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HABITATION AND BOUNDARY SYMBOLISM

IN THE

NORTHEASTERN WOODLANDS:

An Archaeological Case Study of the

Haagsma Site (AeHI-33), ca. 1350 A.D.

by

David Riddell

A thesis

presented to Carleton University

in fulfilment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in Anthropology

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

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**"HABITATION AND BOUNDARY SYMBOLISM IN THE
NORTHEASTERN WOODLANDS": An Archaeological Case
Study of the Haagsma Site (AeHI-33), ca.1350 A.D.**

submitted by David Riddell

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
December 1, 1998

ABSTRACT

The frontier region between prehistoric Iroquoian and Western Basin populations in southwestern Ontario during the fourteenth century is poorly understood. The excavation of a settlement and documentation of several others within this region has shed some light on contact situations between these two cultures. It has also revealed some indications as to the influences precipitating these encounters, and the nature of this interaction itself. It is proposed that the Haagsma Site was regarded as a neutral facility for exchange and negotiation, including that of an ideological nature, such that the settlement was invested with a greater emphasis of symbolic display, and that the dwelling itself was a tangible symbol of the changes in social structure and apprehensions of space that were occurring on an interregional basis between these cultures. This entailed a sharing and modification of the structure to suit both groups needs, and an effort to preserve an area of not only tolerance, but also of mutual benefit involving an amalgamation of Western Basin and Iroquoian cultures.¹

¹ "Amalgamation" refers to an integration of individuals into a population(s), as in intermarriage or spousal exchange, real or fictive kinship, or other types of cooperative arrangements. It is therefore a form of interaction which in this case implies the creation of a new community composed of individuals of two (or more) cultural groups.

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. . . for Caroline.

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INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1993, a fourteenth century Late Woodland settlement was discovered just within the village limits of Alvinston, Ontario. The settlement (Haagsma Site: AeHl-33) was subsequently excavated by the author and field crew over the following two field seasons, revealing the outline of a single longhouse structure, measuring 23.00 by 6.50 metres. During these excavations it became apparent that this was an unusual structure; unusual in the sense that it contained distinctive and more or less contemporaneous occupations of differing cultural affiliations. There was also evidence of a less distinctive affiliation which appears to be a merging of cultural influences. This merging is reflected in the manufacture and decoration of ceramics, and aspects of the settlement pattern within the dwelling itself.

There appears to have been a sharing of this single structure between a small group of people classified archaeologically as Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian. Curiously, this sharing seems to have taken place without an interior hearth, which usually indicates family or group aggregation, and cold weather habitation. An exterior hearth was present however, contained within the exclusively Western Basin occupation, the settlement or household pattern of which was focused around the hearth while simultaneously adhering to the overall orientation of the longhouse itself. In a sense, a house had been constructed within a house. These architectural adjustments

involved an extremely narrow and featureless central corridor, a greater emphasis on partitioning of the differing cultural living or activity areas, and an additional exterior partition on one side of the structure. It is proposed that this boundary 'strengthening' occurred not only in the obvious (material) sense, but also in the symbolic realm, due to the apparently deliberate deposition of selected artifact remains at or near the bases of certain key post molds. These posts were key in the sense that they were of primary structural supporting significance, and were located in pivotal or boundary areas of the dwelling.

Another indication of symbolic and ideational ² significance is evidenced in the specific and contrasting subsistence practices of the Western Basin and Iroquoian groups at Haagsma, where certain species appear to have been given different emphasis, and are present in one context but not in another. Taken together, these variables point to a differing apprehension of certain features of the cosmological sphere, yet a sharing of other broad elements of these . This point will be elaborated upon in Chapters 2 and 4.

These indications, while interesting in themselves, do not explain why these two cultures would share a single structure in the first place. Evidence for this seemingly unusual situation is sought elsewhere, which entails widening the scope of study to a regional and inter-regional perspective. A survey of Late Woodland settlement within the study area, and archaeological and ethnohistoric research exterior to this area (primarily

² "Ideation", from the root "ideate", refers to a "system or body of knowledge, science, philosophy, pansophy, pandect, doctrine, ideology, theory, aetiology,..." (source: Rogets Thesaurus, 1982).

east and west), reveals it to be part of a frontier region of archaeologically documented Western Basin and Iroquoian populations, and similarly, historically recorded Central Algonquin and Iroquoian populations. There has been therefore, a lengthy history of contact between these cultural affinities, which undoubtedly extends well into prehistory.

By incorporating a number of studies dealing specifically with interaction variables in frontier/boundary areas, one is able to gain further insight into the possible dynamics which occurred in this region, and in particular, at the Haagsma Site. These possibilities include the ideology of exchange in various forms, including that of political ideology as manifested in spousal, commodity, and information transmission and negotiations. These can be detected in the material record in the form of boundary marking or maintenance, and in indications of symbolically 'charged' behaviour, both which are proposed to have taken place at the Haagsma Site.

The emphasis in the ideational realm at Haagsma was a vital correlate of the frontier nature of this site and other nearby settlements. It is proposed that there were a number of vested interests in practice along this boundary region on behalf of both cultural groups resulting in a degree of negotiation and strategy related to "territory", not only in the physical sense, but also the cosmological. For example, knowledge of foreign sacred realms, in particular on behalf of those accorded with religious significance is seen as a motive for encounters spanning geographical expanse (Helms, 1992). Accordingly, a manipulation of the symbolic dimension, including perceptions of social space is

proposed to have transpired at the Haagsma Site. Despite the power laden connotations implicit in these strategies, it is proposed that these negotiations took place in a dwelling of neutrality which facilitated the interaction, and subsequent amalgamation of two different cultures.

That one of these cultural groups (Western Basin) is viewed as a long distance contact, coupled with the supposed (westward) expansion of Iroquoian polities, is regarded as a consequence of the changes that both populations are considered to have experienced during the fourteenth century. These changes are related to an increasing reliance on corn horticulture, particularly by Iroquoian populations, as reflected in increasing sedentarism, lineage formation, and territorial control. The fissioning of a Central Algonquin nucleus meanwhile is proposed to have transpired during this period, resulting in movement south and eastward (from northern Michigan/Ontario) of at least one group (Edmunds 1978: 3). Both territories are seen, therefore, to be in a state of 'flux', and overall expansion.

Interaction between these groups in the region under study is not regarded as a phenomenon peculiar to the fourteenth century. Regional polities of either affiliation or perhaps more accurately, of influences arising peculiar to populations between those of greater characteristic traits (i.e., Iroquoian or Western Basin) likely stemming from a number of related Middle Woodland bands, are proposed to have transpired for several centuries prior to the period in question. What is perhaps different in the fourteenth

century, however, is the increased interaction of a long distance nature between these cultures, concomitant with greater cultural differentiation and ethnic definition.

It is my contention that the Haagsma Site dwelling served as a nodal point which was a part of a much larger network of inter-cultural relations along the ever-shifting boundary of Iroquoian colonization during the latter part of the fourteenth century. Due to the nature of changes occurring along this boundary it commanded a much different social space than that of a heartland community. The socio-political framework (e.g., kinship, ideology) operating in a heartland village may have been 'relaxed' to an extent in this frontier situation in order to, for example, accommodate potential allies in the process of expansion. These allies may have been composed of both an existing population developing in situ in the region and exhibiting influences of both Western Basin and Iroquoian affinities, and a distinctive Western Basin group from further afield, which also undoubtedly had its own agenda. Eventually however, the colonizing Iroquoian polity may have caught up with its potential colony at Haagsma, and nearby relocation ensued (in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century).

It is also proposed that this relaxing of the rules in this marginal area generated a number of different combinations or potential combinations of experimenting with the socio-political framework, such that there was a certain degree of experimenting in artifact styles, house structure, and perhaps even ritual activity. However, if this frontier/boundary area on a regional scale is seen to be one of chaos, boundary

maintenance within the Haagsma dwelling itself was found to be of greater preoccupation, such that perceptions of social space between the two cultures required greater elaboration in symbolic display, in effect, creating a new set of rules for the tenants of a "hybrid" house.

Determining the nature of these processes of combination and reformation, in short, illuminating the dynamics of cultural interaction in a frontier region will require an examination of, and combination of concepts of community, boundary, interaction, and symbolism, as well as the review and application of a number of interpretations of relevant situations in the archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic record.

Chapter 1

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The theoretical background that informs this research is necessarily drawn from a number of multi-disciplinary sources, entailing cultural/social anthropological, archaeological, and architectural concepts. The research area involves the study of a frontier/boundary zone; similarly, the theoretical framework encompasses areas of overlap.

Since a central component of this thesis deals with the validity of cross-cultural symbolism as an inherent and vital means of expression in material culture, theoretical discussion will be initiated in this direction. On the anthropological/religious studies side of things, particularly concerning the iconography of cultural symbolic expression, I draw from Eliade's pioneering research. Central to Eliade's (1952: 120-121) scheme of symbolic iconography is the existence of an archetypal grounding, where "at least a certain zone of the subconscious is ruled by the archetypes which also dominate and organise conscious and transconscious experience." Further, he regards the **"multiple variants of the same complexes of symbols ...** (to which he ascribes themes of "ascension" and "binding" as examples) ... as endless successions of "forms", which, on the different levels of dream, myth, ritual, ... are trying to "realise" the archetype" (my

emphasis). Unlike a Jungian perspective, Eliade acknowledges the contingency of "historical forms", where nonetheless these tend to "approximate as nearly as possible to its archetype." This tendency, as exemplified in myth, ritual, etc., "towards the restoration of the *perfect form*", and its subsequent realisation, provides its universality and disengagement from time and space. Eliade (1986: 7-8) states that the "pre-cosmogonic Chaos is not the non-being, but the totality, the fusion of all forms." A return to this chaos is all the more explicable as a vital component of rituals of renewal, initiation, etc., contained within the symbolic web of cross-cultural expression.

Also central to Eliade's (1958: 13) thesis is the relationship between the sacred and the mundane (or spiritual and material), and is expressed in a variety of "-phonies." Of greatest relevance to this study is that of hierophony, whereby some element of the profane sphere acquires a "dimension" of sacredness, and thus ceases to be a "mere profane something." Eliade ascribes degrees of clarity in describing types of hierophonies. The symbol of the "Cosmic Tree" is regarded a clear example (1958: 8-9). Another would undoubtedly be the "Earth Diver" theme in cross-cultural context. Significantly, he states that it is important to make use of all types of "modalities" in understanding hierophonies, including symbols, myths, "divine forms," etc. Every hierophony is capable of embodying a set of inherent oppositions, whereby "Everything unusual, unique, new, perfect or monstrous at once becomes ... an object of veneration or fear according to the circumstances ...", such that the sacred inherently contains this ambivalent quality (1958: 13). We shall see that fear and/or veneration is also a central

component of conceptualizing boundaries and frontiers, as these are unusual and unknown entities.

For Eliade (1952: 173), although "any culture is limited by its manifestation in the structures and styles conditioned by history, the Images which precede and inform cultures remain eternally alive and universally accessible," whereby "The Images provide *openings* into a trans-historical world." The images or symbols thereof set the precedent, such that one is to strive for something other than strictly the "historico-cultural" context of symbols, whereby "something of the human condition" might be revealed as a "mode of existence in the universe" (1952: 174). Criticizing anthropological positivism and historical particularism, Eliade (1952: 176-177) felt that symbols could be validly compared cross-culturally "because the symbol in itself expresses an awakening to the knowledge of a *limit-situation*."

Eliade (1952: 177) therefore saw a function of symbols as "revealing a whole reality, inaccessible to other means of knowledge." He continually emphasized that the spiritual and material planes are complementary (as in hierophanies), such that there is a constant interplay between the two. As an example, he provides the conception of the dwelling house as functioning both as "the Centre of the World", as well as that which is conditioned by climate, economy, and tradition, etc. He is adamant that there is a "logic of symbols," inherent in myth and ritual which "in a sense pre-existed them all" (1958: 448-449). For Eliade, the overlying purpose of symbolic behaviour is to "become one

with the cosmos," and to make clear "ones position in society" (1958: 451) (see also Eliade 1986: 13, 14).

Other than providing numerous examples of thematics and symbolic expression in myth, ritual and the like cross-culturally, Eliade (1986: 107-111) also had some specific theories dealing with social space and architecture. One of these are his views on "**sacred space**," which is constituted "following a rupture of levels which make possible the communication with the trans-world, transcendent realities" (my emphasis). Further, this space is an area which stands in contrast to the surrounding "profane" space, that which is "chaotic" and "little known." Where the sacred is structured because of its centered nature, the latter is disorganized, and it is this central grounding which is of particular importance in pan-cultural ritual, involving communication between various realms of existence via the "Axis of the World," "Axis Mundi," "World Tree," etc.(1986: 108). These principles will be of relevance to the case study in Chapter 4.

Eliade (1986: 112) asserts that "**The creation of the world became the archetype of each creative human activity, whatever its plane of reference**" (my emphasis). Similarly, the division of the dwelling or village into four sections "corresponds to the division of the Universe into four horizons." It is these two themes (cosmogony and symbolism of the centre) that are re-enacted again and again world-wide in architectural expression, where for example, the very act of sinking a foundation post into the ground is 'charged' with the mythico-ritual symbolism of creation. These themes

and practices will be elaborated on in the following sections. Suffice it to say that this cosmological symbolism was traced by Eliade to the archaic civilizations of northern Asia, which preceded the Indo-Mesopotamian influences.

Addressing dwelling construction in particular, Eliade (1986: 114) states that this process entails an animation, such that the structure receives a "life and a soul at the same moment." Significantly, that the establishment of a population in an territory ("installation") entails a preliminary "*cosmocization*," where chaos becomes cosmos and entails the obligation to create and recreate that world (1986: 114). Another tenet of Eliade's is the homologization between the Cosmos, the house, and the human body (1986: 114) (see also Hugh-Jones 1979: 114-115). Lastly, and importantly, Eliade adds that the experience of the "Centre of the World" and cosmogonic themes differs amongst various cultures, and it is these differences that are worthy of further study, yet the "idea of the heterogeneity of space" which lies at the base of all symbols, "responds to the "original experience ... of the sacred." It is this last statement which is perhaps most relevant to this particular study. Much of Eliade's thinking on symbolism may now be regarded as 'archaic', yet he has nonetheless provided a base of theory, backed up by meticulous cross-cultural research, which has stood the test of time. It is his iconographic principles which are accorded significance in this study.

Much of the social anthropological theory relevant to this research is informed by A. Cohen's (1985) "The Symbolic Construction of Community," since what we are

dealing with is community or group orientation within a proposed symbolically-charged field of interaction. The theoretical basis of Cohen's approach entails a contextual conception of community (derived from its members) in the face of continual transformations, whereby symbols are utilized in the process of boundary definition and redefinition. In contrast to that of a 'structural' method, this approach focuses instead on an interpretive or experiential view of the community as a "cultural field with a complex of symbols whose meanings vary among its members" (1985: 14), wherein "community" implies a relationship encompassing both similarity and difference, and where the relationship between communities necessarily focuses on the nature of boundary.

How notions of boundary are perceived by members of opposing/distinct communities, or within the same community is contingent not only on that community's symbolic policies, but more crucially, upon the **actual practice** of symbolic manipulation which is contingent on any number of possibilities of experience (both individual and group). This experience may entail that the symbolism of boundary is explicitly conveyed (e.g., roles, gender, generation, pollution), or is of a more implicit or intuitive nature, and less readily detectable. It is therefore possible for a community to share the same symbols, while not necessarily sharing its meanings. Symbols therefore do not simply "stand for or represent something else," as there is a continual mediation and manipulation process occurring, whereby the "consciousness of community has to be kept alive through manipulation of its symbols" (1985: 14-15).

Importantly, social interaction for Cohen is contingent upon how behaviour is interpreted within or between a given community(s), and what meanings are gleaned from such interaction and its interpretation. Contingency also entails idiosyncratic behaviour. The vehicles of this interpretation are symbols, where most of these may be in the form of ideas (1985: 17-18). This is where the departure occurs from that of functionalist/structuralist approaches. Meaning is approached from within the community and its members, in other words, "looking outwards from its core," rather than the imposition of an externally-looking model (Cohen 1985: 20). What is being addressed is that form and content are often dissimilar, whereby community may represent a "commonality of forms (ways of behaving) whose content (meanings) may vary considerably among its members"(1985: 20). It is here where we come to a central tenet of Cohen's argument: that the **"symbolic expression of community and its boundaries increases in importance as the actual geo-social boundaries of the community are undermined, blurred or otherwise weakened"**(1985: 50), and that this expression need not be obvious (my emphasis). This point is of particular relevance to the case study and study area in question, as we shall see in the ensuing chapters of the thesis (as in the proposed intentional deposition of selected artifacts beneath posts of the dwelling discussed in Chapter 4).

Ritual activity is also seen to be heightened as a corollary of this boundary 'blurring,' such that there is a "repertoire of symbolic devices through which the community boundaries are affirmed and reinforced" (Cohen 1985: 90). Similarly, the

versatility and responsiveness of symbolism in cases of "substantial change" is discussed, where embellishment in the form of fantasy may permit "deeply entrenched customary symbolic forms to be used in radically changed circumstances," ... thereby managing change (1985: 91-92). Cohen asserts that the community's members sense of self becomes "tenuous" when its boundaries are "blurred," and hence this becomes a "ready means of mobilizing collectivity," through ritual (1985: 92), an idea of importance to the community and area under study.

Further, Cohen (1985: 55) states that it is the "very ambiguity of symbols which makes them so effective as boundary markers of community," whereby people can participate in the same ritual and find different meanings for it. Boundaries thus become "relational rather than absolute." Similarly, some rituals deal with anomaly, other celebrate the mundane; some are used to convey a symbolism of the "alternative" in the face of competition (as in core-periphery relations, to be discussed) (1985: 60). Boundary is thus regarded as the "norm," such that a sense of awareness is gained by a people of their culture when they are at its boundaries, and encounter other cultures. The reversal of the norm meanwhile is regarded as a "symbolic means of recognizing and stating it" (1985: 69).

Implicit in boundary definition and assertion are ethnic implications. Cohen observes that ideologies are likewise transformed in the process of boundary formation: "In the very process of importation they are transformed" (1985: 76). He also draws

attention to the persistence, historically, of the "assertion of locality and ethnicity," against the forces of cultural 'homogenization'. Ethnicity is therefore a sort of strategy, where one's position is constantly being assessed relative to the others (of relevance to the case study and study area). Importantly, Cohen brings to our attention the need to resolve a community's or culture's "contradictions between their beliefs and actuality (as in the form/content dilemma, or the "guise of the familiar" versus the "feared or resented"), where "reconciliation also lies at the heart" of ideology, and symbolism (especially ritual) is the "mechanism which bridges the gap" (1985: 92). Contradictions and tensions are further resolved by the persistence of "symbols of the past," often infused or animated with mythical substance which provide a "timelessness" (as Eliade would argue), which are regarded particularly effective during periods of "intense social change" (Cohen 1985: 102) (and which the cultures in question are proposed to be experiencing during the fourteenth century).

In summary, Cohen regards cultural definition as resulting from confrontation (in various forms) with others. This juxtaposition is seen to entail an "exaggeration" and /or "antithesis," or "implicit ... [contingent] ... negativity," where "everything emerges as a contrastive replaceable for its complement" Rather than being regarded as an aberration however, this process is viewed as a "normal, expectable expression of the resilience of culture: of a peoples sense of self." Further, a community's perceived difference of that outside its boundaries can be used symbolically as a "resource of its boundary" (1985: 117).

I do not view the theories of Eliade and Cohen as incompatible. Eliade acknowledged cultural differences in attributing meaning to an underlying "image" symbol. Cohen has simply taken this a step or so further in articulating the relational aspects of symbolic behaviour in terms of a community concept. As such, these theories should be regarded (along with others to be discussed) as part of a continuum of explanation, and although they may be located at some distance from each other, they are nonetheless part of a continuum which needs to be considered in its entirety when interpreting the many facets of cultural and social operation. At this point I would like to narrow the theoretical focus to that of 'intra-site' (dwelling)/group and individual social space and its symbolic connotations.

According to Blanton (1994: 8-9), communication within the house can be categorized as either "canonical" or "indexical." Canonical communication specifies that the dwelling is a form of material culture which achieves a "sensory existence" by virtue of acting as a "vehicle" in communication processes. It is thus a link between "ideas and events," thereby creating "clarity and order" out of "complexity and disorder." The house acts as a medium of communication which is acted on, and acts back on its inhabitants, who are thus constantly reminded of its/their place in society. This communication includes "day to day interactions" and more formal "household rituals" (1994: 10). Importantly within the dwelling, social divisions involving gender, generation, status, etc., are ultimately linked to "cosmological schemes," expressing principles such as order/disorder (sanctity/chaos), purity/danger, etc. (1994: 10). These principles will be

seen to be of significance in determining the boundary dynamics at the Haagsma Site (Chapter 4).

Indexical communication by contrast involves the transmission of nonverbal communication to those exterior to the house, and is therefore a communication of "social identity" (wealth or social status) versus a "cosmological scheme" (Blanton 1994: 10), as in Douglas and Isherwood's (1979) "marking services." These nonverbal expressions may involve features of the exterior of the house itself, or the more public areas of the dwelling (i.e., entranceway, central hallway), whereas the canonical forms concern primarily the more private areas of the dwelling space. For Blanton, indexical communication becomes particularly significant in social boundary interaction, where "decorative elaboration" may be evidenced by "strongly integrated social entities" (1994: 117). Social boundaries between autonomous households, according to Blanton, should be somewhat abrupt and exhibit greater use of decoration, while those household boundaries which are more integrated within a communal or regional system should be more weakly defined (1994: 125-126). According to this theory, the Haagsma Site dwelling should correspond to the first category.

As the dwelling is a bounded entity and is further subdivided into internal boundaries, concepts of these necessarily enter into the scheme of things in regard to ownership and personal or group space. Pearson and Richards (1994: 25) (following Douglas 1966) state that "The danger and pollution that awaits in **transitional and**

marginal zones is often considered a necessary social phenomenon" (my emphasis).

Further, the profane and sacred are in necessary (complementary) opposition (as in Eliade's hierophanies), whereby on certain occasions for example, "corruption" or filth is entertained in a sacred setting. Narrowing the focus further, Douglas (1996: 160) asks why "these dangerous contacts are often required in rituals," and where the answer, at least partly, involves "the nature of dirt itself" as matter out of place, and a threat to order. Douglas (1996: 160) states that rubbish, as a form of dirt, goes through two stages. In the first stage, the discarded material still has an "identity," and therefore is potentially dangerous. In the second stage, as a result of decomposition and loss of identity, the threat is removed. It is my contention that it is possible to view broken potsherds or faunal remains for example, as long as they are tangibly recognizable, as possessing these identity potentials and further, that they might similarly become invested with and used for boundary-marking purposes, due to their retention of identity.

Douglas (1996: 161) asserts that "The danger which is risked by boundary transgression is power." She adds that the ("vulnerable") margins/boundaries and associated forces which threaten order are invested with "**cosmological powers**," and that ritual can "harness" this power (Douglas 1996: 161) (my emphasis). "The special kind of treatment which some religions accord to anomalies and abominations to make them powerful for good is like turning weeds and lawn cuttings into compost," or back to a symbol of "creative formlessness," or chaos (1996: 162). This process is similar to Eliade's conception of perfection of form necessarily returning to formlessness, or chaos.

Such is the paradoxical yet necessary nature of pollution symbols (1996: 169).

In the same article Douglas (1996) and elsewhere (1966), shows us that pollution and perceptions of individual and social boundary are inextricably tied to subsistence practices, specifically dealing with "animal food," such that a culture's cosmology and social order is reflected in varying degrees in their animal categories. Certain animal species are thus appropriate for specific gender, age groups, and individuals in particular states (i.e., pregnant women) to consume, while some are regarded as 'inedible' or "ambiguous," often because of their boundary transgressing potentials. Only in certain instances, and by certain individuals (e.g., initiation rites) are the tables turned, and these inedible or ambiguous creatures eaten, or as Douglas would have it, "composted" for ultimate renewal (1996: 163-164).

As such, it is my contention that we would expect to see cases of boundary-marking in particular circumstances (such as cultural/ethnic interaction) in the material culture record, involving likely candidates of symbolic ambiguity (such as the turtle, for reasons to be elaborated on later). It is also my belief that, given the preceding theories of the interplay of the sacred and mundane, form and content, etc., there will be considerable focus towards aspects and symbols of 'creation' in areas of questionable boundary, or zones of 'chaos,' as in our case study.

If the study of the symbolic dimension in anthropology has had a controversial

history, (e.g., Sahlins, in Kus 1979: 93), its treatment in archaeology has assumed an even more pronounced dichotomy. The treatment of archaeological information, as Kus acknowledged in 1979, has undergone and continues to undergo significant progress as a result of methodological sophistication. However, she lamented the lack of progress made in the treatment of the relationship of the individual and the symbolic, where the "specific symbolic content" of the "intersubjective context" is "left as superfluous to abstract laws of human nature or to systemic consideration" (1979: 95).

Kus (1979) found Victor Turner's ideas on ritual symbols especially insightful in dealing with the intersubjective context (but which also has its limitations as discussed previously), i.e., their 'multivocal' yet polarizing nature between physiological phenomena and 'normative' values/ morality, or "an ordering of an ideological field co-extensive with the metaphysical categories of self, other, and the world..." [where] "such characterization avoids the rigidity of such formal conceptual orderings such as kinship, religion and science " (1979: 156-157). It is within such a "general domain of ideologue" as an "order of representation" of the "dimensions of the person, the social, and the natural," that Kus suggests that the "meaningful constitution of culture in non-western societies " can be approached (1979: 172).

In her discussion of "non-complex" societies, Kus argues that these "material manifestations, symbols and concepts of a social form are confounded with individuals," and as such are "characterized by a high degree of face-to-face social interaction; in such

societies an abstract conception of kinship rules, behavioural codes, etc., is never complete in the sense that the immediacy of lived relations always provides the final conceptual qualification of such concerns" (1979: 173). Further, she asserts that this relationship also necessarily "stands in relation to a concept of nature (1979: 174), and emphasizes the primacy of spatial ordering as a "decisive element in the definition of a social order"(1979: 189-190). It is at the macro level of social 'mapping' where Kus states that two considerations appear to be "critical": "the creation of boundaries and the social valuation of space and land", [where] "boundaries carry with them the social obligation of the unification of the parts generated" (ibid: 191-192). Combinations of social elements are thus likely to occur at boundaries, and these in turn are likely to be recombined and reformed.

Kus is among the new school of theoretical archaeologists who sought to break away from the confines of the functionalist paradigm, and adopt a structural Marxist, or post-structuralist approach. Pader (1982) similarly, following Ian Hodder's lead, outlined two major theoretical tenets diverging from the predominant functionalist perspectives in archaeology. In the first of these, interpretation is contingent on the "form that precipitated the action," for example, the criteria used in interpreting the social meaning of a cemetery site would be different from that used on a domestic settlement site. Secondly, due to the cross-cutting nature of symbols that pervade every aspect of social life, and given that societies are in a constant state of change resulting in a multiplicity of symbolic meanings, interpretation is crucially dependent upon the context(s) of material

culture(1982: 2-3). As such, I will argue that a settlement such as the Haagsma Site, as it is situated in a frontier region and involves the meeting of two cultural groups in one dwelling, necessarily entails a somewhat different approach than a heartland village settlement, for example.

The structuralist approach employed by Pader again calls for a return to the importance of the individual, which was neglected in prior studies (1982: 5, 6). Importantly, Pader addresses the issue of arbitrariness in the symbol/sign relationship, whereby "a symbol can lose its 'feeling' of being arbitrary and so become a sign" (1982: 7). The emphasis here is placed on "sign formation", rather than the sign itself, i.e., "signification" ... "as signs are fundamental aspects of signification there is a constant interplay between individual action and the theory of coding." In other words, this process involves an interdependence between rule and practice, as discussed by Cohen (1985: 10, 11). This approach then finds fault with a traditional definition of symbol, whereby the symbol is fixed (but otherwise arbitrary). Pader elaborates that a "dynamic, interactive aspect is emphasized ... where the structuring principles and the element itself are of equal import ..." (1982: 13). Significantly, Pader argues that the process of signification, the "naturalization" of how people interpret their world, or make it appear to be universal, timeless, etc., "extends to even the most mundane aspects of everyday life"(1982: 15), and as we discussed in reference to Eliade. Further, as will be implied in the course of this study, symbolism not only functions as a means of communication, but also encompasses a "constitutive function by which it is inextricably interwoven with the

ideological dimension" (1982: 13).

Few have illustrated this latter premise as well as Hodder (1992), who observes an "ecological functionalism" prevailing in archaeology to this day, and where the emphasis is on "supposedly 'independent' variables from outside the sociocultural system under study" (e.g., environmental factors, population increase, long distance trade), to the exclusion of the internal factors affecting change (1992: 96). Hodder finds this approach restricted by the dichotomy between "functional utility" (or adaptive expedience), and culture as perceived by the "normative school," where cultural "wholes" were postulated from an underlying ideational basis. Similarly, historical context has suffered from the evolutionary perspective, where there has been little emphasis on individual creativity and intent, but rather on cross-cultural generalizations (1992: 98, 99).

Recalling that the initial phase of ethnoarchaeology methodology was imbued with an aura of caution, followed by an explosion of a phase of "high predictive value ... rules of behaviour and artifact deposition ...," Hodder argues that particular historical dimensions were denied in the process. While not discounting the place of pan-cultural idioms (and thus giving grace to Eliade), he asserts that the "role of ethnoarchaeology must also be to define the relevant **cultural context** for social and ecological behaviour"(1992: 99, 100) (my emphasis). Hodder is also critical of the separation of types or levels of theory by those who embrace the "hypothetico-deductive," "middle-range theory" approaches to the interpretation of material culture, as this very act of

separation tends to negate the necessary interconnections which prevail between material items and social practice.

For Hodder, 'structure' is not to be defined as a "system, pattern or style, but as the codes and rules according to which observed systems of inter-relations are produced" (1992: 102). For, as individuals organize and understand their experience according to "sets of rules," "material culture can be examined as a structured set of differences," which not only has a functional utility, but also "a logic of its own which is not directly observable as pattern or style." Therefore, the structure ("symbolizing behaviour") which has generated the data needs to be regarded as existing at least partly independent of that data (1992: 104).

Hodder's primary critique of structuralism and structural analysis in archaeology is their failure to adequately account for the generation of change within social action, or the "relationship between structure as code and social and ecological organization." Subsequently, he asserts that there is a "need to develop a **contextual archaeology** which resolves the dichotomy evident in functionalism and structuralism between cultural norm and societal adaptation" (1992: 105-107) (my emphasis). Rather than reject structuralism wholesale, Hodder retains such concepts as "syntagm and paradigm," where the former "refers to rules of combination, and to 'sets' of items and symbols", while the latter involves "series of alternatives or differences," each entailing a different symbolic meaning. Importantly, in structural analysis, "the particular symbol used must not be seen

as arbitrary" (1992: 107).

Hodder again refers to the interplay between structure and content (as we discussed under Cohen 1985) where meaning is contained not merely in contrast, but "from the associations and use of an object, which itself becomes through these associations, the node of a network of references and implications" (1992: 107). The emphasis is therefore on the symbolic associations of things (materials) themselves, which represents a departure from not only formal and structural analysis, but also "processual" archaeological approaches. Above all, the importance of context is stressed in interpretations of the use of material items in social process, i.e., not only the cultural context (which has meaning because of historical context), but "each set of activities within that context" (1992: 108). It is the latter contextual variable that will prove to be pivotal during the course of explanation in this study, especially in reinforcing the cultural context.

Hodder asserts that for "New Archaeologists" (presumably including all processualists), "Symbols are organised so as to maximize information flow and there is no concept of such analyses of the *relativity of representation*," or how symbolic codes are manipulated (as discussed by Cohen 1985). It is only when the latter areas are addressed that the posited dichotomy (normative vs. processual) is "by-passed by the notion that symbolic structures are in a continual state of reinterpretation and change in relation to the practices of daily life" (1992: 110).

Referring to symbolism and ideology in exchange contexts, Hodder (1982b: 207-208) states that the symbolism entailed in exchange is correlated with and "promotes the basis of power of interest groups." The construction of these social strategies through exchange is dependent on the "manipulation of the symbolism and contextual significance of the artifacts." Hodder's methodology of identifying symbolism in prehistoric exchange involves initially to "identify different associations of single artifact types in each regional or cultural context," i.e., settlement vs. burial sites, refuse vs. ritual context. The next step is to isolate local meaning and value within each regional context, i.e., these differences may be related to their manipulation in boundary maintenance situations between ethnic groups (as proposed in the case study in Chapter 4), and finally, the form of an artifact and its evocations may be significant, where its attendant symbolism "is appropriate for certain ideological functions," and may be widely exchanged within a certain context. This methodology will be applied to the case study in varying degrees.

Specifically addressing the issue of power in social (including material culture) contexts, Miller and Tilley (1984: 14) assert, in concert with Hodder, that "ideology and power are inextricably bound up with social practices," involving "production, reproduction and transformation of the social." In understanding and representing its interests in the creation of their world, they propose that a given social group will exhibit certain tendencies in acts of representation; for example, the conception of the universal from the partial, coherence from conflict, permanence from flux, natural from cultural,

and formalization from contradiction. Ideology accordingly may be viewed as a supplement to coercion in these processes, but may also be used as a form of subordination, such that for Miller and Tilley, ideology is equated with only that social practice "which is generated by and tends to reproduce conflicts in interest" (1984: 14).

Elsewhere, Demarest (1992) has noted that the theoretical debates that occurred in the 1970's and 80's on positivism and processual and post-processual archaeology did little to change the actual brand of archaeology practiced in the field and subsequently documented, where "Most applications of the more sophisticated approaches were limited to narrow case studies, ethnoarchaeological researches, and historical archaeology" (1992: 1). Likewise, there has been little theoretical unity as to the role of ideology in archaeology, reflecting the prevailing uncertainty surrounding the complexities of causality and culture change. Like Hodder, Demarest explains the past and present role of ideology in archaeology as one where "most see an important role for ideology in episodes of culture change, but they do not see ideology as the dominant force in culture process." Also like Hodder, he calls for a reconciliation between materialist and idealist approaches, and the primacy of context in interpretation, and where a primacy is also indicated towards the political impact of ideology (i.e., the effect of ideology in power relations). Themes and frameworks for interpretation are thus lacking in current 'ideo-archaeological' practice, where most of these studies "share only a heavy reliance on direct historical analogy to the Conquest period systems, as well as the use of iconographic and some epigraphic evidence to guide these analogies" (1992: 8).

This study will be no exception to these approaches, but will nonetheless strive for a more comprehensive method of contingency in interpretation, with particular attention to Hodder's contextual approach, such that context is operative on a number of interrelated levels, from macro to micro: ideologically, politically, economically, etc., and significantly, from heartland to frontier, where this application in boundary studies can be especially fruitful.

Schortman and Urban (1992: 11, 12) characterize the "particularist" approach taken by Hodder as a return to the diffusionist pattern of the study of individual culture histories. They consider this as a viable starting point for the future study of interregional interaction, where "Cultural ecology and interaction perspectives should, therefore, be seen as complementary views of the past," and that both frameworks have important roles to play in modeling processes within the domain of sociopolitical change.

Hodder's work doesn't go without criticism, predictably from functionalists and processualists, but also from those near his home turf. He has been criticized by Pearson and Richards (1994: 64-65) for his "structuralist assumptions as well as various inconsistencies in treatment of spatial frames across Europe," while nonetheless they acknowledge that these "attempts to mesh generalities and specific details are likely to improve."

Others have expressed difficulty with Hodder's emphasis on accessing all levels of

meaning, to the point of declaring the impracticality of the use of his symbolic/contextual approach to prehistory. Hays (1993: 82) finds greater utility in attempting to recover the "roles and functions of symbolic communication" (how an object is used and conveys information). She states that this is the first of Hodder's (1989: 1) "three kinds of meaning." The second is structural, or the object as code in communication, while the third is the "historical content of the changing ideas and associations of the object." Hays (1993: 82) points out that it is no surprise that Hodder's (and others) application of the third level of meaning is confined to mainly contemporary material culture studies. Hays (1993: 83) advocates the use of a "comparative method" in attempting to understand (stylistic) behaviour in "economic, social, and ideological contexts," rather than aiming for a "total symbolic context."

I refer now to archaeologists who have incorporated architectural theory into their research. As Pearson and Richards (1994: 2) point out (referring to philosophers such as Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Bachelard), "dwelling is the basic principle of existence," the essence of which is learning to be mortal, and that "our relationship to the built environment is rooted in experience," which entails the symbolic as well as the functional. Architectural space is defined as a "concretization of ... existential space," [which is] "neither external object nor internal experience" (1994: 2-3). Importantly, they illuminate the contrasting existence or world views of certain indigenous societies to that of the western world. For example, in the former, the four cardinal directions are generally regarded as "directions of existence." "Space is practice ... it is also a symbol,

and we might conceive of architecture as symbolic technology," where meanings invested in spatial ordering are contingent on the context of practice and "recurrent usage." Equally significant is Pearson and Richard's (1994: 3) discussion and criticism of "architectural determinism", i.e., form follows function, or vice-versa. This includes psychological (Jungian) explanations where the house is seen as an "archetypal symbol of the self." What has been regarded as "universal laws" in these cases they view rather as "an ideology surrounding the private ownership of the free standing house" (see also Pratt 1981). Presumably, when this ownership and habitation is on behalf of a community, it is a communal ideology. Similarly, "sociobiological and behavioural formulations" are cited for their lack of incorporating "historical context or social structure" (Pearson and Richards 1994: 5).

In discussing the "origins and evolutions of architecture", Pearson and Richards (1994: 55) summarize various theories of the shelter as womb, economic function, religious function (development of the temple), etc., which are all discounted, adding that "part of the problem (herein) is undoubtedly the modern perception of clear distinctions between symbol and function, and religious and secular aspects of life" (1994: 55). Another explanation involves the return to mythic origins, and mythic evolutionary schemes, while Broadbent (1980) proposes a "semiotic evolution" concept of dwelling development, involving four stages of design types. Also cited is Eco's (1980) developmental sequence beginning with the "stone age" discovery of caves as an "architectural code", which generates an "iconic code", an "object of communicative

discourse ..." (Pearson and Richards 1994: 57).

Wilson's (1988) scheme of domestication vis-a-vis hunter-gatherer and agriculturalized societies (see also Chapter 2) (Pearson and Richards 1994) suggests that "social order" is founded in hunter-gatherer societies on "focus," and in agricultural societies on "boundary." The "house marks a major development in cosmological thinking" (Pearson and Richards 1994: 57). **Degree** of sedentism, type of production and social differentiation would appear to be the crucial variables in this evolutionary plan, and its consequent utility of application to this study. Nevertheless, if traditional ideological values adhere to a certain extent to transforming socio-economic and political systems, it follows that observable differences in the material record between the cultures in question can be attributed at least in part, to underlying contrasting (ideological) apprehensions of social space and boundary. Indeed, this would appear to be evidenced in the persistence of the seasonal round of subsistence activities and dwelling/social dichotomies of the Central Algonquin despite an increasing adoption of corn into the diet in the fourteenth century. This pattern is contrasted with the effect of corn horticulture on Iroquoian society, yet former ideological tenets still had their place within this culture.

Lastly, Blier's (1987) classification of "social representation in architectural form" is cited as having "wider applicability." It involves several components as representing variables of habitation (symbolic) code, and whereby the end product is often an act of creation, regeneration, growth, etc.:

"Nesting" [is the] "transposing of a series of elements or ideas into a nest of parts ... "Silhouetting" [refers to] "defining an object through its distinctive profile ... "Skeuomorph" [refers to] "using a material other than the original" to represent a central idea ... "Synecdoche" [is where] "elements of the house or whole house stand for the essential features of, or the whole cosmos" ... "Reversal" [entails a heightening of imagery, as in death] ... "Condensed Metaphor" [is where] "a larger idea is condensed into a compact miniature" ... (Pearson and Richards, 1994: 57).

As we shall see, any of these themes could be applied to this research, but particularly relevant are the concepts "silhouetting", "synecdoche", and "condensed metaphor." These will be examined further in Chapter 2.

We can see a spectrum of theory regarding the identification of symbolism within dwellings and social space, ranging from Eliade and Douglas through to Cohen and Hodder, Pearson and Richards, and Hays, and from universalism to particularism. It is my contention that each perspective has its place in this study of symbolism and social space. The degree to which they are applicable is dependent on the nature of the community in question. Both realms, because they are ultimately connected (and generally not acknowledged the separation in societies that western classification identifies as 'traditional'), need to be considered in attempting to extract meaning in society, as a part of the continuum of explanation referred to previously. For example, what needs to be considered is the degree to which form is independent of content in a given situation, i.e., the existence of a practice with considerable time-depth manifesting a common expression of human existence (as discussed by Eliade), meshed within a multitude of culturally and socially-specific symbolic practices (as discussed by Cohen).

As von Gernet (1993: 67) asserts, it is when specific "culture-historical continuities ... [can be] ... shown to transcend significant spatio-temporal boundaries," that inferences concerning prehistoric behaviour can be made with greater confidence. These inferences are often made through the use of analogy, which can be made more tenable when **constraints** can be identified in "potentially infinite variability in human culture" (my emphasis)(von Gernet 1993: 69). For example, the nature or type of a settlement itself (as in an interaction and exchange centre) can be shown to provide certain constraints in human variability due to a particular set of circumstances as defined, which contrasts it to other settlements. Such is the proposed nature of the settlement in question in this study.

The methodological approach that will be taken from the theoretical basis as compiled can thus be advanced. This (symbolic/ideational) interpretation will entail a contextually relational form of inference involving iconography and form (following Eliade, Blanton, Douglas), and boundary (macro and micro, or inter- site/region and intra-site/dwelling) as 'code' (following Cohen, Hodder, Pearson and Richards, and Hays). Additionally, I will employ a combination of "the direct historical approach" and "ethnographic analogy." The direct historical approach involves working from the known to the unknown, i.e., from historically recorded cases to prehistoric inference of populations in the same location (Voget 1984). Ethnographic analogy is similar to the above in that living cultures are used to interpret prehistoric ones, even if these may be in entirely different geographic or cultural regions than those in prehistory. At issue in the

methodology of these approaches is the evidence for cultural continuity due to temporal and spacial differences. I refer again to Hodder (1982a: 16-24), who distinguishes between "formal" and "relational" analogies, where the former is used indiscriminately in assuming a link between "two objects or situations (that) have some common properties," without establishing specific "natural or cultural link(s) between the different aspects in the analogy" that are "interdependent" rather than "accidentally" linked.

Undoubtedly, many examples of symbolic iconography have had their beginnings as notions or hunches of sketchy comparisons between two cultures, gaining credibility as the number of similarities between these and other cultures increases, to a point where there is an undeniable pattern emerging. It follows that the patterns of cross-cultural symbolism are easier to establish among living cultures or historically constructed ones, as compared with prehistoric populations (or where the links are relatively continuous from the historic to the prehistoric via the direct historical approach). The identification of context becomes especially critical in prehistoric situations, in interpreting the "relevance of the comparisons," which "include(s) not only function, but also the ideational realm." Hodder (1982: 26) summarizes the method of interpretation as follows:

(a) referring to general principles of symbolism and to generalizations about the links between those principles and the context in which they are used, and by (b) carefully using selected analogies for different aspects of the evidence, identifying similarities and differences, and gradually building up from bits and pieces to an understanding of how the whole picture is composed.

This scheme is what we intend to follow here, particularly the approach discussed for defining symbolism in contexts of exchange. In terms of the symbolic ideals set by Hodder (and discussed by Hays), I will concentrate on his first and second levels of meaning (particularly object as "code" in communication) in attempting to assess the material culture of the Haagsma Site as "social tools" (Hays 1993: 83). I believe that these have the most to offer in terms of symbolic explanation, given the temporal and spatial contexts of the settlement in question.

Chapter 2

NORTHEASTERN WOODLANDS COSMOLOGY

Following Eliade, it is a basic premise of this thesis that there are underlying actions or themes present in a diversity of cultures that relate to common perceptions of the cosmos and creation of the world, as related in myth and oral tradition, and enacted in various modes of being or existence. These of course assume different guises in different cultural settings and, as Cohen and Hodder point out, are acted on differently and may assume variable meanings within a given community. It is also acknowledged that there are symbolic actions which arise independently within and are peculiar to a given culture. Yet these actions are invariably conducted in relation to a greater social context, regardless of the meanings ascribed to them. The detection of these themes in prehistory, while problematic in many cases, are of greater retrievability in certain contexts. I believe, following Cohen (1985), that one of these contexts involves cultural interaction in frontier/boundary areas, where social instability on the one hand entails a greater display of symbolic reinforcement on another. The themes here may be transformed or recreated, and/or accorded a multiplicity of meanings contingent upon any number of social actions. If however we have an overall contextual basis within which these actions take place, tangible evidence of these may be excavated in the material record, whereby each of these excavated 'bits' take on meaning only in relation to others within a

similar context.

This process of context-building , following Hodder (1982a, b), is crucially dependent on historical relevance in order to provide cultural relevance. For example, if it is a common practice in many cultures to accord symbolic significance to certain of the dwelling posts such that in some cases, offerings are placed in their bases, similarly we have a basis to work from. We can attribute much more relevance archaeologically however if we can establish that in a given culture, certain dwelling posts are regarded as ancestors imbued with mythical significance, and that this has **historical continuity** and persistence in that particular culture. Therefore this practice stands a good chance of having prehistoric continuity as well. If these posts happen to be associated with a particular artifact which appears to have been intentionally deposited at their base, then we can begin asking questions as to why this particular artifact and why its predominance at this particular site, then look more closely at the circumstances on (in) the ground at this particular settlement for further relational and contextual clues, and proceed to question what role it played as documented in historical circumstance and myth.

The point of this exercise is to show that in order to understand, or at least get a more complete picture of the culture in question archaeologically, we need to go beyond standard settlement-subsistence correlations (important as these are), to the degree that the available information will allow us to make further viable inferences. Where there are potentials for extracting further meaning in the ideational realm from a site, these should

be explored, while at the same time recognizing their limitations. In this case I am concerned with identifying and reconstructing the actions (or the forms behind these) prior to and during the course of the 'co-habitation' of a dwelling between two cultures. As the dwelling place is regarded conceptually as a basis of existence, it follows that in order to gain knowledge of how a prehistoric society might have interpreted its surroundings or existence, we should begin with ethnohistorical comparisons and the iconography of facets of 'world view,' or the cosmology relative to that region. The cultural groups that will be examined in this study are of Algonquin and Iroquoian affiliation.

Although there is a danger of reducing aboriginal philosophical world view to a simplistic cosmopolitan level, as is currently in evidence amongst some of the new spiritualities, there is also a danger of missing those commonalities which are present, and going to the other extreme of finding differences only (which is often the case of reactions against these). As Williamson and Farrer (1992: 2) state, "Generalizing about Native American philosophic world views has its dangers, because each tribe, indeed each group within the tribe, may well hold different views of the cosmos." However, they go on to point out that "the essential oneness of the cosmos is widespread in native North American philosophy," and is expressed in the relationships between land, water, sky and their inhabitants. It is this oneness or iconographic representation that will be explored further, in particular as manifested on behalf of the containers of humanity, the dwelling places and their associated architectural features. Additionally however, I will explore

crucial differences in the apprehension of the cosmos between Iroquoian and (primarily Central) Algonquin affiliation, in terms of how these perspectives are reflected in their respective dwellings in historical context.

"In a traditional society, the creation myth normally serves as the basis for the organization of society, territory, dwelling and family. The myth embodies a metaphysical doctrine and inspires every act and every artifact" (Khambatta 1989: 257). Importantly however, cosmogonic time may be supplanted or more often, accompanied by notions of astronomic principles (Tuan 1977: 11).

Feest (1986: 6-7) states that the "basic cosmological concept present over most of northeastern North America... calls for at least a dichotomous division between the non-human realms inhabited by benevolent and malevolent beings, respectively, above and below the earth floating upon the water," and that the "relationship between the human and non-human realm is similarly structured in its spatial (both terrestrial and cosmic) and temporal dimensions." For example, the Iroquoian creation story involves the uprooting of a **tree** in the upper realm of the universe, creating a hole through which Sky Woman fell to the sea below. There she was saved through the combined efforts of muskrat and **turtle**, with the former diving to the bottom of the sea and gathering mud to place on the turtles back, thereby creating land and vegetation (Feest 1986: 9, 10). There are variations on this story in modern Iroquoian and Algonquin contexts, yet the "Earth Diver" theme remains an overriding commonality in either case. In Algonquin origin

myths, shell and/or otter, as well as bear figure prominently. One of the latter versions posits a giant spider as the intermediary between the upper (moon) and earth realms (Conway 1992: 241-243). The Delaware (Eastern Algonquin) World Tree myth meanwhile, refers to the central world tree as springing forth from the turtles back, while in Iroquoian cosmology, there is reference to members of the False-Face Company rubbing their turtle rattles on pine tree trunks, in "believing that thereby they become imbued with both the earth power and the sky power" (Parker 1912: 611).

Duality is a pervasive influence in Iroquoian society; similarly a fourfold (or more) division of the upper and lower realms of the universe is common amongst Central Algonquin groups. The twin theme is also found in both Iroquoian and Algonquin societies, with good and evil elements pervading throughout. In the former, the good twin is Sapling, the evil is Flint (a 'time of Sapling' is referred to in Iroquoian lore). In Algonquin lore, one of the brothers is killed by evil underwater spirits, while the other becomes trickster/transformer.

It is worthy noting that tree spirits are generally regarded as male, while cultivated plants are female, and both tend to be anthropomorphic. Eastern woodlands lore also emphasizes directional and colour symbolism, i.e., the four cardinal directions and the beings that reside there, and the beings providing access to different animal species. Tobacco and fire or smoke figure predominantly in terms of intermediaries in communication with the otherworldly in this regard. Other beings accorded special

treatment are giants amongst the Algonquins, and little people or pygmies, generally on behalf of Iroquoian groups. Particularly important amongst historic Iroquoian society is the anthropomorphism of tree and corn into masked beings (False Face and Husk Face) involved in curing rites, while wooden dolls representing embodiments of spirits are found amongst Central Algonquin groups. Likewise, the sacred feast bowls carved from trees amongst the Fox (Mesquakie) entail continuation of the belief in trees as grandparents. When the bowl is accompanied with a spoon (as in the shape of a turtle, for example), the "mythic grandparent becomes a container for the animal associated with the creation of the world" (Torrence 1989: 36). As we shall see, the association of tree and turtle will become particularly instructive for understanding the dwelling place in question.

All elements of nature are believed to possess spiritual 'substance' in any case. In terms of the Algonquin, religious belief is centered around the concept of the "Manitou." Most common of these are the "Underwater Panther" and "Thunderbird" which were supposedly in opposition to each other, each necessary in maintaining a balanced universe and bestowed with great healing capabilities. Others of these Manitous included turtles, dogs, and deer, and "anthropomorphic figures" (Torrence 1989: 5, 6). In Iroquoian society meanwhile, an analogous concept to that of the Melanesian "mana" is that of "orenda," which may be used to express a number of extra-human qualities, for example, "extraordinary phenomena, ...strong personalities...", etc. (Eliade 1958: 21).

i. Cosmology and Architecture

While the bulk of this study will be concerned with the Iroquoian longhouse and Central Algonquin dwelling in cosmological, ethnohistorical, and archaeological contexts, a summary of the symbolic nature of architecture in general is in order. Hodder, as Gosden (1994: 157-158) observes, sees symbols as deriving from the culture/nature duality, "in which the desire for a cultural order arises in basic fears and needs for protection from social and natural forces." It takes little imagination to realize that the dwelling place plays an active role in the culture/nature dynamic. The dwelling may be viewed as a means and process of communication, the construction of which entails a nature to culture transformation, as Glassie (1987: 229-237) states, entailing a "sacrifice" of natural materials. Nature is thus viewed as an "active resource"... "The house carved out of the forest contains the narrative of the battle. It teaches its occupants continually about their position in the universe and surrounds them with a sense of their capabilities." And further to this, "What distinguishes architectural objects from other artifacts is their complex capacity to provide two perspectives on the artifacts duality. Like any artifact, architecture can be sensed from without, but only architecture can be entered and sensed from within."

Blanton (1994: 9-13) claims that "Like abstract thought, the house serves as a link between ideas and events ... clarity and order are created out of contexts of complexity and disorder," such that relationships between its inhabitants are reflected through the

dwelling. This (symbolic) communication "involves the creation of a built environment that manifests social divisions based on gender, generation, and rank, linked to cosmological schemes that express categorical oppositions like order/disorder, elite/non-elite, and purity /danger...." Blier (1987: 7) states that "When architectural design draws imagery from the cosmos, it obliges people to become active participants within this larger paradigm." This communication often involves the transmission of mythic knowing through the medium of the dwelling, as the "symbolic model of the greater universe of time and space" (Oliver 1987: 159-160). This principle was implied from the previous sketches of mythical/cosmological principles of the Northeast, and will be commented on during the course of this chapter.

As the study of humans, architecture and beliefs are bound together, it is necessary to view the dwelling as an organic, living entity. In multi-family dwellings such as the longhouse, the expression of that group solidarity is achieved through a 'living house,' and the bodies within are a metaphor for the inner components of the organism. Furthermore, these insides entail gender and spatial specificity, related to a larger panorama of forested and cleared land. The framework enclosing the contents of the dwelling may be metaphorically viewed as bones, with certain poles or posts regarded as ancestors in some cases. The exterior sheathing by extension becomes the 'skin'. Indeed, in some cases the house is regarded as a body (e.g., Hugh-Jones 1979: 114-115). Doorways and openings may also involve symbolic meanings of, for example, "sexual penetration or birth" and/or connoting "release, broadening perceptions, eyes of spirits;

the roof may connote protection, the sky, the deities in their celestial abode" (Oliver 1987: 160).

From this sketch of some common symbolic associations in traditional cosmologies, I will consider examples of the application of these principles in relation to the architecture of the northeast. Fritz (1978: 40) states that, "Architecture is both product and component of ideational systems." As Feest (1986: 19-22) reveals, architecture is intrinsically tied to the cyclical nature of seasonal economies, which is in turn intertwined with cosmological ceremonialism. This seasonal cycle becomes more predominant in terms of scheduling among groups which relied more heavily on horticulture. Cosmology relative to hunters and agriculturalists implies the existence of two sets of deities, "the former marked by few ceremonies and almost constantly in evidence", while the other was "an outgrowth of agricultural conditions, ... by means of festivals occurring at fixed intervals and characterized by a considerable amount of formality" (Stites 1904: 115).

While both Iroquoian and Central Algonquin cultures are known to have practiced transitional economies involving seasonal hunting and agricultural sustenance, corn horticulture assumed an eventual predominant role among the Iroquoians. Even though it became an essential staple among Central Algonquin groups, corn did not supplant hunting to the degree that it did in Iroquoian societies, which is evident in its representation in the ideological sphere. Agriculturalist households in general have been

characterized as being organized primarily around production, whereas hunter-gatherer households are geared towards functioning as distributive units (Wilk and Netting 1984). Additionally, while the concept of "soul dualism" and the related development of the "animal guardian" is characterized as a common phenomenon in both cases, the latter has been accorded greater elaboration in hunting cultures (Hultkrantz 1961, 1997: 55).

Significantly, Wilson (1988) has observed fundamental differences in spatial symbolism of these types of societies, such that social order is founded and oriented towards 'boundary' among horticulturists to a greater extent than that of gatherer-hunters, whose symbolic concepts are related more towards a focusing principle. It should be stressed that these dichotomies apply to characteristic societies of these types, yet despite some of the parallel transformations that were proposed to have occurred amongst the cultural groups under study (Murphy and Ferris 1990), there may have been more of a corresponding ideological lag or resistance in transformation in terms of the greater hunting-oriented Central Algonquin groups. These proposed cultural orientations of space may therefore provide clues as to for example, the ideological basis encompassing the economic utility of the persistence of the hunting oriented winter/summer settlement pattern of the Central Algonquin contrasted with the predominance of the year round, agriculture-oriented village life of the Iroquois, from the fourteenth century or thereabouts onward. They might also provide clues as to how boundary is perceived in cases of interaction (this will be discussed further in an archaeological example in Chapter 3).

Whitelaw (1994) has observed this cosmological and spatial variability in a comparison of three so-termed "hunter-gatherer" societies, where he identified certain household organizing and orienting features of two of these (Cree and Haida) that were similar to that of more sedentary (agricultural) groups. Crucial indices here were found to be status and variability of individual domestic units. Likewise, McGuire and Schiffer (1983: 281) have stated that "the structural investment in symbolic functions increases in response to greater social differentiation."

Continuing with historical evidence of the relationship between cosmology and architecture in the northeast, the beginning of the ceremonial year is an important point of reference for both Iroquoian and Algonquin groups, and is often associated with new fires and feasts of renewal. Celestial phenomena are also determinants of these cycles. The appearance of the Pleiades directly above the smokehole in the Iroquoian longhouse signals the beginning of the Midwinter Festival. A variety of ceremonies are performed here, including the four major rituals of the calendric agricultural ceremonies, and necessary conditions for plant growth (Sun, and Thunder in particular figure prominently in this regard). Other seasonal ceremonies involve the collecting of wild plant foods, maple tree tapping, curing rituals, and those concerning rites of passage. Tooker (1970: 106, 107) has commented on the variable and sometimes overlapping nature of these ceremonies, and has stressed that only a "tenuous connection exists between ritual performance and myth" in contemporary Longhouse Religion. Significantly however, she also states that the latter religious practices undoubtedly derive from prehistoric times,

and the architectural connection of the longhouse to myth will be shown to be on somewhat more secure footing.

The Kickapoo (Central Algonquin) similarly regard the Plieades as a "manitou", as is the smokehole which is associated with their New Year ceremonies (Latorre 1976: 266). The Delaware (Eastern Algonquin) Big House ceremony takes place in a special circular building, where twelve interior posts (for a twelve night ceremony) are carved into mask-like faces representing the "Supreme Being", along with a "stylised version of the Cosmic Tree." Similarly, the Midewiwin lodge of the Algonquin is a "miniature representation of the universe." The Cosmic Axis and World Tree are symbolized by the interior posts (one to four "sacred posts ... believed to house the Mide spirits") (Closs, 1986: 196), and the lodge itself stands "at the point at which the Hole between the earth and sky is made, at the doorway to the sky." The birth of the lodge is a re-enactment of the creation myth (Vastokas and Vastokas 1973: 38, 39).

This re-enactment brings us to one of the 'constants' of symbolic/cosmological/mythic expression, that of the "World Tree" or "Tree of Life," and "Cosmic Axis" or "Axis Mundi," the "ladder by which man may ascend to the world of the supernatural and by which the supernatural beings may climb down to visit man". The symbol, and by extension its user come to "possess the power of that which it symbolizes." (Wallace 1966: 66-67). The quartered circle, cross, mandala, and four directions by extension are other examples (Eliade 1958, 1952). Mythic constants include various creation accounts,

to which the axis mundi is intrinsically connected, and of which a particular cosmogonic motif is the "Earth Diver" tale (Count 1973: 605-609). In a dwelling space an axis mundi is invariably represented by a centrally located support post(s), which serves as a 'datum' point in relation to other areas of the house.

From the Iroquoian perspective, there are three realms in the cosmos, each associated with various spiritual forces: "1. Above the sky, 2. Sky Dome and Earth, 3. primal sea and underworld" (Daly 1985: 161). M.K. Foster's (1974: 104-106) schema meanwhile involves "1) Spirit Forces beyond the Sky, 2) Spirit Forces in the Sky, and 3) Spirit Forces on the Earth." Foster also provides a plan of the calendrical round of ceremonies corresponding to spring gathering, planting, maturity and harvest, and fall hunting (1974: 110-133). As Williamson and Farrer (1992: 281-282) assert, it is important to recognize the interconnected nature of these realms. "Both Earth and Sky require each other to sustain themselves ... The channel of the Axis Mundi is alive with voices and images flowing back and forth ... it also has a horizontal aspect ... a life line to be lived on earth ... and that "Constant interchanges between Earth Beings and Sky Beings provide a living tension"

Aside from ecological reasons for dwelling alignment (e.g., prevailing winds, topography), ritual functions are also related to its orientation, specifically the four cardinal directions of existence. Certain dwellings, such as that of the Iroquois and Kickapoo combine domestic and ceremonial functions. The smoke hole at the top of the

structure is seen as an opening to the spirit world, with the smoke itself as a vehicle. The Sauk and Fox on the other hand have ceremonial houses for each religious clan, while other specialized structures such as sweat lodges and shaking tents have definite (easterly) orientations and entrances. According to Feest (1986: 22), most rectangular and oval structures have an east/west orientation of the main axis, including the Midewiwin lodge and Iroquoian longhouses, although north/south orientations with eastern doors, and those with semi-directional doors have been noted. Other sources note northwest alignments (e.g., Snow 1994). The importance of doorways "for relational lines of astronomical, geometric, and/or design origin has been proven in the planning of ceremonial and urban centres " (Williamson and Farrer 1992: 37). Interior house configurations of the inhabitants also reflect cosmological principles, as in Fox Clan ceremonials where dual divisions face each other across the main axis. Similarly, Iroquoian moieties, representing the sexes, face each other across the axis of the longhouse.

Guidoni (1939: 58) provides a concise summary of the relationship of the cosmos to architecture among the Delaware:

The division of the cosmos into celestial world, human world, and infernal world is reflected in the symbolism of the structure of the large rectangular cabin -- the roof, the walls, which represent the four parts of the world, and the floor -- and this tripartition is echoed in the brotherhoods of the Turkey, Turtle, and Wolf, which symbolically represent all of mankind.

Together he states, the building and the ceremony are a re-enactment of the creation of the world, after its catastrophic destruction.

The twelve planes or terraces that rise above the roof lead up to the twelfth heaven, the dwelling of the Great Spirit. Ten faces carved by the sky powers ornament the ten upright supports and another two the central support that rises through the entire structure, symbol of the pillar of the world and, at the same time - as center of the quadripartite cosmos - seat and representative of the creator-god. Two masks are hung on it, the one on the right painted red, the other black ... The doorway at the east symbolizes the primordial beginning of all things; that at the west, direction of the setting sun, symbolizes their end, and, unlike the east door, remains closed at all times ... Around the two fires and the central support an oval, well-trampled space for dancing is traced on the floor, beginning at the east and circling back through the north, west, and south to end at the central upright, which is the seat of the Great Spirit. This is the white path of life on which the participants walk in the twelve nights following an ecstatic dance ritual, broken by brief declamations (Guidoni 1939: 58).

Guidoni (1939: 49) observes that there are "two geographic areas where the collective house was not completely supplanted by the village ..." with its specialized structures: southeast Asia and the Americas. He describes the Desana longhouse of the South American Amazon as being a prime example of the collective house: the patrilineal clan house is identified with "the spatial and temporal structures of the universe." He regards the Iroquoian longhouse on the other hand as a "multi-family house" rather than a "collective dwelling," with "neither the function and character of territorial sanctuary nor that of cosmological model characteristic of isolated collective edifices." The residential function is thus the priority. However, he states that "this by no means conceals the fact that there is a consistency in their ritual harmonization of space and time that derives from the pre-Columbian period," which reinforces a "spirit of cohesion through the acceptance of a common myth explaining their origin" (Guidoni 1939: 56) .

It is precisely this mythic cohesion that Daly (1985) attributes to the Iroquoian

longhouse, and which survives to this day. "The continuing vitality of the longhouse symbol ... is based partly on implicit connotations of the collective household alliance of pre-European times, an image whose source is a kinship-based unit of productive and reproductive activities ..." (see also Richter 1992: 8). The longhouse is seen as a "cultural container for a number of social and semiotic contents ... that build up layers of meaning through the symbol-forming process, by metaphor and the analogic expression of architectural and residential spatial configurations in a number of different social, ceremonial, political, economic and cosmological contexts" (Daly 1985: 4).

Fenton (1975: 141) summarizes the house metaphors of "the People of the Longhouse," or "League" as follows: "Of the first order of unity are the fire and the pillar of smoke that touches the sky; the enlarged image of the longhouse which shelters one body of kindred; the provisions for its extension, ways to strengthen it with props and measures to secure its doorways, facing the sunrise and sunset." The metaphor of "one body of kindred" is expressed through the geographic, and by extension cosmogonic distribution of the Five Nations, with the Onondaga in the centre as keepers of the fire and the "Great Pine Tree," with its "Four White Roots" stretching out to accommodate the other nations, from the eastern doorway of the house to the west (Vecsey 1974: 9). The longhouse is thus an entity unto itself, even in a village setting, but more so when a single house is representative of the entire community (as in the case study in Chapter 4). The League itself meanwhile is thought to date to the 1500s (Daly 1985: 139). Richter (1992: 300) provides a span from 1400 A.D. to 1600 A.D., while "current Iroquoian ideology

insists on an empirically unsubstantiated date of 1000 A.D."

Daly (1985: 155) states that "The conceptualization of the environment and the universe in terms of household relations and domestic architecture is thus one of the ways a people literally builds its understanding of the world." Rather than 'reflecting' the cosmos however, it is perhaps more satisfactory to view the longhouse as 'absorbing' certain cosmological properties, in metaphorical terms. Thus, the domed arch of the lodge is analogous to the 'Sky Dome' conception of the universe, while the pillars and braces supporting the structure are the sachems and chiefs respectively (Morgan 1965: 11: 301; Parker 1912: 613). Contemporary longhouse ceremonies attest to the continuity of this identification: "The parts of the house -- the rafters, posts, doors, hearth, roof and sides are among the **central metaphors** in the prayers of thanksgiving, the reiteration of the Leagues foundation and the revelations of the prophet ..." (Daly 1985: 283) (emphasis mine).

Fenton (1962: 292) observes that the "cosmological notion of superimposed worlds from the tree of life, the sky-dome, and the first vegetation springing from the earth on the turtle's back has been reduced to curvilinear symbolism by generations of Iroquoian women working in moosehair and quill embroidery" All this rests upon the domed carapace of the turtle. This view of the universe depends on the practice of layering symbols from one context to another, creating progressively more powerful symbolic content and consistency (Douglas 1970: 85). "The Iroquoians brought forward

from context to context a set of spatial relationships which were isomorphic with the spatial organisation of the longhouse dwelling." As such, the "cosmos can be transformed into an analogue of the ... Iroquois dwelling ... Conversely, the house can be regarded as a microcosm of the universe" However, "the house could be made more powerful as a text to make sense of the natural universe and in turn, to validate its social meaning with a multitude of analogies drawn from the universe" (Daly 1985: 157-158).

The veneration of trees and their transformations (i.e., dwelling posts) is not limited to northeastern North America. Friedel (1992: 127) comments of the Maya that "It should hardly be surprising that a forest-dwelling people used trees for central connecting metaphors in their understanding of the relationship between common experience and sacred experience." This theme is similarly echoed in Maclean's (1985) study of the Kwakiutl lineage house and ancestry, and Maringer's (1981) research on "The Tree in Art and Cult of Prehistoric Europe and the Near East ..."

Daly (1985: 161) provides a summary of the relationship between the longhouse and the cosmos, beginning with the creation story. To begin with, the Celestial world is illuminated by the "Tree of Light," whose roots penetrate to the lower rim of this realm. Sky Woman pulls on a root of this tree and falls through the hole she created. Another version has the whole village pulling up the tree, and Sky Woman is pushed into the abyss by her jealous husband (Richter 1992: 9-10). The Turtle eventually becomes her landing pad. Daly (1985: 161) states that this "first territory" was elliptical like the back

of the turtle, "enclosed by the arched dome of the sky and nurtured by the Great Tree of Light from above" ... whose rays shining through the hole in the sky is likened to the rays of the sun shining through the smokehole in the longhouse. The smoke itself meanwhile joins the Milky Way. Sky Woman is said to have placed a cutting from the tree of light on the turtle's back to help light the early days. The sun enters the underworld in the west and emerges in the east. The east is associated with birth, origins, and the arrival of guests, while west connotes death, Land of Souls and departure. "The centre of the world is the house in the village". As Richter (1992: 23) states, "The clearing was the woman's domain; the forest belonged to men" (see also Duncan 1981: 55, for a discussion of "private" and "public" realms vis-à-vis women and men). Snow (1994: 39) and Tooker (1970) also acknowledge this: because the men were away from the village for extended periods, there was no need for a "men's house" if "clan brothers can find equivalent shared refuge outside the village." Snow also adds substance to the longhouse/cosmos relationship; it is no coincidence that the central character is a woman, and that the "duality of the twins reflects a pervasive duality in Iroquois society." The reverence of the turtle is also apparent: "the turtle itself holds the secret to the annual passage of the new moons," via the mosaic of its plates, which number thirteen (Snow 1994: 5-7).

We can see that cosmology has been historically, and continues to be, a vital component of both the obvious and some of the less observable elements of Iroquoian and Algonquin architectural expression, and aspects of social interaction within these respective dwellings.

ii. Iroquoian and Central Algonquin Dwellings and Their Construction

With these ideas in mind, I will examine the construction process of the longhouse and Central Algonquin dwellings as historically recorded. Daly (1985: 73) states that there are "indications that the house construction process may have expressed an ordering of reality ritually," but in his view there is little evidence of this. However, the construction of vernacular architecture in other areas of the world lends support to ritual procedures and symbolic identification associated with the construction process (e.g., Blier 1987: 22-37; Oliver 1987: 167). Daly (1985: 72) states "Extensions made to the longhouse were a common practice, both for storage and kinship reasons."

Dodd's study (1984: 257) revealed a progression in size of the inner bunk posts through time, an increase in the number of people per hearth, as well as an increase in straight house ends in the Proto-contact period. Houses reach a maximum length in the Middle Iroquoian Period (1300-1450 A.D.). Lineage formation reaches its peak during this period and declines thereafter. This pattern coincides with the formation of League/Confederacy, and as Daly (1985: 76) relates, "maturity" of the longhouse metaphor was achieved thereafter, supposedly in the historic period. House expansion or extensions to the house were supposedly easily facilitated in a modular sense, with the centre-end post playing a key role in triangulation and support. Likewise, the hearth posts were thought of as key supports and, as they were four per fire, numerical symbolism likely figures into this arrangement as well. There is ethnohistoric evidence (from Daly

1985: 76) that clan ensignias or images were portrayed at the entrance (above the doorway) to the longhouse, pertaining to a number of lineages or longhouses per clan segment. Major clans named by the "Good Twin" are Bear, Wolf and Turtle (Richter 1992: 21; Daly 1985: 80, 81).

House construction (historically and in contemporary times) in Central Algonquin Kickapoo society involves a number of observances, from cutting the timber when the moon is full (when it is believed to be most durable), to offering tobacco to the juniper tree (the construction material) which is gathered by the women. Additionally, ceremonies are performed involving a sacred bundle transfer (in case of the winter house) and feast, and tobacco offerings to "grandmother Earth" coinciding with the repair and rebuilding of summer houses and insuring a bountiful harvest, also including a feast. A house-roofing dedication ceremony is performed by the owner (female) in the spring and fall after moving into new or refurbished quarters, involving a feast (preferably a "puppy," i.e., young dog), bathing, removal of old ashes, new fire smudge, directional observances, tobacco offering and bundle opening. Certain houses are repositories for clan and medicine bundles. These are closely guarded (Latorre 1976: 261, 268, 319, 320, 354).

As a part of the construction of the dwelling in ethnographic context, offerings placed in the bases of certain key posts holes have been observed (e.g., Oliver 1987: 167; Waterson 1990: 124-126). This behaviour becomes all the more plausible in a wider context (i.e., pertaining to the region in question) when certain of these posts are

manifestations of ancestors and important figures, etc. It is worthy to note that in one version of the Iroquoian creation story, "Father Turtle" teaches the art of housebuilding, among other things to the hero (Good Twin)(Fenton 1962: 291). Also in this vein, "Iroquois annalists ... speak of a time of Sapling" prior to the Leagues formation (Fenton 1962: 283). Similarly, "Wisaka," the culture hero in Algonquin mythology and in this case Kickapoo society, brought the knowledge of wigwam construction from his father (Latorre 1976: 37). The importance of the tree in Iroquoian society is obvious; "maples, pines, and elms were the species most crucial to Iroquoian technology ... and are ... venerated ... as ... political metaphors" (Snow 1994: 21). The maple is accorded particular significance due to its sap-giving properties, and is regarded as medicinal. It also figures prominently in the ceremonial calendric cycle, and is identified with fire as a warmth giver (Foster 1974: 62, 63, 103). As noted, trees in Central Algonquin society (Fox) are venerated as grandparents, and the house itself in Kickapoo society is regarded a Manitou. Trees then have the dubious honor of sacrificing themselves to house, heat, and heal (and feed).

The Jesuit accounts provide some insight into longhouse construction and their perspective on life within the house. The following descriptions are derived from Lafiteau (1681-1746) regarding the interior of a Huron longhouse, followed by an account of longhouse construction.

Their cabins [cabannes] are in the shape of tunnels [tonnelles] or arbors, and are covered with the bark of trees ... On the sides there is a kind of bench ... where they sleep in summer ... In winter they sleep on the ground on mats near the fire ... At the extremity of the cabins there is a space,

where they preserve their Indian corn, which they put into great casks made from the bark of trees ... In one of these cabins there may be twelve fires, and twenty- four families ... It smokes excessively ... There is no window nor any opening, except that in the upper part of their cabins for the smoke to escape (Lafiteau 1681-1746: 21-22).

Each of these lodges rests on four posts for each fire. These posts are the base and support of the entire structure. Poles are planted all around; that is to say, all along the two sides and on the two gable ends, to hold the sheets of elm bark which form the walls and are bound to them with strips made of the inner bast of second bark of white wood (basswood..) The Square frame being raised, the Iroquois make the roof framing with long poles bent in an arc which they also cover with bark sheets a fathom long and from one foot to fifteen inches wide. These bark sheets overlap like slates (Lafiteau 1681-1746: 19).

The bark sheets are prepared a long time before use. The trees are stripped after girdling, when the sap is running because that is the best time to peel them. After the outer surface, which is too rough, is taken off, the sheets are piled compactly on top of each other so that they do not get badly warped and are allowed to dry in this way. When the time has come to commence work, the youth of the village are invited and, to encourage them, a feast is given. In less than one or two days, all the work is underway and is being accomplished rather by the number of hands working at it than by the workers diligence (Lafiteau 1681-1746: 20).

In terms of Central Algonquin house construction, one of the better accounts involves the Mexican Kickapoo summer and winter dwelling pattern (Latorre 1976: 32f). "The Kickapoo habitation, which has persisted through 120 years of residence in Mexico with only slight adjustments due to the ecology, is inextricably woven into each phase of the culture, especially the religion, the economy, and the status of women." The Kickapoo settlement/subsistence pattern, alike that of other groups of Central Algonquin affiliation, involves the construction and habitation of two different types of structures. The winter house is oval shaped with a "low elliptical dome," and generally houses an

extended family. It is covered with woven cattail mats, and has only one opening for a door (facing east), and a smoke hole in the roof. Low benches are located along the sides and rear; the latter is for storage.

As the construction process is similar for both winter and summer dwellings, I will describe summer house construction in greater detail. Both entail a basic supporting structure of four large posts, and the summer house also has no windows, and one door which faces east. There is no smoke hole however, as spaces in the sides of the house provide ventilation. The summer house is also rectangular-shaped, and includes a 16 x 15 foot wide main structure with an attached open-walled "ramada" or porch of similar dimensions, but is elliptical in shape. Much of the activity is focused in this porch area during the summer. The house is usually occupied by late March, "after the New Years ceremonies." When a house is built or rebuilt (every four years), a ceremony takes place prior to constructing the roof. Next to the chief's wife's house, the houses containing the sacred bundles are the first to be roofed. Construction proceeds as follows:

To form the framework of the house, four crotched, peeled and pointed posts ... are staked in each corner in holes previously dug with a crowbar to the depth of a mans arm ... Four connecting poles are laid over the crotches of the corner posts and fastened with pita. Two ... posts are sunk to...(form the)... supports for the ridgepole (another pole is suspended below this alike that of the winter house)... In the interior, uprights for the walls are crossed by four horizontal rows of saplings ... The roof is covered with two layers of cattail mats transferred from the winter house, one laid in an east-west position, the other in a north-south ... The interior furnishings...are similar to those of the winter house, except that the benches are two feet above the floor and the storage areas on either side of the entrance are rectangular rather than (triangular) (Latorre 1976: 43-44). These historically documented descriptions of the Iroquoian longhouse and

Central Algonquin (Kickapoo) winter and summer dwellings provide a basic idea of the similarities and differences in construction and interior space and partitioning. The basis of support for either dwelling is four large corner posts per hearth. The difference here is that the Iroquoian longhouse is a multiple-hearth/family dwelling, whereas the Central Algonquin dwelling involves a single hearth/(extended) family. The Central Algonquin abode thus has an almost square floor plan. It is worth noting that Iroquoian longhouses exhibit squared ends during the historic period. It is possible that the same trend developed in Central Algonquin habitation, and that the prehistoric summer structures, alike the winter dwellings, were of more circular or oval form. Other differences include the roof design. The Central Algonquin (Kickapoo) plan includes a central ridge pole, and while a peaked roof is in evidence in late historic times for both these and Iroquoian structures, earlier accounts of longhouses reveal an arched, semi-circular roof. The covering, sheathing or 'skin' of the skeleton was invariably (elm) bark for the Iroquois. The Central Algonquins used woven reed mats, although bark has been noted for summer houses (Skinner 1925: Plate X1).

Perhaps the most significant difference however, is the persistence of distinct seasonal structures (summer and winter houses) among the Central Algonquin. The smaller, circular dome-shaped winter structure stands in contrast to the squared, peaked summer home. The latter is also composed of an open-walled porch or "ramada" of about the same dimensions as the house proper, another significant difference to that of the Iroquoian longhouse. It is noteworthy however, that variable structures have been

observed in Iroquoian context, i.e., small, circular/ovate and squarish structures adjacent to more characteristic structures in the settlement, and the Neutral agricultural 'cabin.' Indeed, in terms of early Iroquoian settlement (i.e., 900 A.D.-1300 A.D.), these smaller dwellings were the norm, and probably represent a stage in the development of the multi-family, lineage-oriented longhouse. Another variable is that interior partitioning tends to become more complex in the longhouse, although in both situations benches or bunks are side-oriented, but also end-oriented among the Central Algonquin, particularly in the case of the winter dwelling. Noteworthy also is the absence of a smokehole in the summer abode of the latter group, where dwelling 'porosity' provides the necessary ventilation.

Significantly (as noted above), variable or subsidiary house types have been noted amongst the Iroquois, consisting of "a) these open, lean-to structures put up on the trail for an overnight camp, b) conical, three-sided lodges..., or c) domed lodges similar to that of the Ojibwa. These structures were used for temporary hunting and fishing trips, for maternity and first menstruation lodges, storage, and sweat-lodges" (Daly 1985: 81-83). Daly (1985: 92) meanwhile has related structural "anomalies" on the Late Iroquoian (Huron) Copeland Site, where one longhouse exhibited a tapered width with random hearths. Another structure measured fifty-eight by ninety feet, with a "double row of wall posts, a central row of roof support posts, and twenty-three randomly scattered hearths." He suggests this and other similar structures on other Huron sites may have been "winter cabins for visiting Algonquin trading allies of the Huron and the Iroquois," or "intelligence-gathering ambassadors." As we shall see, these suggestions are of particular

relevance to the case study in Chapter 4.

From the accumulated observations thus far, it seems that a case may be made that cosmological connections to architecture can be translated to observable, on the ground expressions. For example, certain posts consistently appear as ancestral/mythic figures bestowed with special properties. The large corner supporting posts in the case of both Iroquoian and Algonquin dwellings are likely invested with a considerable amount of ideological importance, for aside from their vertical supporting role, these are also connected with (horizontal) directional orientation (recall the multi-faceted nature of the "axis mundi"). There is also a central (hearth) orientation in either case, although in the Central Algonquin summer house, corresponding activities are centered in the porch area. The symbolism of the porch area as a semi-closed/semi-open area may be of relevance here (i.e., nature/culture, wild/domestic etc.). In effect, it appears as a transition space between outside and inside, and I would suggest that it is no coincidence that what is practical is also reflective of an ideology of subsistence. Here perhaps (following Wilson 1988), spatial symbolizing is oriented more on 'focus', entailing a greater permeability of dwelling boundary than that of the Iroquoian longhouse.

Also of significance in terms of spatial perception and representation is the space between the posts in the house. "The actual length of walls, widths of doorways, etc., are spatial signals constituting a message about the community's cultural organization of space. The distances used should themselves be part of a formal pattern and specify

meaning" (Hodder 1989: 36). An integral part of the spatial dimension of houses are also paths that channel movement, both interior and exterior to the structure. "The significance of the path as a primary metaphor also has grounding in the commonplace, universalized nature of this form. And like the human body, the path's metaphoric potentialities are reinforced by its simultaneous association with structure and process, with states of being and activity" (Blier 1987: 204, 205). The path or passageways then, both circumscribe and divide the dwelling as body, and similarly focus and transmit these (metaphoric) potentials. Therefore, as the 'circulatory system' of the structure, paths provide the linkages between often distinct areas of the dwelling. These linkages entail not only physical movement, but also symbolic movement, as we shall see in the case of the dwelling examined in Chapter 4.

Notions of boundaries and social space (including defense) may also include "imaginary lines between natural features such as trees and rivers, and also between houses or artificial mounds." (Tringham 1972: 464-465). In my view these notions may also be extended to the interior of dwellings, in addition to the more obvious external boundaries. Kent (1990: 150) states that "With sedentism there seems to be a concomitant increase in the use of functionally restricted activity areas and segmented architecture, such as storage platforms or huts ..." and that "As an attempt to mediate the dialectical tension between segmentation and unity, there is a need to organize parts of culture in a systematic manner ... which ... includes maintaining a consistency in the amount of segmentation present in the sociopolitical, economic, and other parts of

culture." I would suggest that these "other parts" include the ideological components. Indeed this is revealed in the case of the longhouse lineages and clans, as Daly maintains. These segmentation processes become particularly intriguing when two different cultures utilize the same facility, as will be discussed.

It has been observed that "ideational systems may be indicated by sets of rules that governed the sequence of construction or alteration of structures or sets of structures," and that this may include "the placement of elements in relation to natural features and/or to other elements" (Fritz 1978: 40). Such is the principle behind the concept of geomancy. For example, although it is possible that ditches, walls, and the like enclosing archaeological sites were of a defensive function (as palisades are normally interpreted), this reasoning should not preclude other interpretations, as Ramsden (1990) argues, which will be discussed in the following chapter. In any case, it seems highly likely that structures have multiple symbolic associations.

Dwelling symbolism in either the Iroquoian or Algonquin case is intrinsically connected with the respective subsistence cycles (as noted), and their concentration on particular resources. As will be revealed in the following sections, a greater focus on a hunting tradition, despite the adoption of agriculture, is symbolized by the winter dwelling on behalf of Central Algonquin groups. The place of hunting amongst late Iroquoian groups meanwhile, although overshadowed by corn horticulture (and the symbolism of the "Three Sisters", i.e., corn, beans, and squash) and resulting (matri)-

lineage and longhouse formation, still clung to a strong 'thread' of hunting ancestry in the ideological realm (see Mathews 1978: 179-181). Moreover, Daly (1985: 138) has suggested a "broad continuity" of the Midewiwin lodge and ceremony with that of Iroquoian social and solidarity symbolism, because these longhouse-like dwellings have **"definite spatial divisions for hosts and guests, men and women ... the bounding of rituals ... the sacred fire, the tree of life"** (my emphasis). The Mide procedures are also described as being "contiguous with pre-Handsoma Lake ceremonial life, particularly the calumet and the purification "medicine society" rites involving the spirit of the otter, ordeals by fire, the shooting of power by spitting wampum, the four guardian spirits, and divination of witches and sorcerers ... and further, that the " Mide procedures involve a ritual movement **out of nature (the east)** into the **centre of the house (to the west)**, the dog feast (which was a component of the Iroquoian ceremonial events too), the spitting of megus shells at initiates, the four levels of power, the four lodges, the **four directions**, the four guardians" (my emphasis).

As stressed, whether representing "cultural diffusion and resynthesis, or a demonstration of a common set of cultural beliefs, symbols and procedures, the fact remains that both cultures used analogous, extended house configurations in the course of establishing, and re-establishing a customary world view which rendered meaningful the realms of nature and society" (Daly 1985: 85) (my emphasis). The specifics emphasized herein will be seen to have definite application to the dwelling under study in Chapter 4.

A distinctive feature however of Central Algonquin groups is the focusing of ritual activity around a (patrilineal) clans "sacred pack". This pack takes the form of a skin bundle containing a number of symbolically and mythically 'charged' items (such as those listed under "Symbolic Implications" in Chapter 4; i.e., select animal, bird and/or reptile bones, tobacco seed, shell, Calumet pipe bowl, certain stones and pigments). These bundles are opened on particular occasions, such as the house roofing ceremony of the Kickapoo, and situations entailing a feast (Latorre 1976: 271).

The persistence of a system of ideation and its symbolic associations have been noted in ethnographic context. Oliver (1975: 12) states that "Though the constraints may be ones of availability of materials, or the suitability of the structure to withstand solar radiation or heavy precipitation of rain or snow, the symbolic connotations of the building to society generally take precedence over such considerations as resource or comfort." He then relates an example of this in terms of a population that has moved from one region to another but still retain their former dwelling form, even though the climatic situation may have warranted a more environmentally compatible shelter. The Kickapoo dwelling for example has undergone only minor variations during its history of 'transplantings', from the northeast, to the midwest, to its present location in north-central Mexico (Latorre 1976).

The purpose of this chapter has been to draw together some features of Northeastern Woodlands cosmology, specifically commonalities and distinctions between

historically recorded Iroquoian and Central Algonquin groups that will have a bearing on the proposed sharing of a structure by populations of the above affinities in prehistoric context (see Chapter 4). For as Eliade and Daly in particular has shown us of the Iroquois, there is a persistence in basic facets of the belief system associated with the relationship of architecture to humanity and nature throughout the historic period, despite a great deal of change in social circumstance. These facets are considered to have their precedent deep within the prehistoric matrix.

These ideological variables are manifested in (a) apprehensions and symbolic representations of the culture/nature realms (i.e., female/male, clearing/forest, agriculture/hunting), (b) structural orientation and doorways (East = birth, creation, arrival; West = death, departure), (c) spatial and boundary configurations both interior and exterior to the structure (lineage, moiety, clan and other socio-cultural functions), (d) the presence of an "Axis Mundi" or "Tree of Life", liminal space, etc. (curing and divination attributes, creation/origin myths and primal beings, anthropomorphism), (e) the presence and context of posts and artifacts imbued with sacred qualities (i.e., grandfathers, chiefs, mythical beings), and (f) the presence and context of fire and tobacco ('vehicles' in communication with otherworldly, cleansing and curing connotations).

I hope I have demonstrated that in order to understand architecture, and in this particular case, the Iroquoian longhouse and Central Algonquin dwellings, it is necessary to incorporate the ideological realm in an analysis entailing a multiplicity of meanings. It

is particularly important to include the ideological realm when "the gods can walk on earth in human form, so that the commonplace is somehow sanctified" (Crump 1990: 145). These meanings may include production and consumption, location and seasonality, etc., within a multitude of spatial and temporal configurations. In prehistoric context, it is essential to approach the house as a "living entity," with a "life-cycle," which is "best read in terms of a biography" (Bailey 1990: 26-28). This approach will be the subject of the following chapters of this thesis.

In the next chapters I will examine the potentials for dealing with these symbolic and ideological variables in archaeological contexts. In particular I will concentrate on research in the Northeastern Woodlands region, but studies from other political and culture areas are consulted in order to illuminate the potentials and pitfalls of such approaches.

Chapter 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL PATTERNS

i. Settlement/Subsistence

Prior to exploring some cases of the application of facets of ideation specifically analyzed in archaeological contexts with respect to dwellings and interaction, I will compare and contrast two very different methods of applying ideological information to the archaeological record. The first case is Robert L. Hall's (1979) discussion of the florescence of the Adena/Hopewell climax and his proposals for its persistence amongst later Woodland cultures. The second is Gary A. Wright's (1986) treatment of the "culturally defined natural environment" in ascribing seasonal cycles with ideological connections in the analysis of prehistoric sequences in northwestern Montana.

These particular studies have been chosen in order to illustrate that the divergence of these methods of applying symbolic meaning to aspects of material culture is indicative of corresponding apriori views of how symbols are culturally manifested. For Wright, a symbol remains arbitrary and necessitates a particular grounding within a culturally defined ecological basis (1986: 416). For Hall, symbols can transcend this arbitrariness and become a part of a pan-cultural 'substratum' of behaviour reflected in the

iconography of form (1979: 265). Rather than argue for or against, I suggest that both approaches have their place along the continuum of interpretation and are not exclusive, but rather their use is contingent upon the focus and nature of the material and situation being studied. Subsequently, I will suggest that the nature of this study warrants the incorporation of aspects of either approach.

Hall (1979) takes the premise that there is a **pan-cultural ideological substratum underlying certain symbolic expressions**, much in the same manner that Eliade would argue (as discussed in Chapter 1). Hall deals with what he proposes are symbolic 'constants' in the material record. One of these is the "Earth Diver" myth, among the most common themes in cross-cultural iconography (and one that is central to Northeastern Woodlands symbolism). He holds that the act of creation of the earth, world renewal and procreation is symbolized by the building of earthen mounds in Hopewellian mortuary ceremonialism, and by extension finds its expression in later Late Woodland practices.

The symbolic substratum that Hall makes use of here is the practice of capping the grave of the deceased with clay or muck of some sort, thereby symbolically rebuilding or regenerating the earth over the dead (see also Dundes 1975: 355, who ascribes a "cloacal theory of birth ... and pregnancy envy on the part of males" in explaining the Earth Diver myth). Hall (1979: 260) states: "A strong argument can be made that some Hopewellian and other Woodland mortuary ceremonialism was in fact creation drama re-enacting mythical origins. Probably associated with this ceremonialism was the common use of

clay, marl, muck, or mud, selected from wet areas or actually from beneath bodies of water to cover or provide a bed for the burials." The plugging of eyesockets of the skulls of certain deceased individuals with clay is considered to be an extension of this, related to the concept of the "Underwater Panther" Manitou amongst the Central Algonquin.

Similarly, the erection of a black and red (mourning) gravepost in Central Algonquin (Illinois/Miami) culture at the head of the burial is regarded the "structural equivalent" of the Sun Dance pole, which symbolizes the "Tree of Life," and carries connotations of the creation drama, rebirth, and renewal. Also associated with renewal is a prior time of chaos, which is realized through the symbolic practice of the extinguishing of fires, and scattering of ashes. Lex (n.d.) in particular has studied the "ashes stirring" practice amongst the Iroquois, which is also bound up with rites of curing and associated mythology.

Periodic "death," chaos, and reversals, followed by restoration of harmony to cosmos and nature by rekindling of fires and other symbolic acts of creation/procreation are common among indigenous peoples who follow specific cycles of nature and culture. Hall (1979: 265) elaborates: "I would add that there were probably a number of historic tribal ceremonies, the Sun Dance and its variants comprising only one grouping, which had roots deep within the cultural substratum within which "burial mound" ceremonialism crystallized in the eastern united states in the first millennium." He asserts that rather than ask why mound burial ceased, we should be asking why "world

renewal, fertility, and creation drama became separated from the burial aspect of mortuary ritual" (1979: 265). Hall therefore feels that it is the **ideas** underlying certain symbols that are recoverable, especially those relating to sun and fire, and iconography related to underlying concepts of the soul and creation.

Wright (and others) might not dispute that the concepts of the Tree of Life and Earth Diver symbolism are related; it is their recoverability with which issue is taken. Wright's (1986: 415) premise reads: "First is the difficulty in isolating the significant individual artifacts ... Which ones were truly meaningful ideologically or cosmologically? Second, because symbols themselves are created by the arbitrary bestowal of meaning, how do we select the correct values from a range of possible interpretations ...? Directly related to these issues is the problem of methodology ..." (and thus the indiscriminate use of ethnographic analogy). Wright (1986: 416) emphasizes the arbitrary nature of symbols in that they undergo transformations which are necessarily culture-bound; "objects with important symbolic values ... may be incorporated into new ideologies ..."

Analysis for Wright then, must begin with the environmental context, specifically, the **culturally defined natural environment**. His methodology is as follows. In order to gain the necessary grounding that would allow a symbolic analysis, Wright and his co-researchers reconstructed the prehistoric land use patterns of the area in northwestern Montana using ethnobotanical records and floral and faunal inventories from a number of archaeological sites. A high correlation of root crops with base camp settlements (which

contained earth ovens for roasting bulbs) was found to exist, and also that subsistence patterns were related to the "periodicity" of food plants in relation to elevation zones. These elements were used to arrive at a perceptual outline of edible foods related to seasonality and elevation, as well as those species that were deemed "socially meaningful" other than merely "edible" on the basis of ethnographic data (1986: 416). This in turn was linked to those species and locations around which group ritual centered, as opposed to individual ritual activity. A connection was thus made between environment and ideology.

Additionally, ritual activity was divided by Wright into intragroup renewal ceremonies, and intergroup multiband ceremonials. The former involved the harvesting and preparation of root crops by women, substantiated by ethnohistoric (including myth) and archaeological evidence associated with processing (grinding stones, ovens), partitioning of activities, and pigment (ochre) stains on the stones themselves. Concerning the latter ceremonials, one site in particular located on an ecological margin, and containing a high density of root crops and non-local materials is thought to have represented a redistribution and trading centre involving ritual participants from beyond their respective territorial boundaries. Here of course I am delving into the realm of exchange, a topic which is reserved mostly for the next subsection. However this particular case is a good example of how settlement, subsistence and exchange are interrelated. Wright (1986: 424) states, "Each class of ritual passage required contrasting environmental loci, its own sacred space." We shall see that the sacred

space/ritual/resource connection documented by Wright has its applications for the case study herein as well.

Wright (1986: 429) stresses that "This cultural code, in effect, determines the environmental limits within which that symbolic system can function ... Further, different culturally defined environmental boundaries require different codes, and hence it is at these environmental limits where we should expect a cultural change to manifest itself." Following Hultkrantz, Wright (1986: 430) states "that the environment provides materials for religious activities", such that there are direct linkages between economic processes and associated flora and fauna, and ceremony. Importantly he also acknowledges a "deeper structural level" ... that of "cultural selection" with its set of symbolic "prescriptions" that ultimately define boundaries such as ritual space, where "meaning is endowed upon this space symbolically through reference to unique (contrasting) environmental features, be they morphological or metaphorical." It is precisely these "features" that I believe played a vital role in the nature of the particular settlement described in Chapter 4. I would add however, that Wright's emphasis on ecological environmental features should not preclude the socially defined environment, or for that matter, the 'extra-environmental,' which are interrelated.

Somewhere in between these two approaches lie a number of studies undertaken concerning the inference of ideology in archaeological contexts, specifically dealing with sites in the Northeast. In particular, I will summarize several examples dealing with

Iroquoian settlements in Ontario, proceeding from inter-site comparisons involving settlement (architectural) features, to intra, dwelling-specific feature and artifact interpretations.

Aside from brief discussions of irregular, 'anomalous' house structures within settlements (usually villages) depicted as possibly entailing some vague 'ceremonial' function, little has been intensively investigated in the Northeast of symbolism related to dwellings on archaeological sites, and in particular, single dwelling settlement sites. One undertaking of (single) dwelling symbolism involved the interpretation of an unusual prehistoric Neutral cabin comprising the Day Site (Dodd and Riddell 1995). The structure is unusual not particularly because of its dimensions (although wider and longer than other examples), but because it contained two similarly-shaped "sweat bath" features located inside/outside either side wall and roughly opposite to each other. These features were termed "turtle pits," because of their shape. Both features also contained 'exotic' artifacts, i.e., a bear metacarpal, goose bone bead waste, and two projectile points in one of the pits, while a mink mandible, bear canine, modified deer phalanx, bone awl, and native copper was recovered in the other. A section of snapping turtle shell was also recovered from within the house. The remainder of the structure meanwhile was virtually feature-less, while the bulk of subsistence activities were carried on in two separate loci outside of the structure. This separation and exclusion of activities (food preparation to the south, tool working to the north), and the striking symmetry of the turtle pits and their contents indicated the presence of a ritual ordering and emphasis. Furthermore, these

features were the only pits located within the structure.

Utilizing comparative information from other cabin sites, mention in the Jesuit Relations of small, specialized structures, and archaeological and ethnographic information on sweat lodges, the researchers proposed functions related to curing/fasting and initiation ordeals of "medicine men" (with 'sweating' as a key element), and/or rituals relating to hunting and warfare. The items recovered within sweat bath context may have served as "personal talismans", or "parts of a medicine bundle." It was suggested that the Day Site structure might have also served as a "village council" house, as it was in proximity to a contemporaneous village site (1995: 187, 188).

Here then, symbolic correlations were based on spatial patterning, dwelling and feature form, and feature contents, all of which were unusual when compared with other settlements of the same period; unusual in the sense of their rare occurrence and because of the seemingly particular emphasis and location (i.e., the items contained within the turtle pits, and the predominance of the pits themselves, to the exclusion of other features). Also emphasized at this dwelling was the separation of activities (outside of the house), possibly entailing gender separation. Symbolic interpretation itself was facilitated through the searching of ethnohistoric records of the Neutral and their Iroquoian neighbours, whereby relatively rigid control of the source material was maintained with the culture group, and the temporal connection was close. As such, the Day Site provided an excellent opportunity for the interpretation of ideation reflected in

its material culture. Perhaps also worthy of mention here is that the Day Site was part of a larger group of prehistoric and protohistoric Neutral sites located on the northerly margin of that territory.

In another study, Varley and Cannon (1994) have attributed the greater distances in hearth spacing on three Middle Ontario Iroquoian villages as an "exaggerated expression of the symbolism of power and prestige normally associated with large lineages and longer houses." They even go so far as to suggest that "the Middle Ontario Iroquoian period represents an elaboration of the symbolic dimension alone..." in cases where there appears to be the same number of people (according to number of hearths) existing in a much larger space (1994: 94). This period is also represented by the longest recorded house lengths, such as that recorded on the Coleman Site (MacDonald 1986) and is characterized as a pattern of elaboration "in response to competitive pressures," culminating in "expressive redundancy," and subsequent decrease in length once the symbolism has outlived its usefulness, which served as a rivalry for "status and status recognition among intra-village lineages" (Varley and Cannon 1994: 94, 95).

The above work has been criticized by Kapches (1994: 97-98) who argues that the variability in hearth spacing is determined by the "central partitioned apartments in Iroquoian longhouses ... that ... are the ceremonial core of such houses." These apartments she contends, "may have been the location of Mid-Winter rituals, political meetings, and other occasions such as the Condolence ritual." Warrick (1994: 99-100)

argues that it would be impractical to house fewer numbers of people in a larger structure because of the temperature factor in winter, which he attributes instead to a "chaotic social environment " due to rapid population growth, in turn resulting in disputes, particularly between "unrelated adult males." Varley and Cannon (1994: 101) maintain however that symbolic 'necessity' (i.e., display) in this case overrode practicality, a variable that they argue has been substantiated elsewhere ethnographically.

Here we have a case where, as with Hall's and Wright's perspectives, these explanations need not necessarily be exclusive of each other. Therefore, apartment size and ceremonial area may have been extended in response to the lengthening of houses in general, or in particular circumstances, such as disputes or rapid population growth, or political competition. These factors in turn were undoubtedly connected to a system of ideation that may or may not have precipitated change. If one aspect of material culture display is perceived to have received emphasis, it is contingent upon a multiplicity of related conditions, each of which needs to be addressed. This said, I would contend that even the most mundane acts documented in ethnographic context are rarely without some ideological connection.

Ramsden (1990: 168-173) feels that there is a "symbolic content for all actions." He elaborates that some of the information conveyed by a particular structure will "accurately reflect the symbolic content of the structure, but some of it may be unintentional." Hence, there is an "inherent potential for ambiguity," making the "inferred

symbolic content of material culture ... a powerful agent of social change." He ascribes this axiom of interpretation to palisades surrounding certain Late Woodland villages, which he suggests, in addition to providing defensive attributes, exhibit a "power asymmetry" and associated (symbolic) connotations of inside/outside, thereby creating a social boundary (1990: 169). He maintains that this is true even in cases where the palisade is less formidable, and doesn't completely encircle the community (as in the 'formative period' of village development). Ramsden provides an alternative explanation to the intensification of warfare hypothesis commonly employed to interpret evidence of heavier palisading on sites from the fifteenth century onwards. While not negating the possibility of intensification of hostilities in this period, Ramsden (1990: 171) asserts that palisades had a larger role, that of serving as "social signals," depicting "political relations cast in military metaphor". Thus in times of social upheaval or environmental stress, i. e., *"when social boundaries may be in doubt or in flux,... we would expect symbolic statements about group boundaries to be made most strongly,* and ... would most expect structures to be misinterpreted as political barriers. We would expect this to be mostly true of groups whose social identity is newly forged as a result of realignments" (my italics) (1990: 171). This observation has particular significance for our analysis in Chapter 4.

A parallel is then extended to longhouses, as housing "some kind of kin-based, socio-economic corporate group," and thus a component part of the larger village corporate function, where social relations were "mediated by kinship, real or fictive." As

such, Ramsden views the "social and political structure of villages ... as ... partly a consequence of their changing physical structure and the ideological contexts in which this was evaluated by both insiders and outsiders" [which] "could also be manipulated to influence people's perceptions of social and political reality" (1990: 172). He further suggests that group identity shifted from definition centering on where the group was residing (band level) to that of greater emphasis on "local" identity of more sedentary populations, and that there was a concomitant greater concern with demarcation of boundaries. This perspective is in alignment with that which Wilson (1988) proposed concerning (symbolic) distinctions of space in agricultural and hunter-gatherer oriented societies, as discussed in Chapter 2. Moreover, he suggests that these changes might be expressed in ceramic decoration, contrasting Middle Woodland vessel decoration with that of the Huron (i.e., separated vs. contiguous zones) (Ramsden 1990: 173). Ramsden thus advocates an inclusive approach to the retrieval of symbolic meaning from material culture remains. One of his final points is particularly pervasive; that changing patterns of subsistence cannot lead to changes in settlement without a corresponding shift in ideological systems.

Although he doesn't specifically address ideology, Murphy's (Murphy and Ferris 1990: 253, 254) contention that the Sherman Site structure represents a Central Algonquin winter cabin implies those ideological connections discussed in Chapter 2 pertaining to a hunting-focused society. These connections include " size, construction technique, east-west orientation, eastern doorway, interior configuration, mid-line poles,

central hearths, and the bare sleeping areas to the rear of the house" (Murphy and Ferris 1990: 254). This is a case (the first documented) of a single structure Western Basin Springwells occupation, of which Murphy and Ferris contend there are no Iroquoian analogues. Although inconsistencies in their reasoning has been pointed out by Stothers *et al.* (1994: 157, 158), I feel that the Sherman Site is distinctive enough to at least make some tentative comparisons with a Central Algonquin winter dispersal pattern. And although the Western Basin component of the Haagsma Site is thought to be a warm weather situation (Chapter 4), it is useful (recalling the similarities in summer/winter Central Algonquin structures from Chapter 2) to note comparisons with the Sherman Site (chiefly regarding orientation, interior configuration, and feature types).

One of the more interesting cases of mortuary ideology, even though not related to dwellings or their features, but which nonetheless may have application to a particular activity at the Haagsma Site, is Fox and Molto's (1994) study. The researchers relate a specific ideological practice to the remains of a highly regarded figure--that of a proposed "bear shaman" of the transitional Middle Woodland/Late Woodland period. Here is an instance of a single interment which was exposed by erosion along the north shore of Lake Erie (Long Point). What was left of this individual was associated with several unusual artifacts, including particular bear bones (altered mandibles and phalanges), an otter maxilla and bone tube (in situ), and several 'suggestive' pebbles (i.e., quartz) and worked stone.

Using a combination of context-specificity of the remains and artifacts, and an ethnohistoric inventory of the use of and significance of the associated artifacts and resources present, Fox and Molto are able to build a rather convincing case for the ascription of this individual as a shaman, of either or both of two persuasions (curing/divination). Central to the case is evidence of bear ceremonialism (after Hallowell, 1926) and a likely otter-skin medicine bag, both reconstructed through sound ethnohistoric sources.

Two artifact-specific studies stand out in relation to symbolism in the northeast. Hammel (1983), as noted in Chapter 2, has detailed the persistence of the metaphor of colour symbolism from a survey of glass trade beads on archaeological sites and rigid ethnohistoric and mythic documentation and subsequent importance attached to shell, quartz crystals, and copper/ochre, specifically the "semantic domains" which stem from these. These domains are equated with life, light (white = cognitive, red = animate, black = absence of, asocial), mind and knowledge, among others. Ritually these qualities are often expressed in opposition to each other. Hammel suggests that it is no surprise that the above symbolism was easily transferred and enhanced via the adoption of trade beads during European contact. Examples of symbolically 'charged' contexts are offered archaeologically, specifically related to berries, quartz and white artifacts (flint), smoking pipes with bead eyes, and mortuary ceremonialism.

Matthews (1978) has similarly systematically analyzed various types of smoking

pipes from historic archaeological sites in New York State and Ontario (zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, effigy) and isolated their design elements. She has identified a number of significant animal, bird and reptile forms and related these (in smoking context) to Iroquoian shamanism. She has also postulated that "pinch-face" pipes connote curing shamans themselves. She states (1978: 188), "It has become increasingly apparent that traditionally, Native Americans rarely employed designs which were purely decorative and it would seem incongruous that pipes, containers for tobacco, would be given meaningless designs, even in the early historic period."

Both these studies are significant in that they provide evidence for the persistence, if not greater elaboration of symbolism in the face of considerable cultural transformations, including the (often forced) interaction of differing ideological systems. As such, they also provide evidence for the essential resiliency of a traditional world view in times of stress, even if this is not apparent on the surface.

Our last example involves another feature specific context on an early Iroquoian site, and situated within overlapping houses. This feature was unusual in that it contained the remains of an extinct parakeet juxtaposed with a stone smoking pipe. The researchers (von Gernet 1993: 76-77) first established that the "physical and conceptual association of birds and tobacco use was not unique, but had a widespread New World distribution that crosscut archaeologically and ethnologically-delimited 'cultural' boundaries." Attributed to this association were shamanistic correlations ("manipulation of

ornithomorphic accoutrements to facilitate soul flight," use of tobacco, use of smoking devices), precipitated by the "widespread diffusion of these predispositions" (rather than specific symbols). The symbolic context in this case was 'excavated' by an understanding of the "cultural constraints which may have led to the observed continuities ..." (1993: 76). Thus, in eastern North America, certain items such as "pipes, atlatls, ritual staffs, shells, quartz, copper, feline-headed serpents, packs or sacred bundles, vines, gourds, and colourful birds ... have such a cross-cultural or regional consistency ..." [of meaning] ... "that the assumption of temporal uniformity is not unreasonable" (1993: 77).

The "calumet" style pipe in particular (as that recovered at the Haagsma Site) has significant symbolic correlations. Hall (1979: 511) has suggested a metaphoric, conceptual continuity of these pipes with that of bannerstones, atlatl weights, etc., from earlier prehistory. Similarly, von Gernet and Timmins (1987) have detailed cultural and temporal continuity in calumet-style pipes, "skeuomorphs," and bird symbolism and tobacco smoking as essential components of a pan-cultural substratum involving altered states of consciousness, visions, etc., to achieve communion with the otherworldly for a variety of purposes (i.e., divination, curing). Callender (1978: 257) refers to Jesuit accounts amongst the Illinois which describe the ritual nature, social aspects, and the connection of the "Calumet Dance" with exchange, and states that "its significance may have narrowed during the period after contact."

Von Gernet (1993: 77) stresses that it is "essential to establish the relative

position of the specific symbolic associations, ideations, cognitions, or beliefs on the universality- idiosyncrasy continuum." This approach therefore illustrates the relevance of the contextually- appropriate use of cultural substrata and ethnographic analogy in recovering meaning in such a seemingly isolated case. Far from being isolated however, an analogous practice to that of the above example is proposed to have occurred at the settlement in this study, for discussion in Chapter 4.

Wright nevertheless (as discussed) takes issue with the persistence and demonstratability of Hall's 'substratum' (from the first example in this chapter). Others however are in agreement with and have added substance to Hall's approach. Penny (1986-87) has illustrated the continuity in ideation from Hopewellian to Point Peninsula cultures through an analysis of artifact styles. Similarly, von Gernet (1993: 75) gives Hall credit for recognizing "that the symbolic and iconographic form of artifacts may continue independently of original purpose or technological function." The arbitrary nature of symbols as argued by Wright (as discussed), is therefore called into question. Hodder (1982b: 9) states "traditional archaeologists use types as indicators of contact, cultural affiliation and diffusion, but the question of which type is used for which purpose is not pursued. The symbol is seen as being arbitrary."

I will now identify some of the most relevant connections from the preceding examples to that of the Haagsma Site, to be described more fully in Chapter 4. It should become increasingly apparent that there is a continuity of these connections running

throughout the thesis, where other associations are introduced and added from chapter to chapter. These examples are firstly, the "Tree of Life/ Axis Mundi," and by extension, "Earth Diver" themes (applied to the association of certain posts and artifacts at the Haagsma Site, discussed in Chapter 4); secondly, artifacts with a time-depth and regional symbolic 'substratum' (applied to context/spatial specificity of certain artifacts at Haagsma); thirdly, subsistence patterns and socially meaningful treatment of artifacts (applied to culture-specific features at Haagsma); and specific features and structures with sound ethnohistoric and widespread archaeological documentation as to morphological, spatial, and symbolic contexts.

Other applications will include (1) the location and nature of the settlement (related to the marginal aspect and frontier nature of Haagsma as a zone of interaction and exchange), and (2) boundaries and partitioning as morphological and metaphorical indices of inclusion/exclusion, solidarity, and sacred or liminal space (as in the 'bounded' and cultural areas delineated at Haagsma). These last two areas of enquiry will be the subject in the following subsection, for without their inclusion in the scheme of things, much of our symbolic analysis will fall short. These will prove to be the pivotal elements in underscoring and situating the dynamics of the proposed symbolic expression at the Haagsma Site.

ii. INTERACTION (Frontiers and Boundaries)

Ideological inquiries within interaction research in archaeology have normally been framed within the scope of two basic theories of interaction: the "core / periphery", and the "peer polity regional interaction" models. In terms of archaeological research in the Northeast and Ontario in particular, two studies will be discussed; one representing the peer polity approach, and the other, a combination of core-periphery and peer-polity models. This will be followed by discussion of a variety of approaches dealing with frontier and boundary research in archaeology.

Cherry and Renfrew (1986: 152) define "Peer Polity Interaction" (PPI) as including "everything from exchanges within and between polities of matter, energy, information and symbolic ideas, through processes of imitation and competitive emulation, to acts of a more negative and hostile character, including outright warfare." This approach is seen as being particularly useful in delineating "multi-dimensional networks of communication" and its attendant symbolism.

"Core- Periphery Interaction" (CPI) on the other hand incorporates the principles of diffusion and migration in explaining the occurrence of similar traits from a primary core area of settlement to outlying peripheral areas of expansion from this core (as in Dincauze and Hasenstab's 1989 explanation of Mississippian, Cahokia (core) based culture and its effects on Iroquoia).

Williamson and Robertson (1994: 27), following the lead of Cherry and Renfrew, question the applicability of the core-periphery model to that of the prehistory of the Great Lakes region, chiefly because of the scarcity of trade materials identified on archaeological sites of the Late Woodland period. They argue that the peer polity model is a better alternative because "prolonged and consistent exchange and communication between peer polities, groups at a similar level of complexity ... is of greater significance than sporadic contacts with more structured, but distant, societies to the south ...," and that the resulting societal changes (referring to Iroquoian society in particular) are better understood in terms of this regular interaction occurring interregionally, rather than from the Mississippian "core" (i.e., Cahokia). Williamson and Robertson (1994: 28) argue that while there may have been knowledge and/or "limited" access to Cahokia, the symbols of that region were not likely incorporated into Iroquoian culture without a process of reinterpretation, and that the deficiency of a core-periphery-based "Mississippification" hypothesis (see below) is its "failure to provide conclusive evidence of midcontinental societies that were capable of acting as cores."

One method in which core centres supposedly effected influence or control over peripheral and distant areas was through ideological means (goods and practices which were tied to a particular religious framework). Williamson and Robertson argue that this did not happen in the proposed case of Cahokian influence in Iroquoia. They instead cite evidence for Mississippian influence in southern Manitoba (Oneota-like artifacts), versus a lack of these in Ontario (other than the rare presence of marine shell, native copper).

Others (Jamieson 1992; Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989) point to a diffusion, or rechanneling and refocusing of these traits to more mundane elements of Iroquoian culture which represent a "threshold level of ideological and/or sociopolitical connectedness between the core and its peripheral or marginal communities" (Williamson and Robertson 1994: 30). Again, Williamson and Robertson (1994: 31) point to the difficulty of defining (artifacts of) a "religious iconography" in Iroquoian society as being distinct from certain "pan-Indian" symbolism, and they supply evidence of the continuity of artifacts (incised horizontals, triangular points, bone and groundstone) from earlier Early Woodland and Middle Woodland cultures which thus "attests to the antiquity of regional interaction among autonomous, similarly structured communities."

Fundamental to the peer polity approach is the identification of "autonomous peer polities," which in the case of Iroquoians, is the "self-governing multi-lineage village" in the Early Late Woodland/ Middle Ontario Iroquoian period, and corresponding "discrete regional clusters," where interaction between these led to the increasing homogenization of Iroquoian culture in the Late Woodland period (Williamson and Robertson 1994: 32). They state that "there do not appear to have been fully formed tribal social systems involved in long distance and large scale politics, warfare and exchange until the Late Iroquoian period." Further, that "Early sedentary villages ... may have been characterized by a flexible and evolving socio-political structure, whereby people were free to pursue seasonal subsistence activities in either extended or nuclear families ... until an increasing dependence on cultigens ... separated men and women for prolonged periods...." It is my

contention that this flexible socio-political structure also occurred on the peripheries of polity interaction well into the period of later sedentism (i. e., the 14th century).

Williamson and Robertson cite Timmin's (1992) research on the apparent value placed on both Early Iroquoian village sites and their hunting territories. There is no reason to assume that this territorial importance didn't extend into later periods, or may have even been further enhanced due to the increasing size of corn fields. The point here is that early Iroquoians were oriented, by virtue of an increasing development of village networks and associated relationships, towards amalgamation into larger villages and resultant broader exchange networks in the Middle Iroquoian period. Rapid changes in 14th century Iroquoian society included intensified food production which led to the development of village councils concerned with such ideo-political activities as "spousal exchanges, war alliances, and trading relationships" (Williamson and Robertson 1994: 36).

Williamson and Robertson (1994: 38) also assert that (following Schortman and Urban 1992) the homogenization of certain ceramic traits (horizontals) served to symbolize group affiliation (i.e., the sharing of social ties between regional peer polities) because of visibility/redundancy. Ceramic standardization is seen as the result of a loss of "regional distinctiveness," diminishing cultural differences and a loss of boundary definition. On the other hand, as Wobst (1977: 329) relates, a given style may be maintained "in contrast to similar signals of surrounding social groups" in the process of

boundary maintenance (an insight which seems to have application to 'amalgamated' and 'exclusive' populations at the Haagsma Site, to be discussed in Chapter 4). As suggested, the essence of this is that Iroquoian society was increasingly becoming programmed to that of amalgamation, leading to an "unprecedented level of inter-regional interaction and integration during the Middle Iroquoian period" (Timmins 1997: 487). Importantly, this programming was occurring on the symbolic level as well.

Williamson and Robertson emphasize that the relatedness of peer polities depends on an understanding of exchange systems, and further, that traditional archaeologists have assumed that "conquered or acculturated " groups embrace the ideologies of the predominant group, which has been shown to be false in ethnographic contexts (following Hodder 1992: 37). They also claim that "In that exchange networks were grounded in negotiation and social obligation, they may have dissolved if they were not regularly affirmed ..." (1992: 38). Symbolic communication is thus facilitated through a shared understanding " of a set of rules regulating the organization and meaning of symbols," although as Cohen (1985) holds (as discussed), this shared understanding is not necessarily as widespread as believed (this has application to the proposed reorganization or reformation of ideological aspects of cultural interaction at the Haagsma Site).

In response to Williamson and Robertson's critique of her "core-periphery interaction based Mississippification" approaches, Jamieson (1994: 45-47) argues that her model is a "PPI" approach when polities are at the "same level of development," but is

different (core/periphery-oriented) when that interaction includes more complex, "Mid-Atlantic, Fort Ancient, and Piedmont polities." Her premise is that the "greater the degree of peaceable interaction, the more similar the material culture owing to shared information and ideology." Further, she asserts (1992: 71) that the "ideological effects of Mississippification are believed to have extended beyond Iroquoia proper " (following Fox 1991), and that the boundaries of the northern Algonquins and Iroquoians were permeable, as a "consequence of the symbiotic interdependence between horticulturists and hunter-collectors" She stresses that long distance relationships developed during the Middle Ontario Iroquoian stage, but doesn't argue that there were "large scale or highly developed relations between Ontario populations and people in the southeast or midwest," nor does she imply "loss of autonomy of polities external to Ontario" (1994: 45).

Rather, her views on interaction entail "small scale migrations focused around circumscribed ethnic or kin group linkages [which] typically involve return movements to the place(s) of origin as well as the diffusion of objects and information about social institutions and ideology"(1994: 45). Jamieson sees reciprocal exchange (following Sahlins 1974) as an integral component of these migrations, whereby peaceable linkages are initiated and sustained, and resource risks may be reduced: "It is proposed that diverse populations were being drawn into reciprocal exchange agreements based either upon real or fictive kinship and/or interethnic relations with Early Ontario Iroquois populations and that the spread of ethnic identities and kin groups was a part of this process" (1994: 45). I

will suggest that this type of relationship occurred between Western Basin and Iroquoian groups at the Haagsma Site.

Jamieson (1994: 76) sees an Iroquoian continuity with southern (Cahokian) religious ideology as "local expressions" involving the use of certain traits, artifacts, and practices such as "mortuary homologues, ritual use of tobacco, chronic warfare, cannibalism, and the salamander or lizard motif." She argues that "Diffusion can, and does occur when gifts are given (the basis for trade) and information and ideologies are exchanged." This exchange of ideologies she claims promotes "social evolution," where acceptance of these materials entails a filtering and modifying process through "intervening cultures." One of these intervening cultures she identifies as the Western Basin: "Springwells populations introduced some Mississippian-derived ceramic elements into extreme southwestern Ontario during the Middle Ontario Iroquois period," while others of these "may have been introduced through an Oneota-Odawa-Ontario Iroquois link " (following Fox 1991). Further, she sees the Western Basin Wolfe Phase as being "increasingly influenced by Mississippified traits," i.e., shell-tempered ceramics, and worked bone and shell assemblages (see also Murphy and Ferris 1990; Stothers and Pratt 1981) (Jamieson 1992: 76-77). The Neutral are also regarded as having become more "Mississippified" than other Iroquoian groups, by virtue of their gateway position (see Rotstein 1988 in Chapter 4). Mentioned here is the clay capping in ossuaries, one of those substrata traits from Hopewellian times elaborated on by Hall, as discussed in the previous subsection. For Jamieson, the Western Basin provided a link for the Iroquois to

those Mississippian influences, and therefore also a necessary exchange link.

I view the debate between Williamson/ Robertson and Jamieson and their respective applications of "peer polity" and "core-periphery" concepts one of degree and definition rather than of fundamental difference. Together their views represent a positive step towards the delineation of interaction processes in the archaeological record of Ontario and the Northeast, and as such have a bearing on this particular study.

For a broader perspective on why these exchanges should occur in the first place, I refer to Helms (1992: 157) research on the role of "political ideology," which she asserts adds another "major dimension" to the understanding of long-distance or interregional contacts, as opposed to that of the traditional "political economy" model. While the political economy model is primarily concerned with the exchange of valuable resources or artifacts as status motivators, Helm's approach addresses both the meaning of the context in which these materials are obtained and that of the context of the activities associated with the contact of these domains. Also in question here is the assumption that type and amount of exotic goods on a site is an accurate indicator of the significance or degree of exchange. These contacts she relates, may be approached as **"conjunctions between cosmological systems** in which attitudes about the structure and functioning of the cosmos or universe have a significant effect on the nature and meaning of such interactions" (1992: 157) (my emphasis).

Referring to Durkheim, she states that distant lands or spaces are "charged with symbolic connotations" (1992: 158). Similarly, those inhabitants living on the fringes of cultural regions, or further away from the "heartland" are defined in contrast to the core region. Perceptions of these individuals from unknown areas may thus range from "inhuman" to "superhuman" (i.e., great shamans), and/ or the distant lands may be associated with ancestral or cosmic origins. She regards those attributes of the "horizontal axis" (domains) of the "axis mundi" as paralleling those of the vertical domains, and that these domains invariably connect with each other (as noted in Chapter 2, and its relationship to the dwelling space). Therefore, contacts with the geographically/ horizontally distant land should be regarded as "ideologically exceptional activities, ..." and that those involved in such contacts should be regarded as "political-religious specialists." Helms finds support in this perspective in the ethnographic record, where she states there are various accounts of shamans as long-distance travelers (1992: 159).

Contacts on the horizontal plane of the axis mundi, in contrast to the vertical are, as Helms (1992: 159) states, of a more "tangible" nature, such that "proof" of this contact can be observed in powerfully (symbolically) charged material, or in the display of "elaborate hospitality," or "learned conversations, ..." such that these experiences can "imbue" those involved with "esoteric" knowledge of the cosmos." These individuals thus acquire greater prestige (than those who stay at home). Prestige might even be enhanced when the journey and contact is made with those regarded as dangerous, unfriendly, etc., and that this "mystical power" can even be used to legitimate cultural

origins, "lineage founders", etc., as these episodes become interwoven into mythic portrayal, and in effect can become "pilgrimages." As we shall see, these assertions are of particular relevance to the exclusively Western Basin group at the Haagsma Site.

Although the polities on the fringes of the cultural or geographic regions in question may have been charged with the politics of negotiation, the 'arena' for these negotiations demanded a degree of neutrality and /or 'sacred space,' as Rotstein (1988) notes of the Neutrals strategic position in Chapter 4: "Historical Relationships." As Helms (1992: 171-172) observes in presenting scenarios of contact and interaction between Europeans and indigenous groups, fear was a central component of either group's perceptions of the other. It is likely that this was the case in terms of long distance contacts between native groups as well. Neutral and sacred spaces were thus regarded as a mutually held or sanctioned territory where interaction could proceed peaceably (see Hodder 1979: 450). It follows that areas on the periphery were also more resilient or flexible towards adopting and integrating ideological attendants, such as those associated with spousal exchange, spouse/commodity exchange, etc. (as proposed at the Haagsma Site).

It is important to note that these contacts themselves undergo transformations. As Schortman and Urban (1992: 238) relate, there can be cases where "initial voluntary contacts are transformed into tribute-paying relations as certain polities expand at the expense of their former partners." Further, they state that "Egalitarian societies have a

less predictable need for exotics, but that this doesn't mean that " extrasocietal contacts are ... unimportant to their processes of change,..." where the movement of domesticates is seen as playing a major role in "cultural shifts." Once a stratified polity appears however, they assert that "coevolutionary relations become inevitable ... and intersocietal contacts assume crucial roles in prompting and guiding processes of sociopolitical change" (1992: 238). Implied in this is that the **initial** shifts, i.e., 'prompters' towards a stratified polity are particularly crucial in determining the direction that intra-polity relations take. Can we thus infer that stratification begins or is transformed in these peripheral/ frontier areas? Schortman and Urban (1992: 242) observe that "Strategic location within an interaction network can itself, be an important resource ... Less well-situated polities will have to depend on their strategically positioned neighbours for politically critical resources." This leads to the formation of "gateway communities," as in the case of the Neutral (Rotstein 1988). It is my contention that strategic location was a component of the Iroquoian expansion prior to that of the historic Neutral (as in the 14th century), in the frontier region in question (see also Murphy and Ferris 1990).

Further to this, a particular "identity membership" (i.e., elite) and its inherent symbolism "may facilitate centralized control over exchanged goods" (Schortman and Urban 1992: 243). These situations are regarded as "inherently unstable," and may ultimately involve the "tribute" situation described earlier, with resulting further facets of complexity (1992: 243). Peripheral hierarchies may ultimately develop, and a core-periphery system becomes established (presumably in fully-formed state societies).

However, these relations in a non-capitalist situation are regarded as "fragile", and are prone to fluctuations in **interregional dependence**. "Prestige core ideologies" are cited in legitimizing "new power relations," giving "scions an edge in local competition." These "dependency elites" then receive the "paraphernalia of, and sacred association with the foreign ideology...." If peripheral 'scions' secure enough supporters, they may eventually form a core of their own. On the other hand this peripheral region may be subject to a military takeover by the original core (Schortman and Urban 1992: 243). Trinkaus (1984: 37) refers to these local elites as manipulating or "bending local social networks," in effect "the bending of reality" as being the "*usual* role of political iconographies".

Schortman and Urban (1992: 245) state that "Apparently it is only when conquest and tribute replace contact and voluntary exchanges that the interregional sociopolitical system stabilizes to the benefit of populous cores." Finally, they suggest that "An ideological reliance may be a weak basis for long-term domination but it is nonetheless significant during the first contact stages" (1992: 248). I would add that although much of the above argument is framed within the analysis of state societies, there are relevant comparisons (e.g., long distance travelers or shamans as potential 'scions', or elites) to be found in pre-state societies undergoing transformations, as in the study area in question. It is proposed therefore that this 'bending' (and blending) of reality described above is a consequence of the interaction in the case study discussed in Chapter 4, and that a mutual ideological reliance is proposed to have developed (at least initially)

between the two cultural groups under study.

The politics of power and its attendant symbolism are not confined to so-called "complex" societies, as Miller and Tilley (1984: 14) argue. Evidence of contacts and/or influence in various forms between regional polities in southwestern Ontario abound, as Williamson and Jamieson (as discussed) reveal. For example, an expanding polity such as the Iroquois in the 14th century may have been actively seeking those foreign persons of influence as mediators possessing the influence to further their settlement cause. Western Basin groups likewise were undoubtedly experiencing transformation in response to a number of variables not unlike those of the Iroquois (as historical records suggest, this was a time of realignment and relocation for these groups as well, ultimately connected with a mythic pilgrimage from the east coast). Also, the Central Algonquin (Potawatomi) were documented historically as expanding their polities (see "Historical Relationships," Chapter 4).

At issue during this period of relatively rapid transformations may have been the degree of the adoption of agriculture (both actually and symbolically) into the respective (Western Basin and Iroquoian) social systems, such that factions may have resulted within or between polities whereby certain of these may have been more willing to adopt a greater degree of sedentarism. For although both Iroquoian and Western Basin cultures incorporated agriculture into their economies to a large degree in the Late Woodland period, the persistence of former subsistence patterns is thought to have been

characteristic of the Western Basin as a whole, despite a proposed territorial contraction on behalf of later Springwells groups (see Murphy and Ferris 1990). Nonetheless, the Iroquoian influence may have been more of an attraction to some Western Basin polities, particularly those living in the peripheral zones of their own regions. This situation of course could work both ways, as Dennel (1985) has pointed out. Both she and Moore (1985) have weighed and framed the options available on the interfaces of hunter-gatherer and agriculturalist interactions.

Dennel (1985: 123) has outlined the perspectives of interaction and integration options concerning the two characteristic types of societies. She relates that contact between these usually takes place in the "agricultural territory," owing to the greater amount of time spent by agriculturalists in a smaller territory, which demanded intensive labour requirements. Concerning what the agriculturalists had to gain from hunter-gatherers, Dennel (1985: 123) offers that the latter "possessed a considerable and potentially useful knowledge of the resources and terrain, and who also had useful resources such as furs, hides, game, and raw materials that could be obtained through exchange, " as well as a potential source of "mates and labour." She suggests that hunter-gatherers on the other hand, may "have felt hostility towards the incoming group." However, "curiosity about the novel resources, techniques, and way of life... was likely to be equally appealing," and suggests that this was particularly the case on behalf of the younger adult population (1985: 123). The advantages of an agricultural way of life entailed that less time was spent looking for food, and the threat of hunger in winter was

lessened. Dennel (1985: 124) views this interaction in terms of boundary 'permeability', where "mobile" and "static" frontiers entail on the one (former) hand, "porous" boundaries with three options of "contact leading to:

1. assimilation of hunter-gatherers into farming communities
2. acquisition by hunter-gatherers of farming resources and techniques
3. migration of resources into hunter-gatherer area, [and still on behalf of the former], "impervious" [boundaries entailing colonization whereby] hunter-gatherers are displaced by agriculturalists, or hunter-gatherer areas are vacated by disease and then colonized.

Static frontiers on the other hand, involve "open" or "closed" boundaries whereby the former constitutes a "symbiotic exchange of goods across the frontier", or a "parasitic" relationship entailing "theft of agricultural goods/resources by hunter-gatherers" (as in "negative reciprocity"). "Closed" boundaries of course entail no contact whatsoever.

If Dennel's boundary/subsistence attributes are applied to the study area in question (Chapter 4), it will be seen that this region entails a 'mobile' frontier, with a corresponding 'porous' boundary involving any (or combinations of) of the interaction variables cited, including those pertaining to 'static' frontiers.

Exchange between hunter-gatherer and agriculturalist groups from a cultural ecologist perspective is seen as a response to the costs of mobility which is born by the hunter-gatherer (Moore 1985: 104). The agricultural society is viewed as possessing the 'upper hand' in interaction situations, ultimately leading to a "patron-client" relationship. As Dennel (1985: 124) cautions however, ethnographic data indicate that "hunter-

gatherers can eat better and work less than their agricultural neighbours." Nonetheless, Underhill (1965) posited that the 'mana' of hunting groups is in constant opposition to that of planting societies, and that women endure less hardship in the latter case.

Importantly (and as stressed earlier), neither of the two cultures in the study area and time period in question could be regarded as strictly "forager" or "farmer," but rather emergent farmers in terms of the Iroquoians, while both retain a degree of hunting and collecting sustenance (degree being the pivotal variable here), with Western Basin groups resisting (to a degree) the wholesale changes that Iroquoians adopted. For if as Denneil (1985: 125) suggests, "the symbols of the intrusive agricultural way of life could have been important devices for encouraging hunter-gatherers to transfer to agricultural groups," these symbols may also have equally discouraged specific polities from participating to a greater degree in an increasingly agriculturally dominated system. Whether adoption or integration occurs and to what degree depends upon the specific conditions occurring in the marginal zones related to those polities in contact.

I have attempted to provide some of the possibilities and alternatives of interaction situations and the consequences that may result. What needs to be considered archaeologically is the nature of these interacting polities themselves, and not simply the resource/caloric/mobility factors, but a whole range of variables involving complete settlement and subsistence strategies, and historical continuities of sociopolitical patterns and political ideologies, as in the case of Helm's (1992) research as discussed. The

advantages and types of interaction afforded to either, specific to each groups inferred position in that period in history and prehistory need to be assessed. It is thus the range of advantages and types of interaction that are being considered here prior to narrowing the focus to the study area and site in question.

If social relations mediate the access to resources however, they may also create tensions between, as Hodder (1985: 141) illustrates, old and young, and males and females, as a component of "negative reciprocity," which provides an indication of the degree of the representation of material culture at the borders "between and within social units." Hodder (1982b: 9.5) states, "The meaning in an exchange act involves the symbolism attached to an object in a local context and the symbolic power held by an object in being transferred from one context to another." He is thus critical of broad-scale approaches to the analysis of exchange: "Exchanged objects mean different things in different local contexts," and the tendency to view exchange as a "regulatory mechanism" (as in a cultural ecologist paradigm) fails to give an adequate account of symbolic meaning (1982b: 9.5). "Any particular object type may, in a local context, have a meaning and power resulting from its place within a structured set of symbols. This meaning could be appropriated by an elite group as a part of an ideology of legitimization, but such symbolism can only be examined by structural and contextual studies" (1982b: 9.5). Hodder is thus advocating a need for an approach of the internal generation of strategies and how items are given meaning in local context. In his ethnoarchaeological research on the Tugen and Njemps in Kenya, Hodder (1985: 157)

discovered a link between social strategy and "type of cultural organization."

It is possible to generalize and to suggest that in small scale lineage-based societies in which the major concern is to increase labour power, the control of women by men and the negotiation of position by women will become the dominant feature of social relations and will often involve cultural elaboration of the domestic sphere as the focus of male/female tensions. However in small scale societies where the limited resource is not labour but land, women will be important in the negotiation between men for land, but will be undervalued as reproducers; there will be less opportunity for the domestic sphere to be the focus for symbolic manipulation.

It is this regulation of interaction, as in the initial strategy cited above that will be of concern in the following chapter. Hodder (1985: 158) asserts that "All social boundaries are to some extent open. Indeed they only exist because of the need to regulate and control interaction ... The degree to which social boundaries are open or closed depends upon the extent to which they are involved in different types of internal social conflict" (see also Hodder 1979).

Lightfoot and Martinez (1995: 472) bring a more comprehensive archaeological perspective to the studies of frontiers and boundaries than their predecessors. They find three basic problems with previous "core-periphery" studies. These are "a) insular models of culture change that treat frontiers as passive recipients of core innovations, b) the reliance on macro scales of analysis employed in frontier research, and c) the expectation of sharp frontier boundaries visible in material culture." They argue that Core-Periphery Interaction studies don't adequately explain the dynamic interplay that occurs in frontier regions and offer an alternative interpretive framework. They regard

frontiers as "socially charged places where innovative cultural constructs are created and transformed. We believe that frontiers are the front lines in the creolization or syncretization of cultural constructs in culture contact situations Frontiers represent ideal places to study interethnic interactions between diverse peoples; the development of new material and cultural innovations; and the construction, negotiation and manipulation of group identities" (1995: 472).

Lightfoot and Martinez (1995: 478) advocate a "multi-scalar approach ... where ... synthetic research can be undertaken that considers the mediation of the world system at the local level." They note that a 'blurring' of material trait patterns associated with particular groups occurs in marginal areas, in archaeological context. In attempting to illuminate group dynamics on the frontier they cite Ericson and Meighan (1984) in viewing boundary arbitration (i.e. through intermarriage) "as creating a haziness in and along border areas and the hybridization of material items of the two groups in contact" (1995: 482). Particularly significant in their findings is that "Cultural transformations may result because of the dynamic interplay of segmentary or factional groups that cross-cut traditionally defined boundaries between ethnic groups..." (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 483). Power/prestige and access to resources and information come into play here as segmentary or factional groups compete and negotiate (as peer polities) along these lines. "Multiple opportunities" are created involving strategies including "intermarriage, creation of exchange partnerships and development of work co-operatives" (1995: 484). Also, activities to further alliances for an advantage over other competing segmentary

groups arise in these situations.

In addressing material culture in contact situations, Lightfoot and Martinez (1995: 485) state that traits "take on new meanings as symbols ... invested ... [leads to] construction of new identities, life ways and world views." Another frontier strategy may be that of resisting innovations and adhering to an established tradition. Significantly, they hold that :

Transformations in the day to day consumption of foods, the construction of architectural features and use of space, and the adoption of tools will take place when individuals choose to broadcast their intimate connections with these other peoples, [and finally], Depending on the axes of variation used to recruit members into factional groups (e.g. kin, gender, social relations, political affiliations, religion, class), different combinations of peoples may be mobilized together for social, political, and economic reasons ... , [such that these strategies] should be visible in the archaeological record (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 488).

It is precisely these transformations and strategies of recruitment and combinations of interaction opportunities that will be of relevance and the focus of discussion in the following chapter.

Lastly, two case-specific studies dealing with interregional cultural interaction in archaeological context deserve mention. These are concerned with inter-site ceramic variation in border or frontier areas; one is from Michigan, while the other is from Quebec. Appropriately, this research borders our study area to the west and east.

In her research, Brashler (1981: 329) applies Barth's (1969) typology of ethnic group boundaries and interaction, essentially an "ecological perspective", to interaction possibilities between three Early Late Woodland traditions (one of which is regarded as sharing Western Basin Young Phase characteristics):

1. They may occupy distinct niches in the natural environment and may be in minimal competition for resources. In this case their interdependence will be limited despite co-residence in the area, and the articulation will tend to be mainly through trade and perhaps in a ceremonial-ritual sector.
2. They may monopolize separate territories, in which case they are in competition for resources and their articulation will involve politics along the border, and possibly other sectors.
3. They may provide important goods and services for each other, i.e., occupy reciprocal and therefore different niches but in close interdependence. If they do not articulate closely in the political sector, this entails a classical symbiotic situation and a variety of possible fields of articulation ...[and finally]...
4. A fourth type of relationship may occur when two or more interspersed groups compete with each other for the same niche. Competition over time may even result in total accommodation and increasing interdependence between the groups or in one group displacing the other.

Brashler (1981) emphasizes the permeability and mobility of boundaries between the groups, while acknowledging external influences; notably those of the south (Upper Mississippian), and east (Ontario Iroquois and/or Western Basin). I would also suggest the permeability and interchangeability between the interaction models used Brashler's work (i.e., Barth's 1969), and for that matter, a study such as Dennels (1985, as discussed). It is conceivable, perhaps even inevitable that combinations of these interaction types occur during the course of culture change, as I will imply concerning the study area in question.

Moreau *et al.* (1991: 33) place a greater emphasis on the flexibility of interaction variables in their assessment of evidence for "Woodland-Period Cultures" in a "frontier area" of eastern Quebec. They acknowledge (following Trigger 1981) a "full range ... of subsistence patterns" ... as supporting ... "a large degree of overlapping variation in social and ideological patterns of both Algonquin and Iroquoian groups, including various modes of relationships among and between them." Moreau *et al.* (1991: 58-59) adopt a more socially specific interaction perspective to these contact situations, entailing a weighing of the variables of imitations, incursions, exchanges, and intermarriages. They note the significance of intergroup intermarriage (as a form of exchange), whereby a new social bond (physical) is represented, ensuring "long-term viability" between "demographically restricted groups", permitting "territorial transgressions" (1991: 59). Similarly, it is a situation of long-term viability and territorial transgressing that is at issue regarding the case study in the following chapter.

In summary, a number of ideas and hypotheses may be drawn together from the above research relative to the situation in the study area in general and the Haagsma Site in particular (to be discussed in the following chapter). These are 1) that the study area represents a frontier region between two or more polities entailing Western Basin and Iroquoian populations, and 2) that the interaction taking place in this area and at the Haagsma Site represents a combination of interregional contact and long-distance contact. Thirdly, it is my contention that the Haagsma Site was accorded a certain degree of neutrality and/or was regarded as 'sacred space'. Further, the region and site will be

shown to satisfy a number of the requirements (as discussed) involving a greater emphasis on "political ideology," and that during the course of its genesis and evolution, the socio-political-religious dynamic at the Haagsma Site was subject to a number of realignments and reinterpretations concurrent with the degree of cultural amalgamation that is proposed to have transpired. Lastly, the site and region as a whole is viewed as a cultural threshold area of negotiation and exchange of various polity adherents or factions, involved in a continual process of transformation of subsistence, settlement, and male/female/kin relations encompassed within spheres of cosmological orientation. The result is a mosaic of influences appearing in the material culture record, where boundaries, as at the Haagsma Site, are both blurred and are very distinct.

The delineation of these requirements will involve an interpretation of the material culture record at the Haagsma Site, in order to provide the specific symbolic linkages which are proposed to have transpired within the realms of interaction and settlement/subsistence strategies. It is important to stress that these realms are interdependent in the case of the Haagsma Site. Each aspect of analysis of these is thus implicit in and reinforces the other, such that each is necessarily woven together when attempting to reconstruct the ideological aspects of frontier dynamics.

Chapter 4

CASE STUDY: THE HAAGSMA SITE (AeHI- 33)

The previous examples of the iconography of habitation symbolism and the ideology of settlement/subsistence practices and interaction in archaeology may now be applied to the examination of a specific prehistoric settlement. Prior to making some specific connections however, I will provide the necessary background information on the nature of the Haagsma Site.

i. Background and Settlement/Subsistence Patterns

The Haagsma Site (AeHI-33) is located in southwestern Ontario, approximately halfway between present-day London and Sarnia, and just within the village of Alvinston (Figures 1, 2, 3). It is situated on the crest of a high (213 metre), gradually sloping west bank of the Sydenham River, and is flanked by two small spring-fed ravines. The study area is located within the Carolinian Biotic Province, the northernmost boundary of which borders the Canadian Biotic Province (Findlay 1978). The site was excavated by the author during the summers of the years 1993 to 1995. It is comprised of the remains of one (extended) longhouse (measuring 23 x 6.5 metres) and a number of exterior post molds and features (Riddell 1994, 1995, in press) (Figure 4). The site is represented by

several components, ranging from Middle Woodland and Early Late Woodland occupations to a predominant mid-range Late Woodland occupation (circa 1350-1450 A.D.). The latter settlement will be the focus of the following discussion (Figure 5).

Judging from the nature of the settlement pattern, artifact types, and radiocarbon dates related to the longhouse at Haagsma, it is apparent that there was an initial Early Late Woodland (ELW) occupation (980 $\pm$ 80 BP: BGS 1664, 936 $\pm$ 70 BP: BGS 1814, 916 $\pm$ 70 BP: BGS 1815) (Cluster Ai), followed by a Western Basin Springwells occupation (600 $\pm$ 70 BP: BGS 1654, 600 $\pm$ 70 BP: BGS 1655) (Cluster A) and subsequent amalgamation of Western Basin Springwells (WBS) and Middle Ontario Iroquoian (MOI) populations (540 $\pm$ 70 BP: BGS 1680) (Cluster B), followed by an expansion of the house (Cluster C), with a still later development of Late Iroquoian (Neutral) settlement. The highest and lowest calibrated ranges of the Western Basin Springwells: Cluster A, and amalgamated groups: Clusters B and C, overlap considerably (Feature 5: BP 669-511, Feature 11: BP 667-509, Feature 29: BP 655-485). Although the earliest dates from Haagsma pertain to the Early Late Woodland period, the ceramic attributes are more characteristic of a later (Uren) period. All three Early Late Woodland features from which radiocarbon dates were obtained contained associated rib-paddled ceramics as a prevalent surface treatment. All dates were obtained from carbonized wood within feature matrixes (BGS = Brock Geological Sciences).

The Haagsma Site was apparently unpalisaded. The longhouse itself was oriented

slightly to the east of the north/south axis. The original house length, representing initially the Early Late Woodland occupation (circa 1100-1300 A.D.) was approximately 18.00 metres. This occupation was determined by the distribution of features containing characteristic Early Late Woodland ceramics (Figure 6). The post-hole pattern delineating the structure reveals a strongly fortified west wall, with a double row of posts spanning much of the original house section and only one obvious opening, near the southwest end. The outer section of double wall posts on the west side of the structure was likely added when the house extension was constructed, as these are in alignment with the extension wall. Another opening, however, was created from the construction of a large elongate interior/exterior feature near the northwest corner of the initial structure. The post pattern is quite dense in this section, where the expansion wall curves inward slightly to meet the corner of the initial structure. The opposite (east) wall meanwhile is single walled and much more intermittent with several gaps in evidence, notably at least a three metre opening midway along the original section, and a 1.5 metre opening between the northeast corner of the original structure and the continuation of the extension wall.

Although these sections are not completely post-less, they are few and far between, creating a number of possible entrances/exits, most obviously alongside several pit features and an exterior hearth, with a smaller opening bordered by a short wall of interior posts which are aligned perpendicular to the main wall. The aforementioned 1.5 metre opening is flanked by a refuse feature(s) on either side with three evenly spaced posts situated between these, but placed at least a metre towards the interior in relation to

the proposed outline of the house. House wall post mold diameter averages 0.07 metres and 0.16 metres in depth (Figure 6).

Turning to the end walls of the structure, the south end is relatively continuous, but is interrupted by one small pit feature where the post molds are sporadic for about a one metre section to the east of this, while there is an intermittent interior partition end-wall approximately 1.50 metres from the exterior row. The post molds representing either of these rows meanwhile, become much more concentrated and clustered on the southeast corner of the structure, with an apparent continuation of the outer corner row in an easterly direction, albeit intermittently, for approximately five metres.

The north end of the longhouse has a much different look (as the east side does to that of the west), with three large nearly sterile pit features interrupting the single wall of post molds, creating at least three possible openings in these areas. In certain sections of the north wall however, the posts appear to have been paired, or double-walled. There appears to have been one small gap in the tightly clustered end wall post molds of the original structure, near the central area and between two elongate features that border the wall. The end wall post molds to the east of this opening are particularly dense, as there is another wall in the expansion extending from roughly the 1.50 metre opening between the expansion wall and the end wall of the initial structure (as described), to the central area of the original endwall, creating a 'v' or funnel-like area. There is also a suggestion of a partial inner partition wall extending from the double-rowed expansion wall on the

northwest side, in an opposing (diagonal) symmetry compared to the partition wall on the south end.

In terms of the interior post patterning, aside from the interior end wall(s) described, there is a cluster of small (less than 0.10 metre diameter) posts situated towards the north-central end of the initial structure and in proximity to a feature cluster area. Most of the smaller posts occur in this end of the house, and in the house extension. Of the larger (greater than 0.10 metre diameter) support post molds, there are several linear sections corresponding to and bordering the feature cluster areas (Ai, A, B, Ci & ii), which are interpreted as separate living/activity locales along either side of the house. Most of these post molds are slightly greater than two metres from the house wall, leaving a narrow (1.50 metre average) central corridor which is relatively post and feature-less. A few post molds are intrusive upon features; most of these are isolated and occur on the periphery of features with no definite wall intrusions. Interestingly, there is a substantial gap in the line of support post molds corresponding to the large opening on the east side, while a section of support post molds on the west side of the structure are directly opposite this gap.

Although support posts, bunklines or stalls would appear to be quite wide (from the outer wall toward the house mid-line) in the Middle Ontario Iroquoian period, and Dodd (personal communication: 1994) states that central corridor width tends to be narrower from a later (Neutral) perspective, the Haagsma house would appear to be an

extreme case of this pattern. Many of the support post molds are quite deep (averaging 0.45 metre) and contain artifacts, notably faunal material and charcoal concentrations (the subject of further discussion).

Turning now to pit feature distribution and types, there are a number (12) of exterior house features. Four of these are both interior/exterior to house features. Final excavations have uncovered several other exterior features. Two of these in particular are shallow, elongate midden basins (Features 90, 91), with the former pertaining chiefly to the later, i.e., post A.D. 1400 occupation (on the basis of ceramic identification) (Figure 4). There appears a definite feature type on the north (expansion) end: four large evenly spaced, shallow and relatively sterile pits within doorway areas. One feature (#32) that is about equally half in and out of the house is a large elongate form that was likely related to processing fish, although may have included other functions besides subsistence. An exterior feature on the east side that is perhaps best interpreted as having a sweat bath function is Feature 17/18, a large elongate irregular form composed of a 'head' of fire-cracked rock. Feature 16 is related to a Middle Woodland occupation (with several corded, coiled fragments of ceramic), and Feature 13 is unique, containing sections of a vessel composed of thin cord-marked, well-made sherds characteristic of later Western Basin Springwells and Wolfe Phase occupations. One of the more interesting features, because of the fact that it is exterior, is a semi-circular hearth on the east side, opposite to the large opening where Feature 6 is located.

Internal pit features appear to cluster into four basic groups which have been defined in terms of stages of occupation and cultural affiliation. The basis for this definition is ceramic attributes. The first group (Cluster Ai) is located primarily along the southeast wall of the original structure and is represented by three large, deeply layered pits (Features 6b, 7, and 12), with one and possibly two other features pertaining to this group located towards the northwest corner of the original structure (Features 34 and 37). Radiocarbon dates from Features 7 and 34 (980 and 916 BP respectively), and comparable ceramic characteristics place these features within the Early Late Woodland period, although these characteristics would suggest a later time-frame than the dates reveal (as suggested previously). Each of the Early Late Woodland designated features contained ceramics that are characteristic only of that period (aside from the rib-paddling technique), or the ceramics bearing later attributes were in distinct upper layers of the features.

Somewhat overlapping this cluster on the east side but extending further north are a group of features (Cluster A) pertaining to a Western Basin Springwells occupation. Features 11 and 5 have been dated to 1350 $\pm$ 70 A.D. (600 BP), while Feature 5 and Feature 3 contain (almost exclusively) substantial sections of braided cord-impressed (MaComb Linear) ceramics, which are generally found on sites much further west, i.e., in Michigan (and will be the subject of further discussion). Feature 6a meanwhile is intrusive on 6b, while Feature 57 in the extreme southwest corner may also pertain to this cluster. All these pit features are small and circular with relatively shallow basins (0.20-

0.30 metre).

The third group is located along the west wall and north end (Cluster B) and is represented by several features identifiable by type on the basis of excavated profiles and floor plans. Some of these are circular with very deeply lensed, squarish basins (Features 30, 31, 33, 37 and 34), while one (Feature 29) is unique in that it has an expanding basin and an irregular (kidney-shaped) plan. A date of 1400 $\pm$ 70 A.D. (540 BP) was obtained from wood charcoal in this feature. This group of features is interpreted as a Western Basin Springwells/Middle Ontario Iroquoian amalgamation, for reasons that will be elaborated on later. Other features located within this cluster are shallower, ovate-acuminate shaped and contain fewer artifacts.

Several other features are located along the southwestern side of the house. These are generally undiagnostic, however Feature 25 likely pertains to a Middle Woodland occupation (owing to a distinctive Selkirk chert assemblage), along with others in a similar alignment (27, 19), but is otherwise undiagnostic. Two of these larger features are somewhat 'amoeboid'-like. The largest appears to be simply a shallow living-floor stain. The combined features in the northeast corner are part of a sheet midden-like area, with pockets of ash and fire-reddened soil throughout (possible remains of hearth cleaning).

The remaining pit features are located in the house extension area (Cluster Ci & ii), two of which are similar to the deep-basin, lensed features described in Cluster B.

These are Features 68 and 71, while the others are considerably shallower and contain fewer artifacts. Features 72, 75, 76, 77, and 78 are large but rather shallow pits (0.10-0.20 metre in depth) located in or near the end-wall openings on the east. These were also relatively devoid of artifacts. This occupation is interpreted as a continuation of the amalgamation in Cluster B, but with a greater Iroquoian influence (as determined by the ceramic types).

In terms of the artifact distributions and comparisons, it is apparent that there are certain classes of ceramics and faunal and floral remains that are distinctive from the overall assemblage and are likewise clustered exclusively within the longhouse. These artifacts and associated feature/post clusters pertain to a Western Basin Springwells (WBS) cultural affiliation (Cluster A), while much of the remainder of the assemblage is indicative of a characteristic Middle Ontario Iroquoian (MOI) affiliation (Clusters B and C). However, there is also a 'gray area' in between the two, where a blending of ceramic traits is noted in several pit features (Figure 7, 8). Briefly stated, the distinctions between the ceramic assemblages involves the presence of braided or twisted-cord linear impressions applied to small everted, well constructed grit-tempered and slip-roughened or wiped and/or rib-paddled vessels among the Western Basin Springwells population. This practice is contrasted with plain incised horizontal/oblique designs applied to larger collared, globular, rib-paddled grit-tempered vessels among the Middle Ontario Iroquoian population. The 'gray area' ceramics meanwhile, involve combinations of these traits, particularly in Cluster B, and especially so in Feature 29. These vessels also appear to be

less carefully constructed, in that they are composed of inordinately large pieces of temper and are prone to sloughing off in layers (or exfoliating), particularly the slip-roughened examples.

However, what is generally absent from either Cluster B or C ceramics is the braided or twisted cord technique, while slip-roughening, regarded as a Western Basin characteristic (Murphy and Ferris 1990: 216), is predominant in Cluster B and is a persistent trait, albeit in lesser amounts, in the Cluster C house extension. It is this persistence which I believe to be significant in terms of providing an indication of the proposed amalgamation and formation of a frontier population comprised of a mixture of influences and orientations. In short then, we can see a gradation of ceramic types and techniques, from the near exclusivity of MaComb Linear cording design on rimsherds, with similar slip-roughened and rib-paddled frequencies in Cluster A (Western Basin Springwells), to the near exclusion of cording and increase in slip-roughened and combination techniques in the Cluster B amalgamation, to a complete lack of cording and increase of rib-paddling, but persistence of slip-roughened and combination treatments in the Cluster C amalgamation (Figure 7, 8).

Regarding the comparisons of faunal and floral resources between the groups, it is apparent that there was a different procurement strategy operating on behalf of the strictly Western Basin Springwells population, involving the utilization of differing resources in some instances, and a differing emphasis on a particular resource in others. For example,

select elements of bear (i.e., metapodial) are present in a Western Basin Springwells feature, and likewise in two Early Late Woodland features (with different elements of bear in the Western Basin vs. the Early Late Woodland features), while bear remains are absent in Middle Ontario Iroquoian features. Likewise, dog elements are present in primarily Western Basin Springwells features, as is turkey. Fish remains on the other hand are rare in Western Basin Springwells features, but abundant in Middle Ontario Iroquoian contexts. Likewise, deer remains, comprising most of the faunal material at Haagsma, are largely represented in Early Late Woodland and Middle Ontario Iroquoian features. Turtle remains are somewhat of an anomaly in that they do not appear to be associated with any definite diagnostic context or cluster, although turtle shell remains were recovered in feature contexts in Cluster B, and Feature 57 (possibly Western Basin Springwells affiliation). Turtle shell is also represented in several bordering support post molds, as are bone tools (awls and polished bone tube(s)) (Figure 9, 11). It is worthy to note that the Western Basin Springwells faunal assemblage is comparable in terms of sheer mass, despite the proposed shorter duration of occupation, to that of the Iroquoian assemblages. This practice is interpreted as intensive hunting (represented primarily by two features) in a shorter period of time than that of the other occupations.

Generally, cultivated plants are rare in feature contexts at Haagsma aside from an exterior midden feature containing substantial amounts of charred corn remains. Corn figures more prominently in Early Late Woodland and Middle Ontario Iroquoian features, however. Tobacco seeds, while rare, were found to a greater extent in Western Basin

Springwells contexts. Several sunflower seeds were also present in Early Late Woodland and Western Basin contexts. Nut (walnut and acorn) gathering meanwhile seems to have contributed to the sustenance of all groups at Haagsma (Figure 9, 11).

The reasons for the differentiation and emphasis in aspects of resource procurement may be explained in part by the duration and seasonality of the occupations in question. It is apparent that the Western Basin Springwells group was a short term (intermittent?) warm weather situation, given the nature of the faunal/floral assemblages, feature sizes, and house structure configurations, while the Early Late Woodland and Middle Ontario Iroquoian (amalgamated) contingents were more substantial albeit seasonal undertakings. The amalgamated groups (Clusters B and C) likely entailed consecutive spring and fall occupations each, with emphasis on deer hunting, nut collecting, and fishing. The amalgamated and Western Basin Springwells occupations may have involved a primarily alternate (or a single season habitation on behalf of the WBS) sharing of the structure. Again, although earlier dates were obtained from the strictly Western Basin Springwells features as opposed to the single date from Feature 29 in the amalgamated area, the calibration error is +/- 70 years in either case. It seems odd that the whole east side of the house was unused by the amalgamated groups (including the extension) upon the vacating of the structure by the proposed short term occupation of the Western Basin Springwells. This section may have been regarded by the amalgamated group as a 'reserved' area however (for the Western Basin Springwells group), and/or involving factors such as pollution behaviour encompassed within

boundary marking, as discussed in Chapter 1, and to be discussed further.

Whether there was (seasonal) continuity between the Cluster B amalgamation and Cluster C amalgamation (extension) or a period of more extended evolution is another issue, although indications are for a relatively continuous development between the two. The possibility of removed hearth(s) in the Cluster B amalgamation and exhumed features in the extension end openings may indicate various curation and scavenging processes or other broader-based fluctuations (see Tomka 1993: 1, 21, 23; Kent 1993: 56). If the situation in Clusters A and B on the other hand are representative of a more rapid and unplanned abandonment, then "material patterning... should closely reflect the activities performed during site use." This is also true of "specialized structures" (Joyce and Johannessen 1993: 151), "defacto" refuse (A.D., ceramic vessels left intact on the house floor surface, as in Cluster B), and abandonment ritual (Montgomery 1993: 161-162; Lightfoot 1993: 168), which the exhumed features may also indicate. Additionally, it is possible that the sheet midden-like area in the northeast end of the original structure was composed of remnant (removed or cleaned) hearths.

As noted; the amalgamated occupations were apparently a more extensive undertaking than that of the Western Basin Springwells, each composed of (albeit few) stratified features. If the two features (# 34 & 68) accounting for the bulk of the white-tailed deer indicate only two individuals each, the longer-term settlement was perhaps devoted to primary butchering for distribution elsewhere (i.e., a village), with the

homogeneous mix of elements in the features representing the diet of the hunting groups while they in turn provided a larger function. The substantial and widespread distribution of awls on the other hand, but particularly in the Early Late Woodland and amalgamated areas suggests that hideworking and processing was a primary on-site activity.

In summarizing the western Basin Springwells settlement and subsistence in southwestern Ontario, Murphy and Ferris (1990: 254-255) describe a "diffuse pattern of exploitation," with the increasing use of cultigens, leading to "modifications" in warm weather settlement. These modifications include "more formalized living areas" (longhouses and palisades), and larger communities overall. These larger communities (Liahn, Lucier) (Figure 1) are thought to be primarily warm weather settlements located near a wide range of resource opportunities, combined with the use of "key extraction locales", and winter dispersal into small family groups further inland (e.g., Sherman Site). Murphy and Ferris (1990: 254-255) also propose that the more easterly Western Basin Springwells occupations in southwestern Ontario "appear to contract", and that these areas may have been used only in cold weather. They state that by the end of the Springwells period, large settlements are earthworked, and westward movement and appearance of Iroquoian occupation "were probably the main cause for abandonment of southwestern Ontario by the end of the Wolfe Phase" (1990: 255).

In terms of the Iroquoian perspective in this period (Uren and Middleport), increasing reliance on corn cultivation resulted in larger villages, suggesting a "seasonal

round of winter occupation of the villages, and spring-fall occupation of hunting and fishing camps" (Dodd *et al.* 1990: 349). Soil preference for the Uren and Middleport period sites are sandy loam, but with an increase in the Middleport cases of locations on more loamy soils (as at Haagsma), possibly for reasons of prolonged fertility, and an increasing preference for defensible site locations. Subsistence during the Middleport phase meanwhile is generally based on increasing reliance on corn and bean cultivation and "intensive exploitation of locally available land and water species" (Dodd *et al.* 1990: 352). White tail deer figure prominently as a dietary source for both Uren or Middleport sites, but particularly in terms of the Uren, and is not found on all Middleport sites.

Although the nature of the respective subsistence cycles of the Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian differ somewhat, they are also overlapping and equally variable (Murphy and Ferris 1990: 244-255; Dodd *et al.* 1990: 349, 350, 352; Moreau *et al.* 1991: 33). Nonetheless, this mid-range period (A.D. 1200-1400) is seen as pivotal in terms of an ever increasing reliance on corn horticulture and its subsequent and far reaching consequences among Iroquoian populations. At the Haagsma Site there is some evidence of cultigens in terms of the strictly Western Basin component (i.e., Cluster A), yet this is also a settlement of a different nature than that of a winter cabin site such as the Sherman Site (see Murphy 1987). The amalgamated and Middle Ontario Iroquoian presence at Haagsma does not represent a village, although ensuing Neutral development appears to have resulted in a substantial settlement in the area of the nearby gravel pit (based on collections), while the degree and distribution of corn and nut processing seem

to be of more or less equal proportions. It should be noted however, that as the midden feature (#90) is representative of later stages of occupation and a mixture of cultural influences, corn may have figured more in the diet of the Western Basin Springwells at this time (and may have been an exchanged commodity, given the nature of the strictly Western Basin Springwells occupation). It should also be noted that the Middle Ontario Iroquoian presence (as we have suggested) may be related to a village site. The most logical connection here is the Metcalfe Site located some 30 kilometres upstream, although limited surface collections have indicated a later affiliation for this site.

The representation of these two cultures at the Haagsma house would therefore seem to be somewhat anomalous in terms of location and season of occupation when compared with other Western Basin Springwells sites, and similarly in relation to the Middle Ontario Iroquoian pattern, as a small settlement in an isolated location, with a substantial reliance on deer and fish, and less so on corn. The term 'pattern' is of course tentative in this context, as there undoubtedly were many more of these non-village sites.

ii. Symbolic Implications

Elsewhere I have offered a number of proposals regarding the apparent interaction, amalgamation and sharing of the Haagsma structure between Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian groups, ranging from simple emulation to intermarriage and exchange, including the involvement of a regional hybrid population

(Riddell 1995, in press). I believe that exchange in various forms played a major role at the Haagsma longhouse, and that this dynamic is expressed and represented through the house and its features and artifacts as a system(s) of ideation (e.g., cosmological orientation), which may be better understood through an application of symbolic principles and relationships discussed in the previous chapters.

The first component of this symbolic analysis involves the structure and alignment of the house itself. From our discussion in Chapter 2 on Eastern Woodlands iconography, we recall that most oval and rectangular structures are oriented east/west of the main axis, and Dodds (1986) study revealed that the predominant alignment of Neutral houses was slightly east of north. Algonquin dwellings, including the Midewiwin lodge are generally aligned on the east/west axis itself. We shall see that the Haagsma site house appears to follow both of these patterns. A northeast direction may be of particular significance since this is facing the direction of the summer solstice, while the orientation of the large opening on the east side is aligned towards the spring equinox. The elongation of the northeast/southwest axis as realized through the longhouse, the extremes of which occur on Middle Ontario Iroquoian sites, may also be viewed as a metaphoric reification of lineage formation, as Daly (1985) suggests (recall from Chapter 2 that the cardinal directions are directions of actual existence in traditional aboriginal societies). This attribute is one of the constants that, given the consistency of patterning in prehistoric contexts (e.g., Dodd 1984), I would argue has a time-depth continuity into the historic period and contemporary times, for that matter (while acknowledging 'practical' responses

to the environment; as stressed, both are inextricably linked).

Eastern orientations and openings are important because historically they connote birth, origins and the arrival of guests. However the orientation of the near due east opening in conjunction with the hearth in terms of the Western Basin group (and considering the expanse of the opening itself) suggests a particular or focused emphasis. This situation appears particularly so given the location of the hearth centrally within the opening (but on the outside of the structure), and its semi-circular form, with the open end facing the structure. The partial wall extending from the southeast corner of the house is suggestive of at least a semi-permanent sheltering function. One is reminded here of the open-walled porch attachment adjoining the main body of the summer house of the historically recorded Central Algonquins, as discussed in Chapter 2. It is possible that this partial wall extended beyond and surrounded the proposed sweat bath feature, however, post molds were very suspect in this area due to porous soil conditions.

It is likely not coincidental that there are several openings in the northeast end of the structure corresponding to the location of the features, while there appears to be a single opening in the southwest end (recall from Chapter 2 that west traditionally connotes death and departure). A larger opening on the west side proper, but near the end wall, may be part of the Western Basin groups version of the structure, as it is in an alignment along the east/west axis with the opening and hearth on the east side (to be discussed later in the chapter). While the Western Basin occupation is characterized as a

short duration affair, it is apparent that they regarded this settlement permanent and important enough to go to the trouble of making alterations in the house structure to suit their tradition. I also suggest that these substantial changes in the house design were amenable to the Iroquoian occupation by virtue of the exchange occurring between the two parties, and the proposed amalgamation which ensued (i.e., the 'hybrid' nature of the structure reflects the dynamic of the merger between the groups). Additionally, I support this contention even if the structure was shared on a primarily alternate basis, for reasons which I elaborate on during the course of the discussion.

There is other evidence of structural alteration at Haagsma which I believe is indicative of, as Hodder (1989: 36) calls "spatial signals". These consist of a number of partitions, 'fortifications'?, and post alignments bordering the activity/living areas as defined. Although we are dealing here with an earlier component(s), I believe that the alignments which will be described can be attributed to specific, i.e., to that of the Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian occupations with enough confidence given the orientations noted, and certain feature and artifact combinations.

To begin with, the eastern side of the structure, when taken in its entirety is of a much more porous nature than that of the west side, i.e., it is far less fortified with greater spacing between the posts. There are two sections of the house wall on the east however that involve greater post mold densities, i.e., the southeast and northeast corners of the initial structure. Both these sections effectively border the Western Basin (Cluster A)

side of the house, i.e., the area which encompasses those features containing the distinctive MaComb Linear corded ceramics. The southeast corner in particular has the greatest density of posts, and some of these are larger support post molds. This pattern is likely due to both the confluence of the inner partition with the outer wall, and the additional support involved in the addition of the extension ('porch') wall (Figure 10).

The Northeast corner also consists of several larger support-sized post molds. Significantly, there is an opening about 1.00 metre wide in this corner, in an area where the sheet midden-like feature meets the wall. Situated about halfway between this opening and the hearth is another small opening of less than a metre wide which actually appears to form a corridor running from the midden area to the hearth opening. There is a wall-like section of several post molds running off this corridor which borders Feature 3 of Western Basin affiliation. There is also a substantial gap between this section and a series of small post molds bordering the inside of the sheet midden, which appear basically to block the central corridor. Access could have been obtained nonetheless via this apparent partition to the feature cluster area of the Cluster B amalgamated occupation. The narrow central corridor meanwhile is nearly bare (i.e., with few features or posts), and is a metre and one-half or less in width (Figure 10). Although there is no way of knowing for certain that these partitions/alignments occurred for both the Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoians, I am noting here what appears to be unusual post positionings given the distribution of the Early Late Woodland features. And even if some of these post configurations were simply post-molds during the

Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian occupations, they may still have been regarded as posts, or a barrier of some nature (recall Ramsden's 1990 discussion of palisade functioning in Chapter 3).

I propose that the corridor width actually narrowed in the Haagsma house from the initial (Early Late Woodland) occupation to the later period in question, as later support post molds (substantiated by deliberately placed and diagnostic artifact contents) are situated closer to the centre of the house. I contend this situation was due to the lack of use of the corridor, or at least its altered use from a primary channeling and orientation agent in a north/south sense, to that of a buffer zone and boundary presence between the amalgamated and Western Basin living areas. This re-enforcement is supported by a lack of hearth in the corridor, the nature of the artifacts deposited in the support post molds, the nature of the subsistence of Western Basin and amalgamated occupations, and the nature of the interaction between these groups (to be discussed further).

It is also supported by the apparent orientation and focus of the Western Basin contingent as opposed to the predominant Middle Ontario Iroquoian house orientation of northeast/southwest. If one examines carefully the section of house between the large hearth opening on the east side, and the opening on the west side near the southwest corner, one can trace a sort of S-shaped corridor between these points, as there is a definite gap in the interior support post wall opposite the hearth. One suspects that the Western Basin group was able to alter this part of the house to suit their tradition, so that

the focus of this orientation runs across, or cross-cuts the more obvious Middle Ontario Iroquoian-dominated structure to include the hearth and several otherwise "exterior" features, including the proposed "sweat bath." In essence then, they have constructed a house within a house, and they have done this with apparent approval of the Middle Ontario Iroquoian contingent (even if they weren't there for much of the same time). Again I propose what enabled this unusual situation was that the interaction that did take place between these populations was of a significant dimension that produced this culturally hybrid house and community (Figure 10).

More needs to be said at this point about internal house partitions. I would suggest that the extension (i.e., Cluster C) is small and somewhat open-ended due to the nature of the transformations taking place in the community, and its possible eventual relocation to a proposed larger settlement which has been destroyed by quarrying operations. It seems that the house extension (Cluster C) served an essentially autonomous group which developed from the Cluster B amalgamation. This contention is supported by lack of evidence of ceramic mends between the extension and the original house, save for the possible use of the sheet midden-like area where there are distinctive rib-paddled bodysherds similar to those of a Cluster C pit feature. There is also only one narrow opening between the extension and the end-wall of the original structure, which appears to lead to the sheet midden. The original end-wall, with the confluence of a line of post molds from the extension is well fortified. One may therefore regard the extension as functioning as a separate entity, even if the original end-wall were torn

down.

Indeed, this would appear to be the case of the extension in its most obvious expression, as a separate structure outside of the original house endwall. Note how the wall on the east side curves inward to meet the end-wall, while that on the west side does the same, with less of a pronounced curve, but still giving the impression of an essentially circular structure. If extrapolated to include the central corridor partition wall noted above, this line of posts would encompass the sheet midden-like feature and Feature 39, which contains artifacts suggesting affiliation with the extension. The interior sheet midden therefore corresponds with the period of the house expansion, and would appear to be yet another boundary marker. Ceramic evidence supports this later household and continued amalgamation (from Cluster B), and it is my contention that this group functioned as a transitional or even trial community if you will, until its eventual absorption into the predominant Neutral settlement which was located in the vicinity of the nearby gravel/sand pit. The large, shallow pit features located within or in proximity to the openings on the north end of the extension may also be indicative of the transitional nature of this particular group (i.e., the idea that the contents, if there were any, may have been removed during the relocation process, or scavenged thereafter).

There is one opening on the west side of the structure that was formerly part of the double wall on this side. It appears to have been created by the construction of a large indoor/outdoor feature (#32) by the amalgamated population, as it is a part of a cluster of

features containing ceramics (particularly Feature 29) with a combination of attributes and treatments characteristic of both Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian cultures. The function of this particular feature is uncertain, although it may have been related to the processing of fish, evidenced by the numerous remains in either adjacent feature. An additional function, although more suspect, may have included that of a sweat bath during its lifespan, an intriguing possibility given the location and proposed sweatbath function of Feature 17/18 on the opposite (Western Basin) side of the house. While neither of these features fit the sweatbath 'template' of later (Neutral) forms (MacDonald 1988; Dodd and Riddell 1995), earlier versions may have been more variable as were dwellings themselves. According to Dodd and Riddell's (1995: 11) interpretation of ethnohistoric sources, "sweating was an essential element in maintaining or regaining the physical and mental well-being of both the individual and society." This activity included fulfilling dreams, invoking spirits, preparing for war, and diagnosing and curing illnesses.

Equally intriguing is the lack of a hearth inside the structure anywhere, which I believe is a direct reflection of a lack of any one group having control (for any extended length of time) over the entire household. The possession of a hearth by the strictly Western Basin contingent however, even though it is external to the main structure, would appear to indicate some form of exertion in this manner. Nonetheless, the result is a narrower central corridor as noted, with greater space and emphasis on activity/living areas toward the sides of the house, and related cultural definition and internal movement

reinforced through extra partitioning, fortification and realignment. Also entering into the scheme of things in terms of boundaries, cultural definition, and its symbolic connotations is the practice of (proposed intentional) artifact deposition. It is this practice which will now be discussed.

From Chapter 2 we have noted that house posts play a major role not simply in a functional supporting architectural sense, but also in a symbolic supporting sense. This role makes all the more sense when the house is regarded as a living organism, as nature transformed, a body with a life of its own, and a mediator between the mundane and sacred realms. This bridging is accomplished through various acts of communication within the house, and via the use of its component parts and contents as vehicles and metaphors for the otherworldly, the ancestors, etc. The spatial ordering of this body, and in effect the ordering of paths of communication is facilitated through its inhabitants. They provide the ongoing maintenance of the house, rules of interaction within or around it, and provide the means of relating to the house-body as a whole. The house is a tangible symbol of community. However when that community or body is composed of more than one cohesive family, kin, or clan unit that define themselves in contrast to each other, the rules of how each relates to their house, property, personal and group space (or in other words how the dwelling and communication with and within that dwelling is defined) is structured by that particular culture's traditional elements. I have tried to show how these valued elements of tradition have been incorporated into the orientation, partitioning and alignments of this house as a body by, on the one hand, a distinctive

Western Basin Springwells occupation and on the other, a Middle Ontario Iroquoian and Western Basin Springwells amalgamated occupation(s).

Again, the question of why two distinct groups would share a structure to begin with arises, particularly when it seems that they took the trouble to avoid each other to a certain extent, and made significant alterations in house design. I suggest that each group used the house on primarily an alternate basis, but that significantly they also met and interacted periodically, and it is this interaction which precipitated a number of concessions and reconciliations (including ideological). This contact ultimately resulted in a cultural merger, as reflected in a number of combination traits in the nature of settlement, artifact, and particularly in ceramic manufacture and design. I suggest that the dynamic of this interaction was that of exchange, which may have been of more of an informational than material nature, and that it was related to any of a number of factors including frontier maintenance, territorial negotiations, and a realignment and reformation of either cultural 'constituent' (precipitated by circumstances yet to be discussed).

Returning to the task at hand, I have suggested elsewhere (Riddell 1995, in press) that another way in which cultural definition, boundary maintenance, and in at least some cases, symbolic and metaphorical identification is expressed on the Haagsma Site is through the apparent intentional deposition of selected artifacts not only within features, but also in post molds within the house. The seemingly high number of artifacts (scanty comparative information from other sites makes it difficult to substantiate this with any

degree of certainty), but more importantly, specific types of artifacts recovered from deep contexts within large support post molds is intriguing (Figure 11).

The most obvious intentional deposition involves a polished, beveled bone tube placed horizontally at the base of a large post bordering the Western Basin feature cluster area, situated near the central area of the house. These bone tubes have been referred to elsewhere (Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990: 423 ; Skinner 1925: 54, 55) as "sucking tubes," and are associated with curative and shamanic functions. It is probably no accident that there is a characteristic Ontario Horizontal-type rimsherd situated within the same post mold (although not in as deep a context), and pockets of fire-reddened soil. A nearby support post, situated closer still to the Western Basin features (i.e., # 3 and 5) contained pieces of turtle shell and another Ontario Horizontal-type rimsherd deep within the soil matrix (and these need not have been necessarily placed 'post'-post). I have suggested elsewhere that these placements may be indicative of a number of possibilities, all of which carry symbolic overtones. These range from a symbolic reinforcement involved in the erection of the house posts (as replacement or additional posts), to less explicit (buried) boundary markers established by either group, perhaps symbolizing the sharing of the structure or the idea of the sanctity of social/cultural space and associated concepts of pollution. This interaction may have entailed a cure (hence the bone tube), the significance of which was represented or transferred to part of the body of the house via a post. Any of these hypotheses need not be exclusive of each other, and while they are speculative, I will provide further evidence to suggest that it is no coincidence that these

post molds are located where they are, and that they contain the artifacts that they do.

To begin with, there is a large support post mold located within the same post cluster (i.e., post cluster A, bordering feature cluster A) which contained a polished longbone section, and while apparently not a piece of the aforementioned tube, is certainly of like dimensions. Another nearby support post mold contained pockets of fire-eddened soil (a remnant hearth, or some of the Feature 8 hearth?). This amounts to a tight cluster of several posts bordering the Western Basin Features 5 and 3, which contained what I would describe as symbolically 'charged' artifacts. I use the term charged because "sucking tubes" have been documented among the historic Iroquois and Algonquin in curing contexts, as noted (see also Mathews 1978: 169,170). The notion of bone as a vehicle or transmitter comes into play here, and I believe that it is non-coincidental that it is juxtaposed with a post (or former tree) also vested with transmitting potentials (as a potential "axis mundi" between the earth and sky). We might ask why the horizontal placement of the bone juxtaposed against the vertical post? We recall that the axis mundi also has a horizontal dimension connoting relationships on the ground, such as kin/clan, etc. (Williamson and Farrer 1992: 281-282). I view these relationships as having a consistency, i.e., a "sucking tube" deposited at the 'root' of a post (tree), as part of a shamanic tradition, therefore, another time-depth 'constant'. As suggested, it is probably not a coincidence that an Ontario Horizontal-type rimsherd is located in the same post mold, which also contained fired soil. Fire or smoke is known to play an integral part in healing and connecting with the otherworldly, while the rimsherd gives us

a clue to at least one of the possible participants in this event.

Turtle shell is another potentially symbolically charged artifact, and I suggest particularly so in a post mold context (recalling the importance of the tree and turtle associations noted in Chapter 2). Aside from the turtle shell sections contained in the aforementioned post mold(#3), turtle shell fragments were present in a centrally located post mold in the house extension, and in an exterior post mold near the opening on the northeast corner of the original structure. As in the case of the bone tube, the shell in these postmolds was situated near the base of the hole, suggestive of a selective disposal practice possibly related to the construction, rebuilding or repair of the structure. While the association of various items with post molds has been explained as 'chinking' as an aid in securing the post, or as simply incidental refuse patterns, it is doubtful that such was the case in these situations, as the position, size, and durability of the shell would have little effect in an actual reinforcing role, and seems unlikely to be accidentally deposited, given its context.

Moreover, functional properties need not be exclusive of ideational elements. More often than not the two are interrelated, and I suggest particularly so involving interaction situations in boundary areas. This idea of course has been one of the central premises of this thesis from the beginning. We recall from Chapter 1 that the act of sinking a dwelling post into the ground is invested with symbolic and cosmological significance (following Eliade), and when the post is of primary structural significance

coupled with an 'offered' artifact imbued with a particular identity (following Douglas 1996, as discussed in Chapter 1), this relationship between artifact and post assumes a definite quality. The relationship between the turtle shell and posts (representing former trees 'transformed') moreover may be of particular ideational (cosmological) significance, as both entail concepts of fertility and origin (e.g., Parker 1912: 611), and the intentional deposition of sections of a turtle carapace may have ultimately involved a symbolic reinforcement.

Interestingly, the box turtle rattle is regarded "a very old trait" among the Iroquois (Voget 1984: 353). Blandings turtle (the species identified at Haagsma) is similar to the box turtle in that a section of its shell is hinged, which would aid in the conversion to a rattle. While it is a conceptual leap to infer a linkage from several sections of shell to a rattle, perhaps the latter itself was not required in conveying (symbolizing) what had transpired (whether curing and/or contact/amalgamation related), i.e., the creation of a new community, involving connotations of fertility and regeneration. Moreover, Blandings is the sole evidence of turtle at Haagsma, in a region where there would undoubtedly have been other species present (e.g., snapping and painted turtles), and likely in greater numbers.

It is also likely of no coincidence that these depositions are located in peripheral boundary areas between the Western Basin Springwells and amalgamated occupations. This type of scenario may be all the more plausible given the context in relation to other

symbolically charged artifacts and features. The turtle shell connection to posts or trees may be viewed as akin to the bone tube/ post or tree connection in terms of a transmitter to the otherworldly and mythic time. We noted in Chapter 2 that the first vegetation on earth (the world tree or axis mundi) 'sprang forth' from the turtles back (in both Delaware and Iroquoian traditions), and so the shell at the base of the posts takes on a particular cosmogonic dimension. Noted also was a reference to members of the False Face Company rubbing their turtle rattles on pine tree trunks. While this select curing society is supposedly a historical phenomenon, the basic tenets of their practice, i.e., shamanism and the rattle as an instrument of 'transport' and curing have considerable antiquity. The spatial context of the shell and bone tube in their respective posts and the fact that both post molds contain Ontario Horizontal type rimsherds suggests intentional practices.

Turtle shell was also present in three pit features, but again in peripheral or bordering areas of the house, and with small sections of shell in each. In one instance it was recovered inside a plain in-situ vessel on the house floor (Feature 40) in the Cluster B amalgamation feature area. The other two examples are from features located at opposite corners of the house. Both of these features have indications of Western Basin presence. Feature 49 (part of the sheet midden-like mass) in particular contained corded bodysherds alike those of Feature 69 in the house extension.

Summarizing these symbolic connections thus far, we find the combination of particular artifact types (bone tube, turtle shell, and rimsherds) with primary support posts

located in peripheral or bordering areas of the house. The fact that turtle shell in particular is most prevalent in post molds, and together with the bone tube(s) and rimsherds are located between the Western Basin Springwells and amalgamated sections of the house is considered significant. These depositions are suggestive of an investment in affirming the distinction of these living areas within the dwelling, but also an affirmation of a sharing of the structure as a whole, and the interaction that is proposed to have transpired between the two groups.

Spatial context is also a consideration when one compares the aforementioned post and artifact combinations in relation to the Western Basin pit Features 3 and 5. As noted, the 'charged' post cluster is located in proximity to these features, i.e., bordering these and the central corridor. Feature 3 is particularly significant in that it is the sole feature which contained two bear humeri elements, and no other bear remains. "Bone disposal etiquette" and feasting evidence are associated with "bear ceremonialism" of Algonquin groups, while bear "medicine" figured prominently in Iroquoian society (Fox and Molto 1994: 34). Bear remains are also represented in the Early Late Woodland occupation, but by lower (metapodial) bones. While it appears that chiefly cranial elements have been identified in similar archaeological contexts (although drilled phlanges are also reported: Fox and Molto 1994: 34), the presence of these isolated elements in Feature 3 is curious when considered in the overall (Western Basin) context with Feature 5, 11, 6a, and the bordering posts. Feature 3 also contained one example of an Ontario Horizontal type rimsherd similar to those recovered in the support posts and

significantly, from Feature 34. This rimsherd was discovered in the midst of several distinctive MaComb Linear corded rimsherds.

Pit Feature 5 contained several turkey bones, which were absent from both Early Late Woodland or Middle Ontario Iroquoian occupations, while both Features 5 and 3 contained several bones of a small mammal which may have been either dog or raccoon. Both these features also contained by far the greatest percentage of distinctive Western Basin Springwells corded ware, and I propose that it is not a coincidence that these features were located in proximity to the bordering support posts.

Another Western Basin feature which appears to offer the greatest explicit evidence of symbolic connection is Feature 11, located near the wall on the other side of the hearth to that of Features 3 and 5. This shallow pit (0.15 metres depth) is composed of a mass of crushed bone, several sections of a small vessel as well as several fragments of a miniature vessel, and most strikingly, a pipe bowl fashioned out of limestone with the bowl hole incompletely drilled and the bowl exterior roughly finished. This pipe bowl appears to have been carefully placed on the top of the bone matrix. I have suggested that this feature represents a feast or offering³ (Riddell 1995, in press), and is contemporaneous with Feature 5 and 3. Significantly, several elements of turkey and dog are included within the predominant mass of deer remains. Little of the bone has been burnt or calcined, leading one to believe that the bones were deposited shortly after

³ The term offering is used as in Firth 1996: 93, 94, 95.

butchering, after a successful hunt (e.g., Orme 1981: 227). The frequency of cracked bone meanwhile, may indicate marrow extraction.

It is likely that the pipe bowl was manufactured specifically for the event resulting in this feature (recalling that it has been unused, and unfinished). It is of a "calumet" style, and its context with the turkey remains in particular may be significant (e.g., von Gernet and Timmins 1987: 37-41), as a mode of connection with the otherworldly. The calumet pipe and its association with exchange ceremonials is recorded historically (see Callender 1978 and under "Historical Relationships", this chapter; von Gernet and Timmins 1987). It is interesting that the pipe was unfinished and unused, and leads one to speculate on the possibility of either a transaction not being completed or that the transaction and subsequent interaction between the cultural groups was of such importance that necessitated the manufacturing of a (second?) pipe to signify the encounter. The presence of dog is likely significant as the association of dogs with feasting is well documented historically, as is their occurrence on archaeological sites in ritually suggestive contexts. As Orme (1981: 223-234) asserts, feasting (whatever the motivation) involves a "demonstration of unity, of group solidarity and dependence," particularly when the need to do so is great, such as for example, involving a death or the emergence of a "political faction or an alliance." This latter instance is probably what transpired at the Haagsma Site.

Meanwhile, the presence of tobacco seed and calcined clam shell in Feature 6a

(and two complete sections of clam shell), situated within the large hearth/wall opening between Feature 5 and 11 may be other than purely coincidental, given their proximity to the features and postmolds that have been described. The combination of these two substances, when inhaled/ingested apparently provides a result similar to that of the combination of ash and coco leaves (Kane 1994: 171).

It is perhaps worth noting that some of the artifacts recovered within proximal context to one another, i.e., pipe bowl, bear claw, tobacco seed, particular animal/bird remains, and another (not yet mentioned); two large stones containing possible dye pigments (one hematite, the other, a sulphur-like compound), were components of sacred bundles documented amongst historic Central Algonquin groups (Latorre 1976: 271).

Another feature (17/18) that I identify as Western Basin property, mainly because of its location near the hearth and associated features, and its suggested inclusion within the porch area, is a somewhat irregularly shaped elongate form, basically sterile with the exception of a 'head' of fire-cracked rock. It is this concentration, together with several examples of a whitish clay-like substance, and the nature of the profile of the pit (i.e., a homogeneous matrix) which leads me to believe that it functioned as a short-term sweat bath.

Taken together, the group of features and postmolds we have examined appear to carry strong connotations of symbolic and ritual activity, and are related specifically to

the distinctive Western Basin Springwells occupation. Something should also be said about the ceramics of this group at this time. The vessels represented from this area (two from Feature 5, one from Feature 11) are relatively small containers, and would have been easily transportable. One vessel from Feature 5 is particularly well made, with intricate chevron patterns of braided cord design. None of these vessels bear evidence of cooking (e.g., carbon encrustation buildup), which either means that they were used for short term cooking (or cooking with heated rocks), or not at all. Also, their small size would mean that they would be of little use in a storage capacity. Both vessels were reconstructed with chiefly rim and neck sections, with no bodysherd mends. Rim and neck mends were 80-90 percent complete.

We must now examine certain features of the other occupations of the house, namely the amalgamated sections B and C (house extension). Again from the standpoint of boundary and partitioning, it is apparent that the Feature Cluster "B," or the area of the proposed initially amalgamated group was sectioned off from the Western Basin "Cluster A" by a comparable, if not greater number of support posts than that bordering Cluster A. However, the post molds on this side are relatively continuous, as opposed to the large gap corresponding to the hearth opening of the support posts of Cluster A/Ai, and they are particularly densely distributed across from that gap. Between this, the Cluster B post molds and the strongly supported (double-walled) western side of the structure are situated several features. One feature in particular (#29) contained ceramics with combinations of characteristics of both Western Basin and Iroquoian affinities (Figure 7,

8).

What appears to be noteworthy of this group of Cluster B support post molds is that two adjacent post molds contain Ontario Horizontal type rimsherds (one each) deep within the soil matrix. These are situated approximately opposite, i.e., across the central corridor to those rimsherds contained in the two support post molds in Cluster A. Significantly, one of the rimsherds in the Cluster B post is composed of combination traits, that is, slip roughening and a chevron push-pull design (characteristic Western Basin designs on otherwise 'Iroquoian looking' rim forms). This configuration suggests that there was a continuity in deposition practice between the two post clusters, and that the proposed amalgamated group played a specific role in defining and maintaining this boundary. It should also be noted that support posts are of a comparable depth on either side, up to 0.45 metres. It is my contention that these posts bordering Clusters A and B are particularly dense because posts were added here to reinforce the boundary 'idea' (even if some of these were only post-molds at that time). This idea also makes sense given the Middle Ontario Iroquoian-like rimsherd depositions and the proposed sharing of the structure, rather than a similar situation occurring during the Early Late Woodland period occupation.

Also included in the amalgamated area are several pit features (#31, 33, 39) which contained two rimsherds each and very little other ceramic material. In each case there was one rimsherd which bears Iroquoian-like characteristics, and one which has Western

Basin-like characteristics. Feature 39 is a particularly striking example of this, with a post Cluster A (Western Basin Springwells) finely corded MaComb linear rimsherd juxtaposed with an Ontario Horizontal type rimsherd. Each of these features contained large quantities of fish remains, while there was little fish represented in the Western Basin occupation. Feature 39 also contained two awls of contrasting style (one alike the mat needles of Central Algonquin affiliation), which together with the paired and contrasting rimsherds is suggestive of some form of interaction. I suggested previously that fish processing may also be related to the development of Feature 32, which has created the only obvious opening in the house wall and where significantly, a section of the former wall had to be dismantled in order to make this opening.

Feature Cluster B is also the only area where two intact vessel bases were found in situ on the house floor. Both these vessels were of a ribbed paddle treatment, but a plain rimsherd was found in conjunction with that of the Feature 40 vessel. Several fragments of turtle shell were also found within this vessel. It is perhaps significant that the only examples of plain vessels occurs in Cluster B, along with the obvious 'combination' treatments (slip-roughening with rib-paddling and plain), which also occur in the house extension. Corn was also recovered in this area (several kernels only per feature).

These features and artifacts, together with the anomalous Feature 32 as described (the large elongate 'indoor/outdoor' feature) I suggest, indicate a population (again I refer to several individuals only) composed of members of both Western Basin

and Iroquoian affiliation that is definably different than that of the Western Basin occupation situated across the corridor. There is evidence which indicates that some form of interaction had been occurring for some time prior to this particular case (as substantiated from ceramic evidence on neighboring Late Woodland Sites; e.g., Cemetery, Himey), and will be discussed under the subsection: "The Issue of Amalgamation." It is important to note here that this interaction need not have been in an actual physical sense (as in integration of individuals into different populations); rather it may have consisted of a purely informational nature (as in dialogue, observation and imitation).

With this type of interaction in mind, Feature 34 is of particular interest since it appears to be of a rather pivotal nature. The lower layer of this feature is attributable to the Early Late Woodland occupation, while the upper section contains rimsherds characteristic of a later (Middle Ontario Iroquoian) period. I suggest that this feature represents the initial Middle Ontario Iroquoian presence at Haagsma which interacted with the strictly Western Basin group, since it contained distinctive and similar bodysherds to that of Feature 5, and similar rimsherds to that of the Ontario Horizontal types in the postmolds bordering the Western Basin cluster. I maintain that those post molds (i.e., those including the bone tube and turtle shell) represent the initial stages of interaction, only later leading to an amalgamation entailing actual integration of individuals involving a number of options (to be discussed). This initial interaction was likely significant enough to warrant a combined effort, perhaps related to hunting and

house construction.

What is particularly striking about Feature 34 however are the dual male deer crania interments, which are virtually a mirror image to those deposited in Feature 68 in the house extension. These skulls, side by side and missing the antlers in both cases (broken off in the former, and rutted off in the latter) were recovered from the lower level of the feature in both cases. I suggest that this practice represents a continuity or creation of ideology (symbolism/cosmology) specifically related to the combination of two marginalized populations and the resultant creation of a new community, each on the frontier of their respective ranges. This ideology includes variables such as the pervasive belief in the duality of the soul as related to the animal guardian concept (Hultkrantz 1961, 1997).

Other indications supporting the continuity of combined ideologies is the continuation of a slip roughening treatment characteristic of Western Basin practice and combination treatments on otherwise characteristic Iroquoian-looking vessels in the Cluster C (house extension) area. The combination of three differently styled awls in one large central end support post in the expansion may also be significant in this regard. These awls appear to have been selectively and deliberately deposited, and each of these awls resembles a type from each of the other cluster/cultural areas (i.e., Western Basin, Springwells, Early Late Woodland, and amalgamated groups). One of these awls is alike that from Feature 39, which is similar to an awl from Feature 5. These bear a striking

resemblance to the "mat needles" documented amongst the historic Fox/Mesquakie (Torrence 1989: Plate X) and is further probable evidence (along with ceramic) of the continuation of interaction between the cultural groups.

Intriguing in the house extension are four large features (as discussed) within or in proximity to openings in the end wall, which may have been emptied of much of their contents and relocated to the proposed Neutral settlement nearby (or were newly constructed but little-used or unused). Another relocation possibility however may have entailed the Western Basin portion of the amalgamation moving to a smaller community of primarily Western Basin affiliation just to the west, i.e., several hundred metres from Haagsma. Both these hypotheses are based on ceramic collections from these areas.

Three large elongate features meanwhile, located several metres to the east of the end wall of the house extension have been interpreted as midden areas. One in particular provides evidence of later (i.e., post A.D. 1400) occupation and interaction, containing ceramics of both cultural affinities deposited in the same context. Substantial quantities of charred corn were also recovered from this feature, while a neighboring midden feature contained large quantities of charred nut remains.

In summary, I have now provided evidence for the occurrence of three distinct zones of occupation (with two distinct areas of cultural affiliation) within the Haagsma house, and for the temporal and cultural continuity between these occupations. This

situation is based on architectural and depositional practices, artifact styles, and radiocarbon dates. I have also provided evidence for distinctive and differing degrees of emphasis on various resources, and treatment of artifacts and subsistence items. These relate to at least in part, differing apprehensions of the ideological realm between Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoians (circa 1350 A.D.) at the Haagsma settlement. Ultimately there was a subsequent altering or accommodation of ideology(s) at this dwelling, representing a merger of influences from either culture (post 1350 A.D.).

The specific symbolic practices described at Haagsma can thus be linked to those features of the iconography of form and cosmology, and the ideological aspects of settlement and subsistence discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 (i). These will be applied to and compared between the strictly Western Basin component and the amalgamated occupations.

Firstly, we recall from Chapter 2 the apprehension of the culture/nature domains in northeastern cosmology, as in female-male, clearing-forest, and agriculture-hunting. In terms of the Western Basin Springwells group, we see a greater emphasis on ritual activity, supposedly a greater male-oriented focus (i.e., sweat bath ceremonies, bone disposal ritual, feasting, calumet pipe offering, and possible curing ceremony), and prevalence of hunting. There also appears to be a spatial organization of household features incorporating exterior (to house) space. That is, there is less definition between exterior and interior house elements among the Western Basin group. For example, there

is an exterior hearth and sweat bath, but these were likely enclosed or at least bordered on one side by a wall extension. Importantly, we see the possession of a hearth by the Western Basin household, while there is no apparent hearth among the amalgamated groups. In terms of structural orientation and doorways, we can see a greater emphasis on a due east orientation among the Western Basin group, with the hearth alignment and expansive opening in the east wall an obvious expression of this direction. These practices listed thus far are consistent with a Central Algonquin pattern of settlement/subsistence and socio-political activity.

The amalgamated groups of the dwelling (Cluster B and Cluster C - extension) have aligned themselves within the northeast longhouse axis, and appear to have focused on fishing as much or more so than deer hunting, particularly the Cluster B group. It is apparent however in both amalgamated sections that there was a definite ritual/offering element associated with deer hunting, and accorded to the males of that species, specifically the deposition of the skulls in pairs. Smoking pipes were in evidence to a greater degree in this section (Cluster B), and a sweat bath function for Feature 32 cannot be ruled out. Group C, as the members of the house extension, were able to fully utilize both sides of the house, with a dominant north-east emphasis on openings. The greatest evidence of a cultigen (corn) subsistence base comes from this section. The remains of this group offers the most convincing evidence of characteristic Iroquoian traits, i.e., in terms of artifact and subsistence types, and settlement patterning. The absence of a hearth present in both the amalgamated groups, despite likely late fall and early spring

occupations for both of these is odd. The sheet midden-like area in the northeast end of the original structure may nonetheless be indicative of the cleaning of remnant hearths, as there are pockets of ash and fired soil throughout this feature. This in turn may be related to abandonment of the dwelling, as a 'closing' ritual.

Secondly, in terms of spatial and boundary configurations, we can see that the Cluster B amalgamation was the most enclosed group (by both exterior house wall posts and interior support posts), with few entrances or exits as compared with Cluster C and the Western Basin household. This situation is not to negate the possibility of shared openings however, the most obvious with those of the Western Basin section. The Cluster B amalgamation also had the greatest density of features and post molds. The Western Basin household was the most open spatially, but the Cluster C household was also quite 'porous'. The Western Basin pit features were nearly as effectively bordered by support posts as the Cluster B amalgamated features, except for the large opening in this line near the centre of the house across from the hearth. This opening is offset however by a line of support posts across the corridor on the Cluster B side. We can see how these boundaries appear to have channeled movement within the house (Figure 10), and controlled interaction (or at least gave the appearance of doing so). This raises the possibility of a number of posts serving as boundary markers and otherwise non-utilitarian functions, even given those pertaining to the Early Late Woodland occupation, and a certain number of replacement posts.

Thirdly, we come to the "Axis Mundi"/"Tree of Life" themes as recurrent 'substrata' in dwelling construction. As I have suggested this role at Haagsma may have been realized through either of the post molds containing the bone tube and turtle shell for reasons involving curing, creation and regenerative connotations. I propose that this role was particularly significant and was emphasized at this site due to the meeting and sharing of the structure by two cultural groups. Also plausible is the re-enactment of the "Earth-Diver" theme in this context (i.e., the turtle shell giving life to the house post). These posts, located centrally within the overall context of the house, are also situated centrally between the Western Basin group and the Cluster B amalgamation. It is this location, as bordering and buffering or neutral agents, that is of significance given the proposed amalgamation of these groups. It is through these posts that a cosmological sharing may have been facilitated, both in terms of dwelling orientation and the curing, creation, etc. attributes listed above. This would therefore have been the sacred or liminal space of common ground in the dwelling. Another pivotal post possibly invested with these potentials may have been the support post situated in a central position in the north end-wall of the extension. This post contained three different types of awls and a pipe section, and was a likely candidate for an 'apex' post enabling easy expansion of the structure (as discussed by Daly 1985, in Chapter 2) (and yes, both groups may have been involved in the house partitioning/construction).

Fourthly (and by extension to the above), this brings us to those posts, features, and artifacts 'charged' with sacred qualities. Collectively, the posts described above

possess the greatest likelihood of connections and access to the otherworldly, as in mythical time and ancestral beings, etc. Similarly, those pit features of the Western Basin group possess the greatest degree of those "charged" qualities. It should be stressed that these attributes and the focus on ritual are the usual manifestations of historically recorded Central Algonquin society (Callender 1978).

Of perhaps no less importance to the operation of the amalgamated groups was the seemingly selective deposition practices in post molds and pit features, i.e., most explicitly the dual deer crania interments, bone awls, turtle shell, and ceramics. These depositions often appear in contrasting pairs. In the case of ceramics for example, we find examples of rimsherds with contrasting designs (Western Basin-like and Iroquoian-like), with very little other ceramic material in the same pit. In the case of one feature (#39), this practice is combined with two awls of contrasting style, and a concentration of fish remains. The similarly contrasting awls contained in the extension support post mold have been noted, and together with the paired deer crania in Cluster B and Cluster C pit features (also containing ceramics with combination traits) suggest connotations of individuals of the two cultural groups working together within the dwelling for extended periods. A less obvious indication of transition, amalgamation and creation of a new community is considered to be that of vessel surface treatment. It is regarded nonetheless as the most prevalent form of evidence of extended interaction, whereby this cultural trait (i.e., "slip-roughening") was maintained from occupation to occupation. This trait will be discussed in greater detail under "The Issue of Amalgamation" (Subsection V, this

chapter).

The turtle shell itself may have been regarded as a neutral and 'aggregating' identity (following Douglas' criteria in Chapter 1), given the bordering and central locations of the post molds and features in which it was contained. Lastly, an effigy pipe section recovered from a small feature along the north end- wall and near the only obvious opening in this end of the original structure may have been significant in the process involving the house extension, as decision- making processes in these societies usually entailed tobacco smoking (Dodd and Riddell 1995: 95).

It is obvious that many of the ideological aspects of settlement and subsistence and elements of Northeastern Woodlands cosmology overlap. Thus, many of the symbolic connections summarized at the Haagsma Site with those features of northeastern cosmology summarized in Chapter 2 have similar application to the ideological aspects of settlement and subsistence summarized in Chapter 3 (i). For example, the connection of the "Earth Diver" theme with the "Axis Mundi"/"Tree of Life" motifs has been discussed. Additionally, the socially and symbolically meaningful treatment of artifacts and subsistence patterns have been related to the practices of the specific and amalgamated cultural groups at Haagsma. The symbolic connections listed at the conclusion of Chapter 3 (i) that require identification are those artifacts and features with a time-depth and regional 'substratum', i.e., those with sound ethnohistoric and widespread archaeological documentation of morphological, spatial, and symbolic

contexts. Artifacts of a regional substratum at Haagsma, which have already been implied as possessing this time-depth grounding are "sucking tubes", and the calumet-style pipe. Specific features possessing substratum attributes are sweat baths.

We must now address the broader question of why this cultural interaction should have occurred in the first place. This will require: a) a summary of previous research in the study area, b) further background on the proposed historical development of both of these cultural groups, and c) an exploration of the implications of these variables towards the issue of amalgamation at the Haagsma Site. These discussions will then be related to the research in Chapter 3, particularly that concerning the nature of cultural interaction in frontier and boundary regions, in order to arrive at an explanation for the dynamics that transpired at the Haagsma Site and surrounding vicinity.

iii. Previous Research in the Study Area

In terms of the prevailing theories of sequences of cultural movements and interaction in this region, Murphy and Ferris (1990: 255, 263) assert that westwardly expanding Iroquoian populations were occupying lands formerly inhabited by Western Basin populations by the late Springwells period, while Stothers *et al.* (1994: 135, 137, 162, 180) argue that the Springwells groups were being forced eastward by the Sandusky culture from Ohio and Michigan, resulting in an amalgamation with existing Iroquoian populations. They propose an Iroquoian ethnic affiliation for Western Basin groups up to

and including Springwells (with the Wolfe Phase as Sandusky/Mississippian affiliated, and partially contemporaneous with Springwells), while Murphy and Ferris (1990: 276) argue Central Algonquin ethnicity for Western Basin populations, including the Wolfe Phase.

The evidence to date on the Sydenham drainage is as follows. There are several regional Early Late Woodland (A.D. 900-1300) site clusters on the Sydenham between Strathroy and Dresden. These are small seasonal, intermittent camps situated on floodplain terraces where fishing would appear to have been a priority. This type of settlement occurs, albeit sporadically, between Strathroy and Alvinston, and particularly closer to Alvinston. There is a definite clustering of Early Late Woodland (ELW) sites just south of Alvinston (Riddell 1991, 1992), while in the Shetland to Florence area are located several such sites (Kenyon 1980; Riddell 1992, 1993a). Although these sites had been given a provisional Western Basin Younger Phase designation by the author, it is safer to regard these as simply Early Late Woodland, at least until the comparative sample base is expanded. Lastly, Kenyon (1980) has documented a number of these sites between Florence and Dresden, which he has termed simply Early Late Woodland (Figure 2).

A few of these Early Late Woodland sites are also situated in uplands locations, with components represented on the Himey (AeHl-14) and Cemetery (AeHl-31) sites (Riddell 1991-1994). These sites represent larger, probably multi-seasonal settlements

which are multi-component, and include the later mid-range period components (1300-1400 A.D.), with the addition of Haagsma and the neighboring Dolbear (or Sewage) Site (AeHI-32). Also included in this group is the smaller Banjo Site (AeHI-39), located near Shetland. It would seem then that there was a continuous transition from the existing Early Late Woodland settlement to the later sites in this area. Whether this transition was inclusive of both Western Basin and Iroquoian traditions is the subject of further investigation. It appears that such was the case on the Cemetery, Haagsma and Himey Sites. Relative similarities and blending in artifact styles, particularly in the Early Late Woodland period makes it difficult, if not fruitless to apply a specific cultural affiliation label in this region.

While westward occupation of Iroquoian groups (or at least Iroquoian-like ceramics) for the mid-range period is documented to the Banjo Site, or perhaps the Bellamy Site (AdHm-7) near Dresden as represented by an 'Iroquois Linear' type rimsherd (Murphy 1987), and other sherds that could be found on both Western Basin or Iroquoian settlements, the easternmost extent of Western Basin populations on the Sydenham River for this period appears to be the Haagsma Site. Hence the area of overlap between these cultural affinities. The section of drainage between Dresden and Wallaceburg meanwhile needs to be investigated more thoroughly. It is important to stress that while definition of Western Basin versus Iroquoian ceramics is easier in the mid-range(1200-1400 A.D.) period than those of the Early Late Woodland period, there are still (as expected), shared ceramic characteristics.

While there is a definite gap in terms of Middle Ontario Iroquoian occupation from the uppermost Sydenham area to the Haagsma Site, there is a predominant Western Basin Springwells occupation (although somewhat sporadic and removed from the Alvinston cluster of sites) downstream from here, with several sites represented in the Florence to Dresden area (Murphy 1987, Murphy and Ferris 1990, Al Kominek 1994, personal communication). Additionally, Frank Vink (1993, personal communication) has noted a number of Late Woodland Sites (one contained a rimsherd much alike that of a rimsherd from the Cemetery Site, which is in turn similar to a rimsherd from the Liahn Site). The sites are distributed along a series of sand spits from Dresden southwest to the Lake St. Clair area, and in the vicinity of the Liahn Site (Kenyon 1988). These sites are supposedly small occupations, perhaps functioning in much the same manner as the Sherman Site (Murphy 1991: 15-16) on the adjacent Thames River drainage (both Al Kominek and Frank Vink are long-time collectors in this area). While Springwells settlement consists of small encampments outside of the area of overlap (i.e., the Alvinston cluster of sites), the proposed amalgamated settlements where cultural groups intersected appear to be of a more substantial undertaking (Himey, Cemetery, Haagsma). As proposed, this is likely a reflection of the nature of the interaction taking place between these two cultures, located on the frontiers of their respective ranges, thus creating a boundary threshold between both groups.

Aside from the later Iroquoian presence at Haagsma, represented mainly by a collection of rimsherds from the adjacent sand and gravel pit, there is scattered isolated

evidence of later Late Woodland occupation on the Sydenham (i.e., post A.D. 1400). This appears to be in the form of periodic, isolated short-term encampments. From the Iroquoian standpoint, these include the Wheatbridge Site (AfHk-14), located approximately five kilometres upstream from Haagsma. From the Western Basin or Sandusky perspective (depending on the theorist), these include the W. Pecker Site (AeHl-13) (across the river from Himey, on the flats), while at the mouth of the Sydenham and St. Clair River vicinity are located the substantial Wolfe Phase Libby-Miller (Ferris, Fox, and Murphy 1990; M.M Dillon Ltd. 1994); Weiser (Kroon 1974, Reid 1978, Stothers *et al.* 1984), and Parker (Lee 1958) settlements.

While Western Basin-like (i.e., "aberrant", "foreign") ceramics have been recovered in small amounts (two or three sherds) on Middle Ontario Iroquoian sites such as Edwards and Drumholm to the east (Pearce 1983: 2) and Nodwell to the north (Wright 1974: 212-213), the situation at Haagsma is different in that there is a distinct, substantial concentration of ceramics with specific Western Basin characteristics (i.e., Macomb Linear cording), and widespread distribution of ceramics incorporating characteristics of both Western Basin and Iroquoian traditions.

Most of the sites excavated from either Uren or Middleport periods are of village size, but some non-village sites have been reported, many of which are multi-component. Only one non-village Uren site has been excavated, the Willcock Site in London (Poulton 1985) which, like Haagsma, consisted of a single longhouse, was unpalisaded and

apparently also contained a feature with similarities to that of the Feature 11 offering. Interestingly, there was also a small percentage of slip-roughening, combined with rib-paddling on one vessel that is similar to a vessel from Feature 29 at Haagsma (Poulton 1985: 82, 83, 321). Dana Poulton describes the subsistence at Willcock as "multifunctional" (1995, personal communication), meaning that a variety of subsistence practices were represented. Here is where the similarities between these sites ends, due to the differing artifact and feature patterning, with several hearths, substantial end of house middens, and a significant lithic assemblage present at the Willcock Site.

Also noteworthy are a number of Late Iroquoian sites in southwestern Ontario with substantial ratios of Western Basin/ Sandusky ceramics; for example, Wolfe Creek (Foster 1990: 20), Savage (Murphy 1988, 1995, personal communication), and even Lawson (Trigger *et al.* 1984: 4). While the reverse situation also occurs, the percentages of Iroquoian ceramics on Western Basin sites is supposedly much lower (e.g., Libby-Miller, Weiser, Liahn, Parker). Thus, the continued investigation of sites (such as Himey) in the vicinity of Haagsma are viewed as important in terms of providing data on the settlement and subsistence of two cultures in contact, and how this may have affected their normal patterns of mobility and procurement strategies.

iv. Historical Relationships

Although it is of greater difficulty to establish definitive continuity from

prehistoric Western Basin cultures to their particular tribal descendants than it is to do so with prehistoric Iroquoian populations, a number of researchers have postulated ethnohistoric affiliation of the Western Basin within and adjacent to the study area (southeastern Michigan, northwestern Ohio, or lower Lakes Huron, Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie basins). As early as 1965, Fitting recognized the difficulties of using the direct historical approach in determining the ethnohistory of lower Michigan. Rather than naming specific tribal affiliations, he preferred to characterize certain ceramic attributes as belonging to "People of the Fire," which could include the Kickapoo, Sauk, Fox, and Potawatomi. However, he also acknowledged several late prehistoric/protohistoric sites that have connections to these particular societies.

Callender (1978: 621) was similarly cautious in assigning archaeological relationships with historic groups: "As a very tentative working hypothesis, one could postulate an association of the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo with the Younge Tradition [now called the Western Basin] in southeast Michigan and northwest Ohio, or even more tenuously, with the Whittlesey focus in northeast Ohio...." He views this tradition as developing into an "Upper Mississippian" pattern of sociopolitical organization, and relies on linguistic relationships to provide the most accurate picture of the early history of the Central Algonquin. This being the case, he describes Shawnee and Fox as more closely related than any of the other language groups, while "the divergence among Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo is so slight that their separation, although pre-contact, cannot be very old" (Callender 1962: 1). He views the Potawatomi as having closer linguistic ties to

Ojibwa and they are regarded as an earlier inhabitant to the upper Great Lakes by Quimby (1960: 106). Callender (1962: 1) also states that the "persistence of the Sauk and Fox tradition ... must relate to a very distant past." Brose (1978: 579) is in agreement with this when he states that historical and ethnographic data "suggest that groups such as the Sauk and Fox lived in this general area prior to their flight to Wisconsin in the mid-seventeenth century." Edmunds (1978: 3) meanwhile states that the Potawatomi, Chippewas and Ottawas were originally one tribe, "part of a great wave of Algonquin-speaking peoples who entered the Great Lakes region from the north and east ... [and later separated]... "at the Straits of Mackinac no later than the sixteenth century ... the Potawatomis moving down the eastern shore of Lake Michigan," but he also suggests that this separation of Potawatomis may have occurred at an earlier date. Two of the proposed archaeological protohistoric/late prehistoric links to that of the Potawatomi are the Dumaw Creek Site and the Moccasin Bluff Site in west-central Michigan (Edmunds 1978: 4).

Heidenreichs' maps of "Changing Distributions of Native Groups in the Lower Great Lakes" (1990: 477) depict two main population clusters adjacent to the study area, and on the west side of Lake St. Clair/St. Clair River: that of the Fox (Skenchiogronon) and perhaps Potawatomi (Ahriottaehronon), with the Sauk located yet further to the north and west of these groupings (Saginaw Bay area), and the Miami and Kickapoo located to the south and east along the lower shore of Lake Erie.

By contrast the location and development of Iroquoian culture to the east of the study area is well documented. Middle Ontario Iroquoian populations, developing from "transitional" Early Iroquoian groups, which in turn developed from in situ Middle Woodland bands, are known to have developed into the post A.D. 1400 Neutral Confederacy, with a major nucleus of settlement occurring in the present day London area. However, village sites have also been documented to the south of the study area along the Thames River drainage, as far west as Chatham (e.g., Foster 1990). Subsidiary site types have also been documented among the Neutral. Common among these are single dwelling "cabin" dwellings, thought to function as special-purpose units, for crop tending, collecting, and hunting/fishing, or even that of special political and religious connotations (e.g., Dodd and Riddell 1995). A sequence of Early to Middle to Late Iroquoian movements has been proposed for the area to the immediate east of the study area (Pearce 1983, 1984). It remains to be seen whether the Metcalfe Site (the closest possible Iroquoian affinity to Haagsma, other than the gravel pit site) factors into this scheme.

Notwithstanding, historical documentation of the Neutral is sparse when compared with that of the Jesuit accounts of the Huron. As with the Algonquin, one of these few initial sources is that of Champlain, which in the case of the Neutral, was actually a recounting of Brulé's 1615/1616 travels. None of these accounts were found to be of much ethnographic relevance, unfortunately (Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990: 405). Fortunately, on the other hand, Neutral (and pre-Neutral) settlement documentation and

ethnic affiliation was not subjected to the discontinuities that prevail amongst Central Algonquin demographics. Moreover, Rotstein (1988), with the aid of various historical accounts, offers explanations for the persistence of neutrality amongst the Neutral in the midst of conflict between the Huron and Five Nations Iroquois. He suggests that their strategic location enabled the Neutral Nation to act as a 'buffer zone' and a 'port of trade' with regions north and east (Huron), south and east (Iroquois), and west ("Fire Nation"). As the study area in question is also proposed to have functioned as a buffer zone between Middle Ontario Iroquoians to the east and Western Basin groups to the west, the 'grounding' for this type of later polity was likely established in this and other frontier regions of Neutral demography in prehistoric times. The effect of these regions was to reduce hostilities and facilitate exchange (as described in Chapter 3). It is perhaps of significance that the Neutral pattern of settlement and proposed subsistence in the region bordering the study area is unique when compared with that of the heartland regions further east, for here is where we find agricultural cabin sites associated with base villages.

Although in the case of both Algonquin and Iroquoian societies the fur trade heralded the appearance and sudden florescence of a number of European commodities, in the face of ensuing dispersals and realignments, continuity and even a strengthening of ideological foundations persisted, as Hammel (1983) demonstrates in the case of the adoption of glass beads. One of the ideological tenets of Iroquoian society that was apparently strengthened was that of warfare, much of it again precipitated by fur trade

competition and its ensuing alignments with various native and European factions. The Neutral obtained the upper hand on the Central Algonquin groups, at least during the initial attacks. What ensued were a series of dispersals and reoccupations of Central Algonquins further to the west, especially that of the Potawatomi, who finally during the late 1600's, resettled in their former territory of eastern Michigan after the Neutral had in turn been absorbed by their Five Nations Iroquois neighbours, leaving much of extreme southwestern Ontario uninhabited until its later (18th century) occupancy by Chippewa and Ojibwa groups. Conflict (or at least, boundary 'presences') between the Central Algonquin (proposed Western Basin) and Iroquoian groups in late prehistoric times may be evidenced by large earthworked settlements in the frontier zones of either population (i.e., Lake St. Clair, St. Clair River, Lake Erie and Lower Thames drainages), and their corresponding archaeological assemblages. (Murphy and Ferris 1990).

v. The Issue of Amalgamation

So far we have offered some comparisons between the structural arrangements and artifact types and distributions related to cultural affinities at the Haagsma Site, and some possible interpretations of these arrangements and distributions in symbolic contexts have been proposed. Aside from the obvious architectural/structural functions, I proposed that much of the feature and post mold patterning is related to regulating interaction and channeling movement (e.g., Hodder 1982a: 156-159), which of course carry their own symbolic connotations (e.g., pollution, identity, exchange). The existence

of what would appear to be strategically located boundaries and associated artifacts at Haagsma (both in the physical and symbolic sense) suggests the flow of material and ideas was regulated in some manner such as this. I refer here in particular to the partitions separating the Western Basin Springwells and amalgamated sections, which appears to have effectively kept movement in and out of the house to the periphery of these areas.

Since a basic premise of this thesis rests on the idea that there was interaction between Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian group(s) which resulted in actual incorporation of individuals into one or both populations with an amalgamation of these cultures, we must examine the processes that enabled this to occur. The subsistence and settlement patterns have been compared and contrasted among the Western Basin and amalgamated occupations at the Haagsma Site, so that we are able to see areas of overlap and difference between the groups. One of these aspects of settlement is ceramic distribution, which provides us with the most information pertaining to indications of interaction and amalgamation at this dwelling. Other indications as discussed include faunal artifacts and distributions, and structural alignments. The meager lithic assemblage offered little insight in this regard, other than an apparent greater use of chert scraping tools among the Western Basin group (Figure 12). I have suggested elsewhere that a readily available supply of shale may have served as "disposable" scrapers (Riddell 1995, in press). The possibilities of cultural amalgamation in terms of ceramic indices in particular will be discussed further.

These possibilities may be summarized as follows: 1) Amalgamation represents a lengthy process of interaction between regional Western Basin and Iroquoian groups initiated in the Early Late Woodland period, which may have involved periods of actual (human) integration (e.g., intermarriage, exchange). 2) Amalgamation represents short duration encounters of the strictly Western Basin Springwells group (representing a distant population) and Middle Ontario Iroquoians involving actual integration (as above) or simply an exchange of technologies (i.e. ceramics, hide working and information). 3) combinations of the above, or 4) The strictly Western Basin Springwells group never interacted with the Middle Ontario Iroquoians; they occupied the structure in the interim, in a period(s) of abandonment by the Middle Ontario Iroquois (thus #1 applies to the amalgamated presence).

It is unlikely that there was no interaction whatsoever during the period of occupation of the Haagsma dwelling by the Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoians (1350 to 1400 A.D.). To begin with, there was a distinctive MaComb Linear corded rimsherd discovered in context with a characteristic Ontario Horizontal rim in the Cluster B Feature 39. These were the only ceramics present in this feature, which may be significant due to that fact, including the presence of paired awls of contrasting design (as discussed). Also, there was a single Middle Ontario Iroquoian rimsherd recovered in feature (3) context with Western Basin Springwells corded rimsherds. This was the only example of Iroquoian-like ceramics contained within Western Basin features. Additionally, there were corded neck and bodysherds (like those in the Western

Basin Springwells Feature 3) in context with characteristic Middle Ontario Iroquoian ceramics in the Feature 90 midden.

The contrasting styles of rimsherds and vessel treatment and quality in Feature 29 (juxtaposed in the same context) is suggestive of a meeting of different potters of different traditions. Also, the rather abrupt appearance and persistence of the slip-roughened treatment on ceramic vessels in Clusters B and C is indicative of a transfer of technique from the Western Basin Springwells group during this period. The prevalence of this technique within an assemblage displaying characteristic Iroquoian traits suggests that a movement of individuals from the Western Basin Springwells contingent into Middle Ontario Iroquoian ranks occurred. This may have been simply as a work/exchange cooperative, or of greater permanence, as in an intermarriage or spousal exchange situation. Nevertheless, this is not to negate the possibility of an initial occupation of the Western Basin Springwells during a period of absence by the Middle Ontario Iroquoians. In addition to the artifact evidence of interaction, there are the structural re-alignments, as discussed.

Interaction between these cultural groups may have involved an Iroquoian expansion and recruitment of the Western Basin peoples into their ranks as a means of securing a territorial foothold, or simply the option of integration on behalf of either frontier population. If interaction was initiated during the Early Late Woodland period, as would appear to be the case from ceramic evidence on sites such as Cemetery, Himey,

Haagsma, and from data elsewhere, i.e., Stothers *et al.* (1994), this may be seen as developing from a number of Early Late Woodland influences such as eastern (Iroquoian), northern (Ausable) Early Late Woodland, and western/southern (Western Basin) groups. These influences may have been very peripheral during much of this period, but this is regarded as a form of interaction, nonetheless. In this light the possibility should be considered that the distinctive Western Basin Springwells group at Haagsma represents a population separate (but perhaps related) to a group which amalgamated with an Iroquoian (or Iroquoian-like) group during an earlier period.

Ceramics pertaining to the Early Late Woodland occupation at the Haagsma Site indicate some blending of techniques attributable to Western Basin and Iroquoian groups, chiefly in surface treatments, although certainly not to the extent found in the later occupations. The amalgamated group (at least in part) would thus be the result of a gradual long term process of contact and influence of cultural traditions reflected in shared and combined ceramic styles, similar to what Dawson (1979: 27), Mitchell (1975: 64-66), and von Gernet (1992: 77, 78) propose for Iroquoian/Algonquin interaction in northern and east-central Ontario (see also Wobst 1977: 333, who proposes as a "hybridization" of a separate cultural entity). By contrast, given the low frequencies and apparent lack of exclusivity of cording on other Western Basin Springwells sites on the Sydenham River or elsewhere in southwestern Ontario for that matter, the likelihood that the distinct Western Basin Springwells occupation at Haagsma is affiliated with a distant western group rather than a development from a peripheral long term amalgamated

population is very real (Figure 13, 14).

It is apparent that there was a lengthy and predominant occupation of Iroquoian-like groups at Haagsma and other sites in the area from the later Early Late Woodland period onwards. Noteworthy in this regard is the association of rib-paddling (a normally much later trait) with the three Early Late Woodland dates. While the dates may be skewed (even consistently so), perhaps the temporal horizon for these characteristics begins earlier in this region. This situation would be consistent with what Timmins (1994, personal communication) proposed for the Middleport horizon in the London area. Limited excavations on the nearby Cemetery Site (Riddell 1993b) also produced ceramics characteristic of an Early Late Woodland/Uren, and to a lesser extent Western Basin Springwells affiliation, however the Haagsma ceramic assemblage is of a different overall nature than these, with a greater Western Basin influence and generally later Middle Ontario Iroquoian influences. Noteworthy nonetheless are ceramics from collections (from grave shafts) off the Cemetery Site of a decidedly Early Late Woodland Western Basin influence, and later Late Woodland Western Basin characteristics such as Mixer-like and Springwells Net techniques, as well as finely corded bodysherds. The latter were excavated from a feature associated with a date of 1410 +/-120 A.D.. Mixer-like ceramics have also been collected from a field bordering Haagsma, immediately to the west of the site, named the Dolbear, or Sewage Site (L. Weed 1994, personal communication) (Mr. Weed is a long-time collector in the area).

While interpretation is limited because of the necessity of the dependence on surface collections, it is quite likely that the Haagsma community developed into a predominantly Iroquoian occupation, while the Cemetery Site population may have consisted of a primarily Western Basin affiliation during the later (post A.D. 400) period. These settlements could possibly have represented a 'final' major frontier presence on behalf of either cultural group. Later (Wolfe Phase Parker Festooned) ceramics from collections on the W. Pecker Site several kilometers to the west of Cemetery and similarly, later Iroquoian (Neutral) ceramics from the Wheatbridge Site to the east of Haagsma (not to mention the seemingly autonomous nature of the ceramics from the gravel pit collection adjacent to Haagsma) lends support to this hypothesis. As we have noted, the Springwells settlement documented downstream from the Alvinston cluster of sites appears to be of a less substantial undertaking.

The danger of inferring actual incorporation of individuals of the Western Basin Springwells group into a Middle Ontario Iroquoian population at the Haagsma Site from the prevalence of the slip-roughened technique, is that this treatment may be simply a result of imitation, or comparison for whatever reasons (see Wiessner 1989: 58, 59) by Iroquoian potters from the Western Basin and conversely, Western Basin potters may have been adopting more characteristic Iroquoian styles of rim decoration/form and vessel shape. While it appears that the Western Basin Springwells group may have been incorporating a degree of rib-paddling on their vessels, it is not in the proportions of the slip-roughening that occurs in the amalgamated section. As noted, there is a high

percentage of rib-paddling on Western Basin Springwells sites further west on the Sydenham and Thames Rivers (Figure 15). Imitation on behalf of the Middle Ontario Iroquoian presence at Haagsma might make more sense were it not for the fact that generally, the slip-roughened vessels in Cluster B are not as well constructed and fired, i.e., heavier tempered and prone to crumbling.

This discrepancy also begs the questions of why make a substantial change in treatment technique in the first place, and why incorporate 'inferior' potters into a population who are excellent potters. The fact remains that there are well made vessels (with the rib-paddled treatment) and not so well made vessels (with the slip-roughened treatment), often to be found in the same feature context (e.g., Feature 29) in Cluster B. Significantly, the vessels pertaining to the distinctive Western Basin Springwells occupation in Cluster A are smaller and appear to be carefully constructed, although generally lacking bodysherd affiliation. Aside from skill level, it is also possible that differences in ceramic quality are related to factors such as "random events ... infrequency of activity, number of producers involved," or variables such as clay sources and access (Rice 1989: 111-115).

Alternatively, the depositional patterns between these clusters may be reflecting the experimenting with different techniques of manufacture simply as a matter of the course of contact and exchange of ideas between the potters of both groups. This interaction may have ultimately meant a co-manufacture (i.e., a combination of

techniques and treatments) and/or exchange of wares. Given the degree of variance between the three vessels in Feature 29, ranging from a characteristic, carefully constructed Middle Ontario Iroquoian rim section, to a less well-finished 'combination' form, to a very friable slip-roughened, plain vessel section, this may be a representation (in a symbolic sense) of the nature of the interaction taking place, with these vessel sections selectively buried together. Concerning the presence of the poorer quality slip-roughened vessels, Nicklin (1971: 26) states " in some cases, the incentive to change to a most efficient way of potting is small." He then cites a case of two potters from different groups working together (i.e., side by each) with different techniques and/or tools, and producing wares in their respective styles. Moreover, if the ceramics in the Cluster B amalgamation are the product of a long-term, continually integrative process, one might expect greater ceramic homogeneity. Yet another issue at Haagsma is the question of whether the ceramics were produced on site or transported there by different groups. It is plausible, if not probable that the smaller distinctively corded vessels of the Western Basin Springwells are a case of the latter, given the nature of this occupation. As Nicklin (1971: 15) shows, transporting ceramic vessels over long distances is evidenced in numerous instances.

It is also conceivable that the Western Basin Springwells group was an all-male contingent, perhaps a negotiating as well as hunting party. As noted, this occupation is interpreted as a short-term, possibly even single season event, yet given the prevalence of slip-roughening in Cluster B and its continuation in the house extension (Cluster C: a

later period), and corded sherds in the associated midden, it seems likely that there was some female integration taking place at this time. This situation does not deny the possibility of visitation by the Western Basin Springwells in later periods as well, but there is a greater homogeneity among the ceramics in the house extension than in its predecessor. Of note also is that the slip-roughened ware in Cluster C is of better quality and is often combined with other treatments, representing less of an actual 'slip'. It is also possible that differences in the ceramic surface treatment(s) between the groups, particularly the slip-roughened technique in the Cluster B amalgamation and the Cluster C extension, may be representative of a sort of 'compensating' mechanism of expression in balancing the more explicit influences of the Middle Ontario Iroquoians (see Hodder 1982b: 187, 190 for an analogous case). Similarly, the prevalence of the rib-paddling treatment on Western Basin Springwells sites further west is suggestive of an incorporation or display of 'Iroquoianism' on otherwise Western Basin-like vessel forms. Moreover, as Stanislawski (1976: 208) and Sackett (1989: 34, 42) relate, decoration and rim form may be secondary in importance to the process of manufacturing and firing in itself (and the bodysherd treatments might be considered a part of the manufacturing process) (Figure 16).

The distinctiveness and prevalence of the slip-roughened and combination treatments compared to the rib-paddled treatment and vessel qualities in Cluster B would thus argue against this group as a reflection of a constant, integrative amalgamation process up until this period at Haagsma, with the increase in combination treatments and

better quality vessels in the house extension as indicative of a (female) integration that occurred prior to this (i.e., that between Cluster B and the distinct Western Basin Springwells group represented by Cluster A). On the other hand, cultural amalgamation in the Alvinston area as a whole perhaps reflects periodic interaction and integration between two or more regional Western Basin and Iroquoian groups over a lengthy time-span, involving periodic contact with and incorporation of Western Basin groups further west.

Lerner (1984: 70) characterizes newly founded communities (such as the amalgamation at Haagsma) as having an "absence of integrative mechanisms" with low population density resulting in a "less formalized system of interaction." As the populations at Haagsma and neighboring communities evolved, there may have been greater tensions created by the overlapping of subsistence strategies and the need to coordinate these (e.g., Hodder 1979: 449; see also Brashler 1981: 329). Presumably there would have been more of an overlap of subsistence practices in the Early Late Woodland period, but resource scheduling and/or extraction locales may have been effectively separated to a greater degree in this area as suggested by the number of small Early Late Woodland encampments on floodplain terraces compared to the fewer uplands locations (Riddell 1991,1992,1993a). Moreover, competition over resources likely wasn't an issue among the cultural groups at Haagsma, due to resource scheduling and differential utilization, and the limited nature of the settlement.

Environmental stress may also not be adequate to explain the apparently diminishing interaction between these groups in later periods, which Murphy and Ferris (1990: 263) attribute to greater emphasis on horticulture and resulting contraction of the range of other subsistence practices on behalf of the Western Basin Springwells. Stress may have been progressively created however by the expansion of Iroquoian agricultural territory. In this light perhaps what we are witnessing in part at Haagsma is an effort to preserve the interactions that were initiated during the earlier (Early Late Woodland) periods. However as we have noted, initially "voluntary contacts" may change into a "tribute" relationship involving the expansion of polities "at the expense of their former partners," while ideological reliances may be significant during initial stages of contact (Schortman and Urban 1992: 238, 248), as discussed in Chapter 3. Further, as Cherry and Renfrew (1986: 157) suggest, ethnic identification is likely to have developed "as a result of patterns of prolonged interaction," that is, these ongoing patterns provide the impetus for differentiation over time. It could also be argued that prolonged patterns of interaction involve cultural amalgamations.

In summary, it is quite likely that the Early Late Woodland and mid-range (A.D. 1200-1400) Late Woodland populations in the Alvinston area represent a case of regional variation, with two (or more) different cultural traditions interacting and providing a blend of artifact styles (see also Williamson and Robertson 1994: 28, 38; Moreau *et al.* 1991: 58; and Brashler 1981), while at the same time displaying a boundary presence at settlements such as Haagsma (through interaction with a distant Western Basin

Springwells population). This follows the theory that boundaries are most distinct at the very edge of a system, and that identity is otherwise displayed "through a series of graded differences" (Osborn 1994: 151-154). As a frontier region for either culture, the boundary dynamics likely involved an oscillating process over time, with neither group dominating to any extent over the other, at least until later in the fifteenth century.

The proposals summarized in Chapter 3 (ii) concerning the ideological applications of interaction in frontier and boundary regions in archaeological contexts can be related to the Haagsma Site and study area as a whole. As described, the study area represents a frontier region between two cultural polities, i.e., Western Basin and Iroquoian, and the interaction taking place in this area and the Haagsma Site represents a combination of regional and long-distance contact. I have suggested that the reason there appears to have been a greater emphasis on boundary definition (including symbolism) between the Western Basin Springwells and amalgamated groups at the Haagsma dwelling was due to the unstable or flexible dynamics of territorial and population transitions that both the Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoians were experiencing in the fourteenth century.

The frontier region between these populations, in which the Haagsma Site was located, was the scene of a number of possibilities of interaction between existing heterogeneous groups, migrating populations, and long-distance contacts. Therefore, this zone likely involved cases (such as at Haagsma) where there were combinations of

alliances being created and negotiations pertaining to resource, territory, and cosmological sharing. This situation would also likely entail activities of an experimental nature, as in combined methods of tool and ceramic manufacture, and even architectural construction (as Lightfoot and Martinez 1995 would suggest). Some of these interactions may have had more far-reaching effects than that of the immediate region, precipitating inter-ethnic relationships and political negotiations entailing trade, intermarriage, and religious activities between expanding polities of the Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoians.

Another of the proposals taken from Chapter 3 (ii) is that there was a greater emphasis on "political ideology" (following Helms 1992), such that the Haagsma dwelling was accorded a certain degree of neutrality in order to enable experimentation in various spheres of activity to occur. The Haagsma house is viewed as an 'arena' for the negotiation of these aspects involving potential cultural transformation. The "geo-social" boundary blurring (that Cohen refers to in Chapter 1) that is proposed to have transpired in this region between Western Basin Springwells and Middle Ontario Iroquoian polities thus resulted in an increase in the symbolic expression of the community (group) boundaries at the Haagsma settlement. The Haagsma dwelling provided a tangible means of expressing interaction alternatives that occurred perhaps less-tangibly on a regional basis. For it might be expected that these "conjunctions between cosmological systems" (as Helms refers to in Chapter 3) would be bolstered and buffered by both Western Basin and Iroquoian borders (posts) and items of mutual significance (turtle shell), and would

require periodic reification. It might also be expected that the emphasis on ritual accorded to the Western Basin Springwells in their home territory might take on particular significance in a distant region, as at the Haagsma Site.

If the interaction at Haagsma involved an incorporation of Western Basin Springwells people into an Iroquoian population, as proposed, then we might also expect that some of the symbolic attributes of those individuals also persisted in this amalgamation. This presence would have entailed the "cultural elaboration of the domestic sphere" that Hodder (1985: 157) speaks of, referring to male/female tensions in "small scale lineage-based societies." Thus, the persistence of a less-explicit trait such as vessel surface treatment (slip-roughening) in the amalgamated sections of the Haagsma house may have been utilized as a compensating mechanism by the Western Basin potters in balancing the more explicit Iroquoian characteristics of ceramic manufacture (as suggested previously). If exchange involves human integration, even if only a one-way movement of individuals in exchange for commodities, this action implies (under peaceable circumstances) a bond between the groups or polities that may not have existed previously. I am referring to reciprocal obligations and alliances permitting, as Moreau *et al.* (1991: 59) suggest, "long-term viability" and "territorial transgressions."

The facets of symbolic expression at Haagsma have been enabled, it should be emphasized again, as much because of the locations of these artifact, feature and subsistence types as their 'type value' itself, and specifically their placements in relation to

the differential and overlapping utilization of space within the dwelling by the interacting cultural groups. Notions of boundary are therefore viewed as crucial in cases such as this towards providing explanation in the symbolic realm. Thus, turtle shell takes on particular significance in peripheral locations in the dwelling and in a post mold context, as do pairings of artifacts with contrasting styles contained in particular sections of the house, and as do the gender associations of these artifacts. For example, ceramics and awls as female property and their occurrence in pairs in the amalgamated sections reinforces the hypothesis of integration through links mediated by women between the Western Basin and Iroquoian groups.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

We must now examine our interpretation of the history of the Haagsma Site in particular and the study area in general, by highlighting issues concerning the ideological aspects of habitation and cultural interaction in a frontier region. Additionally, a number of directions will be suggested for further research.

In the fourteenth century in southwestern Ontario and adjacent regions, the stage was being set for the expansion of a number of regional polities. Most of what we know about this concerns Iroquoian populations, where archaeological data substantiate historic accounts of population movements (see Chapter 4 : "Historical Relationships"). However, we can infer from ethnohistoric accounts (e.g., Edmunds 1978) and limited archaeological data that shifts were also occurring among Central Algonquin groups. The influence of Mississippian populations on Western Basin groups, as Jamieson (1992) suggests, likely had a bearing on these movements in prehistoric times. For the Iroquois, expansion appears to have been a necessary corollary of increasing agricultural dependence, the sociopolitical and ideological effects of which were extensive, to the degree that the ideology of expansion itself found its greatest expression during this period (e.g., Varley and Cannon 1994). I have proposed that it is this increasingly

expansionist ideology, entailing a number of possibilities (e.g., expansion of agricultural territory, climatic cooling trends, lineage formation, population and polity expansion) which led to an Iroquoian settlement of the western margins of the study area (which includes the Haagsma Site and other contemporaneous settlements). This expansion was initiated during the Early Woodland period, where Iroquoian groups exploring the fringes of their territory, and gradually extending hunting, fishing and foraging zones, began encountering a similarly marginal population of Western Basin populations who had perhaps inhabited this region for some duration, and had likely developed out of in-situ Middle Woodland hunting bands. This limited contact was likely not without its effects however, as crossovers in characteristic cultural traits (which were already very similar) began occurring. As we discussed in Chapter 4, evidence of this initial cultural interaction is suggested on the Cemetery, Himey, and Haagsma Sites. I have proposed that with further interaction and overlapping of resource variables, a number of alliances and probably also factions occurred, resulting in a cluster of settlements in the Alvinston area dating to the middle Late Woodland period (A.D. 1200-1400). It is within this context that the Haagsma Site emerged, whereby the house was initially constructed by a strongly Iroquoian-influenced population and subsequently subject to periods of extended abandonment and shorter duration encounters of Western Basin and Iroquoian groups.

There were many population and settlement shifts involving this site cluster during this period related to developing networks of polity interaction. Some of these interactions are proposed to be of a long- distance nature, and the evidence of one in

particular is thought to have been represented at Haagsma (the exclusively Western Basin component), in which settlement/subsistence features and practices are markedly different than that of a predominantly Iroquoian group who occupied the rest of the house. It is these contrasting characteristics of the Western Basin Springwells contingent which find parallels with that of Central Algonquin affiliation, and where a central facet of that occupation involved a greater emphasis of ritual expression. The possibility should thus be considered that the interaction at Haagsma had important effects in the cosmological realms of both Western Basin and Iroquoian cultures, such that this knowledge was a desirable commodity (see Helms 1992: 159-162, as discussed in Chapter 3).

The significance of this encounter was such that it precipitated an amalgamation between the distinct Western Basin Springwells group and an Iroquoian contingent who may have been occupying the house on a seasonal basis, and arrived on the scene slightly later. The Western Basin group is therefore seen as occupying and modifying the structure likely during a period of abandonment by Iroquoian populations. A number of vested interests came into play here, from both Western Basin and Iroquoian sides. From either position, amalgamation may have been a means of establishing a cultural presence in either genetic stock (i.e., through the movement of women) within a frontier zone which was undergoing continual transformations and negotiations. Further, this liaison may have been an intentional strategy to foster interregional ties through the creation of a new community, in response to the accelerated cultural transformations occurring amongst both Iroquoian and Western Basin populations. Indeed, the Haagsma house

structure reflects these accommodations in spatial and depositional signals and symbols, resulting in a culturally hybrid structure with different orientations and emphasis on boundary symbolism, and a blending of material culture such as ceramic and bone assemblages.

The amalgamation was likely relatively short-lived however, even though a result of the liaison was an extension of the house. Indications of rapid abandonment in this section of the house suggest an eventual resettlement of a predominantly Iroquoian (Neutral) population, with the suggested establishment of a larger settlement nearby. This relocation may have entailed a factional split, with evidence of a small late Western Basin Springwells settlement located just to the west of the Haagsma settlement. The continued proximity of these groups is nonetheless indicative of neutral frontier relations and of the lasting effects of the cultural exchange which took place at the Haagsma house in earlier times. Eventually however, the quest for expanded agricultural territory among the Iroquoians probably led to the displacement of Western Basin groups who desired to retain their distinctiveness. Finally, I suggest that the reason that these cultural interaction effects endured was due to the ideological significance accorded them. For at least a period during the course of its lifespan, the Haagsma dwelling likely served as an 'oasis' of sacred space, surrounded by a territory of 'chaos'.

As Eliade suggests, however (recalling from Chapter 1), it is the nature of sacred space to entail an ambivalence, that of both veneration and fear. The Haagsma dwelling

in all likelihood embodied these qualities, particularly because of its boundary/frontier location, and because it was a shared structure. Yet even though it was a boundary presence, it appears that this dwelling served as a "centre" for negotiation, both intra-culturally and other-worldly.

Communication in either of these realms would have, as both Eliade and Cohen would suggest, taken on an added dimension or particular significance since the dwelling is seen as a vehicle of communication, both in its construction, alteration, and as a living space. This communication entailed the symbolism of creation and cultural interaction, and importantly, ambivalence and neutrality in a region where the geo-social-political boundaries were indistinct.

It follows that there was potential for this blurring in the ideological realm(s) associated with the highly charged social interaction, such that a greater pre-occupation with the affirmation of a particular cultural/ethnic hallmark embodied by ritual (or less overt display), may have been necessitated. This appears to have been the case within the Haagsma household, and perhaps most obviously so on behalf of the proposed long-distance travellers, the Western Basin group.

It is proposed that creation and interaction symbolism were amplified and/or altered in this structure, exemplified by the deposition of the bone tube and turtle shell at the base of key posts, pairings of distinctive artifact types and styles (awls, ceramics, deer

skulls), as well as the merging of artifact styles, i.e., ceramics. This symbolism is also suggested by a feast/offering, and distinctive and particular faunal remains (bear, dog, turkey) in terms of the Western Basin occupation. It is also implied by the altering of the structure itself (i.e., orientations, openings, partitions, lack of interior hearth).

The life and soul of the Haagsma house was indeed a multi-dimensional animated entity, where all dimensions of the axes of the mundi(s) appear to have been fully utilized.

In terms of further research, a useful area of comparison with the Alvinston area Late Woodland sites would be those of the Ausable River drainage to the north, since a number of Early Late Woodland and Middle Ontario Iroquoian sites have been documented there (Deller *et al.* 1986: 11). Similarly, further site documentation and excavation of Late Woodland sites on the Thames River bordering the study area to the south will be necessary in order to establish if the Haagsma Site appears as an anomaly in terms of cultural amalgamation and dwelling co-habitation. Additionally, site survey and documentation of collections from about the Dresden area on the Sydenham River to the delta and Walpole Island is necessary to provide westward connections with the Alvinston cluster of sites. Foremost however, would be the ability to strengthen immediate connections of sites such as Cemetery, Himey, Dolbear, and Metcalfe for that matter to the Haagsma Site through further excavation.

If the Iroquoian influx and distribution in our study area represents at least in part, migrating populations from the east, perhaps this settlement strategy is analogous to what Sutton (1992: 10) proposes for the "leapfrogging" pattern of Middle Ontario Iroquoian settlement in Simcoe, with the Alvinston area as one of the 'landing spots' and concentration of a westward migration (which happens to include an eastern extremity of Western Basin-influenced populations). A settlement such as Metcalfe meanwhile, may have served as a jumping off point in this type of strategy. If as proposed, the exclusively Western Basin Springwells population at the Haagsma Site represents a subgroup of a community beyond the Lake St. Clair/ St. Clair River, this may be an example of the "ad-hoc" long-distance exchange that Flannery (1972: 134) spoke of. This exchange in historic and likely prehistoric times involved corn and tobacco from the Iroquois, and skins and meat from the Algonquins (Rotstein 1988: 21).

Another possibility for future research would be to conduct inter-site comparisons between the Alvinston cluster of Late Woodland Sites and those in the regions noted above on the basis of types and techniques of cordage as applied to ceramics, in order to provide correlations between Western Basin Springwells groups in southwestern Ontario. Hurley's (1975: 134-147) study revealed that cording designs on pottery cross-cut type and technique of decoration patterns and identified "two major cord worlds" during the Late Woodland period in Wisconsin (which included a Mississippian influence). Sample sizes from sites on the Sydenham and elsewhere make it difficult to make any definite correlations at this time, although corded ceramics have apparently been recovered in

context with other traits on some of these sites. Carruthers (1975: 157, 167, 168) has delineated the near exclusivity of cord-impressed ceramics in certain areas on the Mikado Site in north-central Michigan. There is a clear similarity in the Haagsma Site corded rimsherds with certain rims at this site, as with a rimsherd from the Macklin Site near Sarnia (Murphy and Ferris 1990: 213).

Total frequencies and percentages of MaComb Linear cording from Western Basin sites in Ontario and Michigan were compared with Haagsma (Figure 17). This trait appears as a primarily western technique, with substantially greater percentages represented at sites such as Butler, Wolf, Springwells (Fort Wayne Mound), and Mikado (as cited). As shown, the percentages of this technique, mainly from partially excavated sites in Ontario vary from low to entirely absent. It would seem that sites on the Sydenham and Thames drainages to the south of the Haagsma cluster such as Bellamy and Sherman, representing a minimal corded influence and in context with other ceramics, are reflective of a regional Western Basin Springwells (and possibly amalgamated) population of an apparently non-exclusive nature. Haagsma appears as an anomaly in this regard, and thus leads one to speculate on the relative isolation and higher percentage of corded ware on a site this far east. While it is conceivable that the populations of the Bellamy and/or Sherman sites may represent a more tangible relationship to Haagsma (other than the observed ceramic similarities) as a part of the genesis of their settlement and mobility practices, it is of greater likelihood that the (amalgamated) features and assemblages at Haagsma are more closely related to the

aforementioned sites in the more immediate vicinity.

The problem of interpretation at Haagsma is compounded by the fact that there appears to be no other sites of this nature as yet investigated. Stothers *et al.* (1994: 16) however, has reported a salvage- excavated site in southeast Michigan (Butler) with comparable frequencies of Early Late Woodland (Younge/GlenMeyer) and Western Basin Springwells/Middle Ontario Iroquoian ceramics, and combinations thereof. The site is apparently primarily of the Early Late Woodland period, indicating that the 'Iroquoian' presence at this time was widespread. Other indications of amalgamation are from the Turkey Creek ossuary in extreme southwestern Ontario, and a number of other Western Basin sites in Michigan and Ohio with lower frequencies of Iroquoian ceramics (Stothers *et al.* 1994: 16). However, recovery of data other than ceramic comparisons appears to be limited on many of these sites because they have been extremely disturbed. One site of a later period is Wolfe Creek (G. Foster 1990) (ca. A.D. 1500-1550) is located to the southwest of Haagsma on the Thames drainage near Chatham. This site is thought to be a predominantly Iroquoian site with a short-term Sandusky interaction, as evidenced by "Iroquoian tradition houses, and dispersal of Sandusky (Mississippian or Western Basin Wolfe Phase) traits indicating that they did not operate as a discrete household." The ceramic assemblage was composed of 36 percent Sandusky vessels and 55 percent of the total number of vessels were of a corded body treatment, an interesting comparison with the predominance of the Western Basin slip-roughened treatment at Haagsma. Foster regards the Sandusky presence on the site as "associated with women and/or the

movement of commodities," and representing "a hostile relationship" (G. Foster 1990: 63-67). While hostilities may have ultimately occurred at Haagsma, indications point instead to a gradual evolution of cooperative interaction, perhaps until later in the fifteenth century, as Murphy and Ferris (1990: 263) propose of this region as a whole.

A.D. 1300 to 1450 is considered a period of rapid pan-Iroquoian change (Jamieson 1989: 309) in southern Ontario and surrounding regions, and this change is also true for Algonquin groups (e.g., Grim 1983: 195). The Haagsma Site undoubtedly represents a part of the dynamics of these movements as a community betwixt the two, and cultural connections to sites within and surrounding the study area is the subject of ongoing investigation.

It is proposed that further study of Late Woodland settlements within this frontier region can help extend our understanding of the dynamics of interaction between two cultures undergoing constant transformations which increased into the historic period, and culminated in outright warfare. It is only through further research in this direction that we will be able to bridge the gap between the historically recorded cases of encounters between Central Algonquin and Iroquoian populations, and the material record which provides indications of contact among Western Basin and Iroquoian cultures. This research will enable us to provide a more complete picture of the prehistory of the first peoples of this region.

FIGURE 1

FIGURE 3

SYDENHAM RIVER SURVEY

Late Woodland Sites AeHI, AFHk

FIGURE 5

HAAGSMA SITE - AeHI-33

Post Mold • under 10cm
 ○ 10+cm

Feature intrusive

Feature

Post Clusters
Ai, A, B, Ci, Cii

FIGURE 6

FIGURE 8

FIGURE 9

FIGURE 10

FIGURE 12

FIGURE 13

FIGURE 14

FIGURE 15

FIGURE 16

FIGURE 17

Feature 12

Cluster A1

Profile 5 (upper)

Feature 7

Cluster A1

Plate 2

Feature 11

Feature 5
Cluster A

Feature 3

Cluster A

Feature 29

Cluster B

Layer 5

Plate 6

Feature 34

Cluster B

Feature 31

Cluster B

Left Top & Bottom:
Feature 39
Right Top & Bottom:
Feature 59

Feature 90 (Midden)
Ceramics

F. 64 - Cluster C

F. 71 - Cluster C

Wheatbridge Site

F. 29

Projectile Point (PM#44)

Plate 9

#5

#67

#2

#3

F. 7, PM#4

Post Molds

Limestone Pipe Bowl, Feature 11

Bone Tools: "Sucking Tube", Awls

Plate 11

Miniature Vessel Sections

Projectile Points

Actual Size
Feature 71:L-2

Plate 13

K.Pipe Assemblage
T.L.: F. 47/ F. 12
B.L.: P.M. #3
Centre: F. 43

T.R.: F.12
B.R.: F.28a

LATE WOODLAND RINSHERDS FROM HAAGSMA GRAVEL PIT
(Leroy Wood Collection)

Plate 15

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