

ONTARIO ENERGY BOARD

IN THE MATTER OF the *Ontario Energy Board Act, 1998*, S.O. 1998, c. 15, Sched. B, as amended (the “Act”);

AND IN THE MATTER OF an application by Imperial Oil Limited, pursuant to section 90(1) of the Act, for an order granting Leave to Construct a hydrocarbon distribution pipeline and ancillary facilities to serve the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area.

EB-2019-0007

**WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS OF
THE HURON-WENDAT NATION**

January 24, 2020

INTRODUCTION

1. The Huron-Wendat Nation is a First Nation that now inhabits the area of Wendake, Quebec.
2. From time immemorial, the Huron-Wendat Nation (“HWN” or the “Nation”) occupied and used a vast territory in southern Ontario and Quebec. The HWN’s traditional lands in Ontario, called Wendake South, border the Great Lakes and span from Lake Nipissing in the north to Lake Ontario in the south, and from Owen Sound in the west to the Quebec border in the east. Historically, these lands were occupied by more than 100,000 members of the HWN, and the imprints of these lives and the Nation’s culture, traditions and heritage are found across this territory.
3. Imperial Oil Ltd.’s (“Imperial”) proposed Waterdown to Finch pipeline (the “Waterdown Project” or the “Project”) is within Wendake South.
4. The proposed Waterdown Project involves the installation of 63 kilometres of 12-inch diameter pipeline and associated infrastructure between the Waterdown Pump Station and the Finch Storage Terminal.
5. There is a potential for discovery and disruption of Huron-Wendat archaeological sites and ossuaries in the Project area.
6. One of the HWN’s most important archaeological sites, the Parsons Site (AkGv-8) (the “Parsons Site” or the “Site”) is located on the proposed path for the pipeline. This site and any other archaeological and burial sites on the pipeline’s path constitute important cultural heritage resources.
7. The HWN is satisfied with the commitments Imperial has made to avoid and mitigate the Project’s impacts and potential impacts to archaeological and burial sites, and supports the approval of this leave-to-construct application.

OEB FRAMEWORK

8. The Ontario Energy Board (the “OEB” or “Board”) is empowered and required pursuant to section 96 of the *Ontario Energy Board Act, 1998* to consider whether a proposed

constructions project is in the public interest.¹ Only if the Board is so satisfied can a project be approved.

9. The OEB is also broadly empowered pursuant to section 23(1) of the *Act* to impose such conditions as it considers proper.²
10. The OEB has created environmental guidelines for the location, construction and operation of hydrocarbon pipelines (the “Guidelines”). These Guidelines are designed to provide direction to applicants regarding matters to consider in applying for Board approval for such projects. The Guidelines state that the term “environment” used throughout the Guidelines is defined to include natural, social, economic, cultural and built components.³
11. Chapter 5.3 of the Guidelines deals with Cultural Heritage Resources, including archaeological sites, and mitigation of impacts on these resources.⁴ The Guidelines state that the preferred mitigation option for registered archaeological sites is avoidance, and also outlines guidelines for Indigenous communities’ involvement in archaeological impacts mitigation.
12. Chapter 3.3 of the Guidelines outlines the structure in OEB proceedings meant to ensure that the duty to consult and accommodate (“DTCA”) Indigenous groups has been discharged. The Guidelines state that the Ministry of Energy (as it then was) will coordinate the Crown’s DTCA obligations that may be triggered by applications for leave-to-construct. Where the DTCA is triggered, the Ministry will delegate the procedural aspects of consultation to the applicant. Prior to the close of the OEB proceeding, the Ministry will provide a letter to the applicant expressing its view on the adequacy of the Indigenous consultation.⁵

¹ *Ontario Energy Board Act*, S.O. 1998, c. 15, Sched. B, s. 96(1) [*Act*].

² *Act*, *supra* note 2 at s. 23(1).

³ Ontario Energy Board, *Environmental Guidelines for the Location, Construction and Operation of Hydrocarbon Pipelines and Facilities in Ontario*, 7th Ed. (2016) at p. 1 [Guidelines].

⁴ *Ibid.*, at pp. 46-47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, at pp. 17-18.

13. As a regulator with delegated authority from the provincial Crown, the OEB may make determinations regarding whether the DTCA has been adequately discharged.⁶

HURON-WENDAT NATION RIGHTS TO BE CONSIDERED BY BOARD

14. The HWN sought leave to intervene in this proceeding with respect to “all issues relating to consultation and accommodation and to the integrity of cultural heritage resources.”⁷
15. The right that is being impacted by Imperial’s Project, and to which the DTCA attaches in this matter, is the right to the integrity of the Nation’s archaeological and burial sites.
16. The Nation’s right to the integrity of its archeological and burial sites is recognized under Canadian law pursuant to both section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* and the treaty concluded by the Nation with the Crown in 1760 (the “1760 Treaty”). The 1760 Treaty has been recognized by the Supreme Court of Canada.⁸ This treaty explicitly recognizes and protects the HWN’s cultural and spiritual practices.⁹
17. Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* provides that: “The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.”¹⁰ This provision captures and constitutionally protects both the HWN’s inherent and treaty rights, including the right to the integrity of the Nation’s archaeological and burial sites.

SIGNIFICANCE OF BURIAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES TO THE HURON-WENDAT NATION

18. The HWN has a sacred obligation to ensure the respect and protection of its archaeological and cultural heritage in Ontario. This obligation is especially strong in relation to protecting its ancestors’ burial sites.

⁶ See e.g. *Rio Tinto Alcan Inc. v. Carrier Sekani Tribal Council*, [2010] 2 SCR 650, 2010 SCC 43 at paras. 55-65.

⁷ HWN_INT_REQ_20190625, online: <http://www.rds.oeb.ca/HPECMWebDrawer/Record?q=CaseNumber%3DDEB-2019-0007&sortBy=recRegisteredOn-&pageSize=400>.

⁸ *R. v. Sioui*, [1990] 1SCR 1025.

⁹ We note that Imperial states in its Indigenous Consultation Log that the HWN does not have treaty rights. This is incorrect. Consultation Log, Imperial Application for Leave to Construct, updated March 15, 2019 at Tab 2, Schedule 1, Exhibit H, at p. 1 [Imperial Application].

¹⁰ *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982 (UK)*, 1982, c. 11, s. 35(1) [*Constitution Act, 1982*]. We note that the HWN is an “aboriginal people” as defined by the *Constitution Act, 1982* at s. 35(2).

19. It is the HWN's belief that its ancestors' souls remain with their ancestors' bones. The HWN has a sacred duty to ensure that its ancestors' remains are not disturbed, so that their spirits can rest in peace.
20. In keeping with these beliefs, the HWN's Council adopted a resolution on June 15, 2015 describing the rights of the HWN in Ontario and the HWN's sacred obligation to protect its archaeological and burial sites in Ontario. The resolution states and recognizes that only the HWN is able to assume this responsibility, and further states that all necessary measures must be taken to ensure the respect and the protection of Huron-Wendat cultural and archaeological sites.
21. The 2015 resolution states, "... the history of the Huron-Wendat people is woven into the fields, lakes and mountains of the Great Lakes at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River." The HWN's archaeological and burial sites document thousands of years of the Nation's ancestors. This history has created the richest archaeological record in all of Wendake South.
22. Over 800 archaeological sites associated with the HWN have been documented in Wendake South, with more sites being identified every year. These sites include burial sites as well as ancient Huron-Wendat villages.
23. As outlined in further detail below, HWN burials and ossuaries are difficult to detect using the usual methods for archaeological assessments prescribed by the legislation in Ontario. This is because these sites are normally deeply buried. The HWN therefore actively participates in many development projects in Ontario by sending monitors during all project phases to ensure the protection of its cultural heritage resources.

THE PARSONS SITE AND OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

24. The Parsons Site is one of the most important Huron-Wendat archaeological sites in Wendake South. The site dates from the early sixteenth century. The village is more than twice the size of other known villages in the Humber region in this period.¹¹
25. Only approximately 30 percent of the Site has been disturbed, and the rest of the site is largely still intact and undisturbed.
26. As Imperial has indicated, the ossuary or ossuaries associated with the village have not yet been located.¹²
27. Imperial has committed to using horizontal directional drilling in the vicinity of the Parsons Site in order to minimize the potential that the Parsons Site may be impacted by the pipeline's construction.

DIFFICULTY DETECTING OSSUARIES

28. Ossuaries are a form of burial unique to the Huron-Wendat. These sacred sites are buried deeply, and are not typically detectible with test pits dug in accordance with the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport's ("MTCS") Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists.¹³
29. Test pits dug during Stage 3 archaeological assessments in accordance with these standards to identify archaeological resources only go to 5 cm beyond the subsoil. That is approximately 25 cm below the surface.¹⁴
30. The most visible sign of an ossuary (the presence of bones) can start anywhere from 20 cm below the subsoil to over two metres below the subsoil, and their total depth can range anywhere between one to two metres.¹⁵

¹¹ See e.g. Revisiting the Parsons Site – ASI, appended at Schedule "A", online: <http://asiheritage.ca/revisiting-the-parsons-site/>; Robertson, D.A. and Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeology of the Parsons Site: Summary and Conclusions," Ontario Archaeology, No. 65/66, 1998, appended at Schedule "B".

¹² Imperial Response to Request for Information HWN-2, p. 107.

¹³ Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists, online: http://www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/publications/SG_2010.pdf [Standards and Guidelines].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, at p. 32.

31. Because of the challenges in identifying ossuaries, the HWN actively participates in many construction projects in order to ensure that these sites are identified and protected, and will remain involved in the Project as it moves forward.

ACCOMMODATION WITH RESPECT TO THE PROJECT

32. The Crown in right of Canada and Ontario has a constitutional duty to consult and accommodate the HWN when there is a possibility that the Nation's right to the integrity of its archaeological and burial sites may be impacted.¹⁶ The Crown has recognized and acted on this duty for many years.¹⁷
33. The Board may make determinations regarding the scope of the Crown's duty to consult and accommodate or whether this duty has been met.¹⁸
34. The Crown's duty to consult and accommodate Indigenous peoples when there is a possibility that asserted Indigenous rights or title may be adversely impacted by proposed conduct is well-established in case law.¹⁹
35. The duty to consult Aboriginal rights holders or rights claimants, and that duty's content, derive from the fact that:

... Canada's Aboriginal peoples were here when Europeans came, and were never conquered. ... The potential rights embedded in these claims are protected by s. 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. The honour of the Crown requires that these rights be determined, recognized and respected.²⁰

¹⁵ See e.g. Williamson, Ronald F. and Deborah A. Steiss, "A History of Iroquoian Burial Practice" in *Bones of the Ancestors: The Archaeology and Osteobiography of the Moatfield Ossuary*. (Co-edited with Susan Pfeiffer), *Mercury Series Paper No. 163*, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003 at pp. 89-132, appended at Schedule "C".

¹⁶ See e.g. *Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)*, [2004] 3 SCR 511, 2004 SCC 73 at paras. 26-28 [*Haida Nation*].

¹⁷ See e.g. Delegation Letter from ENDM to Imperial dated September 10, 2018, Exhibit "G," Tab 2, Schedule 1 to Imperial Application.

¹⁸ Ontario Energy Board Aboriginal Consultation Policy, online: https://www.oeb.ca/documents/cases/acp_paper_20070618.pdf

¹⁹ See e.g. *Haida Nation*, *supra* note 20.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, at para. 25.

36. In its recent *Tsleil-Waututh* decision, the Federal Court of Appeal held that: “The duty to consult and accommodate ... reflects the need to avoid the impairment of asserted or recognized rights caused by the implementation of a specific project.”²¹
37. The Crown may delegate the procedural aspects of the duty to consult and accommodate, and has delegated this duty to Imperial in this case.²²
38. The Crown remains ultimately responsible for ensuring that appropriate consultation and accommodation has taken place.²³

IMPERIAL’S CONSULTATION AND ACCOMMODATION

39. Imperial has worked collaboratively with the HWN to address the HWN’s concerns with the Project’s impacts and potential impacts on the HWN’s right to the integrity of its archaeological and burial sites.
40. To date, the HWN has had monitors participate in the archaeological field work completed at the Project site, and has had the opportunity to review archaeological reports generated by Imperial’s archaeological consultant.²⁴ Imperial has also sought the HWN’s input on risk mitigation plans it is creating to protect cultural heritage resources uncovered during the Project’s development.
41. Going forward, Imperial has committed to continuing to seek the HWN’s input on risk mitigation plans, such as the Chance Find Contingency Plan, to ensure that impacts on archaeological and burial sites are avoided or mitigated. It has similarly committed to ensuring that the HWN’s participation in the ongoing archaeological work being undertaken with respect to the Project continues during phases of construction that may impact the HWN’s right.
42. Imperial has demonstrated its responsiveness to concerns raised by the HWN, and its willingness to work with the HWN towards appropriate accommodation measures. It has

²¹ *Tsleil-Waututh Nation v. Canada (Attorney General)*, 2018 FCA 153 at para. 487.

²² Delegation Letter from ENDM to Imperial dated September 10, 2018, Exhibit “G,” Tab 2, Schedule 1 to Imperial Application.

²³ See e.g. Ontario Energy Board Aboriginal Consultation Policy, online: https://www.oeb.ca/documents/cases/acp_paper_20070618.pdf.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, at 5.1, p. 10.

committed to continuing to work collaboratively with the HWN as the Project moves forward.

43. In light of the positive relationship that Imperial and the HWN have been building and Imperial's willingness to work collaboratively with the HWN on accommodation of impacts, the HWN does not have residual concerns with the Project's approval.

CONCLUSION

44. The Huron-Wendat Nation supports the approval of Imperial's leave-to-construct application.

SCHEDULE “A”



Blog

Revisiting the Parsons Site

In preparation for the Huron-Wendat Trail celebration on Saturday June 15th, we thought we would revisit the Parsons Site – a site that is being honoured with a plaque by the City of Toronto, Heritage Toronto and ASI this weekend.

During the 1950s, the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS) carried out excavations at the Parsons Site: a hugely important ancestral Huron-Wendat village site dating from the mid-to-late fifteenth century and located just northwest of Finch and Keele in North York.

Fast forward to 2013 – nearly 60 years after the initial investigations at Parsons – and the City of Toronto, Heritage Toronto and ASI are coming together to celebrate the rich history of this area by naming the newly developed Finch Hydro Corridor the “The Huron-Wendat Trail”. This Saturday June 15th, a plaque presentation and bike tour, led by ASI’s

Chief Archaeologist Dr. Ron Williamson, will take place at Driftwood Park and many of the Huron-Wendat are coming down from Wendake, QC, to take part in the commemoration.

Starting in 1952, Dr J. Norman Emerson of the University of Toronto (Fun Fact: He also founded the OAS), ran a series of field schools and excavations at the now famous site. It soon became clear that the students at U of T – and the new members of the OAS – were digging a very rich area indeed. Many attempts were made over the years that followed to designate and preserve the site, including a proposal in the '60s to turn it into a reconstructed village for educational purposes, but such initiatives were ultimately unsuccessful. There were growing concerns about what would happen to the site as development loomed in the region and parts of the area fell victim to development projects in the late '70s that ignored archaeological protocol. It was apparent that Parsons needed to be further examined, understood and reported on – and a final opportunity for additional research would arise almost 40 years later.



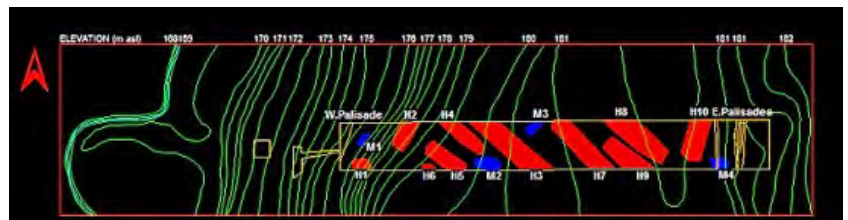
The eastern section of the 1989-90 excavation trench showing Houses 9, 8, 10 and the east palisade.

The year was 1989 and the company was Archaeological Services Inc. ASI was retained at the time by the Metropolitan Works Department to excavate an unexplored section of the Parsons site to make way for a watermain route. This new excavation would also solve the old problem of a lack of data from the initial excavations in the '50s. Two years of exploration would begin in '89 and a final account of the Parsons site would, at long last, be written and distributed.

Why is Parsons considered such a rich site? Well, because the 1989/1990 excavations represent about one-tenth of the village's estimated area and only one longhouse can be said to be (almost) fully exposed. You see what we mean when we say "a big village", right?

But, that's not all. During those two years of excavation, ASI located and analyzed:

- 10 longhouses
- Soil features representing subterranean sweatlodges
- The eastern and western parts of a palisade
- Over 200 subsurface cultural features
- More than 3,000 chipped lithic fragments
- Four midden (refuse) areas
- 30 ground stone artifacts
- Six "exotic" metal items, including two rolled tubular beads
- More than 6,000 total artifact



Topographic plan and cross-section of the 1989-90 excavation area.

The village at Parsons housed a large community of people living along the Humber watershed beginning in the mid 1400s. This was a continual occupation, as there are also seventeenth-century sites present on the property. The site itself is more than twice the size of many of the known villages in the Humber region. The occurrence of exotic trade items indicate that the people at Parsons were involved in long distance trade and therefore could be considered fairly cosmopolitan and well-traveled.

We recognize Parsons as one of the most important models for Late Woodland village life in the Humber Valley and we're looking forward to Saturday's event where we will celebrate, acknowledge and identify the Huron-Wendat

contribution and presence in the region of Toronto. Looking forward to seeing you there!

WRITTEN BY: CLAIRE VAN NIEROP

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SCHEDULE “B”

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PARSONS SITE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

David A. Robertson and Ronald F. Williamson

It has been fifty years since the first extensive archaeological investigations of the Iroquoian settlement of the Humber River watershed took place. Excavations at the Parsons site first took place in 1952 and involved many of the charter members of the *Ontario* Archaeological Society. Since that time, the site has achieved an almost mythical status if only as the place at which many still active, and now legendary, Northeastern archaeologists first cut their teeth. The site itself has also played an essential role in various reconstructions of Ontario's prehistory, despite the fact that relatively little of the settlement had been excavated, much less reported upon in detail. On the other hand, the site was assumed to be one of the larger villages in central Ontario and by the 1970s had yielded hundreds of thousands of artifacts, most of which remain in private collections.

Although the 1989-1990 excavations are the largest-scale investigations carried out to date at the site, they represent only about one-tenth of the village's estimated area. Furthermore, only one structure (House 5) can be said to have been exposed to a reasonably complete extent. These factors impose considerable limitations both on the possibility of reconstructing the developmental history of the village, and on the examination or interpretation of those distributional trends noted during the analyses of the various classes of artifacts recovered. Nevertheless, several general suggestions concerning the site may be offered and many of the myths associated with the site can be laid to rest.

On the basis of the settlement pattern data, the layout of the houses within the comparatively small excavated portion of the village attests to a high degree of organization and planning, although it is equally apparent that the community was also highly dynamic in character. It may be suggested that the initial construction of the regularly-spaced Houses 5, 3, 7 and 8 within the central portion of the site occurred as a more or less single event. Given

that there is some evidence for House 10 post-dating some exterior activity to the east of House 8, it may be that House 10 was erected somewhat later.

Although the relationship between the potentially earlier structures and the palisades remains uncertain, it is probable that the site was in fact enclosed from its earliest period of occupation, given the overall strategic location of the village on the bluffs overlooking the creek. To a certain degree, this assumption is also supported by the possibility that Midden 4 initially formed as a refuse deposit between the inner two rows of eastern palisades. Whether the construction of Houses 1, 2, and 6 also occurred at this same general time is also unclear. It should, however, be borne in mind that House 1 is unlikely to have served as a year-round residence.

The initial phase of construction may then have been followed by a period of in-filling, with the addition of House 4, as one or two short, narrow structures, between Houses 3 and 5, and with the building of House 9 between Houses 7 and 8. This phase may also correspond to a slight expansion of the primary occupation area with the construction of the more easterly five row palisade. It is equally likely, however, that refuse continued to accumulate in the area of Midden 4 in the innermost palisades.

That these two suggested phases represent a comparatively lengthy period of time is indicated by the apparent frequency with which many of the houses were modified: House 4 appears to represent the coalescence or replacement of two small, irregular structures; House 3 seems to have experienced one contraction; House 7 may have been extended once; and House 8 was extended or contracted on as many as three occasions. Similarly, the length of House 2 was altered at least once.

The relationships between Houses 3, 7, 9, and numerous exterior features all suggest that the site continued to be occupied following the abandonment of these residences. The

timing of this exterior activity, however, remains unclear. It is probable that much of this activity occurred within a reasonably short period of time, and was associated with the occupation of structures lying beyond the limits of the excavations.

House 4 also stands out as somewhat distinctive. Measuring only five metres in width, but at least 21 m in length, it is possible that this structure was proportioned to fit within the limited space available between the larger and earlier Houses 3 and 5. Furthermore, it would appear that the construction of the house occurred over at least two phases, involving a transition from two separate structures to a single one that incorporated architectural elements of the earlier structures. Thus, neither the structural design of House 4, nor its developmental history would appear to closely conform to the normative ideal of the Late Iroquoian longhouse. Nevertheless, these "anomalous" traits do not necessarily provide sufficient grounds for assigning a "special" or "ritual" function to the house, despite the fact that it also contained two semi-subterranean structures. While these structures likely fulfilled a number of specialized functions, the most detailed discussion of their use is the suggestion that they served as sweat lodges for ritual/curative purposes (Smith 1976; MacDonald 1988; 1992). The frequency with which these structures occur within longhouses suggests that their ritual role may have been a fundamental aspect of daily life in an Iroquoian household, especially if their use related to a curing society that functioned as a socially integrative institution within an emergent tribal system. Thus, the assumed distinction between the sacred and the secular, which often implicitly informs interpretation of the mere presence of these features in a house (e.g., Kapches 1994:97), is likely to have been more blurred and is possibly misleading.

With respect to its constituent artifact assemblages, the eastern side of the site stands out as distinctive in at least two respects. In particular, House 8 and the refuse deposits along the inner palisades (Feature 240, Midden 4-Feature 245) yielded the largest proportion of "exotic" ceramic vessels, including over 75 percent of types traditionally regarded as St. Lawrence Iroquoian, such as Durfee Under-lined and Roebuck Low Collar. Similarly, the presence of Dutch Hollow Notched and Lalon-

de High Collar vessels was also confined to House 8. This skewed distribution of the "exotic" ceramics may indicate that the occupants of House 8 maintained somewhat distinctive traditions of ceramic decoration from that characterizing the remainder of the community, or that their own external communication and exchange alliances were somewhat differently oriented from those of the other households in this area of the site. Whether or not these patterns resulted from St. Lawrence Iroquoian women actually arriving at Parsons with vessels in hand, through marriage or migration, is not known, although trace element analyses conducted on other vessels from the site, using the *University of Toronto* collection, and on pots from other fifteenth century north shore sites suggest that they were made locally or at least transported among north shore communities (Trigger et al. 1980:132). Also, at least one juvenile vessel with St. Lawrence Iroquoian decorative attributes suggests a local on-site tradition for the manufacture of at least some of these pots. In considering the various explanations for the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics in the Trent Valley (migration, trade, conquest, refugees), Ramsden (1990c:92-93) dismisses the "captured bride hypothesis" as both sexist (cf. Latta 1991) and out of keeping with the pattern of small-scale warfare that likely prevailed prior to the 1600s. He does not, however, consider the possibility of intro-community marriage. Such an explanation also avoids the sexist pitfalls of the "captured bride hypothesis," as it recognizes that marriage in Iroquoian society involved choice. Both males and females in Huron society participated in the selection and decision of whom they would marry (Trigger 1969:66). Moreover, during the historic period it is documented that matrilineal residence patterns (while perhaps preferred) were not necessarily always followed (Trigger 1976:46, 136) and females could travel from distant communities to marry and live with Huron men (Tooker 1964:127).

Whether the eastern portion of the village could therefore be said to form a distinct, ethnically-defined enclave or "barrio" within the overall settlement (e.g., Ramsden 1990b:382), on the basis of these distinctive distributional patterns, is a question that cannot be addressed in the absence of further excavation. The exposed portions of neither

House 9 nor House 10 yielded sufficient quantities of material to assist in the identification of any more widespread distinctions of this type. Furthermore, such an interpretive exercise must take into account the inherent difficulties of traditional assumptions concerning the existence of direct relationships between material culture attributes and ethnic identity. The interpretation of certain attributes as expressions of group identity or solidarity, in the absence of a clear understanding of their evolution and structural context, should not be made lightly (Williamson and Robertson 1994:27, 37-39).

It is interesting to note that the distribution of scattered human bone, although dispersed throughout the entire excavated area (Robertson, Williamson and Welsh, this volume: Table 27), is also biased (75 percent) towards the eastern portion of the settlement, again primarily concentrated within House 8, and along the inner palisade in Midden 4-Feature 245 and the refuse-filled depression represented by Feature 240. Little, if any, of this material bears indications of trauma that may be construed as decisive evidence for prisoner torture and sacrifice. The remains in the east palisade area were found in midden deposits, while those from House 8 were dispersed within the fill layers of a semi-subterranean sweat-lodge and from two house support posts.

Some of the House 8 remains, which embody only a portion of one or more individuals, appear to have been subjected to carnivore gnawing indicating that they had been exposed on the surface of the site for some time. Whether these remains constitute victims of violence, the disturbed and scattered remnants of burials that were exhumed for reinterment elsewhere, but from which not all elements were collected, or even relics or talismans (cf. Fitzgerald 1992:8; Thwaites 1896-1901; 21:199) cannot be determined.

The significance of the crania recovered from Feature 245 is equally difficult to assess. Eyewitness reports of Huron combat in the seventeenth century certainly suggest that the heads of some casualties were carried off from battle sites (Tooker 1964:31) and/or the heads of prisoners may have been consumed by low-status individuals in an effort to dishonour the victims (Tooker 1964:39), and the deposition of the two crania in a refuse context may be consistent with such practices. Yet, given the

liminal position of the two skulls, at the base the palisades and facing beyond the limits of the settlement, could not these remains also represent a deliberate deposit that was made with reverence rather than insult? In their detailed comparative analysis of four Iroquoian populations (Kleinberg, Uxbridge, Roebuck, Broughton Hill, New York), Dupras and Pratte (this volume) found that the two crania closely resemble one another and those from the Uxbridge ossuary. These data strongly suggest that the crania came from a local population rather than a more distant one. The possibility that these two skulls represent the remains of venerated members or ancestors of the community should not be dismissed out of hand. If, however, these remains are those of captive victims of torture and sacrifice, their affinity with the local population, as reflected by their resemblance to the Uxbridge ossuary community, would seem to indicate that feuding was taking place between neighbouring tribal systems. Such a finding would seem to run counter to the prevailing idea that the endemic conflict that characterized Late Iroquoian society was played out over long distances, such as between the geographically disparate Huron and St. Lawrence Iroquoians or the Neutral and the Algonquian-speaking Fire Nation (e.g., Warrick 1984:63; Pendergast 1993:25-26). However, given the likelihood that both alliance formation and conflict between individual communities was highly dynamic, it may be expected that both occurred at a broad range of scales.

The 1989-1990 excavations, despite their comparatively limited extent, have largely confirmed the traditional characterization of the Parsons site as indicative of the emergence of a large community along the middle reaches of the Humber watershed that had ties with other communities further afield. The nonceramic "exotic" trade goods recovered from the site over the past four decades attest to the fact that the Parsons community was integrated within far-reaching exchange systems, but they would appear to indicate that these networks were equally likely to have been oriented towards the west and the Upper Great Lakes, rather than toward eastern networks that converged on an emergent European system. It should also be noted that Parsons was perhaps no better situated with respect to these trade networks than other

roughly contemporaneous communities. Numerous fifteenth and sixteenth century assemblages include a similar number of copper artifacts that are of native origin (Fitzgerald 1990; Fox et al. 1995; Hancock et al. 1991). These data and the newly acquired calibrated radiocarbon dates firmly place the site in the fifteenth century rather than the mid-sixteenth century as previously estimated (Wright 1966:70; Ramsden 1977:72-73).

Likewise, even though the Parsons lithic industry has been characterized as exhibiting distinct similarities to Neutral sites (Ramsden 1977:281-282) and, in fact, over 99.7 percent of the chipped lithic assemblage recovered during the 1989-90 excavations consisted of Onondaga chert, the community would appear to have had no advantage over other late fifteenth-early sixteenth century villages situated near the north shore of Lake Ontario with respect to their access to Onondaga chert. Over 99 percent of the chert from the Boyle-Atkinson site, situated in Richmond Hill, was of the Onondaga variety (Poulton 1987:33), as was 97.8 percent of the chipped lithics at Draper (Poulton 1985:51) and 94 percent of the lithic material from Seed-Barker (Burgar 1988:25). The McKenzie-Woodbridge (Johnson 1980:86) and Keffer (Robert Pearce, personal communication 1995) lithic assemblages also primarily consist of Onondaga chert. The Parsons lithic industry has previously been interpreted to reflect Neutral incursions into the Humber region (Ramsden 1977:284) while the large quantities of Onondaga chert at Draper, in combination with low quantities of Neutral ceramic types (representing "captive brides"), has been seen to indicate the genesis of formal alliances that led to the generally peaceful relations between the Huron and Neutral during the seventeenth century (Finlayson 1985:440). Therefore, use of an abundance of Onondaga chert to postulate particularly close Neutral affiliations must be questioned. There is little compelling evidence that Late Iroquoian communities on the north shore of Lake Ontario experienced undue restrictions in access to high quality chert from primary sources in the Niagara frontier and along the north shore of Lake Erie. The economic and social logistics of chert acquisition are likely to have been complex, but remain largely unstudied for the Late Woodland period. For the seventeenth century, however, it may be noted

that there is little evidence that would suggest that the Neutral exerted strict control over the Onondaga sources (Cooper 1996:22).

A western, possibly Neutral, occupation of the site had also been postulated on the basis of the predominance of concave interior profiles on the ceramic vessels recovered from the site (Williamson and Powis, this volume). While almost fifty percent of the vessels from the ASI investigations were thought to have concave interior profiles, the vessels from other middle Humber area sites also have relatively significant percentages of concave profiles (>30 percent for Black Creek, Downsview and Riseborough), even given possible observer discrepancies in the recording of this attribute (Ramsden 1977:143-144). Also, concave interiors characterize almost 33 percent of the vessels at Keffer (Smith 1991:36). It is interesting to note, however, that *by way* of comparison, the upper Humber sites all have frequencies of 20 percent or less, suggesting that there are indeed two communities on the Humber, each of which had a different ceramic manufacturing tradition, which had been present for at least one hundred years.

These latter findings are of considerable significance, as they — together with the accumulation of a considerable body of data from throughout southern Ontario in the time that has elapsed since the first detailed considerations of the site's significance (e.g., Emerson 1968; Ramsden 1977, 1978) — have provided an opportunity to re-examine certain interpretations or general assumptions concerning both the site itself and the degree to which it is representative of the growth of more complex and extensive socio-political structures during the Late Ontario Iroquoian period. While previous investigators of the site all concluded that the site was large and dated to the early to mid-sixteenth century, the 1989-1990 excavations have allowed us to determine that the site was well defended, well planned and inhabited for a considerable length of time during the mid-late fifteenth century. The patterns of the house structures and palisade at Parsons also enable us to draw comparisons between this site and other comparably sized and contemporaneous sites such as Draper (Finlayson 1985). It is entirely conceivable that both of these sites and others like them represent early forms of the tribal polities that eventually relocated to Simcoe County to

join with the populations already established there and which were, perhaps, also undergoing a similar process of population movement and consolidation during the mid- to late fifteenth century (Warrick and Molnar 1986:26). The rather elaborate defensive strategies evident at Parsons and Draper, may attest to significant tension within and between these communities, prior to their migration northward. Whether this tension was simply inherent

to tribal villages living in close proximity to one another, or was caused by some other factor, within another hundred years they had allied to become significant components of the Huron Confederacy, one of the largest and best documented political networks of seventeenth century North America. It is likely that detailed explanations for the inception of those alliances will only emerge with the efforts of another fifty years of archaeological work.

SCHEDULE “C”

Bones of the Ancestors

*The Archaeology and Osteobiography
of the Moatfield Ossuary*

Edited by
Ronald F. Williamson
and
Susan Pfeiffer

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SUPPLEMENTAL CD-ROM

Detailed Mapping of the Ossuary Feature by Level and Theme
 Database of Skeletal Elements
 Selected Images of Skeletal Pathological Conditions and Developmental Traits
 Moatfield Village Artifact Catalogues

A HISTORY OF ONTARIO IROQUOIAN MULTIPLE BURIAL PRACTICE

3

*Ronald F. Williamson
Debbie A. Steiss*

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to provide a developmental framework for Iroquoian mortuary behaviour within which to consider the Moatfield ossuary. Not only is it necessary to assess the history of the practice of placing human remains from one or more communities in a common burial pit, but it is also important to evaluate the variation in the structures of those pits and the behaviours associated with the placement of the remains. Indeed, while separate burial traditions have been recognized for the various northern Iroquoian groups (i.e., Huron, Neutral and Five Nation Iroquois), there was considerable variability and complexity within each of those traditions through both time and space. Unfortunately, that variation and complexity has been, at least in part, masked by a confusing descriptive taxonomy for multiple secondary burial practice, a situation that we will attempt to clarify in this chapter.

In order to understand the Moatfield pattern in light of this complex set of traditions, a detailed description of the archaeological structure of the Moatfield pit (Williamson et al., Chapter 4, this volume) as well as a thorough comparative analysis of other multiple burial sites, must be presented. It is in the details of such comparisons that cultural patterns will be detected, which will facilitate an understanding of how Moatfield fits within general pre-contact Iroquoian burial traditions and perhaps even within a developmental sequence of a particular north shore of Lake Ontario community. Such details include the proximity of the burial pit to the associated village, the size and morphology of the burial pit(s), their stratigraphic layering, the presence or absence of scaffolding, the use of fire

and/or other evidence of ceremony, the use of animal skins, the arrangements of both bundles and single elements within deposits, the distribution of sex and age classes and the presence, absence or distinctiveness of constituent artifacts. This chapter presents such a comparative analysis, which in turn, will allow for a meaningful interpretation of the Moatfield pit in the concluding chapter of this volume.

The earliest historical records of Iroquoian mortuary customs are those of the seventeenth century French missionaries who lived with and travelled among Ontario's native people. Archaeological evidence suggests, however, that many of these burial practices were established by the beginning of the Middle Iroquoian period, circa A.D. 1300 (Johnston 1979; Spence 1994; Trigger 1969:102, 1985:94)—the estimated date for the occupation of the Moatfield site. The appearance of ossuaries, along with semi-subterranean sweat lodges (MacDonald 1988; 1992) suggest that both structures functioned as mechanisms of community integration, yet these ceremonies certainly had precedents in earlier societies throughout the Northeast.

The multiple burial cemeteries of the Early Woodland period (circa 500 B.C.), for example, have been viewed as evidence of the growing importance of the band as a referent of social identity (Spence et al. 1978:44; Williamson 1980:10) and as places that provided annual opportunities for reaffirming community member's rights and responsibilities (e.g., Spence et al. 1990:167). These early cemeteries consisted mainly of individual burials and more rarely of two or three people together, perhaps representing the annual dead from a nuclear family (e.g., Spence et al. 1990:133). On the other hand, Clermont (1978) suggested that at the Early Woodland Pointe-du-Buisson 5 site in southern Quebec, the annual dead from the entire band may have been cremated and then interred together within a pit, a pattern also documented at the Transitional Archaic Hind site in southern Ontario (Donaldson and Wortner 1995:10). While these may represent early forms of community-wide interments, the introduction of maize and village life brought about a gradual transition in the economic and socio-political structures of most regional populations that also had profound impacts on burial customs (Williamson 1990). Notwithstanding evidence of regionally-based mortuary programs during the Early Iroquoian period (Spence 1994), this transition involved a general shift from individual or extended family primary burial pits to large group interments in secondary form. It might be argued that this transition represents the "moment" at which the family is supplanted by the community as the main social referent in Iroquoian societies.

While some cemeteries were used periodically throughout the tenure of a village, as was the case with Neutral and some Five Nation Iroquois mortuary sites, the formation of the Huron ossuary appears to have been catalysed by a significant event in the life of the individual community, namely the relocation of their village. On the north shore of Lake Ontario, this form of group burial was regularized by the beginning of the Middle Iroquoian period, with Moatfield representing one of the earliest examples yet recorded.

DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF OSSUARY BURIAL

The term *ossuary* has been applied in a number of differing ways to the mortuary customs of various northeastern aboriginal groups. Not only has ossuary been used interchangeably with *burial pit*, *mixed graves* and *mass burial*, but all of these terms have been used inconsistently. This makes it difficult for the casual reader of this literature to appreciate either the significant differences between the burial programs of these aboriginal groups or the multi-linear nature of their evolution.

Michael Spence (1994:7) has argued that the term ossuary should be reserved for a burial pit containing the mixed deposit of the remains of multiple individuals, which was formed as the result of final burial ceremonies, triggered by events such as a village relocation, the death of a leader, or the reformulation of inter-village alliances. While he acknowledged that it is difficult to determine the catalysts for such events, he was attempting to distinguish between special and infrequent ceremonies and features containing multiple secondary burials formed during regular burial episodes in community cemeteries. While he acknowledged that the two situations are difficult to differentiate, he argued that ossuary burial would result in the interment of more individuals and fewer articulations (or less evidence of dismemberment), since much more time would have passed between the death of at least some individuals and their reburial, thereby allowing for the complete decomposition of soft tissue in the primary burial context.

Spence also hypothesized that at least in Early Iroquoian times, there may have been a transitional stage between primary and ossuary burial, which involved the periodic exhumation of primary burials and their re-interment in common pits. These in turn would be exhumed later for final "ossuary" burial, perhaps at the time of village relocation. While secondary burial pits containing the fragmentary remains of several individuals might constitute evidence of such a practice, it is equally possible that pits containing the remains, partial or complete, of several individuals might represent the final group burial of an extended family or even a clan segment. In such situations, a full understanding of the feature's archaeological context (e.g., proximity to a community cemetery) as well as detailed observations of each burial would be required in order to discern the differences between transitional forms of ossuary burial and contributing features to periodic reburial ceremonies at a community cemetery (Spence 1994:8).

Richard Johnston (1979) also differentiated between the Huron ossuary and other burial traditions. He argued that a late period Huron ossuary was not simply a grave containing the remains of several individuals, which was otherwise common in the Northeast, but a large bone deposit consisting of numerous incomplete and disarticulated interments. He went on to define an ossuary as the common burial of the secondary remains of a minimum of 10 or 12 individuals, as a result of the concerted action by a social group larger than an extended family or limited kin group and when the numbers of individuals represented are in the hundreds, on the part of several neighbouring villages.

Marian White (1966:15-22) also defined multiple burial classes for the historic period in the Niagara Frontier of southern Ontario and New York State, prompted by her analysis of the partially mixed secondary deposit of some three or four hundred individuals from the Orchid ossuary in Fort Erie, Ontario. She distinguished between ossuary forms with and without single burials, mixed graves containing multiple bundles and single primary burials and cemeteries, which contained primary interments, usually of single individuals. White, like Spence, also called for careful delineation of burial features to differentiate between disarticulated and incomplete secondary burials from primary burials that have had most elements removed for ossuary burial (e.g., Esler 1998:161; Ramsden et al. 1998:82-83).

Mary Jackes (1996:128) also provided a detailed definition for the term ossuary. She argued that an ossuary is "a multiple burial in which most individuals are interred after natural or artificial disarticulation" and that, while bones may be arranged by skeletal element, they are rarely retained in bundles containing recognizable individuals. Jackes suggested an arbitrary figure of 25% as the maximum number of individuals that should be recognizable within an ossuary. This contrasts with what Jackes refers to as a burial pit or a feature containing the bones of many individuals within which the majority retain articulations or are at least recognizable as individuals, e.g., bundle burials (Jackes 1996:130). According to this scheme, the former would apply to most Huron burial deposits while the latter would apply to Neutral cemeteries.

The Southeast/Middle Atlantic area appears to provide the greatest time depth for burial pits containing large numbers of people. Douglas Ubelaker (1974) reported that at least 21 ossuaries had been discovered in the mid-Atlantic region, varying in size from 2.4 to 7.62 metres in diameter and containing between 5 and 618 individuals. The pit containing 618 burials was recorded in one of the five ossuaries at Piscataway Creek, Maryland (Stephenson et al. 1963). Dennis Curry (1999) has provided a detailed summary and analysis of multiple burial features in that region, defining ossuaries as "mass graves containing the collected, often disarticulated, skeletal remains of multiple individuals" (Curry 1999:3). Curry stressed their function as secondary graves containing the remains of people originally buried or stored elsewhere and then disinterred or collected for reburial in one common pit in his application of the term ossuary to these features. In so doing, he followed Ubelaker (1974) who defined ossuary burial as a "secondary deposit of skeletal material representing individuals initially stored elsewhere".

While citing Huron ossuary burial as the best ethno-historically documented example of this behaviour, Curry also described much earlier ossuaries containing hundreds of secondary burials. Significant numbers of secondary burials occurred in sand mounds, for example, along the east coast of Florida, prior to A.D. 100 and throughout the southeast by Middle Woodland and early Late Woodland times. The McLean Mound in North Carolina, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 970±110, was found to contain 242 bundle burials and 25 cremations. Curry also pointed to a series of ossuaries in the North Coastal region, dating from A.D. 1310 to 1460, which occurred in two forms: large communal pits, composed of

distinct deposits or clusters representing individual family bundles or groupings, and small pits, composed of bundle burials representing individual family ossuaries.

Curry also described Late Woodland and Contact period ossuaries in tidewater Virginia and Maryland that exhibited a variety of burial treatments from primary burials to secondary disarticulated interment to cremation. All ages and sexes are represented in pits that contain the remains of anywhere from a dozen to more than 100 individuals, along with an assortment of aboriginal artifacts and trade goods. Several of these ossuaries were located on high ridges, reminiscent of the earlier sand mound burials of the Southeast, suggesting their development from the earlier burial practices (cf. Blick 2002:2). Curry also noted that there is a good correlation between the Maryland ossuaries and documented habitation sites and that there is archaeological evidence in Maryland, although rare, for the typical forms of primary burial treatment also reported for the Huron (i.e., interment, scaffold placement and storage in mortuary houses). Also, approximately 45% of the Maryland ossuaries contained cremations, in discrete pockets similar to bundles. The bodies were apparently cremated outside of the ossuary (Curry 1999:77-78). He suggested that cremations may have denoted status differentiation in ossuaries, especially in those situations where initial cremation deposits were covered by layers of unburned bone as was noted in two ossuaries in Maryland and Cape Cod (Curry 1999:87). He proposed that the chief's remains had been interred at the base of the ossuary and then capped by the unburned remains of the common villagers. Cut marks on the bone were common; indeed an unusual practice was noted at two ossuaries in Virginia, that of severing the knee tendons of articulated individuals and then bending the lower legs forward (anatomically backward) (Curry 1999:79). At least one Maryland ossuary contained incarnate burials, as indicated by extended, fully articulated burials associated with greasy, nitrogen-rich soils.

A number of ossuaries showed evidence of ceremonial fires as distinct from cremation fires. This is indicated by a layer of soil separating the fire on top of the ossuary from the bones within or, where there was no layer of soil, signs that the fire had been very localized, charring only the upper surfaces of the bone. Evidence of purposeful arrangement of bones was found in these ossuaries, including articulated remains placed at the bottom of pits, concentrations of skulls at the top or in the centre of the bone masses, long bones being laid parallel to one another with a skull atop each pile, rectangles of long bones containing cremations, skulls and long bones in separate groupings in bone deposits, and other patterns. Curry also suggested that the frequent presence of small bones in skulls resulted from skulls being used as containers to transport remains from the primary interment to the ossuary. He also pointed out that despite the appearance of randomness in the jumble of remains in some ossuaries, patterns of deposition are often decipherable (Curry 1999:79-81). Many of these patterns have also been recorded within Ontario Iroquoian multiple burial pits and ossuaries.

More recently, Jeffrey Blick (2000) described and attempted to contextualize what he has termed the Quiyoughcohannock Ossuary Ritual, a mortuary program known from 12 separate ossuary pits in the Tidewater (James River) region of

Virginia. While a temporal range for the ossuaries has not yet been established, Blick believes the remains to be those of the Quiyoughcohannock, an aboriginal population encountered in the early seventeenth century by English explorers and colonists. In order to place that program within a larger, pan-regional context, he conducted a literature search which resulted in the enumeration of 102 sites from eastern North America showing evidence of ossuary burial. He noted that the practice of ossuary burial was widespread, but was primarily confined to the Atlantic seaboard and lower Great Lakes region. He went on to define six smaller subregions: the Tidewater Virginia/North Carolina region, the northern Virginia/Delmarva Peninsula region, the New York/New Jersey region, the Massachusetts region, the Great Lakes region, and the Central Plains region (Blick 2000:18). Blick (2000:18-19) argued that the temporal depth of multiple secondary burial can first be traced to the Midwest and Central Plains beginning around 850 B.C.

The value of Blick's research is undermined by the uncritical grouping of quite different cultural and burial traditions within the subregions, simply on the basis of shared multiple secondary burial practice. For the Great Lakes region, for example, multiple secondary burial forms are known for both New York and Ontario Iroquoian groups and Western Basin Tradition Algonquian populations (Murphy and Ferris 1990), situated immediately to the west of the Iroquoians. An example of the latter is the Younge phase Krieger site (1350±140 B.P. [S-620]), located near Chatham, Ontario, which had two burial pits, both containing multiple secondary burials, one with the incomplete remains of three or four individuals, and the other containing the relatively complete remains of eight individuals (cf. Greenman 1967; Halsey 1976; Lozanoff and Stothers 1975; Spence 1990).

This brief review demonstrates that the term ossuary has been applied to a variety of burial events across the Northeast, all of which created archaeological features of varying sizes that contain secondary burials. The actual form of re-interment, however, also varied widely from the placement of both individuals and groups of bundles, to mixed deposits where individuals were no longer identifiable. While it might be appropriate to identify all of the burial events described above as ossuaries, based on standard definitions of the term (Bray and Trump 1982:178-179; Winnick 1970:394), it would be far more useful to recognize the many different burial traditions that are represented in those descriptions. The use of a single term masks the importance of the differences in those re-interment traditions, in both time and space (cf. Jackes [1996], Kenyon [1982], for discussions of the differences between Huron and Neutral burial practice).

Following Spence (1994) and Jackes (1996), we will herein reserve the use of the term *ossuary* for those burial events where the secondary remains of multiple individuals are re-interred in a generally mixed deposit. It is assumed that such features were normally formed during a single ceremonial event, despite the presence of "floors" or the deposition of layers of bone. Other features will be described as *burial pits*, where it is thought that a single event occurred that resulted in the placement of remains in either single or group bundles or as *cemeteries*, when both primary and secondary individual or group burials are placed in separate events.

Such a distinction will allow for a taxonomy of the various traditions and will enable the discussion of the variation in practice during the ongoing development of these traditions (cf. Sutton 1988). With this taxonomy in mind, we will now turn to the historical development of the various Great Lakes Iroquoian traditions and the delineation, if not explication, of the variation within them. The main focus, however, is on southern Ontario Iroquoian patterns, especially those of communities on the north shore of Lake Ontario.

Reference is made to numerous Ontario sites, summary details of which are presented in Table 3.1. In order to construct this table, the archaeological sites database (over 13,000 sites) maintained by the Ontario government was consulted for every mention of the terms "burial", "grave", "cemetery" and "ossuary", the published and unpublished literature for southern Ontario was reviewed and key informants were contacted. The sites listed are only those for which reliable data could be obtained and at which multiple burial pits or ossuaries were documented. While James Anderson claimed, for example, that there were 216 ossuary sites in Ontario (Anderson 1963), our table lists considerably fewer. The provincial database is replete with second and third-hand accounts of ossuaries and burials with little or no available data. Also, the sites in Table 3.1 date to the Transitional Woodland period and later (post A.D. 500) and do not therefore include Middle Woodland components or mounds. Western Basin Tradition sites are excluded as well.

Early Ontario Iroquoian

Spence (1994) has argued that while there was considerable variation in mortuary programs during Early Iroquoian times among regionally based communities, by the twelfth century, reburial traditions were mainly community- rather than family-based. In the Norfolk sand plain of southwestern Ontario, for example, secondary group burials may have been tied to the annual settlement-subsistence cycle. Most individuals would have been placed on scaffolding or interred at the time of their death. Their remains were later collected or exhumed, and the crania and larger elements were re-interred in group cemeteries in the warm season when the community moved to the north shore of Lake Erie. In this way, these final pits represent the selected remains of all individuals in the community who had died during the preceding year. The burials at the Elliott, Bruce Boyd, Tara, and perhaps Force and Boisclair sites all seem to be examples of this mortuary pattern. In his summary of this pattern, Spence argued that since only one year's decomposition, at most, would have occurred, some elements would have been articulated. At least some evidence of deliberate disarticulation should be present, in the form of cut marks on the bone. As these annual reburial pits would be composed of residents from more than one house, he also predicted that they would be located outside of individual house structures as was demonstrated at the Elliott site (Spence 1994:9-12, 15).

Table 3.1: Gazetteer of sites reflecting evidence of Ontario Iroquoian multiple burial practices.

Site	Date ¹	Region/City	Feature Description and Dimensions (m)	MNI	Comments	Major Reference(s)
Winona Rockshelter	8 th C	Hamilton	burial context destroyed	4	secondary; probably genetically related	Spence and Fox 1992
Peace Bridge (Surma)	8 th C	Niagara	ovate features 0.9-1.1 long	23	mainly single burials, although some had infant and sub-adult inclusions	Emerson and Noble 1966; Cybuski 1968; Williamson et al. 1997
Downham Nurseries	n/a	Elgin	disturbed by farming activities	6	two features; one with 5 individuals	Spence 1994; Mayer and Antone 1988
Bruce Boyd	11 th C	Norfolk	completely excavated	8	three features, one with a single primary, and the others with secondary burials of 2 and 5 individuals	Spence et al. 1978; 1990; Spence 1994
Elliott	11 th -13 th C	Norfolk	1.4 x 1.4 x —	4	one feature with four secondary burials; complex ritual events	Fox 1988; Spence 1988; Fox and Salzer 1999 Fox 1983
Boisclair	11 th C	London	feature destroyed	6	five burial features destroyed by construction; multiple secondary bundles	Spence 1994
Praying Mantis	12 th C	London	feature within a house	9	two burial features one of which contained disarticulated elements of 8 individuals	Woodley 1994; Glencross 1992
Macellan	11 th C	Brant	1.9 x 1.7 x 0.65	9	one feature in addition to scattered exposed remains; at least one bundle	Mullen and Hoppa 1992
Rogers Ossuary	9 th C	Brant	n/a	28+	all ages represented and a high incidence of articulations	Woodley et al. 1992
Zamboni	c. EOI	Brant	multiple pits	5+	one large central feature of secondary burials and several smaller features containing 1 to 5 individuals	Warrick 1991
Tara East	13 th C	Halton	n/a	14	four features; one of which contained 7 bundled individuals	Rozel 1979
Gunby	c. 14 th C	Halton	pit	2	end of House 7	

¹ based on calibrated radiocarbon dates or author's estimate

Table 3.1: Gazetteer of sites reflecting evidence of Ontario Iroquoian multiple burial practices.

Site	Date ¹	Region/City	Feature Description and Dimensions (m)	MNI	Comments	Major Reference(s)
Miller	12 nd C	York	Feat. 2: 0.8 x 0.8 x 0.5 Feat. 3: 0.9 x 0.9 x 0.7 Feat. 4: 0.6 x 0.6 x —	32	seven features: most of which had 3-4 persons; one had 13	Kenyon 1968; Ossenburg 1969
Staines Richardson	1. 13 th C 13 th C	York Rice Lake	original context destroyed 0.7 x 0.7 x 0.28 0.7 x 0.5 x 0.3	308 6	disturbed secondary deposit of an ossuary wo features, one with the disarticulated remains of 5 individuals	ASI 2001 Pearce 1977
Serpent Pits	11 th -13 th C	Rice Lake	3 pits: avg. 1.2-1.5 dia. x 0.6	69	three features with 15, 29 and 25 individuals; not contemporaneous; no articulations; some bundled remains	Johnston 1968, 1979; Anderson 1968
<i>Middle Iroquoian (A.D. 1300-1400)</i>						
Nodwell	14 th C	Bruce	pit	5	disarticulated adult male and three children along with an infant in a pot	Wright 1974
Port Royal	14 th C	Norfolk	n/a	6	two secondary burial features one of which contained 4 incomplete individuals	Dodd et al. 1990; Fox 1976
Reid	e. 14 th C or EOI	Norfolk	pits	12	two secondary burial features, one of which contained 7 individuals; 5 individuals in the other	Saunders and MacKenzie-Ward 1988
Uren	e. 14 th C	Norfolk	n/a	3+	bunkline feature with 3 individuals; in addition to several features containing minor elements from exhumed primary burials	Wright 1986; Jamieson 1978
Force Middleport	1. 13 th -e. 14 th C 14 th C	Norfolk Brant	pits 3.0 x 3.0 x 2.1	9 25	two pits: 8 in one; 1 in the other 25 complete skulls	Spence 1994 Molto 1983; Dodd et al. 1990
Bennett	e. 14 th C	Halton	Feat. 9: 0.5 x 0.4 x —	15	13 features, two (5; 9) of which contained more than one individual; included sweat lodge burials	Wright and Anderson 1969 Hartney 1978
Glen Williams Olmstead	14 th C e. 14 th C	Halton Hamilton	3.2 x 2.5 x 1.6 0.64 x 0.60 x 0.5	209 2	1 burial pit and 4 ancillary pits sweat lodge	Welsh and Williamson 1994
Orchid (Peace Bridge)	1. 14 th -e. 15 th C	Niagara	Area A: 4.3 x 2.6 x 1.5	300+	two areas; Unit A is the ossuary; Unit B - 6 burial features of mainly single burials	White 1966; Williamson et al. 1997

Table 3.1: Gazetteer of sites reflecting evidence of Ontario Iroquoian multiple burial practices.

Site	Date ¹	Region/City	Feature Description and Dimensions (m)	MNI	Comments	Major Reference(s)
Bonisteel	14 th C	Niagara	two small features	3	two features; one had 1 child while the other contained 3 people	Pengelly and Pengelly 1987
Antrex	1. 13 th -e. 14 th C	Peel	pit	3	primary burials; majority of remains exhumed for reburial	Robertson and Williamson 2002b
Tabor Hill	e. 14 th C	York	4.0 x 3.0 x 1.0 2.7 x 1.8 x 1.2	523	two burial pits; some articulated bundles present	Churcher and Kenyon 1960
Fairty	14 th C	Markham	3.4 x 3.4 x 1.8	512	now destroyed	Anderson 1963; Jackes 1986;
Pearse	14 th C	Pickering	n/a	6	destroyed by gravel pitting	Gruspier 1999 Poulton 1979;
Syers	14 th or 15 th C	Durham	5.5 x 5.5 x 1.8	300	perhaps one pit; bundle burial of limb bones	Williamson 1977 Boyle 1894; Molto 1983;
Reid-Cummins	MOI	Prince Edward	+1.0 x +1.0 x —	10	one feature; articulated segment of vertebral column	Ramsden 1977; Webb 1972 Molto and Fox 1988
Luton	15 th C	Elgin	n/a	<i>Late Iroquoian (A.D. 1400-1550)</i>		
Orkney Crescent	15 th C	London	2.7 x 1.5 x —	25	common burial of 25 skulls	Dodd et al. 1990
Crawford Lake	e. 15 th C	Halton	multiple features	26-28	no artifacts; long bones and crania	Dodd et al. 1990
Dunsmore	e. 15 th C	Simcoe	multiple features	12+	3 burials contain 2 individuals, 3 burial features are in possible sweat lodges	Esler 1998
Horseshoe Valley Rd. "pre-contact"		Simcoe	single pit	7	three features; one contained 2 individuals; a sweat lodge contained 5 disarticulated and fragmentary individuals and an ovate feature with a single bundle	ASI 1996
				11	disarticulated, fragmented and commingled, no artifacts	Mandich 2002

Table 3.1: Gazetteer of sites reflecting evidence of Ontario Iroquoian multiple burial practices.

Site	Date ¹	Region/City	Feature Description and Dimensions (m)	MNI	Comments	Major Reference(s)
Keffer	c. 16 th C	York	~4.6 x ~4.6 x 1.8	50+	crania, no artifacts	Boyle 1889, 1907; Webb 1972; Finlayson et al. 1985 Smith 1991
Weston	n/a	Toronto	— x — x 0.6	30	one ossuary feature	ASI 1991
Uxbridge	1. 15 th C	Durham	4.9 x 4.0 x 2.1	457	few grave goods; underlying layer of burned bone	Cook 1977; Pfeifer 1983, 1986, 1991; Molto 1983
Poole-Rose	16 th C	Cobourg	2.5 x 2.5 x 1.5	300+	mixed deposit; primary burials present as well	McKillop and Jackson 1991
Quackenbush	15 th C	Peterborough	2.1 x 1.5 x —	12	thrown into the pit; both sexes; assumed unique episode	MPPA 1986; Helmuth 1993
Roebuck	15 th C	Grenville	n/a	84	a few multiple interments, most are individual burials	Anderson 1972; Pendergast 1975
<i>Post-Contact Huron</i>						
Buckingham	17 th C	Collingwood	5.5 x 2.5 x 1.8	12+	only partially investigated	Rost 1999
Houghton	17 th C	Simcoe	6.1 x 6.1 x — 3.0 x 3.0 x —	1000	two pits; crania arrayed in rows in larger pit	Boyle 1900; ASI 1990
Warminster/Cahiague	17 th C	Simcoe	5.5 x 5.5 x 1.8	250+	2 primary, some bundles, mainly intermingled	Mellwraith 1946, 1947; Harris 1949;
Ossossané	A.D. 1636	Simcoe	7.3 x 7.3 x 1.8	419	mixed deposit and bundle burials	Mullen 1990 Kidd 1953; Jackes 1986
Christian Island	A.D. 1650	Simcoe	5.0 x 5.0 x 2.0 3.0 x 3.0 x 2.0 3 other much smaller pits	113	largest pit had 74 primary inhumations; next largest pit had 32 and the remaining three pits had 1, 3 and 4 individuals	Hartney 1978
Maurice	17 th C	Simcoe	6.5 x 6.5 x 1.2	132	5 sub-types of burials; bone groupings in ossuary	Jerkie 1975; Molto 1983
Sopher	c. 17 th C	Simcoe	5.0 x 5.0 x 1.8	96-105	main ossuary pit with 2 other pits; cremations and bundles in main pit	Noble 1968
Glebe	17 th C	Simcoe	n/a	58/300	anecdotal: two estimates of MNI	Garrad 1975
Duff/Perry	17 th C	Simcoe	4.8 x 4.8 x —	30+	disturbed	Garrad 1975

Table 3.1: Gazetteer of sites reflecting evidence of Ontario Iroquoian multiple burial practices.

Site	Date ¹	Region/City	Feature Description and Dimensions (m)	MNI	Comments	Major Reference(s)
Garland	17 th C	York	3.0 x 3.0 x 1.5	198	n/a	Webb 1969; Molto 1983
Kleinburg	e. 17 th C	York	4.2 x 4.2 x 1.0	561	circular, layered pit with relatively vertical sides, bundles	Pfeiffer 1980a,b, 1985; Saunders and Melbye 1990
					<i>Post-Contact Neutral</i>	
Sealy	17 th C	Brant	4.6 x 2.7 x 1.4	n/a	large feature with bundles in addition to 4 graves one of which had six bundles	Ridley 1961; White 1966
Walker	17 th C	Brant	main pit: 3.6 x 3.6 x 1.5	118	heavily disturbed: 6 pits with 4-12 individuals; one pit with 65-70 individuals; 3 pits with "many" individuals	Ridley 1961; Wright 1981
Milton	17 th C	Halton	3.0 x 3.0 x <1.0	109/82	ossuary feature with 100 individuals and 4 smaller features containing a total of 10 individuals around its periphery	Hartney 1978; Finlayson 1998;
McClellahan (Milton Ossuary #2)	17 th C	Halton	2.3 x 2.3 x 0.3 sub-floor 0.4 x 0.4 x 0.5	18	main ossuary feature and sub-floor: nine adults and three juveniles and five adults and one juvenile in sub-floor	Gruspier 1999 Reid and Conway 1976
Milton Heights/Gaetan	17 th C	Halton	2.4 x 2.1 x 0.6	n/a	burial feature not excavated completely: bundles	Melbye et al. 1987; Ferris 1987; 1998
Carton	e. 17 th C	Halton	3.3 x 2.7 x —	303	shallow feature	Hartney 1978; Finlayson 1998;
Tregunno	16 th -17 th C	Hamilton	2.4 x 1.5 x	n/a	many historic trade goods; totally destroyed	Molto 1983 Kenyon 1986; 1987
Burke	17 th C	Hamilton	n/a	6	primary burial nearby	Ridley 1961
Misner	17 th C	Hamilton	large communal grave and several other pits	>65	looted, glass, stone and shell beads, brass kettles, turtle shell rattles, stone pipe	Fox 1985
Shaver Hill	17 th C	Hamilton	small cemetery	163	arranged bundles	Stothers 1972
Hood	17 th C	Hamilton	1.04 x 0.66 x 0.24	2	infants, probable twins	Lennox 1984
Grimsbay	17 th C	Niagara	32 x 12 area of 55 graves	367	complex cemetery	Kenyon 1982
St. Davids	17 th C	Niagara	30 x 30 area?	>100	looted, aboriginal and historic trade goods	Benedict 1908; Orr 1911
Port Colborne	17 th C	Fort Erie	natural sand hill	50+	looted, European trade goods	Boyle 1889, 1906; Cooper 1996

Spence (1994:15) also argued that this type of mortuary pattern can be traced back into the directly preceding Transitional and Middle Woodland periods in some areas of southwestern Ontario. The logical developmental consequence of this pattern is that recognized for at least one Early Iroquoian community in the middle Grand River area. The Rogers ossuary (Mullen and Hoppa 1992), a large twelfth century common burial pit containing the remains of at least 28 individuals, some articulated, suggests a final community based burial tied to a cycle that was longer than one year.

Alternatively, Spence's analysis of the eleventh or twelfth century Praying Mantis site, situated in the middle Thames drainage in the London area, suggested to him a longhouse- rather than village-based secondary burial. This was based on two burial features, one of which contained the disarticulated and partial remains of eight individuals. This variation in practice, if interpreted correctly, supports Spence's main contention that burial tradition during the Early Iroquoian period in southwestern and southcentral Ontario was community-based.

Early Iroquoian mortuary patterns of eastern Ontario were different from those of western Ontario. They include primary burials, sometimes within houses, multiple secondary burials, such as those at the Miller (Kenyon 1968; Ossenberg 1969) and Richardson (Pearce 1977) sites and three burial pits containing 15, 29, and 25 totally disarticulated and incomplete individuals at the Serpent Mounds site. The latter are interpreted by Spence (1994:16) as village relocation reburial features. The Richardson site burial pit, which contained five individuals, is thought by Spence to represent an annual longhouse reburial, given its location inside a house.

This pattern in eastern Ontario also appears to have had temporal longevity. The Point Peninsula components at the Serpent Mounds site, for example, consist of a complex of nine mounds containing mass graves of primary, bundled, and cremated burials. Johnston (1979:99) argued that the discontinuity in burial patterns between the Point Peninsula and the later Iroquoian burial pits was consistent with the differences between earlier nomadic hunter-gatherers and later more settled agriculturalists. Spence (1994:16) similarly argued that, "as villages became more sedentary and more committed to an agricultural subsistence base, the mortuary cycle may have lengthened because the major disruption in the social life of the community shifted from an annual event to a more widely spaced one, the periodic relocation of the village. Also, the primary social context of the individual may have changed from the longhouse to the village as a whole".

Middle Ontario Iroquoian

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the community-based re-interment of large numbers of secondary burials in mixed deposits had become the established burial tradition in many regions of southern Ontario, especially along the north shore of Lake Ontario. Moatfield is an early example of a community-based burial event, perhaps created at the time of village relocation. The subsequent development in ossuary burial tradition represents the secondary interment of the

deceased from a number of related communities. Until these large ossuaries can be linked with known villages, however, the significance of their size in the context of the development of particular tribal systems will remain unknown.

Staines Road

The earliest example of this kind of ossuary is the Staines Road site, situated in the northwest Scarborough area (ASI 2001). A large deposit of bone was discovered during development and was found to have been removed in the 1990s from its original location, then fragmented, perhaps mechanically, and subsequently re-deposited within a pile of soil fill and garbage. A small sample of the tens of thousands of bone fragments was radiocarbon dated to between cal B.P. 920 and 680 (A.D. 1030-1270 at 95% probability [Beta-156359]), which places the interment during the Early Iroquoian period. The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ratio of -11.3, an identical value to those obtained from the Fairty and Moatfield samples, suggests substantial consumption of maize in the diet, and indicates that the population dates more precisely to the mid-to-late thirteenth century. Since the skeletal remains in an ossuary were taken from primary burials elsewhere, and since crania were regarded most highly by pre-contact aboriginal populations, it is not unusual to find that crania are numerically predominant in ossuaries. Using the petrous portions of recovered cranial fragments at Staines, it was determined that at least 308 individuals were represented in the deposit, whose origins remain unknown at this time. Although the site is coterminous with Moatfield, the significant number of individuals recovered suggests it was more similar, with respect to the development of ossuary burial, to two fourteenth century ossuaries documented east of Toronto on the north shore of Lake Ontario near the Staines Road site.

Tabor Hill

The first of these sites, the Tabor Hill ossuary, which is also situated in Scarborough was excavated by Charles Churcher and Walter Kenyon of the Royal Ontario Museum in the 1950s. The site consisted of two ossuary pits measuring 4 metres by 3 metres by 1 metre and 2.7 metres by 1.8 metres by 1.2 metres. Together, they contained the mixed secondary remains of 523 burials, although some articulated bundles and a few cremations were noted. Churcher and Kenyon (1960) thought the ossuary related to the early Middle Iroquoian Thomson site, situated two kilometres to the west. The Thomson site had been subject to test excavations in the 1950s by Norman Emerson of the University of Toronto, which yielded 1325 artifacts dating to the early fourteenth century (Kapches 1981:71-86). While the Thomson site may be related, this is likely a case of two communities burying their dead concomitantly, but choosing to place the individuals in two separate pits. Two contributing communities would explain the significant number of burials at the site. Unfortunately, subdivision development in the area appears to have destroyed any evidence of other nearby contemporaneous villages.

Fairty

The second site is the Fairty ossuary, which was 3.4 metres in diameter and 1.8 metres deep and found to contain the mixed remains of 512 individuals. It was thought by J.V. Wright to have been related to the nearby Middle Iroquoian Robb site (Anderson 1963:28), now thought to date to the mid- to late fourteenth century. Robb is a roughly two hectare Iroquoian village site located in the Town of Markham. Limited excavations on a portion of the site were completed by the Ontario Archaeological Society in the 1950s and by the University of Toronto in the 1960s. Mima Kapches (1981:110-131) conducted further surface investigations on a portion of the site, in the 1970s. The proposed development of a subdivision necessitated comprehensive salvage excavation of approximately 80% of the site area in 2000. Five complete longhouses, ranging from 40 to 60 metres in length, and portions of four others were documented as a result of this work (Robertson and Williamson 2002a). A number of middens were also extensively excavated. The settlement was not enclosed by a palisade.

There are other nearby Middle Iroquoian sites that may have also contributed to the Fairty ossuary thereby explaining the significant number of individuals (Dodd et al. 1990:354). The Faraday site is located only 500 metres from Fairty and Robb but has been documented in far less detail. It was first registered by Victor Konrad in 1971 on the basis of a private collection. Kapches undertook limited investigations along the wooded eastern fringe of the site in 1977, identifying a midden deposit from which a small sample of material, including seven rim sherds, was recovered. On the basis of this material, she suggested that the site is a Middle Iroquoian village also dating to the latter portion of the fourteenth century (Kapches 1981:180).

Located only a few kilometres to the southwest of the Robb site, the Alexandra site was salvage excavated in 2000 and 2001. On the basis of the analyses to date, the occupation of this 2.5 hectare site spanned much of the mid- to late fourteenth century (Robertson and Williamson 2002a). Seventeen structures were documented of which 15 are likely to represent permanent or year-round dwellings with two major phases of tenancy, involving house rebuilding and site expansion.

While few details are available of the structure of the Fairty ossuary, Kathy Gruspier (1999) has examined approximately 100 photographic slides taken by William Renison during the three weekends that it was excavated. She noted from the photographs that most of the skeletal material was in the bottom of the pit and was disarticulated, although bundle burials were clearly evident. It also appeared that approximately 50 to 75 centimetres of the soil filling the upper layer of the pit was relatively sterile. It contained few bones (Gruspier 1999:49-55). This suggested to Gruspier that with the exception of the bundles, there was a single deposit of mixed bone. William Donaldson, who was excavating at the nearby Robb site at the time that Fairty was discovered and excavated by Norman Emerson, reported that the burials were mostly in the form of bundles (Donaldson 1962). Donaldson noted that the upper layers of the pit had been looted, which he took as a possible explanation for the paucity of artifacts.

In her detailed re-analysis of the ossuary bone, Gruspier noted many phalanges and fetal bones, suggesting to her that material was systematically recovered from the site. Gruspier (1999:57-58) suggested that there may have been up to 120 bundle burials in the ossuary based on the presence of bundled remains and the fact that the small bones of the extremities, with similar numbers for each of the elements, were well represented, despite the fact that they are usually left behind in primary burial pits. She lamented the fact that the bundle burials were not excavated as discrete features within the ossuary and maintained separately in the collection. She also noted that there were a large number of infants represented in the sample from Fairty, commenting that this is inconsistent with the notion that Iroquoian infants were usually buried elsewhere (Kapches 1976; Williamson 1979) and hence are under-represented in ossuary samples. Gruspier's observations regarding the maintenance of bundles in an otherwise mixed deposit represents a significant challenge to the notion of uniformly mixed deposits in Middle Iroquoian ossuaries.

Gruspier also secured two late tenth and early eleventh century dates on two human bone samples from the deposit. While clearly too early to represent the general ossuary population, the possibility that the remains of several ancestors may have been deposited during the ceremony should not be discounted. One of the dates from the Moatfield site, for example, taken on human bone, also appears to be a century too early. Gruspier's dates also appear to be inconsistent with the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ data obtained for the site (Katzenberg 1984), which suggest a maize reliant diet although Gruspier (1999:145-147) suggested that more samples are required to reach a final interpretation regarding diet.

Glen Williams

Another fourteenth century ossuary, with associated burial features, was found in Halton County, near Oakville (Hartney 1978). The Glen Williams site consisted of a large ossuary and four ancillary burial pits. The ossuary (3.2 metres by 2.5 metres by 1.6 metres) had an oval outline and sloping walls. It contained 209 individuals who were "partially articulated, bundled and scattered in a mass of bone some 60 centimetre thick which was topped by a fully articulated, flexed adult skeleton" (Hartney 1978:127). A smaller burial pit (2.8 metres by 1.6 metres by 0.84 metre) was located approximately 12 metres east of the large ossuary and contained the partially articulated and scattered remains of nine individuals. Three shallow pits were also found adjacent to the ossuary: Pit "A" had an adult flexed skeleton; "B" contained two separate adult bundle burials; and "C" contained a flexed child burial. It is not clear if the large ossuary represented a mixed deposit of the Huron type. The presence of many recognizable bundled remains suggests it is likely in the Neutral tradition, a not unreasonable assumption given the site's location in an area of overlap between pre-contact Huron and Neutral populations (Finlayson 1998).

Orchid

It was the excavation of the Orchid site in Fort Erie, Ontario that led to Marian White's 1966 comparative review of New York Iroquois and Neutral regional cemeteries. In July of 1964, workmen uncovered cultural material and human bone while grading a portion of the first terrace adjacent to the Niagara River, approximately 500 m north of the Peace Bridge in downtown Fort Erie. Although primarily known as Orchid in the literature, the site is now known to be encompassed within the exceedingly large (35 hectares) and complex Peace Bridge quarry site (Williamson and MacDonald 1997, 1998).

Salvage excavations directed by White were restricted to two discrete areas including a large ossuary and a series of pit features immediately to the north. The pits contained Transitional Woodland and historic Iroquoian primary burials (Granger 1976). The grading activities had resulted in the severe truncation of the ossuary, which was estimated to have originally measured 4.3 metres in length, 2.6 metres in width, and approximately 1.5 metres in depth (White 1966:5). The burial pit, which had a flat-bottomed, deep basin profile, was characterized by a basal layer containing large quantities of human skeletal material, a middle layer that was largely sterile and an upper layer that also contained dense concentrations of human bone. A single bundle burial and a single flexed burial were considered intrusive into the upper layer as were two discrete pit features, which contained the remains of at least 10 and 19 individuals, respectively. It was suggested that these remains were deposited at the same time that the main ossuary pit was formed. Also, five apparently separate bundle burials, representing a minimum of eleven individuals, were documented at the interface of the lower two layers. The most dense concentrations of bone in the upper and lower layers were described as including both discrete bundles and intentionally mixed remains (White 1966:4-6).

The remains of just over 300 individuals were recovered during the course of the ossuary excavations (Birx 1991), although White suggested that up to one third of the skeletal material in the ossuary may have been removed during the bulldozing of the site. She also estimated that up to 50 individuals remained unexcavated upon the completion of the fieldwork (White 1966:7). While White initially assigned the ossuary to the terminal Point Peninsula period (Hunter's Home phase), suggesting that it dated to circa A.D. 900 (White 1966:13-14), her dating of the ossuary received little support from other researchers. William Noble, for example, asserted that the ossuary was probably pre-contact Late Iroquoian, based on its size, the lack of grave goods and the presence of a "false floor" (the middle layer) that resulted in upper and lower bone chambers (Noble 1968:223, 1978:159-160; cf. Ridley 1961:56, 61; Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990:453-454). A radiocarbon date obtained from a long bone from the ossuary has yielded a ^{14}C date of A.D. 1540 \pm 90 (Beta-13323), calibrated to give a date of A.D. 1380 \pm 90 years (Birx 1991:11), placing it within the Middle to early Late Iroquoian period. Despite White's assertion to the contrary, it is more likely that the cemetery was used on more than one occasion and functioned in a fashion like the contact period Neutral cemeteries of the Niagara region (see below). It was probably associated

with the nearby Iroquoian Thompson and/or Garrison Road sites, situated several kilometres to the west of the Niagara river (Cooper 1996:20- 21).

On the basis of his comparative analysis of discontinuous non-metric traits on the crania from Orchid and other southern Ontario ossuaries, Molto (1983:245) concluded that the Orchid population was somewhat isolated, in biological terms, from other Ontario Iroquoian populations. This pattern suggested to Molto a lack of strong historical relationships between peninsular groups and those from the remainder of southern Ontario (see, however, DeLaurier and Spence, Chapter 11, this volume). This marginal position of the Orchid population led to his suggestion that the Orchid community's closest ties may have been with the occupants of western New York state (Molto 1983:255). While the burial tradition reflected at Orchid appears to be at odds with the burial patterns of the pre-contact or contact period Seneca, at least one western New York population was practising large multiple burial, if not ossuary burial in late pre-contact times, as is discussed below. This suggests either the physical presence of pre-contact Neutral populations on the east side of the Niagara River or their influence on local burial practices (Rayner-Herter 2001).

Late Ontario Iroquoian: Huron Ossuaries

Uxbridge

Two sixteenth century pre-contact Huron ossuaries have been investigated, the first in considerable detail. The Uxbridge site, situated near Uxbridge, was excavated in the mid-1970s under the direction of Patsy Cook (1977). The main burial pit was 4.9 metres in length, 4.0 metres in width and 2.1 metres in depth. It had an inverted bell shape with its maximum breadth at ground level, constricting slightly at 60 to 70 centimetres below surface at which point the sides dropped vertically to the floor of the pit. There was a 30 centimetre layer of soil on top of the bone mass. The presence of a black stain around the edge of the pit, extending from 35 to 65 cm below ground level, indicated that it may have been partially lined with hides. A distinctive layer of burned human bone underlaid most of the ossuary, which Cook (1977:10) argued represented local variation in pre-contact ossuary ritual. Also unique was the careful placement of eight large rocks in the central lower part of the pit overlying bone. The pit was surrounded by 52 posts and 12 pit features representing both activities and structure(s) with which it had been associated. One of the pit features probably functioned as a crematory as it contained fired soil, ash, charcoal and burned human bone. Two of the other pits also contained fragmented human bone.

No layers of bone were documented although the upper 1.5 metres of bone was fragmented, disassociated and in generally poor condition. The bone in the lower 60 centimetres was in much better condition and appeared to have a more patterned distribution. Indeed, 92 crania in groups of 2 to 11, and 17 bundles of adult longbones, were found around the pit's lower outer edge. Eleven infant and child

bundles and several pockets of burned bone were also found in the lower portion of the pit. Over 200 articulations were noted including portions of vertebral columns, hands, feet, arms, and pelvic girdles, all but three of which were found in the bottom third of the pit. This pattern suggested to Cook (1977:12) that those who had died recently had been placed on the floor of the ossuary and that any efforts to intentionally mix the bone had only affected the top two thirds of the deposit. She also noted that some of the bones had been cut.

Several features were found to be intrusive to the main pit, one of which contained a double bundle burial and another of which had just a few fragments of human bone and a wolf canine. Three discoidal shell beads, several ceramic body sherds and some animal bone were also found in the pit, although they were probably introduced during its infilling. None were diagnostic to a particular time period although the shell beads most likely date to the Late Iroquoian period. A radiocarbon date of 1490 ± 80 (I-9865), however, was taken on charcoal recovered from deep within the ossuary (Cook 1977:1).

The skeletal remains of 457 individuals from the pit have been subject to detailed analysis (e.g., Pfeiffer 1983, 1984; 1986, 1991; Pfeiffer et al. 1985; Pfeiffer et al. 1986; Pfeiffer and Fairgrieve 1994). An examination of a sample of the cremated bone from within the main pit suggested to Susan Pfeiffer (personal communication to Patsy Cook) that the bodies had been partially decomposed prior to cremation.

Poole-Rose

The other sixteenth century site is the Poole-Rose ossuary (McKillop and Jackson 1991), situated near Cobourg. It was discovered by building contractors digging a trench for footings to an addition to a nineteenth century farm house, as the site had been preserved under an old addition to the farmhouse. The ossuary pit was approximately 2.5 metres in diameter. The bone deposit started 2.5 metres below the ground surface and extended 1.5 metres in depth and contained the disarticulated remains of over 300 individuals. Three flexed primary adult burials were also found. A small sample of the human bone was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1550 ± 50 (Beta-39029). As fill layers were not noted within the bone deposit, it was concluded that the remains had been deposited in the ossuary during a single Feast of the Dead-like event. In a detailed examination of the femora recovered from the ossuary, cutmarks were found on 16% of the bones, suggesting that some individuals were dismembered in preparation for interment in the ossuary (Schiess 2002).

Mackenzie-Woodbridge

The cemetery associated with the Mackenzie-Woodbridge site is also worth noting. The site is an early sixteenth century village, situated on the northern reaches of the Humber River in Toronto, and originally assumed to have been a pre-contact

Huron community (Wright 1966:69). While a looted ossuary is reported to have been found less than a kilometre from the site (Wright 1966:70), more than a dozen individuals have been found in a village cemetery situated on a sandy knoll about 100 metres from the site (Saunders 1986). As all ages and both sexes were recovered, in both primary inhumation and secondary bundled forms, Saunders (1986:24) suggested a burial tradition more similar to Neutral practice than to Huron. While the potential presence of Neutral influence on Humber River communities has long been noted (e.g., Ramsden 1977:281-282), it is perhaps best to consider that influence in the context of tribal polities involved in far-reaching exchange systems in a number of directions (Robertson and Williamson 1998:146-150). Without data on the reported ossuary, there is no way to reach a resolution regarding the burial tradition that the site occupants followed.

Contact Period Huron Ossuaries

Contact period Huron burial tradition is known from both the archaeological and archival records. According to the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites 1896-1901), the concept of duality, so important in Iroquoian ideology, was expressed by the Huron in the belief that a person had at least two souls, one of which left the body and travelled westward to a village of the dead, and one that stayed with the body after the Feast of the Dead and did not leave unless it was reborn as a child. The initial deposition of the body in the village cemetery, on a scaffold, was carried out after a period of mourning that lasted for three days. At the end of a particular village's tenure in one location, those who had been interred in the village cemetery were removed for reburial in a common grave or ossuary. The reburial ceremony, known as the Feast of the Dead (also the Kettle), lasted several days and involved much ritual feasting and the exchange of gifts. This ceremony served to socially integrate both the living and the dead more than any other Iroquoian cultural event (Trigger 1969:102-112; 1976:85-90).

During the ceremony, a large pit was excavated and lined with beaver robes and pelts. The bodies of the recently deceased were placed on the ossuary floor, over which were laid the various grave offerings and the bundled remains of those to be buried. These bones were then mixed by men using long poles. On top of the bones was laid a cover of more beaver robes and a layer of bark. Finally sand, poles and wooden stakes were thrown over the bark cover. As a final offering, baskets of maize were placed on top of the bone burial area (Tooker 1964:134-138).

With respect to the archaeological record, Andrew Hunter recorded 122 ossuaries in Simcoe County alone, fifty of which were identified definitively to the contact era based on the presence of trade goods (Hunter 1889:44). Fleming (1960:8) also reported that over 130 ossuaries had been found in northern Huronia. While even a casual examination of the late nineteenth century archaeological literature (e.g., the *Annual Archaeological Reports*) betrays the rather frequent looting of ossuaries for anatomical collections and race-based research, few contact period Huron examples have been reported in detail. Descriptions of the few that have

been studied, however, belie the notion of Huron ossuaries as routinely consisting of completely mixed deposits.

Ossossané

Perhaps the most renowned Huron ossuary was that of Ossossané, the creation of which was described by Brebeuf in 1636 and the excavation of which was undertaken by Ken Kidd (1953). Kidd reported that the ossuary was situated on a small sandy plain and when encountered in 1946, was a broad, saucer-shaped depression with a maximum depth of approximately 60 centimetres.

Numerous post moulds immediately surrounded the main ossuary pit, varying from 15 centimetres to 30 centimetres in diameter and with depths of between 30 and 45 centimetres. There seemed to be a circle of larger posts near the perimeter of the ossuary. A small pit, situated approximately four metres west of the main ossuary was excavated to a depth of 1.2 metres and found to contain a single femur and the bones of a human foot, suggesting that it had been the grave of a primary interment.

The ossuary was reportedly bowl shaped, with a more or less flat, but not perfectly level floor. The diameters of the pit and bone mass were 7.3 metres and 5.8 metres respectively. The depth of the pit varied from 1.6 to 1.8 metres below the rim. The overburden contained some recent material—charred wood and parts of a horse skeleton, as well as small pockets of human bone fragments, suggesting some previous disturbance. The sides of the pit consisted of darkened soil and the bottom consisted of from three to seven centimetres of a black “mucilaginous humus”, having filtered down from the decaying organic matter above (Kidd 1953:360).

The main ossuary bone mass was about 60 centimetre thick and had been deposited or arranged randomly—“long bones, for instance, lay in all positions and all angles” and “crania [were found] lying inside pelvic cavities” (Kidd 1953:359). Two clearly delineated bundle burials were found—one was of a young adult found at a depth of one metre in a small pocket in the pit wall. The second bundle lay beneath the first and appeared to be an old individual. Other evidence for bundle burials included groups of parallel long bones lying together around the sides of the ossuary and especially at lower levels where less subsidence and therefore less dislocation had occurred. Those long bones were in an upright position, suggesting that these bundles had been put in on end. There was also fibrous material surrounding many of these groups of bones, suggesting bundle wrappings. Two primary extended burials were encountered on the bottom of the pit. One was that of a young woman with an infant skeleton in her pelvic region.

Although Kidd estimated that the pit contained close to 1000 skeletons, Jackes (1986) reports there were 419 individuals. Artifacts occurred throughout the ossuary and included shell beads, cylindrical wampum beads, stone projectile points, stone gaming pieces, a green serpentine vasiform pipe, a clay pipe, catlinite beads, fabrics (likely from bundle wrappings) and beaver skins. Deposits of powdery red ochre were also found in three locations in the ossuary. European

goods included glass beads of various sorts (red, white and blue polychrome beads in round, tubular and twisted shapes—the largest class being red beads of round and ring shapes), bracelets and rings, iron knives and copper kettles, the largest of which was wrapped in beaver skins and had a birch basket lying inside. It was placed near the centre of the pit close to the floor on top of a few bones and was found to contain one bundle. Other glass objects were found including a corroded burning (magnifying?) glass and part of a light green wine glass stem.

Maurice

For many years, Ossossané represented the only professionally excavated and published ossuary. It was not until Sonja Jerkic (1969; 1975) presented a thorough characterization of the Maurice ossuary, situated near Midland, Ontario, that another historic period ossuary was described. It was a roughly circular pit (6.5 metres in diameter) appearing at a depth of 40-60 centimetres below the modern surface. The bone horizon was of varying thickness, from 0.8 to 1.2 metres below surface and appeared to be composed of a number of distinct concentrations of bone rather than a homogeneous mass. The main pit was basin-shaped with a steeper northeastern than southwestern side. Three distinct "corners" were found on the south and west sides. The dimensions of the pit at the bottom were 4.25 x 3.5 metres. There was no evidence for scaffold construction around the ossuary rim; only two definite post moulds were found. However, Jerkic reported some evidence for four or five posts from 13 to 19 centimetres in diameter exposed on the floor of the pit at the corners, suggesting that a structure might have been constructed just at the inside margins of the pit rather than on its perimeter.

Most of the bone mass was concentrated in the northeastern portion of the pit, perhaps due in part to looting in the southwestern portion. A dark soil layer at the bottom of the pit was thought to be evidence of an organic (skins) lining known from historic accounts. In addition to a mixed bone deposit, five different subtypes of burials were found, including: small, unrelated clusters of bone in the fill around the ossuary edge (perhaps material dislodged and left during subsequent disturbance); bundles; small clusters of assorted bones from three to five individuals separated from surrounding bone by soil fill; large clusters of assorted bones from ten or more individuals separated from surrounding bone by soil fill or a difference in level; and articulated body segments. Twenty-one of these distinct "burials" or groupings were removed from the ossuary, perhaps representing different social groupings that had failed to be mixed in with the remainder of the deposit for some reason.

The artifact assemblage recovered with the remains included ten iron knives, 67 trade beads, shell beads, stone beads, flattened copper, and other fragments of chert and ceramics.

A unique feature was encountered at approximately 120 centimetres in depth. It consisted of a relatively thin (2-5 centimetres) black soil horizon, roughly circular, that covered the central portion of the ossuary (a two metre wide area at maximum).

The depth of this horizon varied from 150 centimetres in the middle to 60 centimetres below surface at the outer edges. Overlying this soil layer were seven charred logs. Fragments of burned and charred bone were found in and immediately below the black soil suggesting that the logs were still smouldering when covered with bone.

Sopher

Jerkic (1975) and Noble (1968) also provided accounts of the Sopher ossuary, describing it as the first Huron ossuary to have been found to contain contact period material (an iron bar celt). The pit was almost five metres in diameter, 1.8 metres deep and contained the remains of between 96 and 105 individuals, for the most part in bundles, although four cremations were also documented. The crania were found in a patterned arrangement. Evidence of a pine bark lining and exterior scaffolding was also found. Two smaller pits overlapped the edges of the ossuary and extended down, but not into, the burials.

Kleinburg

The early contact period Kleinburg ossuary, situated north of Toronto, in the upper reaches of the Humber River, was excavated in 1970 under the supervision of Dean Knight and Jerry Melbye. The main pit was approximately 4.2 metres in diameter and 1 metre deep, and was circular in shape with relatively vertical sides. The pit was excavated in quadrants with intact baulks revealing a sterile soil layer between mixed deposits of bone, perhaps reflecting use on two separate occasions or separation between the remains of social units (clans or communities). A small, shallower "channel" containing mostly crania that projected off to one side of the main pit was also documented. It was also suggested that as many as a quarter of the bones had been removed during a nineteenth century looting episode, which resulted in substantial disturbance to the ossuary (Dean Knight, personal communication 2002).

According to Pfeiffer and Fairgrieve (1994:51), the pit contained the remains of 561 individuals. While partially articulated skeletal material was found on the floor of the ossuary, the upper layers had disarticulated and randomly distributed material (Pfeiffer 1980a). Four peripheral burials were also found including one extended, one flexed, one bundle, and one partial individual.

Grave goods interred with the deposit include bone and ceramic objects, early style iron trade axes, an iron kettle, shell beads, native copper beads, and large glass trade beads. Recently, an early contact period village was discovered less than 500 metres from the Kleinburg ossuary (ASI 2002). Based on the recovery of a ceramic sample characterized by Petun-like ceramics, it is possible that the village, and perhaps the ossuary, represent a population that eventually migrated to the Georgian Bay region to form the Petun.

Summary

These descriptions suggest that Huron ossuaries varied in structure and nature and did not consist entirely of mixed deposits of bone. Some contained mainly bundles, perhaps suggesting subtle tribal differences in burial practice. Noble (1968:71) has also argued that there were clan differences in pre-ossuary cemetery burial. He contends that "cemetery scaffolds were preferred in the western districts where the Bear and Cord clans resided", whereas the Rock clan in eastern Huronia favoured in-ground cemetery graves, which appear as pit and mound structures. Such structures were observed at Cahigue, Sopher and Contarrea. Noble also argued that Neutral cemeteries were similar to those of the western Huron clans, although the Neutral kept bodies in their houses longer, before they were placed on scaffolds.

Colin Varley and Penny Young (1992) considered the changes in ossuary burial practised by the Huron from pre-contact to post-contact times. They were particularly interested in the inclusion of both aboriginal and European grave goods, the addition of beaver pelt linings to the burial pits, and the mixing of skeletal remains.

They suggested that the contact period Huron, through their ossuary burials, were "re-evaluating the meaning not only of French trade goods, but also their relationship to their Native and European allies" (Varley and Young 1992:6). They also argued that the increase in numbers of interments over time, and the mixing of skeletal remains in ossuaries is evidence that the Huron felt a greater need for group cohesion and solidarity beyond the village. They suggested that this principle was also at work in the inclusion in the ossuary of European trade goods. The acquisition of beaver pelts became increasingly important as demand for European goods grew and beaver numbers dwindled locally. Hence, they became an integral part of the ossuary burial pattern.

They also argued that for the Huron, the Feast of the Dead may have become a forum for the public display of their accumulation of power and prestige as middlemen between Algonquian fur producers and French fur consumers. They used the analogy of the Feast of the Dead as a "tournament of values", which would have operated at a number of different levels—individuals, kin groups, corporate groups and villages all competing for positions of authority through accumulation of goods for the Feast. They suggested that this demonstration of wealth by the Huron and intra-tribal solidarity (by the mixing of bones) would also have had the corollary effect of proving their strength to their Native and European trading partners, (as well as to themselves). Strengthening their position as middlemen became increasingly important as their own beaver stocks became depleted. Similarly, Hickerson (1960) argued that the upper Great Lakes Algonquians held Feasts of the Dead in the mid-to-late seventeenth century in order to initiate and perpetuate alliances with neighbouring groups including the Huron.

The size of Huron ossuaries has also been the subject of considerable debate. While Johnston (1979:100) argued that "the very large historic Huron ossuaries probably reflect special conditions arising from economic and political forces,

disease and other disruptive factors of the contact period", their size may also be a reflection of the large size of the mid-fifteenth through seventeenth century villages, some of which may have been several hectares in size and have been inhabited by thousands of people (Finlayson 1985; Knight and Cameron 1983; Williamson et al. 1998). Moreover, like their predecessors along the north shore of Lake Ontario and as the ethnohistoric record suggests, they too may have involved more than one community. On the other hand, a number of the fourteenth century ossuaries, such as Fairty and Tabor Hill, while marginally smaller in diameter, contained similar if not larger numbers of individuals to those of the contact period Huron.

Five burial pits were also excavated on Christian Island (Hartney 1978), to which the Huron had fled, in 1649, following their dispersal from their traditional lands at the hands of the Iroquois. The largest pit was oval, approximately five metres in diameter with sloping sides. It was approximately two metres deep and contained 74 primary individual burials in three layers. The next largest pit was circular, approximately three metres in diameter and two metres deep and contained 32 primary individual burials. The other three pits were much shallower and contained the remains of one, three and four individuals respectively, all of whom, with the exception of an old male who was apparently dismembered, were buried shortly after death. These mass graves, which are significantly different from the normal Huron burial tradition, were likely an expedient response to the special circumstances surrounding the diaspora and the famine of 1649-1650 on the island.

There is also some limited evidence regarding the mortuary practice of the Petun, the westerly neighbours of the Huron (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978). Charles Garrad in his life-long work with Petun archaeology has documented 22 ossuaries believed to be associated with Petun villages, all but one of which have likely been subject to looting (Garrad 1965, personal communication 2002; Rost 1999:37-40).

The only recently excavated possible Petun ossuary is the contact period Buckingham ossuary, situated just west of the Town of Collingwood (Rost 1999). The upper fourth of it was excavated in 1977 under the direction of Roberta O'Brien, the site having been discovered by Charles Garrad during construction activities on the property. The bark-lined burial pit measured 5.5 metres long and 2.5 metres wide and had a depth of about 1.8 metres. While the excavation conditions were far from ideal, and the team's ability to ascertain patterning may have been compromised, the secondary deposit of skeletal material appears to have been thoroughly mixed. While only 12 individuals were recovered, all age categories and both sexes were represented. Little can be concluded from the excavation due to its incompleteness. While the location of the ossuary is suggestive of Petun ethnicity, Charles Garrad (personal communication 2002) is aware of an obscure Andrew Hunter reference recording a number of early flintlock guns in the ossuary, suggesting that the site might represent a late seventeenth century Odawa cemetery.

Late Ontario Iroquoian: Neutral Cemeteries

There are also numerous cemeteries, some of which were called ossuaries, that have been investigated archaeologically in the traditional Neutral territory of southwestern Ontario around the west end of Lake Ontario, from Burlington-Hamilton to Brantford and the Niagara peninsula.

Grimsby

The best known of these was the Grimsby site excavated by Walter Kenyon of the Royal Ontario Museum in 1976 (Kenyon 1982). It consisted of an oval cemetery measuring about 32 metres by 12 metres containing 55 graves of varying sizes with a total of 367 individuals. The graves were well furnished with impressive native and trade artifacts and yielded a range of burial forms from primary interments of single individuals to multiple, secondary, mostly incomplete, disarticulated and partially articulated bundles that had been either tightly placed or scattered in graves. The fact that the graves were all undisturbed suggests ongoing knowledge and care on the part of the population utilizing the cemetery (Kenyon 1982:226). It should be noted that on the basis of Ian Kenyon and Bill Fox's (1982:13) analysis of the artifacts from the site, the cemetery was used from as early as 1615 to 1650.

Jackes (1996) conducted a detailed analysis of the age, sex, status (see also Kenyon and Fox 1982), familial relationships and burial treatments within the various burial pits in the cemetery, concluding that most were the result of routine cultural and not biological (i.e., epidemic or warfare) factors. She also noted (1996:133-135) that Feature 62, which contained 103 individuals, was laid out with great attention to detail. Familial groupings were present and age and sex clearly determined the burial pattern (e.g., males at the eastern end of the feature). The feature had an oval formation of long bones with crania generally placed along the central east-west axis. Jackes noted a similar feature was found by Stothers (1972) at Shaver Hill, a seventeenth century Neutral burial pit containing the arranged bones of 163 people and perhaps also at Walker and Dwyer (see below). All of the individuals in Feature 62, with the exception of an older male at the eastern edge of the feature, were buried in a state of partial or complete disarticulation; none showed any evidence of cut marks. Age and sex could also be correlated with burial mode in 67 cases, but Jackes noted "the complexity to be discerned in Feature 62 is not based on burial mode [but rather] derives from the clear patterning of burial placement, indicating both genetic relationships and status" (1996:135). Jackes argued that these arrangements, and the fact that individuality was also stressed throughout the Grimsby cemetery, differs markedly from Huron practices.

Regarding Kenyon and Fox's (1982) notion that the Grimsby cemetery represents a spiritual centre for the interment of high-status individuals, Jackes noted that while the evidence is equivocal, "the total sample indicates a biological population which could represent a single community with a very high mortality rate" (Jackes 1996:136).

In her conclusions, Jackes stated that the evidence suggests that the Grimsby site was "neither unique nor the result of epidemics, but [rather] the common pattern for Neutral cemeteries in the seventeenth century" and that the users of the cemetery were concerned with emphasizing the relationships within the smaller corporate units that were important to them (Jackes 1996:138).

Walker

There was also a large cemetery associated with the seventeenth century Walker site, situated near Middleport on the Grand River. The cemetery was first discovered in 1880 (Ridley 1961). It apparently consisted of at least 11 burial pits containing between two and 70 individuals as well as five graves containing single primary interments (Boyle 1903; Jackes 1996; Waugh 1903; Wright 1981).

In 1944, John Steele excavated one of the main burial pits on the site (Ridley 1961:16-19). He reported that the pit had been lined with both beaver and bear skins and had been surrounded by a massive scaffold, which had probably been collapsed inward before the pit was in-filled. This pit was approximately 3.6 metres in diameter and 1.5 metres deep in the centre and contained skeletal remains "closely interwoven throughout." Upon excavating down into an ashy deposit in one corner, however, a second concentration was found containing 15 skulls arranged in a triangular pattern at a depth of 38 cm below the floor of the first concentration. An inverted brass kettle had been placed in the centre, overlying a number of effigy pipes. The skeletal remains of a minimum of 11 adults and four children were found below those artifacts.

Glass beads, iron axes, brass kettles and other brass artifacts, as well as various ceramic pipes, were also found with the other burial pits. It was also reported that several of the pits had features such as artificial clay floors and two separate vertical compartments. Excavations in 1974, however, revealed no evidence of false floors (Wright 1981:119) although a subfloor burial pit was exposed. While Jackes suggested that the amateurs who excavated the Walker cemetery mistook the multiple and overlapping burial pits for false floors, Noble (1968) noted that Neutral ossuaries were more complex than Huron ones, with their "false floors" comprised of 38-45 centimetres of sterile fill separating upper and lower compartments of bone. He suggests that the Orchid site was a clear example of this practice, having had two deposits of bone separated by a layer of brown sand rather than clay.

Sealy

The Sealy site cemetery, situated only a few kilometres from the Walker cemetery, was also excavated by amateurs and early professionals (Houghton n.d.). It also contained the graves of single primary interments as well as a large burial pit measuring 4.6 metres long, 2.7 metres wide and 1.4 metres deep containing several interments. In the undisturbed part of the main pit, Houghton found bundle burials

and shell and glass beads, and a stone pipe on the bottom. He also found four graves one to two metres in depth that contained the bundle burials of six individuals.

Milton Heights/Gaetan

The Milton Heights site, situated in the Town of Milton, was investigated by Peter Carruthers in 1986 and reported by Ferris (1987, 1998). It consisted of a single contact period Neutral burial pit and a number of associated pit features, two of which contained primary interments and two of which contained small fragments of human bone. The large pit, which was only partially excavated, was 2.37 metres long, 2.04 metres wide and 0.6 metre deep with a basin-shaped profile. The bone had been placed on the floor of the pit and then covered by pit fill, suggesting to the excavators that it had been formed during a single burial event. A black, organic lens was found in the centre of the pit overlying the soil fill and underlying a series of kettles, perhaps representing a central offering (Ferris 1998:7).

The bone was disarticulated but in a patterned arrangement. Three crania were found in the centre of the pit from which extended a series of long bones. It was estimated that between 20 and 40 individuals had been placed in the pit. The artifacts found in the excavated portion of the pit included two large copper kettles, four copper bracelets, a copper ring, a brass basin, four glass beads, three catlinite beads, a turtle shell rattle, and a rich marine shell assemblage. On the basis of his analysis of the artifact assemblage, Ferris (1998:26-28) dated the site to between 1610 and 1625.

Port Colborne

The Port Colborne cemetery, located on the Lake Erie shore in Port Colborne, was also subject to investigation. Archaeological interest in the site first began in 1889 when David Boyle, the archaeologist with the Provincial Museum in Toronto, was invited to view some recently discovered skeletal remains and artifacts including "several skulls, a few clay pots, some clay pipes, wampum, stone tomahawks and a considerable amount of material of European manufacture, including glass beads, iron and copper bracelets, and iron hatches" (Boyle 1889:18). Although Boyle had hoped to secure the artifacts for the Provincial Museum, they were deposited with the Buffalo Museum of Science. In 1906, permission was given to the Provincial Museum to conduct explorations on the property. Boyle was interested in determining if the cemetery was in a natural or man-made mound and intended to conduct a detailed investigation of the cemetery. The investigation was carried out by his assistant, W. H. C. Phillips, who reported observing 50 flexed individuals at a depth of 1.5 metres (Boyle 1906:15). A group of bodies was also described as radiating out from a copper kettle, their heads situated within 24-30 centimetres of it. Artifacts recovered from the excavations included shell and glass

heads, pottery, an iron knife and a pair of scissors (Boyle 1906:15). Boyle concluded that the mound was man-made, now known to be untrue, and that it was most likely a Neutral cemetery, dating to the first half of the seventeenth century.

Others

Ridley (1961) also summarized the little information known about several other historic Neutral cemeteries including the Daniels ossuary situated approximately 200 metres south of the Daniels village site. The roughly one metre deep pit was apparently divided by a narrow wall of sterile earth. Forty crania were found along with trade goods and other artifacts. The Burke ossuary in Ancaster Township was described as containing an extended burial as well as another pit with six skeletons with conch shells, brass kettle and other artifacts. The Dwyer ossuary in Beverley Township was excavated by David Boyle in 1885 and found to contain 15 bodies buried in a flexed position at a depth of approximately one metre below surface. In later excavations, Rutherford Smith excavated below the hardpan floor, consisting of coarse gravel mixed with lime, to find numerous skeletons, some in a "heap", as well as artifacts. The depth of the second deposit was approximately 1.6 metres. The Hosken site and ossuary in Glanford Township was excavated by the landowner's son who reported it to be approximately 5.4 metres square and 1.5 metres deep. He also reported two bone deposits separated by 0.6 metre of clay. In another review of poorly documented Neutral cemeteries situated along the lower Grand River, the close proximity of villages to their cemeteries was noted (Poulton et al. 1996:24-26).

Summary

In summary, the Neutral cemeteries that have been excavated reveal multiple secondary interments and individual primary interments, although no cemeteries have been found that consist of only the latter. They also appear to contain many fewer bodies than contemporary Huron ossuaries suggesting that they contain the deceased of single rather than multiple communities. Marian White (1966:21) suggested, however, that many of these pits likely contained the dead of an even smaller social group, such as a clan or extended family.

New York Iroquois Multiple Burial Practice

Large community cemeteries have an early origin in New York State as they do in Ontario. Ritchie (1965:175-178) ascribed large communal burial pits to the Late Archaic Orient Phase (circa 1000 B.C.) and multiple burials of cremated, bundle and flexed burials within community cemeteries for the Meadowood

phase, circa 500 B.C. (Ritchie 1965:197). These patterns suggested to Ritchie periodic communal burials for small-scale social units such as families or clans.

The largest, best described pre-Iroquoian or Transitional Woodland burial in New York State is that of the Kipp Island No. 4 component dating to the Hunter's Home Phase (A.D.895±100 [I-3441]) (Ritchie 1965:261-265). At least twenty-nine burial features were present over an area of 84 square metres and found to contain 120 individuals of both sexes and all ages in a variety of burial forms although secondary burials, and especially multiple interments involving bundles predominated. Funerary offerings were present in only three graves.

Pre-contact Iroquois burial sites in western New York were described by White (1966) and more recently by Rayner-Herter (2001) in her analysis of the development of the Niagara Frontier Iroquois (cf. Houghton 1909). While many have only primary interments (e.g., Engelbrecht 1995), those that had multiple burial pits include the Hiller Road site, which had at least six disturbed burial pits containing multiple secondary burials. Details are available for only two of the pits. One contained 22 to 26 individuals with crania placed at the top of the deposit and a layer of charcoal covering the remainder, while the second pit contained 14 individuals in a disarticulated and mixed deposit. The fifteenth century Sugg/Keller site had a small cemetery on a sand knoll containing five burial pits containing 26 individuals (8, 9, 4, 3, and 2 respectively), while the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century Sawmill Road burial pit contained at least 32 individuals in secondary bundles. Also, the Orangeport 1 and 2 sites in Niagara County described by Bryant (1912:468) and Houghton (1912:474), respectively, yielded mixed deposits. The first ossuary was said to contain the remains of at least 78 individuals in a disarticulated form while the second was described by Houghton as having contained 135 individuals "intermingled in the greatest confusion". Detailed accounts of these sites can be found in Rayner-Herter (2001).

The Ripley site, situated in southwestern New York, has been considered of Erie origin. Various excavations conducted on the multi-component or long-occupied site (Parker 1907; Sullivan 1996) indicate that burials were found in all areas of the site, except possibly inside the earth ring. A total of 238 individuals were discovered from 178 burial features during the four excavations at the site (there were an additional 44 burials for which there is little information). The site has been 70% excavated and given that burials appear to have been present in all areas, this number may represent 70% of the total burials. While 83% of the graves contained single flexed individuals, 27 occurrences of multiple burials contained two to four individuals. Previous investigators reported the presence of burned areas or "grave fires" at the top of the pit fill in some cases and most (72%) were interred with grave goods. While most other cemeteries associated with pre-contact sites in westernmost New York also contained single and paired primary inhumations (e.g., White 1967), burial pits containing large numbers of individuals, for the most part in bundles, have also been reported (e.g., Guthe 1958; Parker 1922; Rayner-Herter 2001:96).

White (1966) and Rayner-Herter (2001) also described contact period Iroquois cemeteries in western New York. The seventeenth century Kienuka (Porter

ossuary) site appears to have consisted of several bone pits, one of which apparently yielded 60 crania and a mixed deposit while another may have contained more than 200 individuals associated with historic grave goods (Rayner-Herter 2001:101-103). The seventeenth century Kelly site included a pit containing 30 individuals and the seventeenth century Van Son Cemetery on Grand Island had a minimum of 39 burial pits containing a total of 59 mostly single, flexed, primary burials although a few group bundles were also documented. The Silverheels cemetery, reported by Parker (1922:214), had 65 graves, most of which contained single flexed and extended primary inhumations. A few multiple burial pits were also recorded, however, one of which had nine individuals "tangled in no recognizable position." Also, the Cambria/Gould ossuary, situated on the edge of the Niagara Escarpment and overlooking Lake Ontario, apparently had a 1.5 metre deep deposit of bone associated with brass kettles, iron axes and triangular points (Rayner-Herter 2001:98-100). At least eight other cemeteries were noted by White, some dating to between 1600 and 1640, all with single flexed burials.

Recent descriptions of pre-contact and post-contact period Mohawk burial patterns are found in Snow (1995). These include a number of cemeteries associated with tenth through seventeenth century sites, all of which contained primarily single, flexed interments although occasionally two or three individuals were buried together in a pit.

Varied in both time and space, New York Iroquois burial patterns appear to range from primary interment, for the most part in single graves, to large cemeteries with bundles and multiple secondary disarticulated deposits. On the other hand, multiple burial pits appear to be restricted largely to western New York. Indeed, to the east in the Genesee valley, pre-contact multiple burial pits are extremely rare, with the exception of the Coates site (Rayner-Herter 2001:248), until the late seventeenth century. This period (1675-1687) is represented by the Beal and Bunce burials (Houghton 1922), where numerous individuals (28 in one case) were interred together in a single grave in either bundles or mixed deposits. White (1966:20) suggests that these late ossuaries appeared due to the influence of captive Hurons among the Seneca. The usual Seneca practice from the sixteenth through seventeenth century was primary flexed burials in individual graves (Ritchie 1954; Wray and Schoff 1953; cf. Hayes [1965] for eighteenth century Seneca burial patterns).

While there are some reports of St. Lawrence Iroquoian ossuaries farther east in Jefferson County, New York, White also believed these to be rather rare occurrences revealing late period Huron-St. Lawrence Iroquois interaction rather than earlier influences from western New York.

The pre-contact Orangeport and contact period ossuaries (e.g., Cambria/Gould) present in some portions of western New York, although poorly documented, nevertheless attest to the presence of multiple secondary burial deposits associated with bundle and primary burials, a pattern not at all dissimilar to Neutral burial practice. The recognition and implication of variation among pre-contact and contact period Iroquois tribal burial patterns was discussed almost three decades ago by Ritchie and Funk (1973:366-367). While pointing—perhaps too simplistically—to a

homogeneous Huron Nation and ossuary tradition, all occurring in a remarkably compact area, the variation in burial practice of the five nations of the New York Iroquois, on the other hand, was explained in terms of different territories, artifact styles, and dialects, and occasional intertribal strife. They suggested that even after the establishment of the League, relations between the nations were at times strained and common undertakings were rare. In keeping with this tribal autonomy, they expected that local tribal burial traditions were followed (cf. Niemczycki 1984). Rayner-Herter (2001:247-252, 279-283) has explored this further, relating differences in burial patterns in western New York to two socially distinct groups.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that the mortuary beliefs and practices of the Huron, Petun, Neutral, and New York Iroquois were all different from one another. While this is not surprising and was noted by White (1966), Trigger (1969), Ritchie and Funk (1973), Kenyon (1982) and other researchers, the evidence also suggests that there are differences in the burial patterns among the sites of these groups, even among roughly contemporaneous communities during the contact period.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, most Iroquoians were inhabiting one hectare sized, sometimes palisaded villages, that were still relatively autonomous in political terms. The village appears to represent the most complex socio-political unit to which people belonged. On the other hand, increasing similarities in pottery and smoking pipe styles point to increasing levels of inter-community communication and integration. The development of inter-village alliances throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries probably led to increasingly large and more fully integrated villages with socio-political systems based on extended matrilineal kinship. These trends eventually led to the establishment of the tribal systems that were ultimately partners in the confederacies described in the seventeenth century historic record.

Spence (1994) has suggested that the relatively autonomous Early Iroquoian communities may have had quite different burial practices across southern Ontario, a pattern that the differences among the Moatfield, Staines Road, Tabor Hill, Glen Williams, Orchid and Fairty sites suggest may have persisted into the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Analyses of the settlement patterns of fourteenth and early fifteenth century communities similarly suggest that the homogeneous Middle Iroquoian life, originally hypothesized by Wright (1966) may be more illusion than reality (Robertson and Williamson 2002a). By one century later, these differences appear to have resolved into separate burial traditions for the Huron and Neutral, which were further reinterpreted at the level of the individual community or tribe.

Indeed, the evidence from the Grimsby site suggests that importance was placed on maintaining the integrity of individuals after death, in single flexed burials or in carefully arranged multiple burials, emphasizing smaller corporate units such as family and clan segments. The deliberate mixing of large numbers of incomplete

secondary remains in large Huron ossuaries, on the other hand, suggests an emphasis on the integration of social segments from within a community and its neighbouring villages. It is not a rigid pattern, however, as even some contact period Huron ossuaries, when subject to very detailed excavation (e.g., Jerkic 1975), reveal complex depositional patterns that include the maintenance of bundled individuals or groups of individuals, perhaps representing smaller social units, within pits. Moreover, if the practice of mixing of the remains was essentially a symbolic act, it is reasonable to expect that only the upper portion of skeletal elements in deposits would be entirely intermingled. Some Huron and Neutral cemeteries also have layers of largely sterile soil between bone layers suggesting intentional differentiation during the bone deposition or separate episodes of deposition. Different Huron tribes may have had slightly different burial practices that survived the confederacy, despite the accommodation of a tradition defined by a significant periodic burial event. Only very careful excavation of ossuaries and/or cemeteries and the tracking of burial traditions through time by community or region will reveal the details of such differences.

The following detailed description of the Moatfield site is intended to make a contribution to our understanding of this complexity. Its place in that complexity can only be explained in the context of the preceding comparative review. Some of the attributes that need to be examined in the case of Moatfield include the relatively small number of individuals, the ossuary's location immediately adjacent to the village, the arrangement of individual skeletal elements within the deposit, the recognition of bundles throughout the deposit, and the presence or absence of sterile soil layers within the burial feature. The implications of these and other Moatfield patterns are discussed in the final chapter of the volume.

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