fall within the "A" type. These so-called types, it should be noted, are for descriptive convenience only and are not an attempt to establish any formal clay pipe typology. Numbers and percentages of each category are presented in Table 2 following the descriptions.

Ermatinger House Site

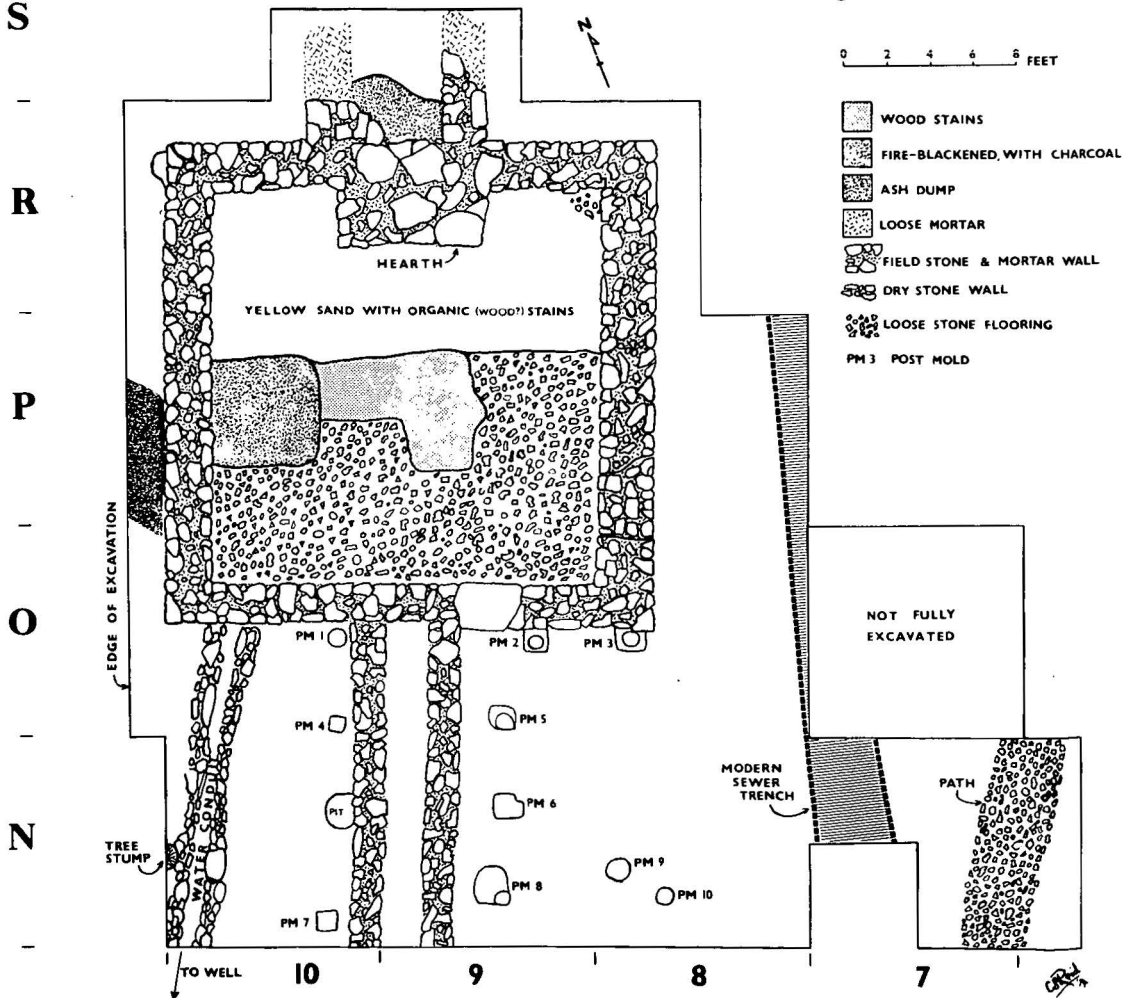


Figure 3. Excavation Map.

Table 1. Pipe fragment frequencies

| Items | Frequency | % |
|--------------------------|-----------|------|
| Unglazed Stem Fragments | 428 | 44.2 |
| Bowls and Fragments | 259 | 26.8 |
| Glazed Stem Fragments | 85 | 8.8 |
| Glazed Mouthpieces | 75 | 7.6 |
| Stems with Maker's Marks | 64 | 6.6 |
| Unglazed Mouthpieces | 26 | 2.7 |
| Heel/Spur Fragments | 21 | 2.2 |
| Decorated Stem Fragments | 10 | 1.0 |
| Totals | 968 | 99.9 |

A: TD Pipes

Twenty-eight (10.8%) of the bowls are identifiable as being from pipes marked with the letters TD.

This type appears to have been first manufactured ca. 1755 by a maker with these letters as his initials. . . his pipes appear to have become so popular that they were widely plagiarized within a few years of their appearance (Walker 1971:31).

These have been broken down into 5 categories—A1 through A5—with a number of small fragments which could fit into more than one category.

Type A1 (Figures 4, 7a).

This is a type which became popular in the United States during the War of 1812 and remained so during the early-to-mid 19th century. Forma (1971:54), referring to a communication from M. J. Shchepanek, infers American manufacture, but they are more likely to have been made in Britain for the United States market (Walker: per. comm.). This category is unusual for its cross-hatching, the body normally being plain (see below). The stars, TD, leaves and cross-hatching are all raised.

Type A2 (Figure 4).

This category possesses a plain bowl with the letters TD raised and lacks a spur at the base of the bowl. It is probably post-1840 as this is the standard later TD bowl shape and type of marking.

Type A3 (Figure 4).

An otherwise plain bowl with 13 raised stars

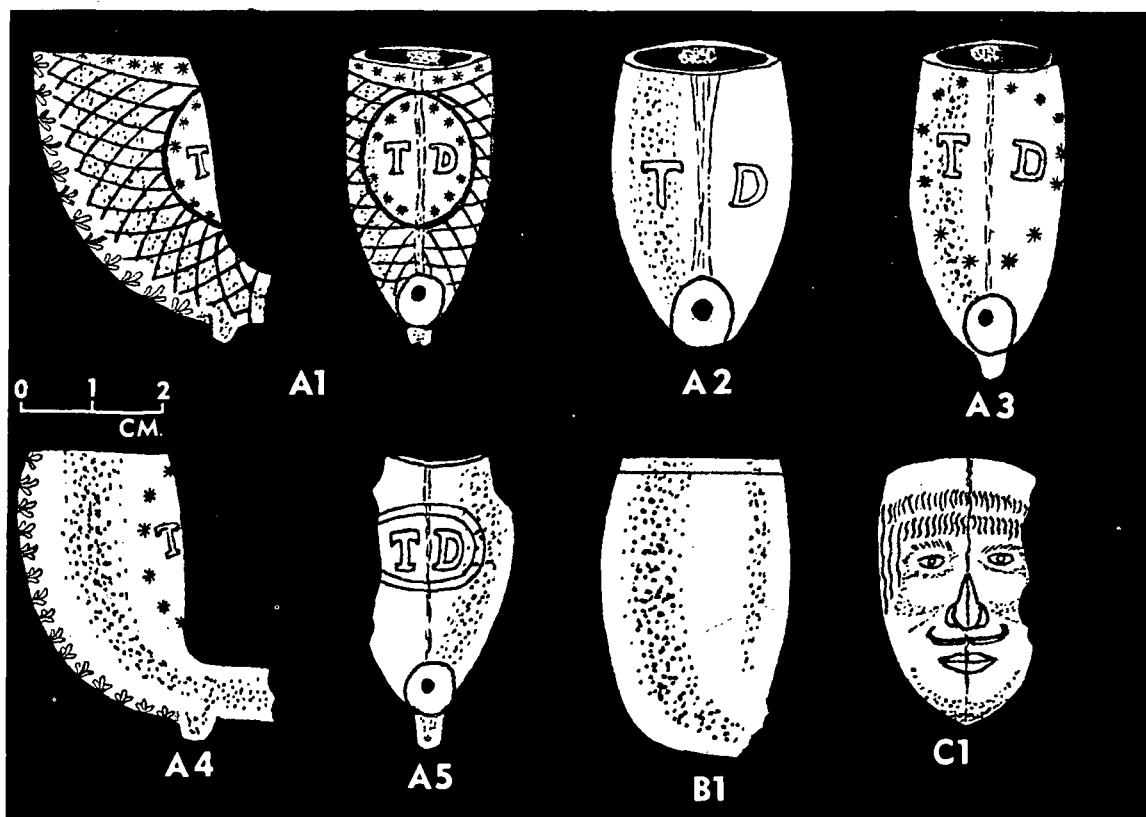


Figure 4. TD, plain, and effigy pipes.

TABLE 2. Pipe bowl frequencies by type

| Type | Complete/near Complete Bowls | Fragments | Total | % |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|-------|--------|
| A1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0.8 |
| A2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1.1 |
| A3 | 1 | — | 1 | 0.4 |
| A4 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2.3 |
| A5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1.2 |
| Raised TD Fragments | — | 6 | 6 | 2.3 |
| Impressed TD Fragments | — | 5 | 5 | 1.9 |
| 13-Star Fragments (A3/A4) | — | 2 | 2 | 0.8 |
| (All TD Pipes) | (6) | (22) | (28) | (10.8) |
| B1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0.8 |
| B2 | 6 | 23 | 29 | 11.2 |
| B3 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1.9 |
| Small Plain Fragments | — | 123 | 123 | 47.5 |
| (All Plain Pipes) | (8) | (151) | (159) | (61.4) |
| C1 | 1 | 18 | 19 | 7.3 |
| C2 | — | 1 | 1 | 0.4 |
| (All Human Effigy Pipes) | (1) | (19) | (20) | (7.7) |
| D1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0.8 |
| D2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2.3 |
| D3 | 1 | — | 1 | 0.4 |
| D4 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 2.3 |
| D5 | 1 | — | 1 | 0.4 |
| D6 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0.8 |
| D7 | — | 6 | 6 | 2.3 |
| D8 | — | 1 | 1 | 0.4 |
| Small Fluted Fragments | — | 6 | 6 | 2.3 |
| (All Fluted Pipes) | (7) | (24) | (31) | (12.0) |
| E (Foliated) | 1 | — | 1 | 0.4 |
| F (Stub-stemmed) | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1.5 |
| G (American Eagle) | — | 1 | 1 | 0.4 |
| H (Complex Design) | — | 1 | 1 | 0.4 |
| I (Arcade) | — | 1 | 1 | 0.4 |
| Small Decorated Fragments | — | 13 | 13 | 5.0 |
| Totals | 25 | 234 | 259 | 100.0 |

and the raised letters TD. The same comments apply as for A1.

Type A4 (Figure 4).

Identical to A3 above with the addition of leaves down the front mould mark: see the comments for A1 above.

Type A5 (Figure 4).

A shorter bowl than A2 with an impressed oval surrounding the impressed letters TD, and possessing a spur. This is an earlier TD form (Walker: per. comm.) and probably dates pre-1830.

Impressed TD Fragments.

These 5 small pieces are not large enough to be definitely assigned to a type but probably belong to A5.

Raised TD Fragments.

These 6 small pieces are too small to distinguish whether they belong to types A1 through A4 or indeed to another TD type altogether.

B: Plain Pipes

Pipes with a single incised or a finely rouletted line below the rim are included with those which bear no form of decoration—159 bowls

and fragments (61.4% of the assemblage) fall into this category and are broken down into three types. Undoubtedly many plain portions of TD and partially decorated pipes are included in this category.

Type B1 (Figures 4, 7c).

This type has a distinctive bowl shape which is typical of 19th century Dutch pipes and one copied by the French (Walker: per. comm.). This bowl may belong with either the Dorni or Gambier marked stems described below. A Dorni correlation would place this bowl between 1850 and 1880. In the case of the Gambier pipes which were produced from the 18th to the 20th centuries no finer dates can be applied. The possibility also exists that this bowl belongs with stem S2 (Figure 6 and below) which has a typical 19th century French mouthpiece shape, although sometimes copied on British pipes.

Type B2

This type has a completely plain bowl with the same bowl shape as A4.

Type B3.

Identical to B2 above with the addition of a

line of fine rouletting below the rim.

C. Human Effigy Pipes

There are 10 (7.7%) portions of these pipes in the assemblage and they are broken into 2 types.

Type C1 (Figures 4, 7b).

These are male human faces without head-dress and those recovered appear to represent items from at least two different moulds.

Type C2 (Figure 6).

Identical to C1 but with the addition of a turban.

D: Fluted Pipes

Thirty-one (12.0%) of the assemblage are fluted and these are broken down into 8 types plus a number of small fragments.

Type D1 (Figure 5).

As with most decorated bowls, it is difficult to ascribe a bowl to a specific maker as often the same motifs were used by more than one manufacturer. In the case of this example, however, there is a possibility that it is a Henderson of

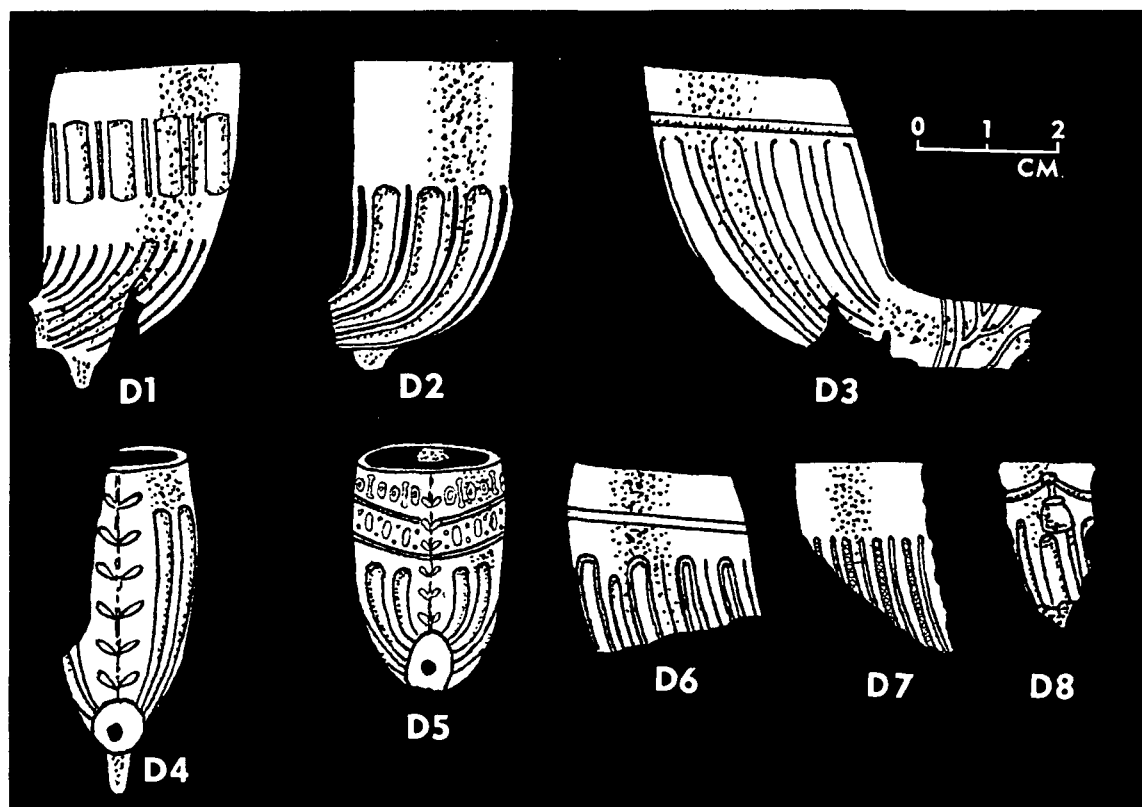


Figure 5. Fluted pipes.

Montreal product (1847-76), as an Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources survey team uncovered a complete pipe with an identical bowl and the Henderson mark on the stem at the De Noyon's Landing site (DcJj-7) (Newton: per. comm.).

Type D2 (Figures 5, 7d).

Only the lower portion of the bowl of this type is decorated with alternate ridges and flutes extending halfway up the bowl. Note, too, the almost parallel-sided shape of the bowl.

Type D3 (Figure 5).

This bowl possesses delicate flutes extending up $\frac{3}{4}$ of the bowl with a raised ridge running around the bowl just below the rim. The beginnings of a "barber pole" type of decoration on the stem may indicate a Ring of Bristol product, a firm manufacturing pipes in the period 1802-84 (Walker 1971:22).

Type D4 (Figure 5).

As with the majority of decorated bowls, the lack of a stem bearing a maker's mark makes this type unidentifiable as to manufacturer and date; however, an identical specimen from a site on the Grand River, Ontario, occupied between 1825 and 1850 (Kenyon 1971:4) suggests an early-to-mid 19th century date for this type, a time period concurred with by Walker (per. comm.).

Type D5 (Figures 5, 7e).

This elaborately decorated type possesses a spur—the illustrated example has had it broken off. Bowl shape and size suggest an early 19th century date (Walker: per. comm.).

Type D6 (Figure 5).

Again a "typical" 19th century decorated bowl (Walker 1971: 31 and Plate 5), not assignable to a specific manufacturer.

Type D7 (Figure 5).

Another variety to which the comments for D6 above also apply.

Type D8 (Figure 5)

See above, types D6 and D7.

Small Fluted Fragments

Six fragments are too small to be assigned to a type and could be portions of any of several of the fluted varieties described, or of another type altogether.

E: Foliated Pipe (Figure 6)

This type is represented by the single, large, near-complete bowl illustrated in Figure 6.

F: Stub-Stemmed Pipes (Figures 6, 7f).

The 4 examples of this type are made of light tan clay. These are American-made pipes which rarely occur in Canada and nearly always in a geographical/historical context of close contact with the United States, a situation present at the Ermatinger site with the American Fort Brady and Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, separated from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario by only the width of the St. Mary's River. The major areas of manufacture of these pipes were Ohio and Virginia, and they were being widely traded before 1850, becoming widespread in the American west by the 1850s (Walker: per. comm.).

G: American Eagle Pipe (Figure 6).

A single fragment from the front of a pipe comprises this type, possibly another patriotic theme exploited by the British pipe manufacturers for the American market (see the A types above).

H: Complex Design (Figure 6).

Again there is only a single example in the assemblage—a near-complete bowl of small size.

I: Arcade Design (Figure 6).

A single fragment bearing a design very similar to an architectural blind arcade.

Unclassified Decorated Fragments

Thirteen (5.0% of the sample) decorated bowl fragments are too small to assign to any of the types described.

Stems

There are 587 stem fragments (not including portions possessing the mouthpiece), of which 428 (72.9%) are plain and unglazed, 85 (14.5%) are wholly or partially glazed, 64 (10.9%) possess complete or partial maker's marks and 10 (1.7%) are decorated but lack maker's marks. A breakdown of bore diameters for both stems and mouthpieces is shown at Table 4; however, since the site is predominantly 19th century, the Binford-Harrington formula for estimating dates from bore diameters cannot be employed (Binford 1962; Harrington 1954). A breakdown of stems with maker's marks is shown at Table 3 below.

Dr. Iain C. Walker has very kindly examined Figures 4-6 and a list of marked stems, and rather

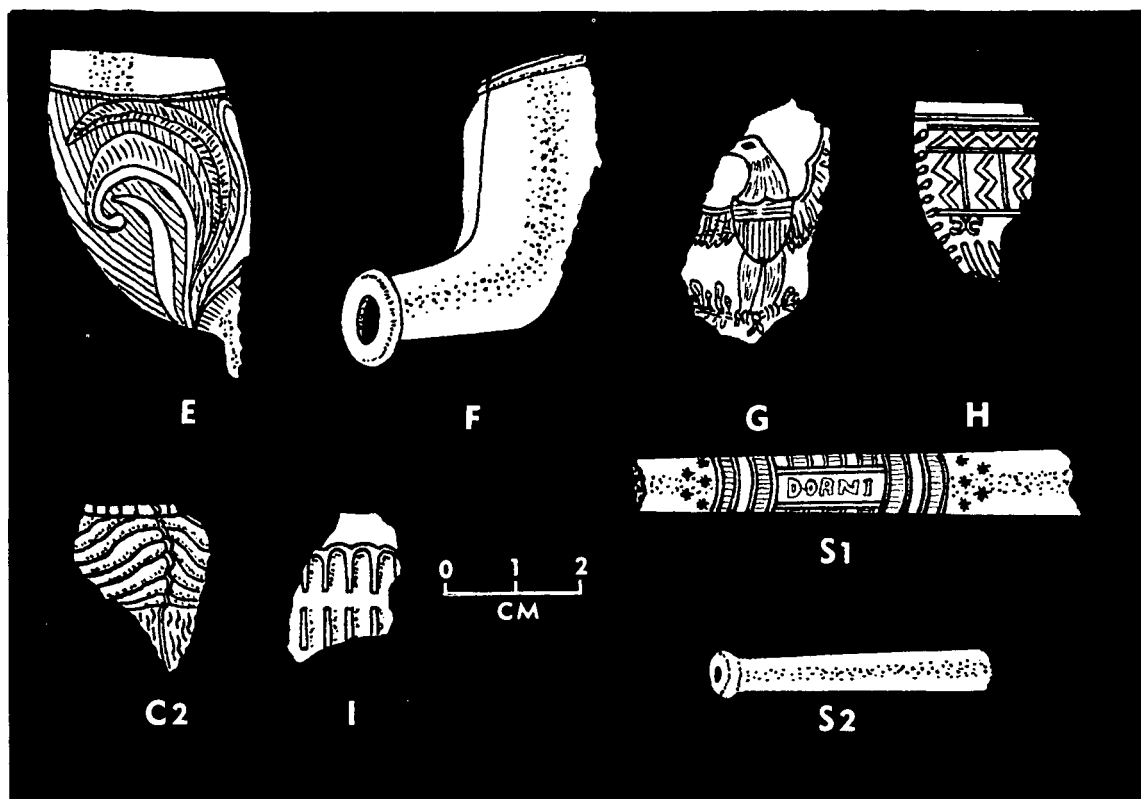


Figure 6. E, foliated pipe; F, stub-stemmed pipe; G, American Eagle pipe; H, complex design pipe; C2, Human effigy pipe with turban; I, Arcade design pipe; S1, "Dorni" stem; S2, stem, French-type mouthpiece.

than paraphrase his lucid comments which sum up the data on pipe stems they are presented here in full:

Commenting generally first, it is surprising to see so many Murray of Glasgow pipes and so few other Glasgow pipes—no Mc Dougall's for example, and hardly any White's. The relatively small number of Canadian made pipes seems fairly typical of 19th century Canadian sites; of course, with the limited time-span of the Montreal industry one would ex-

pect sites extending on either side of that period to have a misleadingly high proportion of non-Montreal-made pipes, but my impression still is that even on sites in the Montreal area the Montreal industry had only moderate success in combatting the flood of Glasgow-made pipes, which spread throughout North America in the 19th century. (I have however, been told that at Fort William they have a high proportion—i.e. a majority—of Montreal pipes.) You also don't appear to have any Ford of Stepney pipes—we now know he was supplying

TABLE 3. Marked pipe stems

| Mark | Dates | Frequency | % |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| Murray Glasgow | 1826-61 | 38 | 59.4 |
| Henderson Montreal | 1847-76 | 15 | 23.4 |
| W. White Glasgow (2) | | | |
| 78 W. White Glasgow (2) | 1805-1955 | 4 | 6.2 |
| Thos. White Edinburgh | 1833-76 | 2 | 3.1 |
| Peter Dorni | ca.1850-80 | 2 | 3.1 |
| Bannerman Mont(real) | 1858-1907 | 1 | 1.6 |
| (G) ambier à Paris M. N | 18th-20th C. | 1 | 1.6 |
| (Sco)tland 385 | post-1891 | 1 | 1.6 |
| Totals | | 64 | 100.0 |

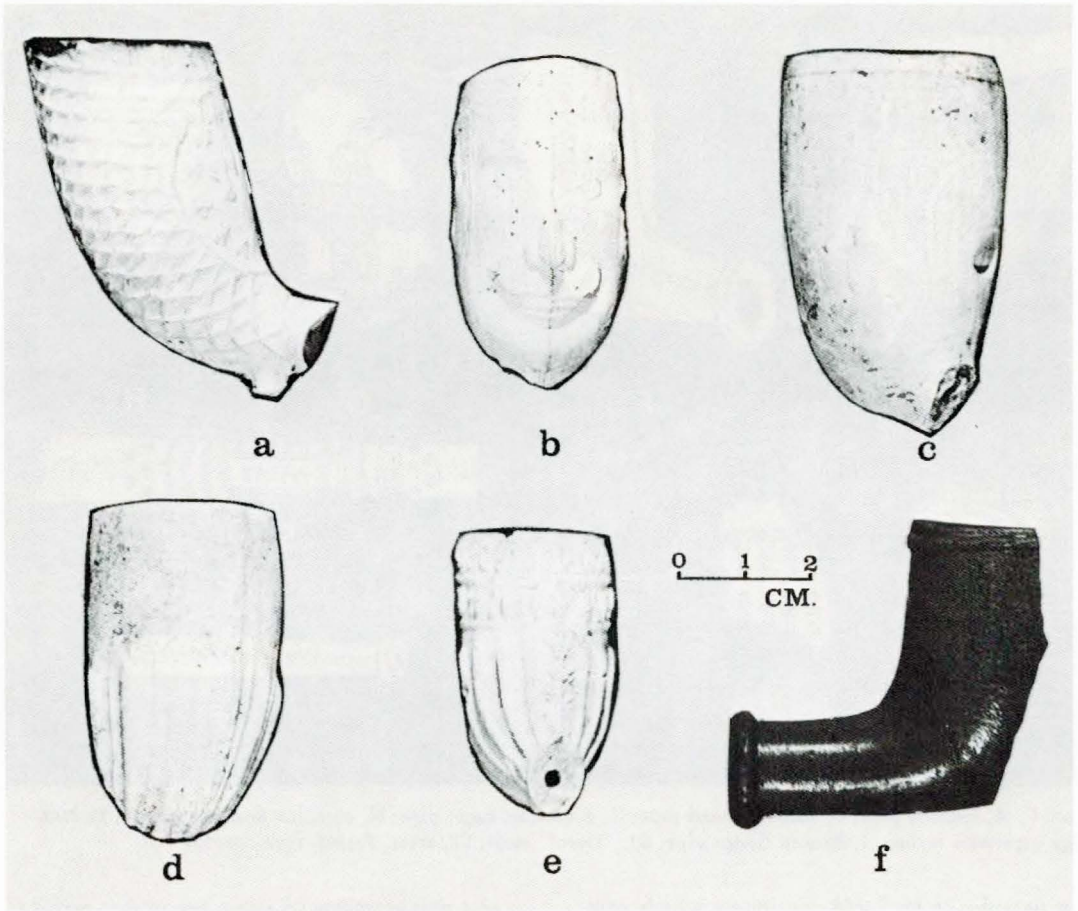


Figure 7: a, cross-hatched TD and stars (a1); b, human effigy (C1); c, Dutch style bowl (B1); d, fluted (D2); e, fluted (D5); f, stub-stemmed (F).

the Hudson's Bay Company with pipes from 1831 until at least 1870, and every time his pipes are found they are either on Hudson's Bay Company sites or on native sites within a convenient range of a Hudson's Bay Company site. As you note Ermatinger worked latterly for the Hudson's Bay Company one might have expected some Ford pipes—perhaps 1831 is too late for him, however, as you say the house was deserted for a short time in the 1830s.

My impression from available evidence is that Glasgow pipes were not coming here until c.1840 onwards, so with the Montreal material being confined to the second half of the 19th century anyway almost all your marked material would seem to be of the later half of the century. This makes the absence of Mc Dougall pipes the more curious, and the almost complete lack of White pipes also. It is also strange, with so many Murray pipes, that there are none of that firm's successor, Davidson—suggests perhaps that

the Murray pipes date to some time before the C.1862 changeover of the firm. Very little is known about Peter Dorni pipes, but a date of C.1850-80 is generally given for them reinforcing the impression of second half of the 19th century dating. Your "TLAND 385" example must date to after 1891, when the Mc Kinley Tarriff Act in the U.S.A. forced imported items to carry their country of origin instead of simply the city or whater of origin. 385 refers to the mould number and pipe type. In 1900, according to an unfortunately unillustrated price-list of Scottish pipes I have, McDougall's, White's and Davidson's were all producing a number 385, so I'm afraid it's not possible to go further without the maker's name. (By 1891 Scottish clay pipes, at any rate for export, are virtually certain to have come from Glasgow— I should perhaps modify slightly a remark above, as I have seen Glasgow pipes with GLASGOW SCOTLAND on them from contexts which I think were probably pre-1891, but I think you can take the changeover from GLASGOW to

SCOTLAND as a very good dating horizon.)
(Walker: per. comm. 25 November 1974)

Mouthpieces

Of the 101 mouthpieces 75 (74.3%) are glazed, or varnished; this coating—wax was also used—was to prevent the smoker's lips sticking to the porous clay and is largely a 19th century practice (Walker 1971:31). Bore diameters are shown in Table 4.

Heel/Spur Fragments

Twenty-one fragments (2.2% of the assemblage) are from the "elbow" of pipes and of these 19 (90.4%) possess spurs. Fourteen spurs are plain and 5 are marked or decorated: all marked spurs are included in this category of Heel/Spur Fragments as there are none on the complete and near-complete bowls described above. One marked spur possesses scroll decoration on each side; another has "T" and "D" on opposite sides; a third "W" and "G", a fourth "I" (letter) and "1" (number); and the last "10" and an indecipherable letter.

The WG mark is probably pre-1830 and fits the tail-end period of the early TD pipes such as A5 above. This mark occurs on variously shaped TD bowls from 1755 and on the TD bowl shape of Type A5 from American West sites of the 1820-30s but not later (Walker 1966, and per. comm.).

COMPARISONS

The number of excavated, and reported upon, Canadian 19th Century historic sites is not large, and those which are published are spread geo-

graphically from Newfoundland to the foothills of the Rockies, all of which makes for a certain lack of comparative data. In this report brief comparisons are attempted with 6 sites each of which cover all or part of the Ermatinger House occupation dates.

Fort Pic: 1789-1880s (Gall 1967)

Located on the north shore of Lake Superior, this trading establishment yielded clay pipes identified as having been made by Bannerman of Montreal, Henderson of Montreal, and Mc Dougall of Glasgow. This contrasts with a lack of Mc Dougall pipes and only a single Bannerman at Ermatinger, the Glasgow pipe-maker Murray substituting for Mc Dougall. The Hendersons remain as a common link.

Longlac Post: 1790-1921 (Dawson 1969)

This post lies approximately 30 miles north of Fort Pic. W. White of Glasgow and Henderson of Montreal are represented both here and at Ermatinger. There is in addition a bowl at Longlac similar to the Ermatinger D2 type. However, Mc Dougall of Glasgow, and another Montreal pipe-maker, Davidson, present at Longlac, contrast to Ermatinger.

Rocky Mountain House: 1799-1834 (Noble 1973)

This trading establishment is located on the North Saskatchewan River in Alberta, and the only clay pipes uncovered which bear any similarities to Ermatinger are TDs. The location of

TABLE 4. Stem and mouthpiece bore diameters

| Items | 4/64" | 5/64" | 6/64" | Totals |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Stems | | | | |
| Unglazed-plain | 103 | 269 | 56 | 428 |
| Glazed-plain | 39 | 42 | 4 | 85 |
| Murray | 12 | 26 | - | 38 |
| Henderson | 4 | 10 | 1 | 15 |
| Decorated | - | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| W. White | - | 4 | - | 4 |
| T. White | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Dorni | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Bannerman | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Gambier | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Scotland 385 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Mouthpieces | | | | |
| Glazed | 38 | 36 | 1 | 75 |
| Unglazed | 7 | 16 | 3 | 26 |
| Totals and Percentages | 204 (29.6%) | 414 (60.2%) | 70 (10.2%) | 688 (100%) |

the post in the far west may account for the uniformity of its clay pipe assemblage.

Signal Hill: 1800-1860 (Jelks 1973)

This fortification is located in St. John's, Newfoundland, and although in all other artifact classes (especially in ceramics and glass) it most closely approximates Ermatinger, once again the Ermatinger pipe sample appears to be aberrant—the most common Signal Hill pipes are by Mc Dougall of Glasgow, with some rare examples of Murray and W. White, both of Glasgow.

Michipicoten Post: 1821-1904 (Forma 1971)

Another post located near the north shore of Lake Superior, this site yielded a majority of Hendersons and Mc Dougalls, with Dixon of Montreal, Bannerman, Murray, W. White, Coghill of Glasgow and Fiolet of St. Omer also represented. A few TD fragments are similar to the Ermatinger examples, and there is a single 13 star TD identical to the Ermatinger A3 type. While there is more similarity in the pipes between this site and Ermatinger than at the other sites so far discussed, the Mc Dougalls again are the dominant Glasgow pipe at Michipicoten.

Anthony's Mills and Hunter: 1825-50 (Kenyon 1971)

These 2 sites are located near Dunnville on the Grand River in southwestern Ontario and although the numbers of each type of pipe excavated are not reported there are bowls either identical or similar to the Ermatinger types A5, D2, D3, D4 and D5. No breakdown of stems with maker's marks is given, but there is a Bristol Ring stem illustrated—a type absent at Ermatinger.

CONCLUSIONS

For a 19th century Canadian site the Ermatinger pipe assemblage is unusual in 2 ways: the relatively large sample of pipes manufactured either in the United States (the stub-stemmed items) or for the United States market (the 13 star and TD items) and the strong preference for Henderson of Montreal and Murray of Glasgow pipes (which together comprise 82.8% of the marked stems) when Bannerman and Mc Dougall of the same cities respectively should reasonably be expected to occur in more quantity.

The presence of the American pipes is explained by the close proximity of Fort Brady and Schoolcraft's house just across the Saint Mary's River: even though the War of 1812 was still of recent memory the Fort Brady officers and Schoolcraft were frequent guests of the Ermatingers and must

have lost or broken clay pipes during their frequent visits. In addition there are Ermatinger's connections with the American Fur Company as well as with the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company.

The absence of Mc Dougalls, however, remains an enigma. The presence of a fairly wide variety of pipes at Ermatinger, Fort Pic, and Michipicoten indicates that a wide range of manufacturers were available. Possibly when the building was the "Stone House Hotel" between 1852 and 1858 the proprietor, David Pim, had either a preference for, or a business contract providing for, Murray of Glasgow pipes which do fall into this time range (1826-61) albeit at the latter end of the manufacturers' dates of operation. It is hoped that future excavations on this important Canadian site will provide some further clues as to why such pipes are at the site.

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