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The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview

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The foundations for modern scholarship concerning Wendat history and archaeology were laid in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by researchers, such as Andrew Hunter and Arthur Jones, investigating hundreds of sites and ossuaries that had been reported to provincial authorities. The focus of their work and of the work of many of those who followed was the search for places that could be related to villages and missions mentioned in early documentary accounts. Avocational, academic, and government agency archaeologists working in the mid-twentieth century had only these early archaeological studies to inform their investigations of Wendat sites. During the past 30 years, however, a revolution in archaeological data collection has occurred. Some of these data are published and thus accessible to current researchers, but much of it remains unpublished and some of it has not even been reported on. This paper is an overview of most of this work, especially of those sites where substantial excavations have occurred. It is intended to provide a guide for those who wish to use these studies to delve deeper into various aspects of the history of historic-period or ancestral Wendat communities.

Introduction

This paper is intended to provide an up-to-date summary of archaeological research on Wendat sites in Ontario to A.D. 1651. It relies on archaeological evidence for the period prior to contact with Europeans and on both the archaeological and documentary records for the subsequent years. The Wendat are Iroquoian, a term that refers to both a cultural pattern and a linguistic family, the latter of which includes the languages spoken by the Northern Iroquoians of the Great Lakes region as well as Cherokee, spoken in the southern Appalachians, and Tuscarora, spoken near the mid-Atlantic coast. The term Iroquoian, therefore, should not be confused with "Iroquois," a word adopted by Europeans to refer to the Haudenosaunee, or Five Nations Confederacy (see also Williamson and MacDonald 2015:103-104).

While the exact timing and catalyst for the introduction of Iroquoian speakers into the Great Lakes region are unknown, the region had clearly been occupied for thousands of years by proto-Algonquian speakers and their ancestors (see Iroquoian Origins below). Once Iroquoian-speaking peoples appeared, some local populations adopted their language and aspects of their ways of life. There is now agreement that the full expression of Iroquoian culture—the essential elements of which were a primary reliance on horticulture for subsistence; habitation in often-fortified villages containing bark-covered longhouses shared usually by matrilineally related extended families; clan membership extending beyond each village to other communities, thereby integrating villages within tribes and confederacies; a set of shared governance structures and religious beliefs and practices; and participation in ritualized warfare, trophy taking, and prisoner sacrifice (Trigger 1976:91-104)—is not recognizable archaeologically until the turn of the fourteenth century (e.g., Engelbrecht 2003; Warrick 2000, 2008).

The Huron, or Wendat, were the northernmost of the Iroquoians, who, in the seventeenth century, inhabited the area between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay known historically as Wendake (Figure 1). Their confederacy consisted of four allied nations: the Attignawantan (Bear), Attigneenongnahac (Cord), Arendarhonon (Rock), and Tahontaenrat (Deer). Another population, known as the Ataronchronon (Bog), does not appear to have been an independent member of the confederacy and was instead a division of the Attignawantan (Trigger 1976:30). Their name for themselves, Wendat, has been interpreted as meaning "islanders" or "dwellers on a peninsula" (Heidenreich 1971:300-301; Trigger 1969:9) and may only have come into common use to refer to the Wendat confederacy in the seventeenth century (Steckley 2007:25; Thwaites 1896-1901, 5:278).

The Tionontaté lived immediately southwest of the Wendat. Their confederacy included two separate groups, the Wolf and Deer (Thwaites 1896-1901, 33:143, 20:43). At the time the Jesuits arrived in Huronia, the Wendat-Tionontaté were allied against common Iroquois enemies, although this had not always been the case. Their combined population prior to the spread of European epidemics in the 1630s has been estimated to have been 30,000 (Warrick 2008:204).

Their more distant Iroquoian-speaking neighbours included the Neutral Confederacy (Attiwandaron), who lived farther south, on the peninsula separating Lakes Erie and Ontario and extending west and, for a brief period, east of the Niagara River; the Erie, who inhabited the territory south of Lake Erie; the Wenro (Oneronon), another group living south of the Great Lakes and associated with the Neutral; and the Iroquois Confederacy (Haudenosaunee), who lived in clustered tribal groupings across what is now central New York State. The Haudenosaunee included (from west to east) the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, all of whom had unique cultural traits and histories owing to their geographic separation and development in distinct tribal territories, which they continued to occupy into the contact period. These differences are reflected in their language and material culture, as well as their clan organization, kinship terms, and mortuary practices. The Susquehannock (also Andastoerhonon) were another Iroquoian population, situated southeast of the Iroquois in central and eastern Pennsylvania and northern Maryland.

There were also Iroquoian-speaking communities living in the St. Lawrence valley west of Quebec City in the sixteenth century. Encountered by Jacques Cartier in his 1534 and 1535 visits to eastern Canada, they had moved elsewhere by the time of Samuel de Champlain's visit of 1603. Although their absence 70 years later was at one time considered a mystery, we now know that relocations of that nature were a long-standing option for Iroquoian decision makers when faced with newly emerging social and political challenges.

The Algonquian-speaking neighbours of the Wendat included the Odawa, who lived in the Bruce Peninsula area, next to the Tionontaté, and beyond; the Nipissing, who lived near the lake of the same name; and a number of small bands on the eastern and northern shores of Georgian Bay and along the Ottawa River.

These groups defined the geopolitical landscape of the lower Great Lakes at the time of sustained European contact. From A.D. 1300 to 1600, however, many of the ancestral communities of the Wendat were situated not only in their historic territory but also along the rivers that drain into the north shore of Lake Ontario between the Credit River and Prince Edward County (Figure 1). These communities eventually merged with others in historic Wendake and Tionontaté country, after which it was only a few decades until the consequences of European presence altered Indigenous lives forever. Epidemic diseases and famine reduced their populations by more than 50 percent between 1634 and 1640 (Warrick 2008:222-236). Eventually, by the mid-seventeenth century, traditional conflicts between the Wendat-Tionontaté, Attiwandaron, and Haudenosaunee, exacerbated by European agendas, resulted in the dispersal of the three Ontario confederacies and some of their Algonquian-speaking allies.

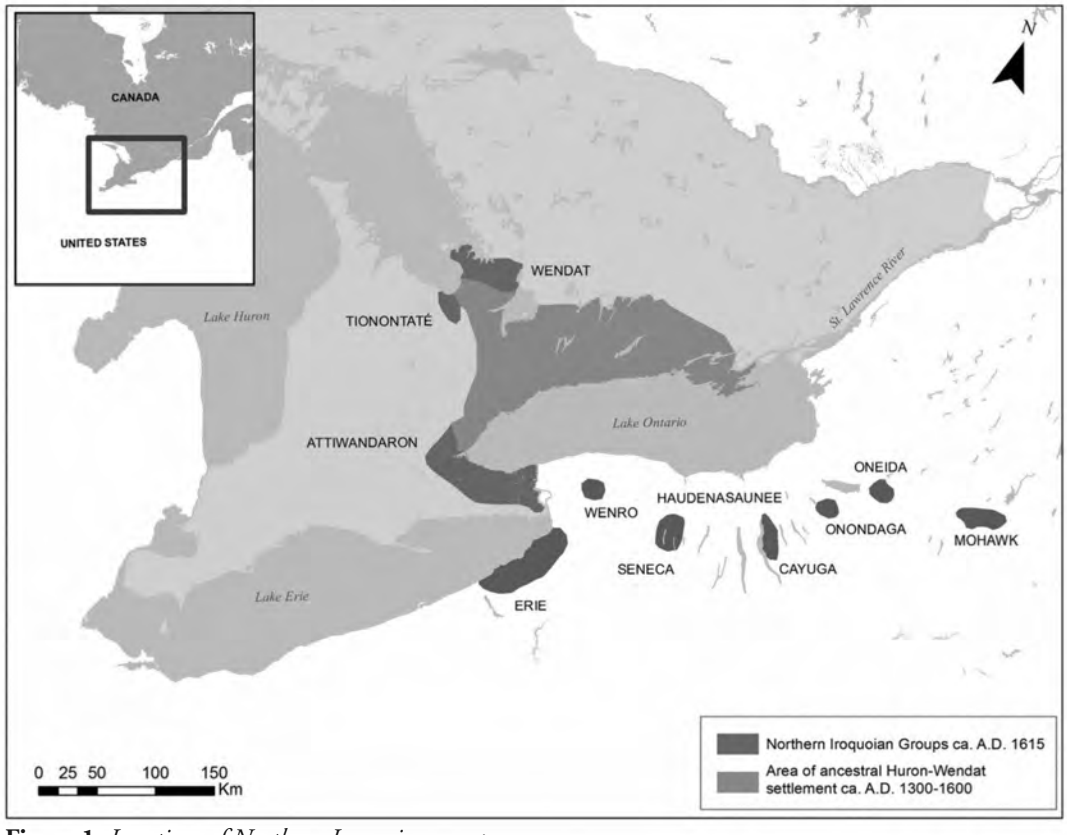

Figure 1. *Locations of Northern Iroquoian groups.*

Scholars of this period are fortunate to have available to them the rich seventeenth-century documentary record of the lives of Northern Iroquoians. The three principal sources are Champlain, Sagard, and the Jesuits. The works of Samuel de Champlain, an experienced soldier and explorer, recorded his observations of Wendat (and Tionontaté) life (in particular, on clothing, settlements, military aspects, and hunting tactics) and their economy and interpersonal relations during a winter spent among them in 1615–16 (Biggar 1922-1936). The detailed account of Gabriel Sagard, a Récollet friar who spent the winter of 1623–24 with the Wendat (Sagard 1939), can be considered one of the world's first substantial ethnographies (Trigger 1969:4). Sagard also compiled a phrasebook and comprehensive dictionary of the Wendat language (Sagard 2010). The annual accounts of the Jesuit priests who lived among the Wendat from 1634 until 1650 and among the Iroquois from 1654 to 1667 (Thwaites 1896–1901) are filled with descriptions of Wendat life and society. All three sources must be employed with caution, however, as they were written by outsiders with their own agendas (Trigger 1976).

These primary historical sources, as well as other informative accounts, were synthesized by Elizabeth Tooker (1964) to provide a thorough source for ethnographic references to most aspects of Wendat life between 1615 and 1649. A major secondary summary of the lives of Wendat peoples can be found in Trigger's *The Children of Aataentsic* (1976), which masterfully combines history, ethnography, and archaeology to give Wendat peoples their own voices in their interactions with their neighbours and the European colonial enterprise.

Conrad Heidenreich (1971) had earlier provided a detailed geographic analysis of historic

Wendake and Wendat life, with an attempt to identify the locations of historic village locations in Wendake as recorded in documentary accounts (see also, for example, Fox 1941; Heidenreich 1966, 1968, 2014; Jones 1908; Jury 1976; Latta 1985a, 1988). Stephen Monckton (1992) examined the plant remains from four historic Wendat settlements as well as those from Sainte-Marie I, providing insight into both dependence on local plant food resources and Wendat food production (for an interesting article on documented corn hills near Creemore, see Heidenreich 1974). Georges Sioui (1999) added a contemporary Wendat voice to the history of his people. More recently, Gary Warrick (2008) produced an insightful demographic history of the Wendat-Tionontaté; John Steckley (2007, 2010) provided major ethno-linguistic analyses of the Wendat language; and Jennifer Birch and Ron Williamson (2013a) offered a contextual analysis of the archaeological history of a single community, moving through time in ancestral Wendat territory along the north shore of Lake Ontario and living at the site called Mantle (Jean-Baptiste Laíné) in the period 1500–30. Charles Garrad (2014) has summarized previous work and his own long research into the history and archaeology of the Tionontaté in a comprehensive volume, and Kathryn Labelle (2013) has produced an analysis of post-dispersal Wendat-Wyandot history.

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century work that laid the foundations for modern research includes, most notably, that by Andrew Hunter (e.g., 1889, 1899, 1900-1904, 1907) and Arthur Jones (1908). Their work included efforts to track the locations of historic Wendat villages mentioned in ethnographic accounts, while also investigating sites and ossuaries reported to provincial authorities. The search for sites and ossuaries was often based on archaeological features reported by farmers to provincial authorities, or on investigations carried out either by physicians of the period looking for anatomical collections or by archaeological enthusiasts looking for relics as part of their leisure activities. These reports allowed A.F. Hunter, for example, to document 400 Wendat sites and ossuaries, many of which were summarized by township in the Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario during the period (see also Fleming n.d.). George Laidlaw (1912) undertook the first archaeological survey of Victoria County, by horse and buggy, documenting the Hardrock and Benson sites, from which he collected artifacts (Noble 2006:73-75). Robert Popham (1950), Richard McNeish (1952), Norman Emerson (1954), J.V. Wright (1966), Frank Ridley (1966-1975), Marti Latta (1973, 1976), Roberta O'Brien (1974, 1975), and Jamie Hunter (1976, 1977) all used these early studies in their mid- to late twentieth-century investigations of Wendat sites. Frank Ridley, in particular, employed A. Hunter's survey data to carry out his extensive survey and his test excavations at Hunter's sites, thereby evaluating their chronological placement in Wendat history. Wilf and Elsie Jury contributed substantially to the history and archaeology of Huronia from the 1940s through the 1960s. For a summary of their lives and accomplishments, see Pearce (2003).

The following sections summarize how some of these and other early researchers began to frame Wendat history in light of emerging archaeological data.

Iroquoian Origins

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of Northern Iroquoians is that they are entirely surrounded by Algonquian speakers. Their origins and development in the lower Great Lakes region, therefore, have always been of interest to anthropologists, but they are also of critical concern for Northern Iroquoian descendant communities in regard to still-contested lands and rights in eastern Canada and the northeastern United States. The ability of anthropologists to recognize ethnicity in the archaeological record and to outline their histories and those of their neighbours is now evaluated regularly in the courts, as was evidenced recently when the Wendat defended their right to speak for ancestral communities on the Seaton lands east of Toronto (Hiawatha et al. v. R. 2007).

Early anthropological accounts of Iroquoian origins focused on migration (Parker 1916; Griffin 1944), therefore precluding examination of

significant economic and socio-political evolution in Iroquoian society. Later researchers supported an *in situ* theory of Iroquoian cultural development and described the transition from the previous hunting and gathering pattern to the Iroquoian horticultural one as rapid and essentially complete by the end of the first millennium A.D. (MacNeish 1952; Ritchie 1944). William Ritchie (1969) and J.V. Wright (1966) later traced Iroquoian cultural development through several phases, recognizing two discrete centres for Iroquoian development, one in upper New York State and the other in Ontario.

Dean Snow (1995, 1996) subsequently reintroduced a migrationist hypothesis, suggesting that Iroquoians entered the lower Great Lakes region in the first millennium A.D. bringing with them maize agriculture, palisaded settlements with longhouses, matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence patterns, and technologically more sophisticated ceramic vessel manufacturing traditions. This hypothesis was rejected by most Great Lakes archaeologists (e.g., Crawford et al. 1997; Engelbrecht 2003; Ferris 1999; Hart 2001; Warrick 2000, 2008). Not only is the full expression of the Iroquoian cultural pattern not apparent until around the turn of the fourteenth century, but it is now clear that maize was introduced centuries before that hypothesized migration. In New York State, for example, John Hart and his colleagues have employed microscopic phytolith analysis and AMS dating of carbonized food remains to demonstrate that maize was being cooked in central New York by about 2,000 years ago (Hart et al. 2003), well before the Iroquoian cultural pattern crystallized, and perhaps even prior to introduction of a proto-Iroquoian language to the region.

There is, however, linguistic evidence for the migration of an Iroquoian-speaking population into the lower Great Lakes region. Stuart Fiedel (1999), for example, has argued that a proto-Algonquian language emerged in the Great Lakes region by 1200 B.C. (following Siebert 1967), after which there was an expansion and divergence of proto-Algonquian languages during the period between 500 B.C. and A.D. 900. Because the Iroquoian language family is dissimilar to Algonquian languages in vocabulary, phonology, and grammar, Fiedel suggested that the two language families were relatively recent neighbours in the region, the Iroquoian presence having resulted from a more recent migration, c. A.D. 500–1000. He suggested that the divergence of the individual Iroquoian languages occurred during this period as well.

This general outline for the antiquity of Algonquian populations in the region has been underscored by recent genetic research in which mtDNA from the skeletal remains of a number of northeastern pre-contact sites was compared with that of several contemporary, potentially descendant Native Americans, including Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers (Pfeiffer et al. 2014; Shook and Smith 2008). These studies have demonstrated that there was genetic homogeneity across language barriers as well as close similarity between ancient populations in the Mississippi drainage and southern Ontario. This suggests there was sufficient gene flow among geographically distant populations to maintain regional continuities in populations for at least 3,000 years. The researchers suggest that populations were expanding between 2,000 and 4,000 years ago, perhaps associated with expansion of proto-Algonquian languages or introduction of maize horticulture into the region. Derived mutations in several samples assigned to certain haplogroups in the latter study potentially link some individuals in ancestral Iroquoian populations with much earlier Algonquian populations (Pfeiffer et al. 2014:339-340). Although studies with much larger samples are necessary to fully explore these relationships, these data suggest that the Iroquoian cultural pattern was adopted by local populations without their having been replaced or dispersed.

It is likely, therefore, that a small number of Iroquoian speakers introduced the language to resident Algonquian-speaking Great Lakes populations, after which the language, perhaps in association with maize subsistence technology, gradually gained widespread acceptance. Engelbrecht (2003:112-114) argued for an "ethnogenetic" perspective on Iroquoian origins

because it can accommodate population movements, acculturation, diffusion of ideas, and continuity, resulting in a more realistic and complex view of Iroquoian development than is possible using simplistic arguments set in a migrationist or diffusionist framework. Peter Ramsden (2006) has proposed that eastern Iroquoians, consisting of St. Lawrence Iroquoians, the Mohawk, the Onondaga, and those Wendat who originate in the eastern part of their territory, have in situ origins that differ from western Iroquoian groups, who were influenced by more recent arrivals, perhaps from the Mississippi valley. Ramsden argues that the western groups brought the Iroquoian language to their eastern neighbours. These notions are consistent with the most recent genetic research described above.

The Transition to Agriculture and Village Life

Regardless of the chronology and manner by which the Iroquoian language came to the region, the introduction of maize ultimately played the leading role in initiating the transition to food production and reducing traditional reliance on naturally occurring resources. Hart and Lovis (2013) argue that the adoption of an agricultural way of life was a gradual transition occurring over generations (see also Williamson 1985, 1990). It was multi-lineal and involved early farmers participating in broad networks sharing plant seeds and knowledge about agricultural technologies, and doing so in different natural and social environments. The breadth of those networks is reflected in the agricultural complex of Iroquoians, especially in the role of bloodshed in promoting agricultural fertility, and specifically in similarities to the ritual systems of Mesoamerica and the Mississippi valley. Specific shared ceremonies include the Arrow Sacrifice ceremony, dog sacrifice, platform torture and sacrifice of victims to the sun, decapitation, and scalping of prisoners (Engelbrecht 2003:37-46; Trigger 1976:73-75).

While there is phytolith evidence of maize being used more than 2000 years ago in New York (Thompson et al. 2004), the earliest evidence for maize in Ontario (in the form of carbonized plant macroremains) comes from 1400-year-old sites in the Grand River valley (Crawford et al. 1997). Recent AMS dating of maize residues on ceramic vessels from Middle Woodland period (c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 500) sites in the westernmost St. Lawrence valley (Hart et al. 2003) suggests maize may have been used by contemporaneous populations in southeastern Ontario.

The introduction of corn into the subsistence systems of local populations initially supplemented rather than dramatically altered traditional Middle Woodland hunting, fishing, and gathering patterns. Indeed, isotopic analyses of bone collagen and carbonate from sites in southern Ontario suggest that maize did not become a nutritional staple until at least A.D. 1000 (Harrison and Katzenberg 2003:241). Over time, it would have been increasingly favoured, because it was less prone to variability in productivity and could be grown and harvested close to the village and then stored (Trigger 1985:85), thereby reducing the need for seasonal macroband dispersal and initiating the development of semi-sedentary settlements (Trigger 1978:59-61; 1985:87) in southern Ontario. It is clear there was not a simple cause-and-effect relationship between the incorporation of maize into early pre-contact economies and the shift to a more sedentary lifestyle; instead, these processes unfolded at different rates and times in different parts of the Lower Great Lakes region (Hart and Brumbach 2003; Pihl et al. 2008).

In southern Ontario, settlements with evidence for maize and semi-sedentary habitation (c. A.D. 500–1000) have been characterized as transitional between the preceding Middle Woodland and subsequent Late Woodland communities of the region (Fox 1990; Ferris and Spence 1995; Crawford et al. 1997). The best known examples of these sites, which occur primarily in floodplain environments, include the Auda (Kapches 1987), Holmedale (Pihl et al. 2008), and Porteous sites (Stothers 1977). These "base camps" featured small, poorly defined circular or elliptical house structures containing clusters of hearths and pits. The latter two sites were encircled by one or two rows of palisade or fencing, perhaps serving as windbreaks. The

discovery of large, deep pits, probably used for storing crops, and the ubiquitous presence of maize on these sites suggest that maize contributed considerably to the diet.

A constantly evolving and remarkably complete record of village life between 1000 and 700 years ago has survived in southern Ontario. That record consists of geographically discrete, regional clusters of semi-permanent settlements, together with smaller camps and special purpose sites (Williamson 1990), each representing two or more contemporary communities that may have shared a hunting territory and a common resource base (Timmins 1997:228). There is enough internal differentiation among these site clusters that Early Iroquoian development should be viewed as a multi-linear process, with differential adoption of settlement and subsistence strategies and with social, political, and economic developments occurring at slightly different times (Williamson 1990). This pattern has also been suggested for contemporary ancestral Iroquois populations in New York State (Hart and Brumbach 2003).

While limited quantities of material culture related to societies to the south and west have been recovered from Early Iroquoian sites (Fox 2008:13), it seems likely that inter-group communication and interaction was more frequent within these regional clusters than with groups farther afield (Williamson and Robertson 1994).

Villages of this period are generally small in size, covering approximately one acre, or 0.4 ha (Williamson 1990), and encompass multiple structures, averaging 10 to 20 m in length and 7 m in width (Dodd 1984; Warrick 1996). They are sometimes surrounded by a single row of posts, which have been interpreted as fences or enclosures as opposed to defensive palisades, owing to their relatively insubstantial construction. Populations based on site size and hearth counts indicate that the earliest Iroquoian communities comprised approximately 75–150 people (Timmins 1997:199), suggesting that they were derived from late Middle and Transitional Woodland yearly territorial band aggregations of 50–150 people (Trigger 1976:134, 1985:86).

Occupied over a longer period of time than later villages, these earlier villages first appeared to archaeologists as somewhat disordered. We now know that they reflect multiple episodes of rebuilding involving multiple re-occupations over many decades, sometimes for a 100 years or more. Peter Timmins (1997) has reconstructed the occupational history of the Calvert site, a village in southwestern Ontario, showing how it developed from a seasonal hunting camp into a semi-permanently occupied village between A.D. 1150 and 1250.

There is no evidence that the appearance of these villages marked the incorporation of matrilineal descent and residence patterns or of formal village political organization (Hart 2001; Williamson 1990). Their patterning and small size suggests that households were autonomous and that leadership remained informal, perhaps limited to an individual who acted as an intermediary in dealings with neighbouring groups (Trigger 1981:24).

An increasing reliance on maize as a dietary staple is suggested by isotopic data, though it likely comprised less than 20 percent of the diet until the end of the thirteenth century (Harrison and Katzenberg 2003:241; Katzenberg et al. 1995; Schwartz et al. 1985; but see van der Merwe et al. 2003). During most of the period, corn clearly augmented a diverse and regionally differentiated subsistence economy in which populations chose to reduce the risk of crop failure through the continued exploitation of naturally occurring resources (Williamson 1990).

The Transformation to an Iroquoian Cultural Pattern

The turn of the fourteenth century marked a transformational point in Iroquoian cultural evolution. Large, year-round occupied agricultural villages with new socially integrative mechanisms such as semi-subterranean sweat lodges, along with a distinct material culture, are all for the first time recognizably "Iroquoian"—that is, they match the descriptions in early European accounts. While previous interpretations of Iroquoian life during the fourteenth century

concluded that this was a period of widespread cultural homogenization, with similar settlement patterns, subsistence strategies, material culture, and socio-economic networks being adopted throughout southern Ontario (Dodd et al. 1990; Wright 1966), data resulting from multiple complete ancestral Wendat village excavations over the past few decades suggest that life in Iroquoian communities was in fact much more variable than was previously thought. Individual communities underwent a series of transitions in different ways and at different times, depending on local contingencies and the structure of the social and economic networks of which they were a part (Williamson and Robertson 1994).

There was also a northward expansion of Wendat settlement at this time. There is as yet no evidence for Wendat villages in the Simcoe Uplands immediately south of Georgian Bay prior to the late thirteenth century. But soon after there is evidence for multiple agricultural communities migrating into the region (MacDonald 2002; Sutton 1999). While a number of hypotheses have been advanced for the reasons behind the colonization of the Simcoe Uplands (MacDonald 2002; Sutton 1999; Warrick 2008:177-180), population pressure and increased opportunities to trade with Algonquians, along with ecological considerations, provide the most likely explanations for these early thirteenth-century migrations. The establishment of new villages no doubt involved significant communication and negotiations between the Iroquoians on the north shore of Lake Ontario and Algonquians from the surrounding area, broadening the base for future socio-political interaction (see below; Fox and Garrard 2004).

The other major development at the turn of the fourteenth century was the amalgamation of small communities to form larger communities (e.g., Williamson 1998; Wright 1986), apparently resulting in changes in socio-political and economic organization and interaction, both within communities and throughout the region in which they were located.

Intensified horticultural production to accommodate larger populations was one significant change. For example, isotopic analyses of human remains from the ancestral Wendat Moatfield ossuary, located approximately 5 km north of Lake Ontario in the city of Toronto and dating to the turn of the fourteenth century, indicate that maize comprised at least half if not more of the diet (van der Merwe et al. 2003). Such horticultural intensification may have been a necessary response to the subsistence needs of a larger, aggregated population.

This coalescence of populations occurred across much of southern Ontario, with ancestral Wendat settlements occurring primarily east of the Credit River and ancestral Neutral sites to the west of the Niagara Escarpment—the area between perhaps functioning as a transitional boundary zone.

The balance of this paper will focus only on subsequent developments among ancestral Wendat communities.

These now larger villages averaged 1.5 ha in extent, or twice the size of the earlier base settlements, and they appear to have been occupied for approximately 20 to 30 years. They contained longer houses, some reaching lengths over 100 m, and featured less rebuilding and structural change than did communities of the previous period (Dodd et al. 1990; Warrick 2008:135; Williamson and Ramsden 1998:201). Villages were not palisaded, although some included internal fences that seem to have represented visual barriers separating house clusters or segments of a community, perhaps both symbolically and physically, such as those at the Alexandra site (ASI 2008a).

There was also considerable variability in the size and structure of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century settlements, perhaps resulting from village lineage–based segments choosing to depart subsequent to a period of initial aggregation. Some sites are comprised of single clusters of three or four aligned longhouses or of less structured groups of houses, with estimated populations of approximately 250–350 persons. Other sites contained two or more clusters of aligned houses and would have supported larger populations of up to 500–600 persons. Gary Warrick (2008:141-142, 182) has suggested that a "population explosion" occurred between A.D.

1330 and A.D. 1420, when the population of south-central Ontario increased from 10,000 to 24,000 ancestral Wendat persons, reinforcing settlement in larger villages and movement into previously occupied territories. These levels exceed the social and political capabilities of band-level social institutions (Trigger 1985:93) and would have necessitated the development of more elaborate means for social integration, conflict resolution, and decision making, as well as for facilitating ties among communities in the lower Great Lakes and beyond.

One of the most visible archaeological integrative mechanisms that appear on both Wendat and Neutral villages for the first time in the late thirteenth century are semi-subterranean sweat lodges. They are shallow, keyhole-shaped pits within or attached to longhouses that were likely used for ritual, curative, and/or socio-political purposes, especially for solidifying relationships among men both within and beyond the community (MacDonald and Williamson 2001:66-67). They virtually disappear from the archaeological record on sites dating to after A.D. 1450, suggesting the practice of using semi-subterranean sweat lodges fell out of use and was replaced by one of using above-ground sweat lodges that accommodated far fewer people.

The most visible integrative mechanism of the period is ossuary burial, adopted in particular by the ancestral Wendat (Williamson and Steiss 2003; see Seeman 2011 for an exploration of ossuary burial from a Wendat ideological perspective; also Forrest 2012). Ossuaries are large pit features containing the disarticulated but commingled remains of hundreds of individuals who were buried in a ceremony called the "Feast of the Dead," one of which was witnessed in 1636 by Jean de Brébeuf in historic Wendake (Thwaites 1896-1901, 10:279-303). At the time of village relocation, the remains of those who had died during the tenure of the village and had been given primary burials in the ground, on scaffolds, or in bark huts, were disinterred and re-deposited in one or two mass graves. More than 100 ossuaries of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries are known in Simcoe County alone (Hunter 1889:44; Fleming n.d.:8), most based on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century accounts of their rather frequent looting for anatomical collections and race-based research. While few of these have been investigated in detail, at least 50 are thought to date to the contact period based on the presence of European trade goods (Hunter 1889:44). There are almost two dozen well-documented ancestral Wendat ossuaries both in historic Wendake and along the north shore of Lake Ontario (Table 1). Given the number of known ancestral and contact period villages, it seems many ossuaries are yet to be found.

The appearance of semi-subterranean sweat lodges and ossuary burial on early fourteenth-century ancestral Wendat sites suggests that there was an increasing commitment to community building, both within individual settlements and beyond, to nearby, closely related communities and to far-distant communities.

Fifteenth-Century Coalescence and Conflict

Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, rapid and comprehensive change occurred within and beyond south-central Ontario. It included widespread violent conflict and the coalescence of multiple small communities into villages of unprecedented size, the latter perhaps representing the initial development of "tribal nations" (Birch and Williamson 2013a:21-23).

By the mid-fifteenth century, the population had stabilized at about 30,000 persons (Warrick 2008:185). It is possible that population pressure strained previous territorial agreements concerning resource harvesting thereby contributing to an increasing pattern of violent conflict. Aggregation was a strategy adopted by later Wendat groups when threatened. When five villages of the northern Bear nation faced a potential Iroquois attack in 1635, for example, their leaders discussed coalescing into a single, well-defended village, a plan that was later abandoned when the threat of attack diminished (Trigger 1969:17).

Dramatic evidence for conflict on coalescent sites dating to the mid- to late fifteenth century includes the recovery of hundreds of cut, charred, and carnivore-chewed human skeletal elements in middens (e.g., Draper, Parsons, Keffer, Damiani—

Table 1. *Ontario Wendat ossuaries.*

Site	Time Period	Region or City	Size of Burial Feature(s)	MNI
A.D. 900–1300				
Serpent Pits	11th–13th centuries	Rice Lake	3 features averaged 1.2–1.5 m × 0.6 m deep	69
Staines	A.D. 1250–1300	York	n.a.	308
Fairty	A.D. 1365-1385	Markham	3.4 m × 1.8 m deep	512
Moatfield	A.D. 1280–1330	Toronto	2.4 × 2.0 × 1.95 m	87
A.D. 1300 –1400				
Tabor Hill	A.D. 1300–1350	York	4 × 3 × 1 m; 2.7 × 1.8 × 1.2 m	523
Garland	A.D. 1300–1500	York	3 m × 1.5 m deep	198
Weston	A.D. 1300–1450	Toronto	approx. 0.6 m deep	at least 30 crania
A.D. 1400–1550				
Syers	A.D. 1400–1500	Durham	5.5 m × 1.8 m deep	300
Keffer	A.D. 1450–1500	York	approx. 4.6 m × 1.8 m deep	unknown; 50+ crania
Uxbridge	A.D. 1450–1500	Durham	4.9 × 4.0 × 2.1 m	457
Turnbull	A.D. 1400–1500	Simcoe	2 m	300+
Little Lake Park	A.D. 1400–1500	Simcoe	3.2 m × > 1 m deep	300+
Teston Road	c. A.D. 1450	York	2.8 m long × 1.9 m deep	300+
Poole-Rose	c. A.D. 1500	Cobourg	2.5 m × 1.5 m deep	300+
A.D. 1550–1650				
Sopher	c. A.D. 1550	Simcoe	5 m × 1.8 m deep	96–105
Kleinburg	A.D. 1580–1610	York	4.2 m × 1 m deep	561
Houghton	A.D. 1620–1650	Simcoe	6.1 m ; 3 m	1000
Warminster/Cahiagué	c. A.D. 1620	Simcoe	approx. 5.5 m × 1.8 m deep	250+
Maurice	A.D. 1620–1640	Simcoe	6.5 m × 1.2 m deep	132
Tequenonquiaye/Ossossané	A.D. 1636	Simcoe	7.3 m × 1.8 m deep	419
Christian Island	A.D. 1650	Simcoe	5 m × 2 m deep; 3 m × 2 m deep; others much smaller	113 in total

	Comments	Major Reference(s)
	3 features with 15, 29, and 25 individuals, respectively; not contemporaneous; no articulations; some bundled remains	Johnston 1968,1979; Anderson 1968
	disturbed secondary deposit of an ossuary	ASI 2001
	commingled remains; now destroyed	Anderson 1963; Jackes 1986; Gruspier 1999
	commingled and bundled remains	Williamson and Pfeiffer 2003
	two burial pits; some articulated bundled remains	Churcher and Kenyon 1960
	n/a	Webb 1969
	commingled remains; 1 ossuary feature	ASI 1991
	perhaps 1 pit; commingled remains and bundled remains of limb bones	Boyle 1896:41-42; Ramsden 1977; Webb 1972
	no artifacts	Boyle 1889-90:20, 1908:16; Webb 1972; Finlayson et al. 1985
	commingled remains; underlying layer of burned bone	Cook 1977; Pfeiffer 1983, 1986, 1991
	minimally disturbed by construction activities; not excavated	ASI 2013
	commingled remains; minimally disturbed by construction activities; not excavated	ARA 2003
	commingled remains; minimally disturbed by construction activities; not excavated;	MPP 1989; ASI 2005
	commingled remains; primary burials present as well	McKillop and Jackson 1991
	1 main ossuary pit with 2 other pits; mainly commingled remains; cremations and bundled remains in main pit	Noble 1968; Warrick 2008:116-117
	commingled and bundled remains; circular, layered pit with relatively vertical sides	Pfeiffer 1980a,b, 1985; Saunders and Melby 1990
	2 pits; crania arrayed in rows in larger of the pits	ASI 1990
	commingled; some primary burials and bundled remains	McIlwraith 1946, 1947; Harris 1949; Mullen 1990
	5 sub-types of burials; bone groupings in ossuary	Jerkic 1969, 1975; Molto 1983
	commingled and bundled remains	Kidd 1953; Jackes 1986; Heidenreich 2014
	5 pits; largest pit had 74 primary burials; next largest pit had 32; remaining three pits had 1, 3, and 4 individuals, respectively	Hartney 1978

see below); the recovery of buried individuals who had been subject to personal violence; as well as a notable increase in the recovery of human bone artifacts, in particular skull rattles (or gorgets) (Jenkins 2015; Williamson 2007). These phenomena are clearly related to prisoner sacrifice, trophy taking, the manufacture of objects made of human bone for use in ritual performances, and the siting of these and later villages in easily defended locations on top of slopes and away from navigable water. The construction of palisade and earthwork complexes at this time also indicates an ongoing concern for communal defence. These data should serve to caution those who hypothesize that scattered bone is predominantly a result of secondary burial preparation (e.g., Fontaine 2004). If that were true, altered bone would be scattered about sites in the same frequencies before and after the mid- to late fifteenth century. But it is, in fact, absent on pre-coalescent villages.

There was, however, variation among communities in how they interacted with others. At the beginning of this period of hostility and also after it had ended, some ancestral Wendat communities seem to have acquired various materials through exchange along the north shore of Lake Ontario, some of which may have originated in the Gulf of St. Lawrence region (and Chesapeake Bay), including European metal artifacts, marine shell, and walrus ivory. The varying frequencies of these commodities as well as of steatite among contemporaneous communities underscore the importance of considering each community to be unique in its interactions. Indeed, this uniqueness is also reflected in the different southern, western, and eastern influences in their ceramic assemblages (Birch et al. 2015).

Evidence from the Parsons site suggests that the violence occurred not only between far-distant communities but also between neighbouring communities (Dupras and Pratte 1998; Robertson and Williamson 1998), consistent with the likelihood that alliance formation and conflict between individual or groups of communities was both dynamic and occurring at a broad range of scales. The inevitability of such conflict was probably underscored by the fact that prowess in warfare was the most important way in which young warriors gained status (Trigger 1969:50-52). The formation of coalescent communities was also concomitant with the apparent initial mid-fifteenth century confederation of Wendat populations living in Simcoe County to the north.

This coalescence of multiple households and communities no doubt occasioned far more complex domestic settings than before and would have required more formal structures for decision making, especially at a time when the social segments that contributed to these new communities appeared to maintain their cohesiveness in their new social settings (see Birch 2012; Birch and Williamson 2013a:79-80; and Birch and Williamson 2013b for a discussion of this phenomenon). Within a few decades, however, the stresses caused by warfare and requirements for resources led to far more integrated communities.

Sixteenth-Century Consolidation and the Formation of the Wendat Confederacy

By the early sixteenth century, it would seem that populations had consolidated into large, well-planned and integrated villages (Birch 2012; Birch and Williamson 2013a). There were now far fewer settlements across the north shore of Lake Ontario, the Trent River valley, and historic Wendake. Village planning and especially the organization of production would no longer have been undertaken by the various social segments alone, but by village-wide planning councils, one for domestic work and one for foreign affairs (see Birch and Williamson 2013b). Structuring social relations through village councils and the clan system rather than households would no doubt have helped with social integration within coalescent communities, and identities based on clan membership may have become as significant as those based on lineages (Birch 2008). At the same time, there appear to have been increasing differences between communities and their interaction with or incorporation of ideas or people from other far-distant groups, suggesting that the formation of locally based identities, interaction among communities, the movement of people, and the reorganization of interregional

networks was all happening concomitantly. It seems, however, that by the early sixteenth century, the violence of the previous half-century had declined. The Mantle site, for example, while heavily palisaded and earthworked, yielded only a small amount of modified human bone in non-burial contexts, and not a single artifact made of human bone was recovered.

The presence of two European-derived copper beads at both the Seed-Barker and Mantle villages and a single iron object in a secure context at Mantle (see Birch and Williamson 2013a:149-152) suggest that some early sixteenth-century populations were also obtaining European goods through indirect contact, as suggested by Ramsden almost 40 years ago (Ramsden 1978). After c. A.D. 1550, European metals become relatively common on Iroquoian sites, and copper, brass, and iron objects predominate. Nearly all late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Wendat sites contain European materials (Fitzgerald 1990; Fox et al. 1995; Warrick 2008:116-117).

There is also evidence of the formation of large, amalgamated villages in the mid-sixteenth century on the lower St. Lawrence River. By the late sixteenth century, the lower St. Lawrence valley was abandoned entirely, and the populations who had been living there were apparently incorporated into communities and site clusters in the Trent valley and perhaps elsewhere among the Onondaga and Oneida (Timothy Abel, personal communication 2015; Birch 2015; Jamieson 1990:403; Ramsden 1990a:383, 1990b; Warrick 2000:454-457); some of these populations were certainly incorporated into Wendat communities beyond the Trent valley along the north shore of Lake Ontario a century earlier.

The final political alliances that led to the formation of the confederacy occurred in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For ancestral Wendat populations, the northward migration that had begun in the thirteenth century was completed by around the turn of the seventeenth century, as groups coalesced in the northern uplands of Simcoe County—historic Wendake. The Tionnontaté nation similarly confederated in the Nottawasaga Highlands, to the west of Wendake.

At least two of the allied nations of the Wendat confederacy were derived from populations living on the north shore of Lake Ontario and in the Trent valley, while the balance developed in historic Wendake subsequent to their late thirteenth-century migration there. The balance of this paper will present a review of the history and archaeology of these local communities as well as a summary of communities that developed in Wendake after their establishment there. This allows for the recognition of distinct local traditions and contingencies at the level of individual communities, as situated in broader historical patterns of social and cultural variability at the regional level, and it reinforces our awareness that the Wendat actually consisted of not only a number of nations, but also of a number of communities that contributed to the formation of those nations. This is why there were subtle linguistic and cultural differences (e.g., dialects, burial patterns, and trade routes) among the various nations of the Wendat—differences that were introduced into the confederacy with the inbound communities.

Summaries of Wendat Community Sequences

Before I summarize the community sequences, I should note that I have excluded from discussion in the remainder of this paper many of the sites at which early researchers such as Andrew Hunter tested middens, resulting in the recovery and description of ceramic assemblages. Many of those collections have been used in various studies attempting to delineate sequences of Wendat communities using ceramic seriation (e.g., Bursey 1993; Ramsden 1977; Wright 1966). Indeed, ceramic analysis was the backbone of ancestral and historic Wendat archaeology for decades in the twentieth century as archaeologists employed attribute and typological approaches to place sites chronologically and to assess the networks in which communities participated. Recent studies, however, have suggested the need for more sophisticated analyses of ceramic production and use.

Holly Martelle (2002), for example, examined samples from three historic Wendat sites using a multi-component, multi-scalar approach and concluded that the craft was far more complex than previously considered. Recent research shows the same was true for north shore communities. Compositional analysis of 62 vessels from the early sixteenth-century Mantle site, carried out by Linda Howie (2012), identified five ceramic fabric types that are geologically compatible with local clay resources, all highly variable and with significant differences in paste, forming technique, and firing, and six ceramic fabric types that are geologically inconsistent with local clay resources and that are based on geologically distinct raw material ingredients or paste recipes. (For a similar analysis of pipes on another ancestral Wendat site, see Braun 2012.) Moreover, comparison of the frequencies of non-local types of ceramics from early sixteenth-century Wendat communities along the north shore indicates that each community was participating in uniquely constituted interaction networks (e.g., Birch and Williamson 2013a:139-140; Birch et al. 2015).

Other ceramic trends in the historic period have been examined. The decrease in ceramic variation with time has led Holly Martelle (2004) to argue that with the formation of larger villages and the need to produce large agricultural surpluses for both crop failures and trade with Algonquians, which engaged women in the agricultural economy for ever-increasing amounts of time, specialization in ceramic manufacture may have resulted. Martelle also noted a decline in the quality of ceramic vessels at the latest site in her analyses and attributed this to the premature deaths of experienced potters due to European-introduced diseases, which precluded them from passing on their craft knowledge to student potters.

Recent work by Hart and Engelbrecht (2012) has also challenged the assumption that archaeologists can track ethnic traditions or territories on the basis of ceramic design sequences. Employing social network analysis, they examined decorative attributes on the rims of ceramic vessels from 116 archaeological sites across Iroquoia and demonstrated convincingly that it is not possible to discern ethnic or national territories in the distant past, and that the historic period ethnic landscape evolved from less regionally structured landscapes (Hart and Engelbrecht 2012:345), a finding consistent with communities participating in uniquely constituted interaction networks. Other ceramic analyses have focused on innovation expressed in the production of juvenile vessels (Smith 2006) and social relationships as reflected in the vessels from two historic sites (Curtis and Latta 2000).

Being mindful of the pitfalls of earlier ceramic research that have been highlighted by this more recent research, I have not summarized the many multiple-site ceramic analyses undertaken in the twentieth century that resulted in proposed site sequences. I have focused instead on those site investigations that involved substantial excavations resulting in the recovery of settlement pattern data in addition to representative samples of material culture.

I also have not summarized all of those sites, especially small camps or special purpose sites, for which Stage 2 and/or 3 investigations alone have been undertaken. This decision is not intended to undervalue the importance of these works but to focus in limited space on sites that have yielded the most information. I have allotted more space, however, to those major (and some minor) excavation projects for which the results have not yet been published.

In the sections that follow, mid- to late sixteenth- through seventeenth-century sites are often dated based on how the beads found at the site fit into the glass trade bead sequence. Glass trade beads were manufactured in Europe and traded to Indigenous populations in the Great Lakes area. They are typically divided into three periods: Period I, Period II, and Period III. Period I dates from 1580–1600 and is characterized by a set of beads quite diverse in shape, size, and colour, including frit core beads. Period II dates to c. 1615 and is dominated by oval and tubular beads of white and dark blue glass. Period III is dominated by turquoise round, red round, and red tubular beads and dates from 1615–50. Period III is further divided into two subperiods: Period IIIa (1620s and 1630s) and Period IIIb (1640s). For

the best detailed discussions of the classification and chronology, see Kidd and Kidd (1970) and Kenyon and Kenyon (1983).

Rouge River, West Duffins Creek, and Highland Creek

Among the best documented Wendat community sequences are those in the Rouge River, West Duffins Creek, and Highland Creek watersheds (Figure 2) (for a detailed analysis of the Draper, Spang, and Mantle transition, see Birch 2012 and Birch and Williamson 2013a). There is evidence of a long, largely unbroken sequence of occupation beginning with early agricultural base settlements on the broad sand plain north of the now-urbanized lands along Lake Ontario, through to coalescent villages 30 km north of the lakeshore, a pattern that is repeated along other drainages along the north shore of Lake Ontario. One of the first significant analyses of this history, focusing on fourteenth-century villages, was that of Mima Kapches (1981).

At least nine twelfth- and thirteenth-century villages, encompassing areas of 0.5 to 1 ha, along with a number of ancillary sites, have been documented in the lower reaches of the Rouge River and West Duffins Creek. The best known of these are the Miller site (Kenyon 1968), a palisaded late twelfth-century village consisting of six longhouses, and the twelfth-century Boys site, at which limited excavations revealed portions of two longhouses and a single-row palisade, along with several adjacent ravine middens (Reid 1975).

Several poorly known fourteenth-century sites on Duffins Creek (Poulton 1979) were documented as a result of the 1970s investigations associated with the New Toronto International Airport project. These and the recently tested Wonowin (ASI 2011a), Sebastien (ASI 2011b), and Miindamiin (now Ludger Gros-Louis) (URS

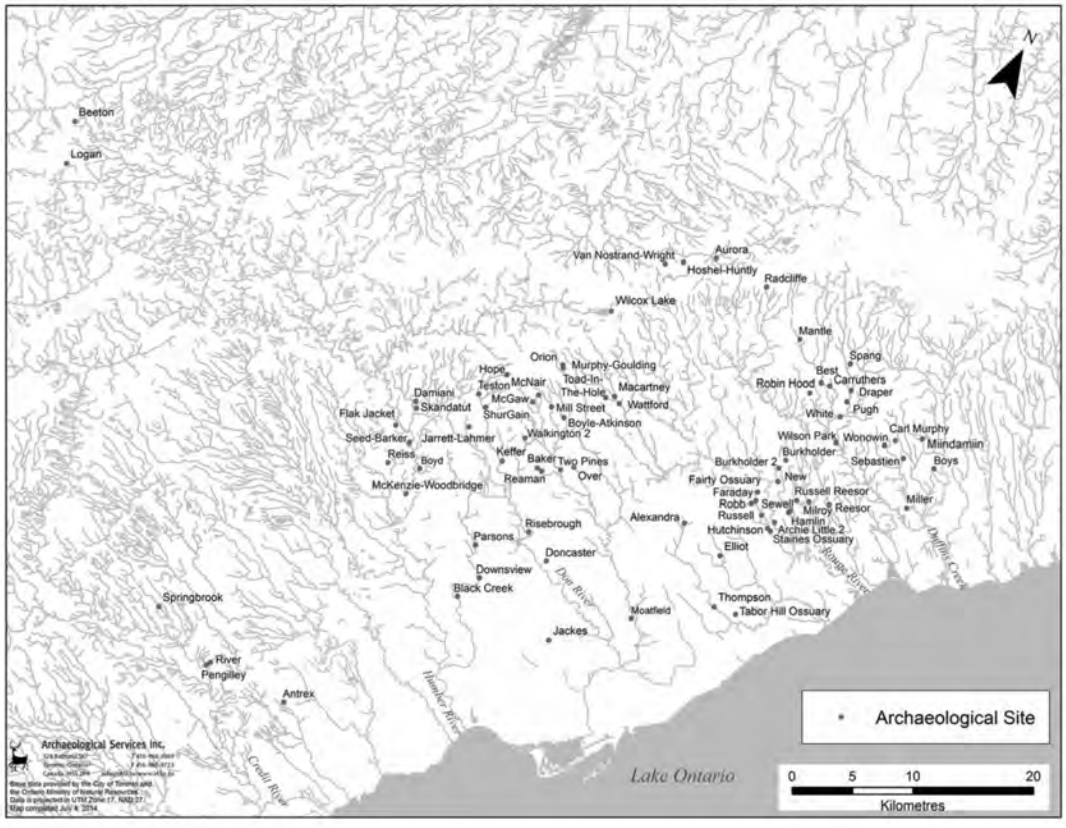

Figure 2. *Locations of selected ancestral Wendat sites along the north shore of Lake Ontario.*

2011) sites, investigated as part of the large Central Pickering Development Area (Seaton), form another early fourteenth-century sequential cluster of sites, 2–3 km to the east. The nearby mid- to late fourteenth-century, 2 ha Carl Murphy site was occupied subsequently by one or two of these communities (ASI 2012a). The substantial number of roughly contemporaneous sites suggests that there were at least three separate communities occupying the region in the fourteenth century. One fourteenth-century agricultural cabin site, called Salgo, which consisted of a single house structure, some external features, and a shallow midden deposit, was also found amid these villages (AMA 1998; also ASI 2014e). Similar small cabin sites were documented within the Seaton lands. These include the Spruce Ridge sites, a number of which yielded evidence of one or two small sparsely occupied longhouses (e.g., AAL 2009), and several other small camps that yielded only a few features and posts. The Garland ossuary, also situated on the north side of a tributary of West Duffins Creek on a hilltop within the Seaton lands, was investigated and reported to have consisted of a burial pit containing the skeletal material from 198 individuals. It was excavated in 1958 by a group of science students from St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, under the direction of Father Arnold Megan. The ossuary was 4 feet 8 inches (1.4 m) deep at its deepest and 10 feet (3 m) in diameter (Webb 1969). Two shell artifacts and one projectile point are the only artifacts reported to have been found with the remains, suggesting a date in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. While Molto (1983:92-93) reports, based on a second-hand account, that a glass bead had been found with the remains many years later, it is very unlikely that the bead originated with the ossuary because no mid-sixteenth century sites have been found within almost 30 km from this ossuary despite extensive survey throughout this and adjacent drainages.

Fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sites were also located on southern portions of the Rouge River and Highland Creek, which, because of their proximity, were likely related both to each other and to the fourteenth-century communities on Duffins Creek. The descendants of these groups relocated northward and eastward, contributing to the populations that eventually came together at the Draper site and later formed the Mantle community (Birch and Williamson 2013a).

Several of these sites have been subject to complete mitigative excavations, including the early fourteenth-century New site (ASI 2006a). It covered 1.2 ha and consisted of six houses, four of which were arranged in pairs, and not all of which were necessarily contemporary. There was no palisade.

The mid- to late fourteenth-century Robb site was a roughly 2 ha unpalisaded village consisting of nine widely spaced longhouses and an extensive midden on a slope above Milliken Creek, a tributary of the Rouge River (ASI 2010a; Kapches 1981:110-131). Two new AMS radiocarbon dates taken on separate maize samples yielded dates of 570±30 and 590±30 B.P. These calibrate to A.D. 1305–1365 and A.D. 1385–1420 (2-sigma standard error) for the first date and A.D. 1295–1370 and A.D. 1380–1415 (2 sigma) for the second. A small quantity of scattered human bone was recovered, including a burned mastoid fragment as well as three modified human cranial fragments, one of which is a fragment of a highly polished human skull rattle and the other two of which had been subjected to cutting and drilling. This suggests the site was occupied during a period of low-level hostility in the fourteenth century.

The nearby Fairty ossuary is thought to have been associated with Robb (Wright 1966); it was excavated in the 1950s and found to contain the remains of 512 individuals (Gruspier 1999). The large number of deceased suggests it served as an ossuary for more than one community, perhaps also the nearby Faraday site (Kapches 1981). A new AMS radiocarbon date taken on a sample of human tooth (collagen) yielded a result of 470±30 B.P., which calibrates to A.D. 1270–1305 and A.D. 1365–1385 (2 sigma). Because there are no late-thirteenth century sites within 5 km of Fairty and the area has been thoroughly surveyed, the later date is preferred. Moreover, since the frequency of dental caries increases as people rely

more on maize, the fact that the incidence of caries for the turn-of-the-fourteenth-century Moatfield and Fairty sites show significant differences supports a later chronological placement for Fairty (Susan Pfeiffer, personal communication 2014).

Located nearby on a tributary of the Rouge River, the early fourteenth-century Hutchinson site (Robertson 2004) featured two house structures, which may have been occupied simultaneously or at different times. The site appears to have functioned as a place to prepare deceased individuals for ossuary burial, perhaps in the nearby Staines ossuary (ASI 2001a) and highlights a little known aspect of ancestral Wendat mortuary patterns.

The Alexandra site (ASI 2008a) was located adjacent to a minor tributary of West Highland Creek and consisted of a 2.5 ha unpalisaded village with 17 house structures. Of these, 15 represented permanent or year-round dwellings. The village had two overlapping phases of occupation, including eight houses in the southern portion of the site and nine in the northern segment. If at some point they were all occupied simultaneously, this site may be a reflection of an early aggregation of two communities. The 29 semi-subterranean sweat lodges distributed among houses at the site suggest a focus on integration of the site inhabitants. While the site was originally attributed by means of ceramic seriation to the late fourteenth century, perhaps into the early fifteenth century, two new AMS radiocarbon dates taken on separate maize samples from a semi-subterranean sweat lodge in the northernmost house at the site yielded dates of 460±30 and 480±30 B.P., respectively. These calibrate to A.D. 1415–1455 (2 sigma) for the first date and A.D. 1410–1450 (2 sigma) for the second and indicate the site was occupied slightly later, into the first half of the fifteenth century.

The fourteenth-century Burkholder 2 site was a 1 ha unpalisaded village consisting of four parallel, contemporary longhouses situated on a high point of land between two tributaries of the Rouge River (ASI 2005a). Limited investigations of the Burkholder 1 site, located less than 1 km to the north, revealed evidence of a palisaded village, also approximately 1 ha in extent, likely post-dating Burkholder 2 (ASI 2004a); unfortunately it appears to have been destroyed prior to its proper documentation. The Milroy site, a roughly 3.5 ha village located on a tributary of the Little Rouge River, has been subject to Stage 3 test excavations. It dates to the early fifteenth century (Kapches 1981:71; 189; ASI 2001b) as does the .8 ha Cornell site, an early fifteenth-century village situated on a tributary of the Rouge River. That village featured an unusual one-row palisade that surrounded three longhouses and associated middens (AAL 2012).

The poorly documented Thompson, Woodland Park, and Elliot sites date to the fourteenth century and are located on tributaries of Highland Creek (Donaldson 1965; Kapches 1981; Konrad and Ross 1974). The Thompson site was located approximately 2 km from the Tabor Hill ossuary, with which it was provisionally associated. This ossuary was comprised of two ossuary pits which together contained the remains of more than 500 burials (Churcher and Kenyon 1960), perhaps representing the collective dead of two communities (Williamson and Steiss 2003:102). Mid-twentieth century subdivision development in the immediate area, however, destroyed evidence of any other contemporary settlements.

Additional, poorly known late fourteenth-century villages in the lower Rouge River include the Hamlin (MPP 1988), Faraday (Kapches 1981), Russell Reesor (Konrad and Ross 1974), Sewell (Berg 1976), and Archie Little 2 sites (ASI 2002). There are no sites that post-date the early fifteenth century on the southern portions of the Rouge River and Highland Creek, the communities having likely relocated east, to the Duffins Creek drainage.

A number of fourteenth century villages (e.g., Pearse, Peter Webb 1, Peter Web 2, and Hoar) as well as early to mid-fifteenth-century communities (e.g., Gostick, Dent Brown, Pugh, Best, White, and Robin Hood) that have been documented in an area of 25 km^2 on the Duffins drainage system are known primarily from limited surface investigations related to the New Toronto International Airport (NTIA) survey (Poulton 1979). By the late fifteenth century, it is thought

that all of these village sites were abandoned, their populations presumably amalgamating to form the large, heavily fortified Draper site (Hayden 1979; Finlayson 1985; Ramsden 1968). A number of small camps were also documented, along with two ossuaries, Pennock 1 and Pearse, the latter of which was documented with the village.

Among the largest village sites in this cluster are the Pugh and Best sites which are 2.8 and 1.8 ha in area, respectively. The 2 ha Wilson Park site lies just outside the boundaries of the NTIA survey area and has been subject to detailed test excavations to define its extent (ASI 2012b).

Better known are the unpalisaded 0.5 ha Robin Hood and White sites, both of which were subject to comprehensive excavations. The Robin Hood site, comprised of two loci separated by a small stream, was partially excavated in 1979, revealing four house structures on one of the loci (Williamson 1983). While originally thought to be a special-purpose site, subsequent excavations in the region, described above, have revealed that the early to mid-fifteenth-century occupation of the area included numerous sites that contained four to five houses. The White site encompassed two terraces, each with a cluster of longhouses (Tripp 1978), which were interpreted to represent separate components, possibly concurrently occupied at some point. These and the other sites were all abandoned during the mid- to late fifteenth century, their populations likely coming together at the Draper site.

The Draper site is situated on an open, flat terrace overlooking a steep western bank of West Duffins Creek. The site covers a total of 4.2 ha, and ceramic seriation and three radiocarbon dates place its occupation in the mid- to late fifteenth century (Finlayson 1985). A defining characteristic of the village is the clear evidence of coalescence—the main village palisade was expanded five times to incorporate new groups of aligned longhouses, consisting of four to six longhouses each, apparently a number of the communities described above (see Birch and Williamson 2013a:33 for an illustration of settlement plans from pre-coalescent through coalescent to post-coalescent communities). The three-row palisade; an in-house burial of a male who had been shot in the leg (projectile tip still present), speared in the chest, and scalped; and the presence of hundreds of fragments of butchered and burnt human bone scattered in the village middens indicate that the site inhabitants were involved in significant violent conflict with other communities during its occupation (see Cooper 1984; Forrest 2010; Williamson 1978, 2007).

The 3.4 ha Spang site is a largely undisturbed village. Little is known about its internal settlement pattern, although preliminary excavations revealed the presence of middens and five rows of palisade posts adjacent to the steep break-in-slope along the site's eastern edge (Carter 1981). Based on analyses of the Spang site ceramics (Birch et al. 2015), it seems most likely that the site immediately predates the early sixteenth century. Twelve students from the Huron-Wendat community in modern Wendake, Quebec, participated in the test excavations of the site in 1978 and 1979.

The post-coalescent early sixteenth-century Mantle village was located within the West Duffins Creek system in the Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville (ASI 2014a; Birch 2012; Birch and Williamson 2013a). This large, 3 ha village yielded more than 18,000 artifacts from the initial controlled surface collection alone, and its subsequent almost complete excavation, undertaken over a three-year period, yielded evidence of eight rows of palisade and an earthwork representing various re-building sequences, as well as 98 longhouses. In addition to these structural features, a rich hillside midden and extensive refuse deposits in the earthwork borrow trench, as well as over 1,500 pit features, together yielded tens of thousands of artifacts. At its zenith, the site housed more than 1,800 people. While the ossuary for the site has not yet been found, a small cemetery adjacent to the site contained the mostly individual interments of 34 people.

Mantle represents a community comprised of the people from several villages that had previously joined together in the late fifteenth century at the Draper site, perhaps for defensive purposes (Birch 2012; Birch and Williamson 2013a). The site does

not appear to have been occupied by ancestral Wendat alone, however, as numerous ceramic vessels have been recovered that bear striking resemblances to pottery found on Oneida and Onondaga sites in New York state. Also discovered at the site was a piece of European iron, likely Basque in origin, as well as two European copper beads. There are at least four likely descendant villages north of Mantle, one in the upper Rouge and the others north of the Oak Ridges Moraine in the East Holland River watershed (Birch and Williamson 2013a:157-158). One of these is Aurora (Old Indian Fort), a 3.4 ha earthworked village subject to a decade of field school investigations by the University of Toronto, beginning in 1947 with a class of first-year premedical students and involving 250 students in 1957. Approximately 70 years after their occupation of Mantle, this community abandoned their ancestral homeland, joining with others to form one of the Huron tribes in historic Wendake.

The two drainages to the west of the Rouge–Duffins watershed are the Don and Humber, both of which also supported large ancestral Wendat communities, all of which have been subject to considerable investigation.

Don River

The Don River drainage is located immediately west of the Rouge–Duffins drainage. Only two village sites have been identified in the lower Don valley (Moatfield and Jackes). Most of the Don River sites are situated well away from the lakeshore and date to the fifteenth century. The absence of many earlier sites is the result of destruction relating to the nineteenth-century development of what is now the City of Toronto (Figure 2).

The earliest documented village is the turn-of-the-fourteenth-century Moatfield site. While the almost 1 ha village itself has only been subject to test excavation, the associated ossuary, located on the perimeter of the site, was subject to detailed excavation (Williamson and Pfeiffer eds. 2003). Containing the commingled remains of 87 people, this is the earliest ancestral Wendat community ossuary excavated; the remains have since been reinterred elsewhere. The mapping and removal of each bone in the ossuary afforded a rare opportunity to document the structure of an early Wendat ossuary and to evaluate the health and diet of a population at that time.

Much less is known about the Jackes site (Noble 1974), as it was largely lost to urban development. Jackes, as well as the poorly known Doncaster 1 and East Don sites in the middle drainage, have been provisionally dated to the late fourteenth century (Konrad 1973; MPP 1986), although the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian (e.g., Roebuck Corn-eared) and southern (Otstungo Incised, Dutch Hollow Notched, etc.) ceramic vessel types at Jackes suggest it may date to the early to mid-fifteenth century.

Early to mid-fifteenth-century sites include the unpalisaded Mill Street (ASI 2006b), Baker (ASI 2006c), and Walkington 2 (ASI 2010b) sites, all of which featured single clusters of three to four longhouses, with one longhouse significantly longer than the others, perhaps representing the socio-political cores of the villages. The Two-Pine site, situated several hundred metres southeast of Baker, consisted of two loci, only one of which had a longhouse. This single longhouse had considerable interior house activity, including semi-subterranean sweat lodges (M.M. Dillon 1996). The nature of the house and the frequently wide separation of houses at this period suggest there may have been additional houses present between the loci.

Mid-fifteenth century Don River drainage sites include the Over (DPA 1996) and Watford (Pearce 1997b) sites. Over was comprised of two aligned clusters of longhouses, one with three houses and the other with four, both of which had one longhouse that was significantly longer than the others. The Watford site consisted of six houses surrounded by a single-row palisade and a seventh house located north-east of the palisaded enclosure. Within the palisade, four houses formed one aligned group in the eastern portion of the site (two of these houses overlap and could not have been occupied concurrently) and the two western houses form another aligned pair. Palisades are rare on early to mid-fifteenth-century sites, and the insubstantial nature of this palisade suggests that it may not have served a defensive function.

The McNair site (ASI 2012c) was another 1.0 ha village occupied during the middle of the fifteenth century. It was organized into two discrete loci separated by a large open area. The south locus consisted of three spatially separated and lightly constructed houses, perhaps occupied seasonally or for special purposes, while the other locus comprised five houses and two middens. No evidence of a palisade was detected. The four modified human cranial fragments that were recovered likely represent fragments of a human skull rattle. The absence of scattered human bone and palisading on the site suggest this modified piece of human bone is distinctive.

The McGaw site (ASI 2003; Pihl 2002) is a relatively undisturbed, early to mid-fifteenth-century village measuring 1 ha. Limited test excavations have revealed 17 mounded middens and densely occupied longhouses.

Teston is a 1 ha village dating to the fifteenth century that has been subject to limited Stage 4 excavations, resulting in the discovery of five widely spaced houses in the south sector of the site. No palisade was detected. The associated ossuary was discovered during roadwork and contained several hundred individuals (ASI 2005b). The Huron-Wendat Nation was involved in the decision to preserve and commemorate the ossuary.

The Boyle-Atkinson site was also thought to have been approximately 1 ha in size. Portions of 11 houses with various orientations were documented (MPP 1987).

The Macartney and Toad-in-the-Hole sites, although they are situated on a tributary of the west branch of the Rouge River, are clearly associated with the Don River cluster of sites, and are therefore included in this section. Macartney yielded one longhouse associated with shallow refuse deposits (Pearce 1998), while excavations at the Toad-in-the-Hole site revealed at least two well defined longhouses and two associated middens, also likely dating to the early fifteenth century (Pearce 1997a). Both of these sites may have functioned as special purpose agricultural cabin sites, although the houses were well formed and there was room to the north of the excavated area at Toad-in-the-Hole for additional houses. The Somme site, also associated with this cluster of sites, consisted of a lightly constructed small cabin (ASI 2005c).

The mid- to late fifteenth-century ShurGain and Jarrett-Lahmer sites were both situated defensively and feature palisades. At the Jarrett-Lahmer site, two extrapolated palisade lines located 10 m apart suggest the village may have been expanded from its original size. Test excavations in the midden on the western slope of the site yielded 64 human elements, suggesting significant engagement in conflict and prisoner sacrifice (ASI 2001c; DPA 2003).

The sites that seem to have been occupied into the mid-fifteenth century (Over, Watford, McNair, McGaw, ShurGain, and Jarrett-Lahmer) would appear to be early stage amalgamations of groups of the size and composition of the Baker and Walkington 2 sites described above, and may represent the beginning of a settlement trend, which set a cultural precedent for the large-scale amalgamations that occurred in the next generation.

The early to mid-fifteenth-century Hope site (ASI 2011c) was both distinctive and complex in that rather than being composed of closely spaced pairs of aligned longhouses, it featured adjacent, likely contemporaneous clusters of longhouses, separated by a 70 m wide tract of land and stream. Each locus was approximately 1.5 ha in extent, the northern one contained six paired and similarly oriented houses, while the southern one contained seven houses, two of which were small and contained within a semi-circular fence. Of the easternmost houses in the southern locus, two seem to have been occupied intensively though not concurrently, as they overlap. Although there are no artifact mends between the two loci, the similarities in the ceramic assemblages suggest that, although the groups may have retained political autonomy, they may represent an early form of small-scale coalescence prior to the larger-scale amalgamations of the latter part of the century—amalgamations such as those seen at the Orion–Murphy Goulding and Keffer sites.

The Orion–Murphy Goulding site was actually situated on a branch of the upper Rouge River headwaters, in close proximity to the Don

River drainage and its group of sites. Like Macartney and Toad-in-the-Hole, it is here considered part of the Don River sites. It comprises two clusters of six and four houses, respectively, separated by 200 m of unexcavated land. The close similarities in settlement patterns and artifact assemblages suggest that they likely constitute the northern and southern extremes of a single village (ASI 1998, 2008b). While it is perhaps an early coalescent village, the site was not palisaded and lacks the compact village layouts of later coalescent sites, such as Keffer.

The Keffer site was 2.5 ha in extent and has yielded the clearest evidence for significant levels of violence and village expansion among all of the sites in the Don watershed. Dating to the late fifteenth century (Finlayson et al. 1987), the initial village was composed of two clusters of aligned houses. This initial village was then expanded to accommodate three, possibly four, new longhouses, arranged more or less parallel to the palisade. Houses were simultaneously added and lengthened in the original core area, and the palisade was strengthened from one row to two. Significant amounts of cut and modified human bone were recovered from midden deposits at Keffer—more than a thousand pieces in total (Rainey 2002; Williamson 2007:200, 205). Many of these were modified cranial components (Williamson 2007:205).

While the Keffer site is certainly smaller than other, contemporaneous coalescent sites (e.g., Draper), the alignment of its structures suggests it was composed of three or four of the smaller fifteenth-century communities that had previously occupied the drainage. With the abandonment of Keffer near the turn of the sixteenth century, the Don drainage was abandoned, concurrent with the main period of occupation at the Mantle site. It is not yet known to where the Keffer population relocated.

Another late fifteenth-century site in the upper Don, the Hidden Spring site, featured two overlapping longhouses, each with a substantial midden, and several exterior activity areas. This site has been interpreted as a special purpose site perhaps associated with Keffer (ASI 2010c).

Humber River

Century-long settlement sequences have been reconstructed for at least two communities in the Humber River watershed (Ramsden 1977; Williamson et al.1998), one spanning the fifteenth century in the middle Humber River–Black Creek area and the other in the headwaters, spanning the mid-fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries (Figure 2). Each appears to have had a discrete ceramic manufacturing tradition in place for at least 100 years (Robertson and Williamson 1998:149).

It appears that a number of small communities came together in the mid-fifteenth century to form a large, palisaded village aggregate at the Parsons site, in the middle Humber River–Black Creek area (Williamson and Robertson [eds.] 1998). Our knowledge of the site sequence that led to the formation of the Parsons community begins with the late fourteenth-century Black Creek site. Limited excavations in the 1950s revealed an unusual double palisade straddling two terraces adjacent to Black Creek, the tributary of the Humber River for which the site was named (Emerson 1954:123, 142). It is possible that, upon the site's abandonment, the community relocated 2 km upstream to the Downsview site, occupied during the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries (Emerson 1954:101-102; Wright 1966:101) and from there to the Parsons site, occupied in the mid-fifteenth century.

The nearby Riseborough site, encompassing an area of approximately 1 ha, is also a possible contributor to the Parsons community as is the Emery site, a poorly known village located approximately 4 km west of Parsons (Williamson, Cooper, and Robertson 1998:9).

The mid-fifteenth-century Parsons site is the largest (3.2. ha) and best-documented of those in the middle Humber River sequence (Williamson and Robertson [eds.] 1998). While the site had been subjected to limited test excavations in several middens in the late 1950s and 1960s, excavations in late 1988 through early 1990 of an 18 m wide service corridor traversing the core of the settlement revealed eight house structures. The fact that three of these had been constructed between the original longhouses suggests

population growth and/or an influx of new inhabitants. The site is defensively situated on a broad promontory overlooking Black Creek and was surrounded by a palisade consisting of one row on its western margin on a terrace midway up the slope, similar to that documented at the Black Creek site. On the eastern edge of the village, the palisade was comprised of seven rows, indicating it had been rebuilt at least once. More than 1,200 fragments of human bone, as well as human bone artifacts, were found inside and adjacent to midden areas (Robertson, Williamson, and Welsh 1998:52; Williamson 2007:200).

The material culture assemblage, which includes a catlinite pendant, suggests either direct or indirect links to peoples originating farther afield. Two intact adult crania were excavated from a refuse-filled depression in the area of the eastern palisade (Robertson, Williamson, and Welsh 1998:40–41). Craniometric analysis links these crania with the Uxbridge ossuary 30 km to the northeast (Dupras and Pratte 1998), pointing to feuding between neighbouring rather than far-distant communities. Also of note is the fact that 9 percent of the vessels have been identified as having attributes originating among St. Lawrence Iroquoian populations to the east, a relatively high percentage compared with contemporaneous sites along the north shore. Interestingly, 75 percent of these eastern-style vessels originated in House 8 and associated refuse deposits along the inner eastern palisade (Robertson and Williamson 1998:147), perhaps indicating the existence of a St. Lawrence Iroquoian enclave at Parsons by the mid- to late fifteenth century.

The northern Humber River, where its headwaters flow south from the Oak Ridges Moraine, features only sites dating to the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, a period of widespread warfare and settlement aggregation. This group represents the later occupation of the Humber River drainage.

The completely excavated late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Damiani site encompassed an area of 1.5 ha and included a total of 23 house structures surrounded by a two- to three-row palisade (ASI 2014b). The village was expanded from an original core settlement of 16 aligned houses to incorporate 7 more longhouses. The midden contained scattered human bone, including burned cranial fragments.

The early sixteenth-century Boyd village encompasses an area of about 1 ha. Although this site has been subject to long-term small-scale excavations associated with field schools (Burgar 1990) and early investigations by the Ontario Archaeological Society (Donaldson 1962a), little is known about its internal structure. Peter Ramsden (1977:216) suggested that Boyd was ancestral to Seed-Barker and contemporaneous with Mackenzie-Woodbridge.

The McKenzie-Woodbridge site is thought to be an early sixteenth-century village located slightly south of the Boyd site and encompassing an area of approximately 2 ha. It, too, has only been subject to limited test excavations; portions of seven houses and a multi-row palisade (and possible earthwork) have been documented (Johnson 1980:78). A village cemetery, like that at Mantle, was excavated on a sandy knoll at a distance of 100 m from the palisade (Saunders 1986).

The Seed-Barker site is an approximately 2 ha village occupied in the early to mid-sixteenth century (Burgar 1989; 1993). It is thought to have been contemporary with Mantle, and has a similar site structure, suggestive of an integrated, post-coalescent community (Birch and Williamson 2013a). While only about a quarter of the settlement has been excavated, 20 houses have been identified along with a seven row palisade along the northwest boundary of the site, sections of which indicate three separate construction episodes. The presence of two European copper beads (Fox et al. 1995) and exotic ceramic vessels is also reminiscent of the Mantle site.

Two small sites likely associated with these villages have been documented. The Reiss site, situated on the West Humber River, consisted of two small loci that yielded both ceramics and lithic debitage, but no settlement patterns (MPP 1989). Flak Jacket 2 consisted of two poorly defined, open-ended cabins with very little associated refuse (Pearce 1995). The Toronto and Region Conservation Authority has also documented a series of small Wendat camps along the East Humber River (Margie Kenedy, personal

communication 2014).

The latest site in the Humber River sequence is the late sixteenth-century (GBP 1) Skandatut site (ASI 2012e). The site is 2.6 ha in extent and was surrounded by a one- to two-row palisade. It is thought to represent the last Wendat occupation of the drainage prior to the migration of the Humber River community to historic Wendake. The surface of the site yielded 12 discoidal shell beads and one tubular bead, all from marine shell along with brass scrap and glass beads (ASI 2012e). Hundreds of discoidal marine shell beads, glass beads, complete iron and brass pots, and other brass and copper artifacts were found in its associated ossuary, known as the Kleinburg ossuary, located across the stream from the village (ASI 2012e).

Credit River

There were also a number of ancestral Wendat/Tionontaté sites on the lower reaches of the Credit River drainage, about 30 km to the west of the Humber River (Figures 2 and 3). That sequence begins with the Early Iroquoian Lightfoot site, which consisted of a cluster of four houses with an associated midden, as well as an additional isolated house with an associated hillside midden. The site may also have a Middle Woodland component (Dana Poulton, personal communication 2014). The complete salvage investigations of the palisaded, turn-of-the-fourteenth-century Antrex site (ASI 2010d) included the hand excavation of more than 760 one-metre square units in areas of artifact concentrations within undisturbed topsoil, including two middens. The settlement pattern consisted of six longhouses, surrounded by a one- to two-row palisade.

Subsequent sites in the sequence include a number of fourteenth and fifteenth-century

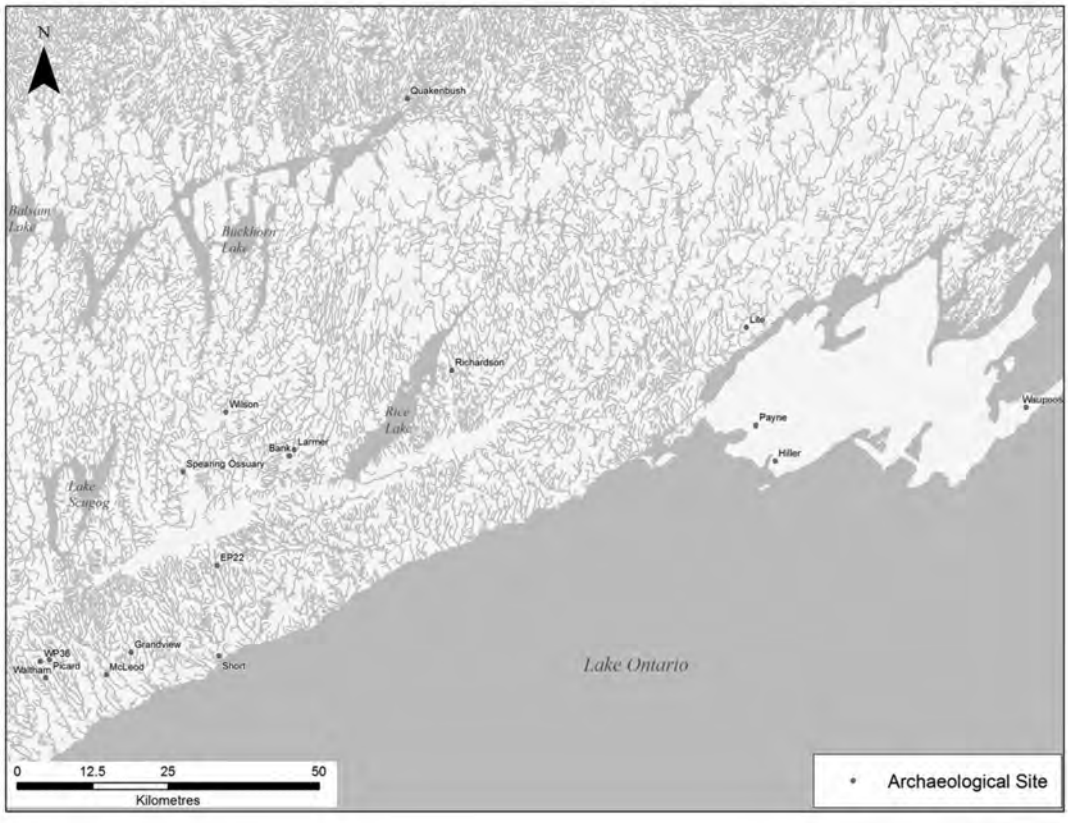

Figure 3. *Locations of selected ancestral Wendat sites in southeastern Ontario.*

villages and small, temporary special purpose sites (Konrad 1973; Williamson and Pihl 2002; Robertson 2010). The documented villages include the fifteenth-century Pengilly, River, and Springbrook sites. Pengilly has been subject to partial mitigative excavations and has yielded evidence of two longhouses, both of which had been expanded. The houses feature a dense array of posts and pits throughout their central corridors and would seem to have been occupied year-round. The presence of extramural activity areas suggests the site was occupied for some time and that additional houses are present on the site. The site also yielded a human burial, a burnt fragment of human skull rattle, and scattered human bone (MPP 1986b; Dana Poulton, personal communication 2014). The River site has yielded a cluster of four houses and one other structure separated by 200 m of surface scatter and documented middens (M.M. Dillon 1996). Springbrook was an unpalisaded village with eight well-spaced houses with two basic orientations (Poulton et al. 2008-2009). While no deep middens were detected, refuse areas were present at the ends of a few of the houses, indicating an occupation of some length. The clay soils perhaps inhibited the excavation of large, deep cultural features. A partial human cranium was found in one semi-subterranean sweat lodge and an unusual cremation burial was found nearby. No other scattered human bone was documented.

The Credit River drainage sequence ends with the Emmerson Springs (Hawkins 2004a) and Wallace sites (Crawford 2003), both of which have been subject to very limited excavations. Both of these sites date to the sixteenth century and have yielded European items.

While a number of small special purpose sites have been investigated in the lower reaches of the Credit, only one has been subject to extensive investigation. The Chappell Terrace site was located on the south bank of the Credit, approximately 6 km north of the Antrex site, and would appear to represent a small camp occupied intermittently during Middle to Late Archaic times; during the Middle Woodland; and again in the Middle to Late Iroquoian period, between circa A.D. 1400–50 (Robertson 2002). During the latter period it served as a seasonal hunting and game processing site apparently focused on deer.

Lynde and Harmony Creeks

Approximately 20 km to the east of the Duffins Creek drainage is Lynde Creek, on which at least three villages have been documented (Figure 3). The Joseph Picard site was an unpalisaded, 1.5 ha, mid-fifteenth-century village that featured ten widely spaced longhouses, including two pairs and a cluster of five structures, one of which was overlapped by another (ASI 2012d). Three of four AMS radiocarbon dates taken on maize samples from separate features are identical, at 450±30 B.P., which calibrates to A.D. 1420–1465 (2 sigma). The fourth date is 410±30 B.P., which calibrates to A.D. 1435–1510 and A.D. 1600–1615 (2 sigma), because the radiocarbon date coincides with wiggles in the calibration curve. The latter intercept date is considered highly unlikely. The site has yielded several artifacts made of walrus ivory, as well as a marine shell bead and beads made from steatite likely originating in Jefferson County, all indicating extensive trading networks with St. Lawrence Iroquoian or eastern Algonquin populations (Williamson et al. 2014).

A few kilometres to the west of the Joseph Picard site is a 1.5 ha mid- to late-fourteenth-century village discovered in the summer of 2012 (ASI 2014c). Atsista features 11 house structures partially enclosed by discontinuous fencing. Six of the houses are clustered together, while the others are spaced more widely. This site also yielded a number of steatite beads as well as a pipe bowl fragment. About 8 km south of it is the Waltham site, a fifteenth-century village for which only limited data are available. Both Waltham and Joseph Picard yielded bone artifacts decorated with lines painted with bone black. No late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century successor villages have yet been documented in this drainage system, although there are late fifteenth-century sites situated about 40 km farther north.

To the east of Lynde Creek by 20 km is Harmony Creek. The unpalisaded Grandview site, a 0.8 ha late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century village on Harmony Creek was found to contain 12 longhouses and 3 midden deposits

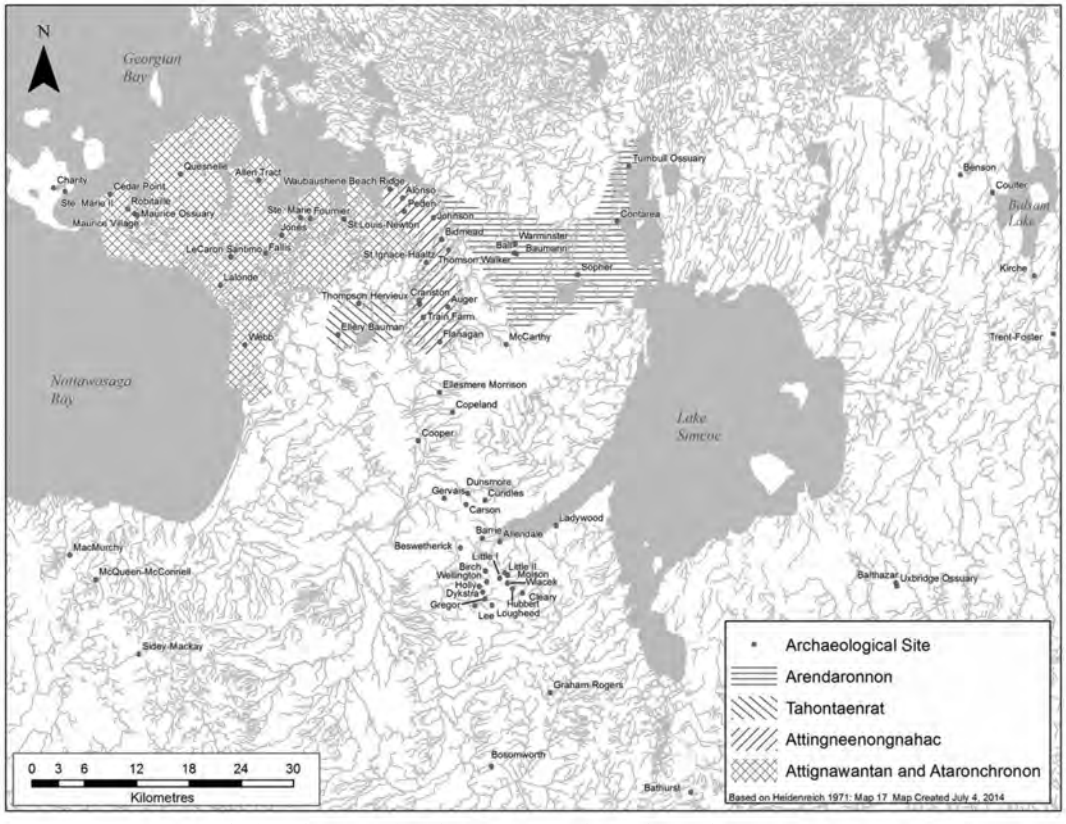

Figure 4. *Locations of selected ancestral and contact-period Wendat and Tionontaté sites in central Ontario.*

(Williamson et al. 2003). The settlement patterns and ceramic distribution suggest three major building phases, involving the construction of four, five, and three houses in each phase, respectively. The likely successor to the Grandview community is the McLeod site, a 1.6 ha fifteenth-century settlement that has had only limited investigation (Reed 1993). The fact that this site is twice the size of Grandview suggests it likely resulted from the amalgamation of Grandview and another community. The antecedents of these communities are unknown. One Early Iroquoian settlement, the Short site, is situated about 15 km east, on Bowmanville Creek (Donaldson 1962b; Williamson et al. 2003:47).

There are no known settlements that post-date the mid-fifteenth century in this region, although the presence of the late fifteenth-century Uxbridge ossuary in north-west Durham Region (Figure 4) suggests that there must have been similar-aged settlements in that region. It is also possible that portions of the populations that occupied the Grandview, McLeod, Joseph Picard, and Waltham sites migrated out of that region, perhaps north to Uxbridge, west to Duffins Creek, or east to the Trent valley. One village (Balthazar) and several unregistered villages have been documented within 10 km of the ossuary (Martin Cooper, personal communication 2013). Significant research has been undertaken into the lives of the Uxbridge people through biological analyses (Pfeiffer 1983, 1985, 1986, 1991; Pfeiffer et al. 1985; Pfeiffer et al. 1986; Pfeiffer and Fairgrieve 1994).

Trent River

The Trent River drains a large portion of southcentral Ontario, including most of the Kawartha Lakes and its supplying watersheds. By the early sixteenth century, there was a large

ancestral Wendat presence in the upper Trent valley that appears to have been a product of in-situ cultural development (from sites lower in the valley) and also from immigration from the St. Lawrence valley region (see Sutton 1990: Figure 3) (Figures 3 and 4). A series of thirteenth century and earlier sites along the north shore of Lake Ontario in the Bowmanville–Port Hope–Courtice area, as well as near Grafton and Brighton (Kapches 1987; MacDonald and Williamson 1995; Richardson 1968; Gordon Dibb, personal communication 2013), are likely the ancestral communities of the early sixteenth-century villages in the upper Trent River system. Dibb's excavation of the Grafton site, a fishing station on the shore of Cranberry Lake, revealed a complex of overlapping features and posts, making it difficult to discern houses. He recovered approximately 20,000 fish remains and portions of more than 100 ceramic vessels. An impressive suite of 18 radiocarbon dates yielded evidence of recurring occupation between the late ninth through to the early fourteenth centuries (Gordon Dibb, personal communication 2013). Late fourteenth-century villages in the Middle Trent valley (e.g., Wilson) and also the fifteenth-century two-row palisaded and multi-component Bark site and the fifteenth-century Barcroft village on Pigeon Lake (William Fox, personal communication 2014) are likely the result of in-situ development from these and other earlier Iroquoian populations in the Rice Lake region (Jamieson 1998; Sutton 1990:50; see also Pearce 1977 for a second focus of very early Iroquoian regional development). At least one early fourteenth-century 1 ha village, known as Gibson, has been documented on the west side of Chemong Lake (ASI 2008c), and one-turn-of-the-fifteenth-century village was documented on the west shore of Scugog Island (ASI 2011d). William Donaldson also documented the fifteenth-century Thomas village in Scugog Township (Donaldson 1962c).

The lower Trent River valley and Prince Edward County feature a number of villages that date to the late fifteenth century, including the Payne (Emerson 1967; Pendergast 1963), Waupoos (Pendergast 1964), Hillier (Ramsden 1977), and Lite (Pendergast 1972) sites. The ceramic assemblages from all of these sites are similar to other ancestral Wendat assemblages (Sutton 1990: 3), and while little is known about the former three sites, they are all smaller than the Lite site, which encompassed an area of 3 ha. While no houses were recorded for the Lite site, Pendergast reported that the remains of a multi-row palisade were found at the brow of the hill on which the site is situated, and he argued that the presence of deep middens indicated a lengthy occupation. The possibility that intensified conflict and concern for defence may have influenced the location and fortification of this village was further underscored by the recovery of three human skull gorget (or rattle) fragments and a significant quantity of human bone scattered in the undisturbed middens (Pendergast 1972:35). Clearly, this community was also involved in the widespread conflict that characterized the mid- to late fifteenth century on the north shore of Lake Ontario and elsewhere. Other less well-documented sites and ossuaries are present in the area of Fenlon Falls and Manvers Township (e.g., Larmer and Spearing ossuary) (Hakas 1967), where ASI recently documented a previously unknown large mid-fifteenth-century village named Auhoindio (formerly EP22).

There are also a number of fifteenth-century sites in the upper Trent valley, including the Hardrock site, located on the west side of Indian Point in Balsam Lake (Emerson 1954:185-203; Ramsden 1977:207,255); the Jameson site (Sutton 1990:45); and the Quackenbush site, a 1.5–2 ha village located east of Stoney Lake in the eastern Trent River valley (Ramsden 1977). Limited excavations at Quackenbush revealed portions of three longhouses, several midden deposits, and a mass grave of individuals within one of the longhouses, the remains of all of whom displayed signs of interpersonal violence (Peter Carruthers, personal communication 2014; Helmuth 1993), indicating that this site was also embroiled in the widespread conflict of the period.

By the late fifteenth through sixteenth centuries, the regional populations in the Trent valley had coalesced in the vicinity of Balsam Lake in the upper Trent valley. These include the

aggregated communities of Kirche (Ramsden 1989) and Coulter (Damkjar 1990), which are 2.5 and 3.3 ha in size, respectively. Both were well defended and were expanded, and both are thought to date to the early to mid-sixteenth century, as both also yielded European metal artifacts. These data suggest amalgamation was occurring in this region well into the sixteenth century, a date consistent with the patterns of conflict and village expansion to the east, in the St. Lawrence River valley.

Two sites documented in the Trent valley date to the late sixteenth century, namely, Benson and Trent-Foster. Benson, has been fully excavated and analyzed (Fogt and Ramsden 1996; Ramsden 1978, 1988, 2009), while Trent-Foster was subject only to test excavation. Trent-Foster is thought to have been exceedingly large; during the test excavation only one house and a multi-row palisade have been documented (Burgar and Pratt 1973). The Benson village encompassed 1.5 ha and contained 23 structures. It was thought to have also housed a substantial St. Lawrence Iroquoian population, based on the presence at the site of ceramic styles derived from that region. The small size of Benson, however, suggests that the balance of the combined populations of the Coulter and Kirche sites must have been housed at Trent-Foster. There are additional sites in this Goose Lake cluster as well (Peter Carruthers, personal communication 2014).

Wendat accounts provided to early Europeans suggest that the abandonment of the Trent valley must have occurred around A.D. 1590, implying that the area was abandoned after the occupation of the Benson and Trent-Foster sites.

Historic Wendake (Huronia) to A.D. 1620

Although the term Wendake is sometimes used by Wendat people to refer to all of their traditional territory in southern Ontario (Williamson 2010), historic Wendake is generally defined as the lands between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay (modern-day Simcoe County), lands that were also occupied by Wendat people by the end of the thirteenth century (Figures 2 and 5).

As a result of extensive surveys of southern Simcoe County, particularly Innisfil Township, by Gary Warrick, Jamie Hunter, Richard Sutton, and others, clusters of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sites have been found on upland locations to the west of Kempenfelt Bay. However, earlier Transitional Woodland or Early Iroquoian period sites are absent, with the exception of a small fishing or trading presence (Sutton 1999). A 1969 survey of the Penetang Peninsula (Latta 1971, 1973) also documented numerous sites, based on limited test excavations, but none were earlier than the fourteenth century. There is, however, a poorly known but substantial concentration of Middle Woodland sites in the lower reaches of the Nottawasaga River (Conway 1973; O'Brien 1974), which includes the multicomponent Schoonertown site as well as the nearby Blueberry Field site (Spittal 1981). Other well-known Middle Woodland sites include the Stockin site, at Methodist Point (O'Brien 1976); the Johnson 1 site, at the southeastern end of Minising Swamp; the Dougall site, on the west side of the narrows between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, which also yielded evidence of Early Woodland through historic Wendat (including four Early Iroquoian vessels) (Wright 1972); and the Bristow site on Thorah Island in Lake Simcoe, which also yielded evidence of Transitional Woodland or Early Iroquoian vessels (Sweetman 1967:11-13). The rarity of Early Iroquoian sites, with the exception of the Dougall and Bristow sites, combined with the substantial presence of Middle Woodland sites, suggest that local Algonquian populations had occupied Simcoe County and adjacent lands and that they continued to do so intermittently until in-migration of southern Iroquoian populations in the mid- to late thirteenth century, or perhaps a bit earlier given the early vessels at Bristow.

The Barrie site was one of the earliest ancestral Wendat sites located north of the Oak Ridges Moraine (Sutton 1999). The site was almost 1 ha in size, and excavations uncovered two longhouses and five middens. The site is thought to date to the late thirteenth through early fourteenth centuries based on an extensive vessel sample. It represents a pioneering presence in the region on the part of migrants from the north shore of Lake Ontario. The early fourteenth century Wilcox Lake site in northern Richmond

Hill, which was occupied year-round (Austin 1994), and the early to mid-fourteenth century Bathurst St. site in Aurora (ASI 2014d), both situated on the Oak Ridges Moraine, perhaps represent roughly contemporary communities that stepped their migration northward. Limited excavations at Wilcox Lake yielded evidence of at least five longhouses and a single-row palisade/fence, while Bathurst St., also only partially excavated, yielded one house, two middens, and a few small lines of posts, with no evidence of a palisade. It may have only been seasonally occupied.

The even earlier Wellington site, radiocarbon-dated to the mid- to late thirteenth century, also seems to represent an early incursion into the region (ASI 2005d). It featured two widely-spaced houses equidistant from the main site refuse area. One of the houses did not resemble a long-term Iroquoian dwelling but rather a structure erected and then maintained to shelter a series of recurring activities. Given the recovery of more than 12,000 artifacts, however, it is clear that Wellington was occupied for some time. There is evidence to suggest that the two houses were occupied simultaneously by two different groups, the longer house by ancestral Wendat and the shorter one by Algonquians. Perhaps the site was occupied for a series of negotiations between a party from an ancestral Wendat community from the north shore of Lake Ontario intent on moving into the south Barrie region and representatives of the local Algonquian population who either resided there or used the territory. The best evidence for such a scenario includes the presence of American eel, likely representing a food resource brought by the occupants from the north shore of Lake Ontario, since it is unavailable locally; significant differences in the frequencies of chert types between the two house structures, with the smaller house assemblage yielding significant quantities of Collingwood (Fossil Hill formation) chert, thought to be far more available to local Algonquians than to ancestral Wendat (Fox and Garrad 2004); and the presence of a probable ritual burial of multiple small, fur-bearing animals, something that was also documented in four features at the nearby, slightly later, Holly site (ASI 2009). These animal burials, which are unique finds in southern Ontario, are similar to the interment of disarticulated, generally young or immature dogs (and other animals) in ceremonial contexts (Smith 2000; Oberholtzer 2002) among Algonquian-speakers of the region (e.g., Brizinski and Savage 1983; Prevec 1987; Smith 1996:270-272, 2000). (For a summary of the cosmological significance of dogs in Wendat society, see Wright [2004].)

Holly included at least four major longhouses showing substantial long-term domestic use and extensive re-building, as well as three, maybe four, small structures that may have served a special purpose; several large middens; and multiple, exterior rows of posts and associated features. The nearby Steven Patrick (AMICK Consultants Limited 2003; Hawkins and Caley 2012), Allandale (Carscallen 2001), and Ladywood (DPA 1999) sites also represent early fourteenth-century sites. While Steven Patrick featured five houses representing at least two occupations, possibly during different times of the year (Hawkins and Caley 2012:101), Allandale and Ladywood, situated on the shore of Kempenfelt Bay, are small, perhaps repeatedly used fishing locales. A number of historically documented ossuaries and burials were situated on the Allandale site (AMICK Consultants Limited 2013). Hawkins and Caley (2012) compared the fish remains recovered from Steven Patrick with the three fisheries model advanced by Needs-Howarth and Thomas (1998) for the Barrie and Dunsmore sites and concluded that with fine-grained analysis, the model works for both the Steven Patrick settlement and the Allandale fishing locale. A dearth of deer at Steven Patrick is entirely consistent with the near absence of deer remains in the archaeological record of fourteenth and fifteenth-century southern Wendake (see Robertson et al. 1995 for further discussion).

The nearby Dykstra site featured only one—probably open-ended—house, several fence rows, a few external structures and a small midden/activity area; the site was probably occupied intermittently and perhaps seasonally for a special inland purpose (ASI 2006d). It may relate

to either Holly or the nearby Lee village, a late fourteenth-century village excavated in the 1990s by AMICK Consultants Ltd. Lee featured a very unusual settlement plan with eight clear houses all joined by short fence lines creating an enclosed inner plaza, as well as a highly unusual rectangular partitioned structure measuring 24 m long and 16 m wide divided width-wise into three equal sections. A number of equally unusual irregular and sizable enclosures were appended to its west end.

The Beswetherick site, test-excavated by Ridley (1973), provided one of the first radiocarbon dates of any of the Wendake sites—calibrating to A.D. 1340±45 (Timmins 1985:96). No settlement patterns are known for the site. Limited test excavations were also undertaken in 1967 at the Fournier site by William Russell (1967). His work revealed two components apparently separated by 10 m, one of which, he argued, first functioned as a fishing station. He uncovered a longhouse that had been expanded three times and that is said by Russell to have been constructed to encompass a spring. Traces of the bark covering the house as well as woven matting were found within the house. Russell documented more than 600 pit features and recovered a substantial artifact assemblage, including several complete ceramic vessels.

Located in Tiny Township, the Webb site is a late fourteenth-century village first recorded by Andrew Hunter in 1899 and test-excavated by Frank Ridley. Limited excavations on the site carried out in 1950 by J. Russell Harper of the Royal Ontario Museum (Harper 1952) revealed settlement patterns in the form of 21 "ash heaps," presumably middens, and an unusual house form. These small, circular structures measuring 3 m in diameter, with central hearth clusters consisting of posts, ash, and burned rocks, were perhaps Algonquian residential structures. A sizable artifact assemblage including Middleport Oblique, Lalonde High Collar and Black Necked vessels seems to indicate a late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century date for the site (see also Bursey 1993). The recovery of half of a polished and drilled human cranium rattle is notable, as the presence of these types of artifacts peaks across Iroquoia in the second half of the fifteenth century (Williamson 2007; Jenkins 2015). Harper also recorded what he believed to be ancient trails, two to Georgian Bay, where he documented pre-contact hearths and deposits; one to Cranberry Lake; and another that traverses the landscape near to the site.

The unpalisaded, late fourteenth-century Wiacek site (Lennox et al. 1986; Robertson et al. 1995) featured five houses, two of which were small unusual structures perhaps used for special purposes or by visiting Algonquians (Robertson et al. 1995:50). By the early fifteenth century, there were numerous ancestral Wendat villages in Simcoe County (Warrick 2008:147), including a number that have been completely excavated. Dunsmore (Robertson and Williamson 2003), was a 2 ha village that included both seasonal tenancies and year-round occupations. The settlement appears to have served as both a seasonal fishing camp and a semi-permanent agricultural village, perhaps involving members of several different communities. Sixteen houses of various sizes were recorded. Both Wiacek and Dunsmore featured semi-subterranean sweat lodges. The partially excavated Hubbert site (MacDonald and Williamson 2001), however, contained at least three houses, featuring a total of 17 semi-subterranean sweat lodges, indicating considerable effort at social and political integration at the site. While the lack of both palisade complexes and scattered human bones on these and other sites indicates a period of relative peace, as was the case with contemporaneous sites along the north shore of Lake Ontario, the early to mid-fifteenth-century Loughheed site (ARA 2003a), also located in the same cluster of sites, featured a multiple-row palisade surrounding at least six closely spaced and aligned houses, but there was no additional evidence for conflict. On an adjacent property, the late fourteenth-century Gregor site featured four houses surrounded by a two-row palisade. It may have been inhabited immediately prior to Lougheed (ARA 2003b). The different nature of these settlement plans is likely reflective of that particular community's interactions with other groups, although the lack of palisading on neighbouring villages suggests the

community may have been concerned with farther-distant populations. Warrick and Molnar (1986) had suggested prior to the investigation of many of these southern sites that that there were two community sequences reflected in the record. At least one special purpose site has been thoroughly investigated. The Birch site (MacDonald and Cooper 1992) yielded evidence of scattered post moulds and 3 features and 58 artifacts that appear to place the site in the early fifteenth century. The wind-breaks represented by the posts and the recovery of plant remains from the features suggested that the site was used for gathering and processing plants in the summer or fall.

The Copeland site (Channen and Clark 1965) is a 1.5 ha early to mid-fifteenth-century village featuring a one- to two-row palisade surrounding four houses, at least one overlapping, while the Baumann site (Stopp 1985, 1986; also recent work by Dean Knight) is an early fifteenth-century village at which several houses and middens have been defined and tested. The nearby late fifteenth-century unpalisaded Carson site featured eight houses in three clusters, two with three houses and one with two (Varley 1993); the village seems to have been unconcerned with defence. Colin Varley analyzed the ceramic assemblage from Carson, comparing it with Copeland and Baumann, as well as with assemblages recovered from limited test excavations at several other roughly contemporaneous sites (i.e., Ellesmere-Morrison, Lalonde, and Bosomworth—Ramsden 1977; Emerson 1959). In his analysis, Varley demonstrates the doubtful utility of the concept of a Lalonde focus for fifteenth-century Wendat sites (Ridley 1952a, 1952b). While 22 percent of the Carson site ceramic assemblage consisted of Lalonde High Collar vessels, high collar vessels have been found in varying frequencies on nearby fifteenth-century sites in historic Wendake and on the north shore of Lake Ontario. They constitute, for example, 8 percent of the assemblage at Dunsmore, 4 percent at Hubbert, respectively, 36 percent at Fairlain Lake (Latta 1976:337), 22 percent at Copeland, 8 percent at Bauman, and 1 percent at Parsons. Because archaeologists now understand that these communities are all autonomous and subject to their own social and political contingencies, involved in different exchange networks with neighbouring and more distant communities (Williamson and Robertson 1994; Birch and Williamson 2013a:7-8), Lalonde is best thought of as a widely shared ceramic vessel style originating in the southern Barrie region.

The Forget site, situated overlooking the Wye valley and Mud Lake, is another village that reportedly featured numerous Lalonde vessels. First reported by Andrew Hunter in 1900, it was subject to extensive investigations by Wilfrid Jury from 1954 to 1963, for the field school of the Museum of Indian Archaeology (see also Ridley 1973); it was the first almost completely excavated Wendat village. The site is designated under Part VI of the Ontario Heritage Act, Re.709/710. The site had a double palisade wall and at least two hillside middens (W. Jury 1956). A rudimentary plan of the site published by Heidenreich (1971: Figure 8) shows 12 houses with 8 roughly parallel structures oriented northwest–southeast in the centre, with a pair of parallel, perpendicular structures on both the south and north sides. The south pair seems to be small cabins. More recently, William Finlayson prepared a report on the settlement patterns of the site based on Jury's field notes and described the site as a sixteenth-century village with 11 longhouses and 2 special purpose structures surrounded by 2 rows of palisade (Finlayson 2002:1). According to Jamie Hunter and Peter Carruthers, both of whom worked at the site, the recovered assemblage included Lalonde High Collar and Black Necked vessels, some complete. Both thought the site dated to the pre-contact period (Jamie Hunter and Peter Carruthers, personal communication 2014). A cache of 13 items of native copper, including knives and arrow and spear points, was found in a feature in a midden situated between the two palisade lines (Jury 1958; 1973). More recently, however, Susan Dermarkar of the University of Toronto (Mississauga) and Andreas Vatistas (2011) have examined the assemblage from the site, provided by the Museum of Ontario Archaeology, and described the ceramic and metal material culture along with glass beads, all of

which they believe are consistent with a seventeenth-century date for the site. They also cite as evidence of a seventeenth-century occupation a 1962 conventional radiocarbon date for the site from the University of Saskatchewan of 360±40, which calibrates today to A.D. 1464–1628 (1 sigma) and 1450–1636 (2 sigma) (CALEB rev. 7.0). The date, therefore, cannot contribute to the resolution of the period of site occupation. This issue will have to be resolved through careful analysis of Jury's original field notes, the catalogue system used by him and the museum for sites starting with the letter F, and the personal notes of other researchers who may have visited the site.

In 1947, Wilfrid Jury, with the sponsorship of the Martyrs' Shrine, carried out investigations of the Flanagan site, originally thought by Felix Martin and Arthur Jones to be Téonostayé, or St. Joseph II, based on rumours of the recovery of the fused base of a French-period candlestick or crucifix. St. Joseph was a large Wendat town containing 2000 people and was the scene of the martyrdom of Father Antoine Daniel (Thwaites 1896-1901, 33:259-265, 34:87-93). The Flanagan site is in a well-defended location surrounded by gullies on three sides, with a hillside spring providing the water source for the villagers. Jury found evidence of a continuous palisade on all sides, but on the weakest, north side he reported the presence of palisade reinforced by timbers and field boulders, the latter of which he postulated could have been rolled down the hill as a defensive strategy. He documented the presence of a 150 foot (45 m), large depression along the south palisade wall crossed by 29 foot (9 m) long, eighteen inch (46 cm) diameter logs held in position by posts, from which, he postulated, the site inhabitants had discarded their refuse. He found eight widely spaced longhouses between 40 and 77 feet (12–23 m) long and 18 to 26 feet (5.5–8 m) wide, all featuring 3 foot (1 m) wide bunk lines. Ash pits and hearths ringed by stones were found along their central longitudinal axes. Ceramic vessels marked with "chevrons"; a large pipe collection dominated by trumpet styles; a large quantity of faunal remains (large and small mammal, fish, especially suckers and gar, and reptiles); and charred maize cobs, nuts, and squash and sunflower seeds were collected. No European goods were recovered, and only one native copper awl was found. There is no report on the excavation other than two brief summaries (W. Jury 1948; W. Jury and Fox 1948); it was concluded it was a pre-contact settlement and not the site of St. Joseph.

The Cleary site was another early fifteenth-century village that was subject to at least limited testing. The 4.6 ha site was originally recorded by Andrew Hunter in the 1890s, and it has since been the subject of further investigations, including two excavations by the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS), in 1963 and 1964, and then again by Gary Warrick (1988). Warrick's investigations recovered a total of 1,051 artifacts from the surface and identified 18 middens. The late fifteenth-century Jones site, situated near the south shore of Little Lake in Midland, has been subject to multiple investigations, beginning with those of Jamie Hunter between 1968 and 1973; Stage 2 and partial Stage 3 investigations by ASI (1989, 1995, 2004b), and further Stage 3 investigation by Merritt (2006). The site is 2.2 ha in extent and is surrounded, at least on one side, by a discontinuous single-row palisade.

Only a few sites that date to the sixteenth-century have been investigated in detail in historic Wendake. Their temporal placements as well as the ages of those sites subjected to limited midden testing in the mid-twentieth century have been estimated, in part, on the presence of varying quantities of French trade goods recovered from them (Trigger 1976:236-243; also Warrick 2008:116-123).

The McCarthy site in Oro Township, for example, was first documented by Andrew Hunter in 1888 and was subject to further investigation by Frank Ridley (1972) and more systematic Stage 2 assessments by Mayer Heritage and AMICK Consultants in 1994 and 2007, respectively (AMICK Consultants Limited 2011). The recovery of a brass ring and pipe by Hunter and a small piece of brass by AMICK, as well as the purported recovery of brass kettles from an ossuary 300 m west of the village, suggest the site dates to the late sixteenth century.

The Sopher site is a mid-sixteenth-century village associated with the Sopher ossuary. Both are located north of Bass Lake and west of Orillia. Test excavations at the 1.5 ha site yielded two parallel houses, spaced 10–15 m apart. No palisade was recorded (Norcliffe and Heidenreich 1974). The middens from the village reveal "that habitation primarily spanned the late prehistoric, with rare trade items only appearing in the top 3 inches [7.5 cm]" (Noble 1971: 42, 45). The ossuary yielded an iron bar celt, but neither the village nor the ossuary yielded glass beads, suggesting a mid-sixteenth-century date, within the range of a calibrated radiocarbon date for the site (Warrick 2008:116-117; see also Ramsden 1977:263 for an even later date for the site, based on ceramic seriation).

The 1.2 ha, unpalisaded, late sixteenth-century Molson site (Lennox 2000), however, was almost completely excavated and yielded evidence of at least 12 houses, with a number of small cabins on the site periphery, possibly inhabited by Algonquians (Warrick 2008: 222). The ceramic assemblage, in which Sidey Notched vessels represent 51 percent of the ceramics—similar to frequencies at the nearby Graham-Rogers, Cooper, and Tionontaté McMurchy sites—as well as those sites' locations to the east of the Tionontaté area, led Lennox to speculate that they may have been founding populations of that nation (Lennox 2000:158-161).

Despite relatively little evidence for hostility in either the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, the ethnohistoric record of Wendake suggests that initial Wendat alliance building and confederacy formation occurred during the mid-fifteenth century, some 200 years before the arrival of Europeans (Thwaites 1896-1901, 16:227). Attignawantan (Bear) and Attigneenongnahac (Cord) were the original co-founders of the Wendat confederacy, since both had been resident in Wendake for at least 200 years (Thwaites 1896-1901, 16:227-229). Settled by the mid-fourteenth century, Attignwantan villages were located in western Wendake and across the Penetang Peninsula, while Attigneenongnahac villages were clustered to the southeast (Figure 4). Later additions to the confederacy were Arendahronon (Rock), who moved into Wendake c A.D. 1590, and Tahontaenrat (Deer), who joined c. A.D. 1610.

The Arendahronon likely originated with the Benson and Trent-Foster communities, becoming the easternmost tribe of the confederacy. Champlain was told by the Arendahronon that they formerly lived in the Trent valley and had abandoned the area due to fear of enemies (Biggar 1922-1936, 3:59). Their initial principal village in Simcoe County may have been the Ball site, which may have later relocated to Warminster (Warrick 2008:2006). Ball represents a thoroughly excavated, 3.5 ha, late-sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Wendat site. It has been the site of field school excavations by Wilfrid Laurier University over the past three decades (Knight 1978, 1987, forthcoming). The site was found to contain more than 71 houses surrounded by a multiple row palisade, and it featured at least one major expansion, perhaps a defensive amalgamation of two villages (Warrick 2008:206). Based on the glass beads and the European assemblage, Fitzgerald (1986:3-7) believes the site dates to A.D. 1590–1620. The elaborate palisade may have been an expression of the inhabitants' continued concern about attack by the Haudenosaunee, or perhaps the inhabitants were the Wendat group with whom the Tionontaté had formerly been at war, as recorded by the Jesuits (Thwaites 1896-1901, 20:43). It is also possible that the people inhabiting the Molson cluster of sites, situated just to the east of the Tionontaté, had joined the Bear Nation and had at first continued a hostile relationship with their former neighbours.

Warminster consists of two palisaded sections approximately 165 m apart. They are considered contemporaneous on account of similarities in their material culture assemblages. The north village was 3.4 ha in size; the south village, 2.6 ha. Portions of approximately 80 distinct houses were reported from the northern village (Sykes 1983:81, 85). Bruce Trigger (1976:304) discussed the possibility that Warminster is the historically recorded principal village of the Arendahronon, Cahiagué, which Champlain visited in 1615 before his raid on the Onondaga. William

Fitzgerald argues that the site dates to after 1620 (1986:3-7) and therefore is not the Cahiagué that Champlain visited and that Ball may be Cahiagué (see also Warrick 2008:117-118). Heidenreich (2014), however, has recently defended the assignation of Warminster as Cahiagué based on linguistic analysis of the word as "place divided in two" or "cut in two," as suggested by John Steckley (2014:21-22); its large number of longhouses, consistent with its ethnographic description as a chief village with 200 cabins; and its location, matching the distances Champlain travelled to get to the village.

The Tahontaenrat (Deer), who joined around 1610, perhaps originated with the Skandatut (Kleinburg) and Wright-Van-Nostrand villages on the Humber and Holland Rivers, respectively (Birch and Williamson 2013a:158). The Tahontaenrat and Attignawantan spoke different Wendat dialects (Thwaites 1896-1901, 10:11) perhaps attesting to their geographic separation, lasting some 200 years prior to the confederacy—although the same should have been true for the Tahontaerat and Attigneenongnahac, as well as the Attignawantan/Attigneenongnahac and the Arendahronon, given their different origins. John Steckley has noted, however, that the northern and southern Attignawantan had different dialects, perhaps originating with Neutral or St. Lawrence Iroquoian people living among the northern Attignawantan (Steckley 2007:35-45; 2010:4-9). He has also noted differences between southern Attignawantan and Arendahronon dialects based on Sagard's dictionary (Steckley 2010) and Champlain's records, as well as similarities in at least one innovative feature between both Attignawantan dialects, the Attigneeongnahac (Cord) and Tionontaté (John Steckley, personal communication 2014). The Jesuits recorded that the Wendat (Attignawantan) and Tionontaté spoke the same language (Thwaites 1896-1901 20:43), and Steckley has noted that southern Attignawantan had features in common with Wyandot, perhaps originating with the Tionontoté dialect or with the dominance of the southern Attignawantan dialect in the Wyandot language.

The Tahontaenrat occupied a single large village, called Scanonaenrat, which must have appeared about 1610 and, if inhabited for 20 years, was succeeded by perhaps the Orr Lake (1620–35) and Ellery (1635–50) sites (Warrick 2008:207-208). No candidate site in Wendake has been identified for the first Deer village—Ball, Bidmead, and perhaps Molson are the only well-known candidate sites that are remotely possible, although Ball geographically is situated in presumed Arendahronon territory. Molson was too small to constitute the entire Deer nation, and Bidmead was situated within Attigneeongnahac territory. Both Ball and the 1.5 ha Bidmead site, which has a complex palisade around a densely packed series of houses, were perhaps large enough to have accommodated the entire nation. Bidmead is thought to date from 1610 to 1625 based on its artifact assemblage, especially the glass trade beads (Merritt 2001).

Other sites that may date to the same period but that have had very limited excavations include the 1–1.5 ha Waubaushene Beach Ridge and Alonso sites (Hunter 1976) and the Charlebois site (Latta 1973, 1976), all of which are situated some distance from Orr Lake in the territories of the Attignawantan and Attigneeongnahac.

Preliminary investigations on the eastern portion of the Ellery site produced more than 9,000 artifacts, including typical seventeenth-century ceramic types and shell beads and a large amount of trade goods, including red round and tubular glass beads and sheet metal projectile points (ASI 1993). An earlier component of the site was discovered by Alicia Hawkins during field school excavations in 2008 and 2011, when she found evidence of a village dating to the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century (Hawkins 2013), one of only a few documented times that a village location was occupied twice, in this case by presumably unrelated communities, one pre-contact and the other Tahontaenrat.

The earliest late sixteenth-century Tionontaté (GBP1) comprised at least two villages and a few associated camps, the villages being Sidey-Mackay and McQueen-McConnell (Garrad 2014: 425-452). Although Garrad (2014: 420-421) has documented numerous fourteenth and fifteenth century villages and camps, mainly in

Nottawasaga (also Sunnidale) Township (west Simcoe County), he argues that those populations both originated in and had returned to historic Wendake by the late sixteenth century. Garrad (2014:452-453) sees a primarily ancestral Neutral origin for the historically documented Tionontaté, while Gary Warrick (2008:208-209) has argued that these villages probably represent relocations from sites situated north or northwest of Toronto or Innisfil Township. To those possibilities, I would add the suggestion that the Emmerson Springs and Wallace sites in the Credit River watershed to the west are equally credible candidates. The Beeton and Logan sites, in the Albion Pass area of southwestern Simcoe County on the Oak Ridges Moraine, also need to be considered. While Logan has not been investigated, Beeton is approximately 1 ha in size and is surrounded by a two-row palisade (Latta 1980). Limited test excavations at Beeton yielded evidence of three houses, significant quantities of human bone from middens and features, and ceramic vessels with neck decoration suggesting a late fifteenth century occupation. Yet, the recovery of a small amount of brass that dates to the early contact period suggests an early to mid-sixteenth-century occupation.

What is known currently is that in the late sixteenth century, the only settlements remaining on the north shore of Lake Ontario were one or both of the poorly known Emmerson Springs and Wallace villages in the upper Credit watershed, Skandatut in the Humber headwaters, and Van-Nostrand-Wright on the East Holland River. By shortly after the turn of the seventeenth century, the north shore of Lake Ontario was devoid of permanent settlement, these populations having relocated north to join the Wendat and/or Tionontaté confederacies. The ties between these late sixteenth-century sites and those of historically recorded early seventeenth-century Wendat and Tionontaté communities can only be confirmed through further detailed archaeological research, at which time we may find that these north shore communities also contributed people to the Attignawantan and Attigneenongnahac nations, as did the Wenro immigration of 1638 (Thwaites 1896-1901, 17:25-29).

Historic Wendake (Huronia) A.D. 1620–50.

By the 1620s, Ossossane, Scanonaenrat, Teanaustaye, and Contarea were the four main, well-fortified villages of the Wendat. They contained hundreds of warriors and were prepared for Haudenosaunee raiders, thereby enabling the Wendat-Tionontaté to continue their involvement in the burgeoning fur trade. With the exception of the Tahontaenrat, these other nations also had ancillary villages, as well as nearby locales where Algonquians came to winter (Figure 4). According to seventeenth-century accounts (Biggar 1922-1936, 3:122; Thwaites 1896-1901, 7:225, 8:115, 10:313), the Wendat-Tionontaté population totalled 30,000–35,000 before the initial epidemic of 1634.

Substantial numbers of Algonquians wintered with the Wendat. In the winter of 1615–16, 700–800 Nipissing wintered among the Attignawantan in the lower Wye valley in a separate village. The Onontchataronon—Ottawa River Algonquins who likely inhabited lands south of the Rideau-Cataraqui Axis (Pendergast 1999)—possibly numbering 1,000, wintered among the Arendarhonon on the outskirts of Cahiagué, perhaps even in the southern village (Fox and Garrad 2004:129), between 1608 and 1616. This group may have included descendant St. Lawrence Iroquoians (Trigger 1976:227; Pendergast 1999).

Given their annual voyages to Quebec via the French River, Lake Nipissing, and the Ottawa River, as well as the much longer Saguenay route (Wrong 1939:99), the Wendat travelled through Algonquian territory regularly. The Wendat material culture that has been discovered on numerous sites throughout the Canadian Shield may have resulted from trade with the Wendat, been left by Wendat travelling through the landscape, or been manufactured by local Algonquian groups in the Wendat style.

Excavations at the Frank Bay site, for example, situated on a level tract of sand on Frank Bay in Lake Nipissing, have yielded numerous Wendat style ceramic vessels from a rich organic layer likely resulting from repeated use of the site for small, temporary camps (Ridley 1954: 40). Iroquoian style ceramics have also been found on Algonquian sites, such as the Odawa village on

Providence Bay, on Manitoulin Island (Conway 1987); a Matouweskarini hunting camp at the Highland Lake site, southeast of Algonquin Park (von Gernet 1992); and even on Lac St. Jean and the Saguenay River, in south-central Quebec (Moreau 2014; see also Dawson 1979; Fox and Garrad 2004; Guindon 2009; Mitchell 1975).

Few villages in historic Wendake that date to this 30 year period have been subject to detailed archaeological investigations, but the few that have appear to have been Attignawantan or Attigneeongnahac in affiliation.

One of the earliest sustained research/field school programs in Wendake was carried out by Trent University from 1970 to 1977 at the Le Caron site. This 2 ha site yielded evidence of five contiguous longhouses and a large part of the enclosing palisade (Johnston and Jackson 1980). About half of the site's palisade was excavated, revealing posts that were, on average, 12.4 cm in diameter and were thought to have been about 9 m in height, not too different from the height reported by Champlain for the "triple wooden palisade, 35 feet high" at the village of Carhagouha (Biggar 1922-1936, 4:239-240). The Le Caron palisade varied from one to three rows and consisted of approximately 5,000 posts. The site is thought to date to 1640±10 and is located in Tiny Township in Attignawantan territory. The houses were oriented perpendicular to the palisade and were closely spaced with no overlapping, suggesting a well-planned, densely populated village. Trigger (1985:215), following Tyyska and Hurley (1969), noted that average house lengths at Ball and Le Caron are shorter than those on sites in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (e.g., Draper and Benson) and discussed whether this change might reflect the breakdown of the matrilineal extended family during this time. He also noted, however, that house lengths had been decreasing since the fourteenth century. This interpretation should be revisited, given the vastly larger sample that is now available to assess this question. This need to revisit earlier interpretations applies as well to the question of hearth spacing reflecting power and prestige among fourteenth-century houses, as raised by Varley and Cannon (1994).

Other excavations include those at the 2.5 ha Auger site (Latta 1985b, 1991), a multi-rowed palisaded and expanded village attributed to the Attigneenongnahac nation. Excavations revealed at least four uneven rows of longhouses with a west–northwest orientation that parallels the direction of the prevailing winter winds (Heidenreich 1971). Multiple open areas or plazas are located within the settlement.

The Thomson-Walker site (Latta 1995) is located on a promontory of a terrace bounded by the valley of the Coldwater River to the east and a tributary ravine to the south. The primary site occupation dates to c. 1625–35, as indicated by the predominance of early Period III glass beads, notably red and star varieties. The site has been disturbed by looting as well as the construction of a concession road through the entire length of the site. A three-row palisade was identified on the southwest side of the village in 1971, and at least two rows of palisade were observed along the southeast edge in 1993.

The Robitaille site (Latta 1971, 1976) was subject to intensive testing in 1969. Its location in the Penetang peninsula suggests it was Attignawantan in affiliation. Six middens and one longhouse were investigated, and a palisade was located along the south edge of the site. Both Latta and Bruce Trigger (1976:409-411) used the material recovered from the site to discuss the pace of technological change evidenced by the replacement of traditional stone and bone tools by ones made of European metals.

William Fox examined the stone tools recovered from Robitaille as well as the earlier Maurice site (1971; 1979). The Maurice village (Tyyska 1969; also Trigger 1976:350, 413-415) dates to approximately A.D. 1580, but the glass bead assemblage recovered from the nearby Maurice ossuary dates to the late historic period, that is, 1630–50 (Jerkic 1969; Motykova 1969). The village and ossuary are, therefore, unrelated. Fox concurred with the hypothesis that metal implements were replacing stone tools but noted major qualitative as well as quantitative differences between the two assemblages. He found more diverse exotic cherts in the larger, later, and perhaps more cosmopolitan Robitaille village,

along with a dearth of formal edge-retouched artifacts of local Huronia chert in favour of an increase in imported bifaces and formal edge-retouched artifacts of exotic raw material. This development represents to Fox an erosion of Attignawantan stone working skills. Among flaked stone artifacts, projectile points would appear to have been the most important tools. Among those made of ground stone, ornamental items, such as limestone effigy pipes and red siltstone/slate beads, seem to have been popular. He argues that they originated with the Tionontaté and Odawa, the latter perhaps having been responsible for Onondaga bifaces reaching the Wendat via their Neutral contacts, as well as for other exotic cherts, such as Collingwood and Kettle Point cherts.

In his later analyses of the Ball and Warminster sites flaked stone tool assemblages, Fox (1981) characterized the historic Wendat stone tool industry as a bipolar core technology, a product of using glacial cobbles mainly, although crude bifaces of local Huronia chert were recovered at Warminster (see also Bursey 1997).

The Cedar Point site (Latta 1973, 1976) is located on a ridge atop the end of Cedar Point, facing Beckwith Island in Georgian Bay. Four test squares were excavated, and the recovered material indicates that the site was occupied between 1615 and 1649.

The Peden site (Hunter 1976) is a disturbed, 3 ha village dating to approximately 1630–49. The Thompson-Hervieux site (Hunter 1976) is a late historic village (1630–50) also measuring approximately 3 ha. Several surface collections have been taken, including those by Frank Ridley in 1972, Delmar Kelly in 1975, and Jamie Hunter in 1976. The work in 1976 also included small test units to locate middens and to determine the extent of the village. Hunter and others also investigated the Chew-McInnis site in 1971–73 with a high school field school. They excavated a 200 to 300 foot (61–91 m) trench across the site, documenting at least four houses and several middens. A Jesuit ring was recovered. Recent analyses of the recovered assemblage, however, suggest there are two components to the site: the historic occupation and a fifteenth century pre-contact occupation (Anderson et al. 2014).

The 1630s and 1640s were disastrous times for the Wendat. In 1634, measles spread throughout the Attignawantan villages during winter. This was followed by an epidemic of influenza in early September 1636, which persisted until spring 1637. Warrick (2008:222-227) has estimated that between 1634 and 1637, Wendat and Tionontaté populations experienced a 20 percent decline, leaving just 23,000 people alive by the end of 1637. An epidemic of smallpox ravaged the Wendat and Tionontaté between early fall 1639 and spring 1640, reducing their population to 10,000–12,000, as documented by Jerome Lalemant in the 1639–40 census. Many villages were abandoned because they now had an insufficient number of residents, and Ossossané was relocated even though the village was only five years old.

Over the next ten years, the Wendat were attacked repeatedly, leaving only 15 villages remaining at the beginning of the dispersal period, in 1649. The Wendat dispersal involved four main groups: Ossossané (southern Attignawantan); Scanonaenrat (Tahontaenrat, Wenro, and Arendarhonon); Christian converts (Attignawantan, Ataronchronon, Attigneenongnahac, and Arendarhonon); and another mixed group, presumably traditionalists with close ties to neighbouring Georgian Bay Algonkians (Warrick 2008:237-238). About 2,000 Ossossané villagers and a mixed group of Wendat refugees fled to the Tionontaté, but, in December 1649, their main fortified village of Etharita was destroyed by Iroquois and about 1,000 people were forced to travel to Iroquois country. Another 500–1,000 Wendat-Tionontaté fled Tionontaté country to settle on Gahoendoe (Christian Island). With the escalation of hostilities with the Iroquois, the Tahontaerat left in 1649 to reside with the Neutral and then moved to Seneca country in 1651, where they subsequently occupied their own village. In 1648 and 1649, three villages near to the mission of Sainte-Marie fell to the Iroquois. These were Teanaustayé (St. Joseph), Teanaostaiaé (St. Louis), and Taenhatentaron (St. Ignace), the latter being the site where Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were tortured to death. Some archaeologists and historians believe that St. Ignace was moved to

a second location (Heidenreich 1971:46-47; for a contrary opinion, see Trigger 1976:743-744; 855, Chapter 11, Notes 4 and 5; and for a more recent discussion of the search for St. Ignace II, see Latta 1988).

A small site flanked on three sides by the banks of the Sturgeon River, located south-east of Waubaushene (formerly the Hamilton Farm—west half of Lot 5, Concession 9, Tay), has been advanced as the site of St. Ignace (St. Ignace II by some) and was subject to excavations by William Wintemberg in the 1937 and 1938 and by Wilfrid Jury of the University of Western Ontario in 1946 (Fox 1949; E. Jury 1948; W. Jury 1947, 1951; see Latta 1988 for a detailed discussion of these excavations). W. Jury (1947) described a well-planned settlement of 26 longhouses, averaging 100 × 30 feet (30.5 × 9 m) in size, radiating outward from the centre of the site, and surrounded by a double palisade wall with platform-like structures in the north-west and south-east corners. In the centre of the site, Jury documented what he claimed was a French-designed, several-roomed, heavy-timbered building, thought to be the mission church (see also Thwaites 1896-1901, 39:247). In a later publication (1951), he claimed that an ash bed around two burned posts in the central building was the site of Brébeuf and Lalemant's martyrdom. The site, as reported, was largely devoid of either Indigenous or European artifacts, with the only French period material recovered being a steel knife in the central timber structure (and possibly a second knife, Latta 1988:12) and two iron axes reportedly having been taken from the surface of the site at some time in the past (Fox 1949:133-134).

The Newton site, located south of Victoria Harbour on a flat plateau above the Hog River and long thought to be St. Louis, was also investigated by Wilfrid Jury, between 1951 and 1953 (formerly Newton Farm, Lot 11, Concession 6, Tay), Andrew Hunter having provided an early description of the site (1899:66-67). The plan was described as similar to that of St. Ignace (E. Jury 1948:101; Jury and Jury 1955) with straight palisade walls, squared corners, and dwellings parallel to the walls. A smaller but similar European structure was found in the centre of this settlement. Evidence of a long occupation included extensive midden deposits with faunal and floral remains, including corn, beans, and squash, along with many European metal implements and glass beads. A crucifix, thought to have belonged to a priest, was also recovered. Jury also carried out investigations at the Train Farm site, and Elsie Jury (1962) reported on exploratory excavations from 1958–62 at the Quesnelle site (also known as Deshambault [Latta 1976]), thought by E. Jury to perhaps be the site of Carhagouha. Jury's excavations documented a large village site surrounded by a triple-wall palisade. He reported on the discovery at the site of European iron artifacts "of a different type to that found at late mission sites." Latta reports, on the other hand, that the assemblage she recovered was pre-contact and perhaps even earlier than Fairlain Lake (1976:309).

The most comprehensive excavation of a site of this period (and its reconstruction) occurred at the French mission site of Sainte-Marie, established in 1639–40. By 1648–49, the presence of the Jesuits and their lay assistants in Wendake had increased substantially, to around 50 Frenchmen in 1648–49, coincident with the growth of the Sainte-Marie mission into a well-fortified French settlement and associated farm (Kidd 1949; Trigger 1976:665-668). One of the first architectural descriptions of the remains of the site, aided by limited test excavations, was prepared by Jones (1908:10-11). More detailed information about the layout and buildings within the mission were determined through very detailed and meticulously reported archaeological investigations by Kenneth Kidd (1949). This work was followed by the work of Wilfrid Jury (and Jury 1954) and other, less extensive but very detailed excavations (Tummon and Gray 1992, 1995). This latter work also revealed pre-contact components at the site dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And it located the multi-component Heron site, on the west bank of the Wye River, with occupations dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The principal work on the site revealed a wooden palisade and internal ditch complex, as

well as later stone fortifications, in addition to subdivided European and Aboriginal compounds—the former with a complete longhouse and the latter with a chapel, trade shops, a cookhouse, barracks, a barn for domesticated animals, a hospital, and various other dwellings. The architectural interpretation of these compounds has been debated due to inconsistencies between Kidd's detailed records and those of Jury (Trigger 1976:673-681), whose interpretations were at times fanciful. Jury's notion of a lock system for the eastern ditch (and Jury 1954:61-75), for example, has never received support from the scholarly community (e.g., Trigger 1976:679-680).

Many Wendat refugees from Iroquois aggression who originated from the rest of Wendake, including the widows and orphans from Ossossané, fled to Gahoendoe in the spring of 1649. They were subsequently followed by the Jesuits and the Wendat who had inhabited the Sainte-Marie mission, and later by others. While the exact number is unknown, thousands had fled to the island (Thwaites 1896-1901, 35:23, 34:223, 35:87). The Jesuits and lay workmen constructed a four-cornered fort, with curtain walls and bastions built of stone, and they also helped to strengthen the fortifications of the adjacent Wendat village. Prior to the abandonment of the village in 1650–51, conditions at the settlement were disastrous due to crop failure brought on by drought, famine (which led to cannibalism), disease, and the constant threat of and actual harassment by the Iroquois (Trigger 1976:770-788).

The first documentation of the site subsequent to the French period appears to have been by Fr. Pierre Chazelle, who described the remains in 1844 (Trigger 1985:9). Father Felix Martin visited and described the site in 1855 and prepared a plan and watercolour sketch of the site near the southeast corner of the island. Andrew Hunter visited the site in the late 1880s (Hunter 1898), noting the location of the fort and an associated redoubt, along with a Wendat settlement with five longhouses and a burial site. David Boyle (1898:35-42) subsequently visited the site in 1898, examining the fort and describing its dimensions and architectural remnants, along with a nineteenth-century village and burying ground and the Ahoendoé ossuary, located near the lighthouse. The ossuary was reported as being 20 feet (6 m) wide and 5 feet (1.5 m) deep in its centre and having been investigated previously. At the time of Boyle's visit, skeletal remains were still present, some of which were removed. In the early 1920s, a plaque was installed on the site by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board.

The site was not subject to further recorded documentation or actual archaeological investigation until the summer of 1965, when Wilfrid Jury and Peter Carruthers carried out archaeological excavations supported by the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Information, the Ontario Historic Sites and Monuments Board, and the St. Marie I Restoration Project (Carruthers 1965 and this volume). Excavations were preceded by consultation with the Beausoleil First Nation, who permitted the work, provided that the excavations, carried out in part by band members, were confined to a single test trench inside the walls of the compound and that the artifacts remained on the island in the possession of the people.

Low stone walls outlined a compound about 100 ft (30.5 m) square, with diamond shaped bastions at each corner. The 1965 test trench was 10 ft (3 m) wide, extending north–south from front (south) to north through the near centre of the enclosure and encountered very wet conditions. Four major features were uncovered, including the partial, well-preserved but mostly charred remains of a building against the north wall, among which was found a rich assemblage of Wendat and European items; a well, possibly of the box variety, employing planks to surround a spring (see also Boyle 1898:37); a disturbed area on the south wall filled with construction debris; and another portion of a structure that had also burned.

Among the recovered artifact assemblage was a caramel-coloured gun flint; an early type of musket worm; a double tournois coin dating to 1640; hand-forged iron nails, spikes, and tacks; various copper, brass, and bronze items; as well as bronze nuggets from objects that had melted in

the fire. Hardware items included sheet and bar strapping, hinges, a pintle, door locks perhaps brought from Sainte-Marie I, rings, chain (from near the well), kettle bales, and fasteners. The fine crystal and blown bottle glass recovered are consistent with domestic and ecclesiastical activities. Indigenous pottery, one piece of shell wampum, and a number of glass beads were also recovered. The beads included red spherical (with black cores), red tubular, red oval faceted, as well as blue spherical and blue elliptical with flat ends beads. The recovery of oxen bone provided physical evidence of the report that two bulls and two cows were transported by raft from Sainte-Marie 1 to the new site (Thwaites1896-1901, 35:23, 27:99-101). Unfortunately, the recovered artifact assemblage from these excavations was lost when the school in which they were curated burned several years later.

In 1967 and 1968, the University of Toronto investigated three burial pits to the north of the fort and recovered 129 skeletons (Saunders et al. 1974). The presumed "Indian compound" area north of fort was also investigated; little evidence was found. The remains were analyzed using metric and non-metric and univariate and multivariate analyses. Based on their results and the recovered ceramic assemblage, the researchers concluded that the remains were those of the 1649–50 population based on their unique but heterogeneous characteristics compared with other regional populations. Those remains that had been removed from Christian Island at some point in the past were reburied in the fall of 2013 (see below).

Unfortunately, in 1975, Parks Canada excavated drainage trenches by backhoe within the enclosure, irreparably damaging the deposits documented so carefully by Carruthers (Snow 1975).

In 1987, the Museum of Indian Archaeology (London) carried out excavations of 190 one-metre squares in and adjacent to the fort as part of an archaeological management plan of the Christian Island Reserve (Finlayson and Smith 1988). As in 1965, evidence of charred wooden planks in the fort was found. A survey of the island also led to the discovery of the 1.5 ha Charity site on the shore of Douglas Lake, about a kilometre west of the fort; 91 one-metre squares were excavated there. Among the few artifacts recovered was an iron nail identical to those found at the fort, suggesting to the researchers that the village and the fort were contemporaneous. The researchers concluded that the size of the Charity site was not sufficiently large to have accommodated the thousands of Wendat that are known to have fled to the island and that there must be multiple settlements and cabins yet to be documented (also Thwaites 1896-1901, 35:87).

In 1991, Northeastern Archaeological Associates carried out additional excavations at the Charity site (Jackson et al. 1992; Jackson and Merritt 1998, 2000), which they believe to be the village that refugees established on their relocation to the island in 1648; others fled to there from Ossossané in May of 1649 (Thwaites 1896-1901, 34:203). Over 400 m of contiguous longhouse area was excavated by hand, resulting in the definition of three incompletely exposed and seemingly narrow and short longhouses, although the researchers believed there may have been as many as 80–100 houses at the site. The recovery of glass beads that share chemical characteristics with those recovered from the Tionotaté Plater-Martin, Plater-Fleming, and Kelly-Campbell sites suggested to Jackson and Merritt that the villagers included Tionotaté refugees. The ceramic sample from one house also contained numerous Genoa Frilled type vessels, once linked with the Wenro, who are known to have inhabited Ossossané. It should be noted, however, that Alicia Hawkins has outlined the problems with assuming that these vessel types are associated with the Wenro, whose homeland is unknown (see Hawkins 2001, 2004b). Charred and fractured human remains recovered in several longhouse posts of one of the houses were examined by Michael Spence. His results suggest evidence of cannibalism (Jackson et al. 1992:7; Spence and Jackson this volume). The recovered assemblage is typical of a GBP3 historic period site, and includes copper, brass, and iron implements; glass trade beads dominated by red circular and oval varieties; and ceramic pipes and vessels typical for the period. The absence of animal remains other than fish was noted by the

researchers, who thought that this was consistent with a record of famine.

Discussion

What followed the Gahoendoe disaster was a period of population movements and adoptions. Segments of the population that survived famine and Iroquois attacks moved to near Quebec City and eventually to Lorette, where their descendants flourish today. Other Wendat went with the Tionontaté to live with Algonquians farther west in the upper Great Lakes, eventually becoming the Wyandot and settling in communities at Windsor and Detroit; in Ohio; and, later in the nineteenth century, in Kansas and Oklahoma (Tooker 1978). Still others were adopted into Iroquois communities (Trigger 1976:826-831). For more information about post-dispersal Wendat-Wyandot history, see Labelle (2013).

All of these populations, including the Iroquois and Algonquians, have survived four centuries of colonial domination and attempts at assimilation. Archaeological research continues to play an important role in efforts to assert their rights and interests in their ancestral and contemporary territories. Contemporary research projects include those generated by land-use and infrastructure development throughout the Wendat's former territory.

Yet, it must be said that, despite over a century of archaeological work in historic Wendake, we are no closer to answering some of the fundamental questions about Wendat history. There has been an industry, ever since the days of Jones and A. Hunter, of trying to link historically recorded villages with actual sites on the ground, often on the basis of small samples of artifacts drawn from surface collections or limited excavations of middens on select sites, rather than all the possible candidate sites. As Joyce Wright (2006) correctly pointed out in her review of Wendat ceramics and tribal affiliation, a small sample drawn from one midden on a complex site could lead researchers to form a completely inaccurate understanding of the site, especially if that sample had been drawn from amidst an ethnic enclave.

We also have the problem of inadequate reporting for major excavation projects (e.g., Aurora, Wallace, Warminster, Fournier, Forget, Flanagan, Quesnelle-Deshambault). It is crucial that we as a community make an effort to publish in more detail what is known about these sites. Marti Latta, for example, is currently attempting to piece together the settlement pattern results of the University of Toronto's mid-twentieth-century work at Warminster.

While policy direction and engagement with Indigenous communities is certainly moving toward protection of archaeological sites as a shared objective, it is only with more detailed and substantive excavations on selected sites that we will begin to unravel the complex site sequences in historic Wendake and the individual national histories. To do so, however, we must have a coordinated approach to the documentation of this history. What is sorely needed is an archaeological management plan for Simcoe County to guide the conservation of archaeological sites.

The new public registry of site reports managed by the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport should preclude the previous problem of consultants not only failing to publish their excavation data, but also refusing to share their license reports, thereby handicapping our efforts at actually understanding the past, which was the very purpose of the investigations in the first place. This problem is not restricted to sites in Wendake; it also pertains to some of the sites in the greater Toronto area.

One of things that frustrated me while I was carrying out this review was realizing that much of the work carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, including almost complete site investigations (such as those at Forget or Warminster) were never even completely reported on, let alone published. The records of many of these excavations are still available, and their examination would make for superb graduate student projects, making valuable contributions to our understanding of Wendat history. Other potential graduate projects that could make valuable contributions would be ones focused on the sites around the Uxbridge Ossuary area, the lower and middle Trent River system, and

the enigmatic Beeton site and associated Logan village. During my research for this paper, I was privileged to view a roll-out map as long as a table showing hundreds of sites in historic Wendake, including those first recorded by Hunter and Laidlaw, that was prepared and updated over the years by Peter Carruthers, as well as maps maintained by Jamie Hunter and Bill Fox. Knowing that our understanding of tribal territories and the ecological parameters of site locations could be enhanced through GIS analysis, and having had significant difficulty at tracking down exact locations of sites, I would suggest that undertaking GIS-based analysis of all Wendat sites would be an excellent graduate project for a geographically inclined student.

More generally, a central repository for Huron-Wendat materials, co-managed by the Huron-Wendat, could facilitate access to their material culture for researchers. Whether modelled after, and perhaps associated with, Sustainable Archaeology or stand-alone, this facility might also be a conduit for encouraging research in Huronia and might allow for the establishment of dynamic personal relationships between archaeologists and the Huron-Wendat Nation. Like any political jurisdiction, the true representatives of the jurisdiction will change with different administrations, and archaeologists must be prepared to accept instruction and change in the people with whom they deal.

Ongoing Research

There are some exciting research prospects, many supported by the efforts of the Huronia Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society. In addition to Alicia Hawkins of Laurentian University's ongoing work in Wendake, new research is being undertaken by Gary Warrick and Bonnie Glencross of Wilfrid Laurier University on the Allen Tract site. The screening of back dirt left by looters resulted in the recovery of various European metal trade objects and more than 100 glass beads that place the site clearly in GBP2—c. A.D. 1600–20. The site's location, size, and date leads Warrick and Glencross to believe it is the site of the Attignawantan village of Carhagouha, where, in 1615, Recollet priest Joseph Le Caron, accompanied by 12 Frenchmen, overwintered. Their research has included gradiometer and metal detector survey to try to locate Le Caron's cabin, which was located outside of the village.

Other ongoing research includes work by Archaeological Services Inc. in association with Megan Burchell of Memorial University on the sourcing of marine shell and walrus ivory objects recovered from fifteenth-century sites in the Lynde Creek drainage. Archaeological Services Inc., Jennifer Birch of the University of Georgia and William Fox are also collaborating with Adrian Burke, Claude Chapdelaine, Anne Baron and their colleagues in a steatite sourcing project.

Jennifer Birch and her students carried out gradiometer work on the Spang site to define its limits and to determine the nature of the palisade and interior village patterning of houses. Further archaeological definition was also undertaken at the large Trent-Foster village in the upper Trent River valley. Research at Trent-Foster will involve Trent University, Archaeological Services Inc., and Jennifer Birch and is being led by William Fox.

John Hart is continuing his work tracking ethnic traditions or territories by employing social network analysis using ceramic attributes. His more recent work includes more Ontario data supplied by Jennifer Birch, Susan Demarkar of the University of Toronto (Mississauga), and Archaeological Services Inc.

Ongoing PhD dissertation research, of which I am aware, includes that by Greg Braun at the University of Toronto (Mississauga) involving innovative analytical techniques for ceramic petrography and leading to insights concerning relationships within Iroquoian communities, religious practices, and the "lives" of objects. Susan Demarkar, also, is examining ceramics and exchange networks, of the Keffer site in the Don River drainage. Sarah Striker of Arizona State University is looking at the social dynamics of coalescence, focusing on how individual and collective social relationships changed throughout the process and how such relationships contributed to coalescence. She is doing so using four of the sites in the Duffins-Rouge ancestral Wendat sequence, including Burkholder 2,

Draper, Spang, and Mantle. Mariane Gaudreau of Simon Fraser University is developing a collaborative research program with the Huron-Wendat community in Wendake, focusing on Wendat conceptions of ethnicity and cultural affiliation to explain their ties with the St-Lawrence Iroquoians. Her research will attempt to reconcile oral tradition and archaeological interpretations.

The University of Waterloo, in conjunction with Robert MacDonald; Peter Carruthers; Suzanne Needs-Howarth and Chris Junker-Andersen; and staff from Archaeological Services Inc., is completing a thorough review of the artifact assemblages and data from the Quackenbush site in the Trent River valley in an effort to define its nature and relationships with other Wendat sites.

In the fall of 2013, the Huron-Wendat Nation of Wendake, Quebec, repatriated the human remains and associated grave goods from 12 Wendat ancestral archaeological sites. The remains of approximately 1,760 people were reburied at the Thonnakona (Kleinburg) Ossuary, on land owned by the Ontario Heritage Trust. The reburial, attended by Wendat, Wyandot, and other Indigenous peoples, followed years of discussion and planning between the Huron-Wendat Nation and the University of Toronto (for a detailed account, see Pfeiffer and Lesage 2014).

The protocol signed by the Wendat and the University specified the retention of small samples of tissue (one tooth per person and small samples of disease-altered bone), which will help archaeologists and biological anthropologists, in a collaborative effort with the Huron-Wendat, to advance our understanding about the lives of these Wendat ancestors (e.g., diet, health, diseases, origin of populations). The success of this protocol to achieve these goals has been demonstrated in a pilot study using remains from other Wendat sites and one Neutral site (Pfeiffer et al. 2014).

The Huron-Wendat Nation is also planning to undertake a long-term research project on the fifteenth-century Auhoindio site found recently as part of the Highway 407 east extension project, along the north shore of Lake Ontario. This project will not only provide a better understanding of the links between communities in the lower Trent River valley and St. Lawrence Iroquoian populations in eastern Ontario and Quebec, but it will also allow for a Wendat-run project at which Wendat students can be trained in their archaeology and history. With this and similar involvement by the Wendat in development projects that affect their interests, archaeologists and historians working with their record in Ontario will find a fully engaged and collaborative research partner with well-defined goals and objectives.

Acknowledgements. This paper was prepared at the request of the Huron-Wendat Nation, whose representatives working on the Ontario file found that there was no comprehensive account of past and present archaeological research of their former occupancy of Ontario. I was, in turn, surprised that no such document existed for historic Wendake. At least summaries of most of the north shore site sequences had been prepared previously on a number of occasions. While Norman Emerson, Jim Wright, and Peter Ramsden, in particular, had outlined early notions of the culture history of north shore sites and drainage sequences, the first such summary that ASI prepared was in 1998, when David Robertson, Martin Cooper, and I (Williamson et al. 1998) detailed our understanding of the culture history of ancestral Wendat occupation of the Humber River valley in order to design a framework for interpreting new, extensive excavations at the Parsons site. This and subsequent summaries were informed by an understanding that north shore communities were politically autonomous and that our challenges, among many, were to sort out the history of the sequences of which they were a part, as well as the social, political, and economic networks in which they participated. The Parsons/Humber summary was followed by a similar piece in 2003 prepared by Robert MacDonald, Stephen Cox Thomas, and me to contextualize the Moatfield site and ossuary within the Don River valley. David Robertson and I followed this up with a 2005 synthesis of the pre-

1690 Indigenous settlement history of the North Pickering Development Planning Area (Seaton) and adjacent lands, which used data from Poulton's 1979 survey of the NTIA lands, Finlayson's 1985 analysis of the Draper site, and the research of others. This 2005 synthesis outlined what was essentially an ancestral Wendat history of the Duffins–Rouge drainage. Jennifer Birch's subsequent 2010 analysis of the Draper to Mantle sequence—undertaken in the context of situating villages in the transitional sequence of pre-coalescence through post-coalescence—advanced significantly our understanding of how to interpret these sites and allowed her and me, in Chapter 3 of the Mantle site volume (Birch and Williamson 2013a), to update and summarize these and other north shore sequences more meaningfully. That chapter thus represents the major source for the north shore sequences here. I thank Jennifer Birch for her research collaboration on that and many other related matters over the past several years. I should note that I have updated all of these sequences, however, with new site data that we had both intentionally and unintentionally excluded from the Mantle volume discussion.

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Les fondements de l'érudition moderne concernant l'histoire et l'archéologie Wendats ont été placés à la fin du XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle par l'entremise de chercheurs comme Andrew Hunter et Arthur Jones qui ont enquêté des centaines de sites et de sarcophages qui avaient été signalés aux autorités provinciales. L'objectif de leur travail, et de plusieurs qui ont suivi, était la recherche de lieux qui pourraient être liés aux villages et aux missions mentionnés dans les premiers comptes rendus. Alors que des archéologues amateurs, universitaires et d'agences gouvernementales ont utilisé ces premières études de sites Wendats dans leurs enquêtes au milieu du XXe siècle, une révolution dans la collecte de données archéologiques a eu lieu lors des trente dernières années. Une grande partie des données demeure non publiée et d'autres données n'ont même pas été signalées. Ce document est un aperçu de la plupart de ce travail (surtout celui associé aux sites où de fouilles importantes ont eu lieu), et il vise à fournir un guide à ceux qui souhaitent utiliser ces études pour approfondir divers aspects de l'histoire de la période historique ou des communautés ancestrales Wendats.

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