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De-Essentializing the Past: Deconstructing Colonial Categories in 19th-Century Ontario

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Anthropology
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IN 19TH-CENTURY ONTARIO

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by

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Abstract

This study engages with both the archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology in a manner that brings them into direct dialogue with each other to explore how essentialized identity tropes are used to frame our conceptualizations of the past. The archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology have been conceptually bifurcated along a colonized/colonizer dichotomy and continuously reified by the insertion of research into one category or the other. The archaeology of colonialism generally focuses on the experiences of the colonized within the colonial process, while historical archaeology focuses on the experiences of Europeans and/or people of European descent. This is not to say that archaeologists working on either side of this conceptual divide ignore each other entirely, but rather their foci – and subsequent discussions – rarely converge.

To create a conceptual bridge between these disparate dialogues, I explore multigenerational, 19th-century sites in southwestern Ontario, all of which have two sequential occupations that serve to explore generational shifts through time. The sites explored are conventionally bifurcated along colonial and capitalist binaries, and categorized as colonized (Davisville settlement and Mohawk Village, two Mohawk communities) and colonizer (McKinney and Odlum families, two Euro-Canadian families), as well as elite (Mohawk Village and Odlum) and non-elite (Davisville and McKinney). An exploration of the patterns between generations, contexts, and the bifurcated divides enabled insights into the differences and similarities between and within the conventional tropes of colonialism. Furthermore, this allows for a discussion of how archaeological taxonomic conventions shape and conceptualize our interpretations from the outset and fundamentally limit the narratives that we produce.

This exploration emphasizes that our contemporary archaeological discourses are products of present day sensibilities, firmly embedded within the legacies of colonialism, and create archaeological imaginaries of the past that insidiously reify the essentialized colonial divide. Instead of emphasizing the differences between Euro-Canadian and Indigenous sites, exploring the contemporaneous commonalities of existence for all the sites under study illustrates archaeological dialogues that transcend the colonial conceptual divide and de-essentialize archaeological narratives of the past.

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it into the future. Their support and discussions made this process an enjoyable one; a sentiment that I hope to extend to others in the future.

I would like extend my appreciation to my supervisor, Neal Ferris, for his constant advice, support, and guidance throughout my PhD. Neal helped provide many opportunities that moulded me into the scholar that I am today, and I will always have the distinction of being his first PhD student in a long line of future graduates. His guidance help me transition from a student to colleague, and I'm happy to consider him a mentor and friend.

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Chapter 1

1   Setting the Stage

Archaeological interpretation is premised on taking the complex, intertwined, and subconscious dispositions and processes of daily life, in both past and present, and dividing them into manageable portions of data that can be interpreted through space and time. This taxonomic methodology of archaeology stretches back to the cultural-historical works of Kossinna, V. Gordon Childe and continues to have vestiges in modern archaeology (Jones 1997; Liebmann 2012; Meskell 2002). Archaeological theories and methods have progressed beyond the simplistic categorization of static cultures by artifact form and design through space and time, and we are now engaged in dialogues and topics that expand the boundaries of the archaeological discipline; however, the materialistic necessity of the discipline forces archaeological research to continue dividing people into categories based on their tools and/or practices. As such, archaeologists look to conventions that serve to easily distinguish one group of people from another (e.g., group *A* uses bowls and group *B* uses plates) in order to engage with the primary questions of archaeological research. Unless we are discussing universalities and generalizations, it is difficult to engage with themes like gender prior to defining various homogenizing, externally situated (e.g., Western/Aboriginal, Euro-Canadian/Six Nations, colonizer/colonized) and more specific contextually specific (e.g., male/female, rich/poor) categories of analysis.

Archaeology of the more recent past[1] has the added level of complexity of being able to more readily see social and political factors that can influence identity categories. The increased visibility of the aforementioned factors is a product of the experiential knowledge gained from the complex and nuanced reality of daily life in the present. These pressures can be inferred and engaged with in the deeper past, but less temporal distance makes them more obvious and readily apparent because more avenues of research are available to highlight these pressures. Temporal distance between the archaeologist and the research subject inevitably blurs the contextual nuances that complicate materialistic interpretations; the greater the distance between the research context and the researchers' present position, the less obvious and specific the social pressures that act on the research context. As such, developing taxonomic categories or interpretations in the deeper past based primarily on archaeological materials, in contrast to political and ethnographic knowledge obtained from documentary analysis or cultural proximity is a more readily accepted process. This is not to say that the present is more complicated than the past or that there are fundamentally different ongoing social processes, but rather it is more difficult to engage directly with these broader social influences. How the archaeologist studying the more recent past molds intersecting political, social, cultural, and innumerable other identities into functional taxonomic categories of study needs constant reflexive evaluation. The obvious complexities readily visible within the more recent past do not mean that the same considerations are unnecessary when doing archaeology in more distant pasts. Rather, the study of the more recent past is an excellent – and challenging – context to test archaeological theories we use to interpret all pasts.

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[1] By the more recent past I am referring in general to a relative position of closer temporal proximity to the present, and more specifically to the last 100 years or so.

This project engages with both the archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology in a manner that brings them into direct dialogue with each other to explore how essentialized identity tropes are used to frame our conceptualizations of the past. The archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology have been conceptually bifurcated along the colonized/colonizer dichotomy and continuously reified by the insertion of research into one category or the other. The archaeology of colonialism generally focuses on the experiences of the colonized within the colonial process (in North America, 'colonized' most often refers to Indigenous peoples), while historical archaeology generally focuses on the experiences of Europeans and/or people of European descent (in North America, often framed as Euro-Canadians or Euro-Americans). This is not to say that the archaeologists working on either side of this conceptual divide ignore each other entirely, but rather that they are focused on their own particular, yet artificial, facets of the past and the emerging discourses are rarely convergent.

I approach this research from a post-colonial mindset that strives to go beyond the conventional colonial tropes that are presently deemed essential to the current discourse: effectively de-essentializing the past. I am not arguing for the integration of colonized experiences and perspectives into the normative colonizer history (i.e. add colonized and stir) or vise-versa. Instead, both the colonizer and the colonized should be engaged equally to explore how various agents in the past navigated the commonalities of material existence of the 19th century. Presently the bifurcation between colonizer and colonized creates two narratives that, while frequently used as conceptual foils for the other to emphasize difference, do not critically engage with one another at deeper levels of research and interpretation. The underlying assumption remains that colonizers and colonized are essentially different and can be contrasted to search for and explain why they are different;

however, the question of 'why are they different?' is rarely raised at the outset. The lack of a critical and reflexive consideration of the aforementioned questioned demonstrates that there are habitual logics that we, as researchers, invoke to frame our understandings of the past.

Undoubtedly differences do exist, as between any two defined groups of people, but should definition as one side or the other of the colonial process wholly dictate how their experiences then become framed? Embedding the archaeology of historic First Nations almost exclusively within the archaeology of colonialism simultaneously privileges Eurocentric experiences within historical archaeology and continuously emphasizes the experiences of the colonized as 'othered' from the scholarly conceptual centre. The experiences of the colonized are thus enclaved within their own thematic sub-discipline, which can be understood as a continuing colonization of the past. Instead of relegating the experiences of the colonized to their own narratives, they should be brought into dialogue with historical archaeology to create discourses that can be understood as integral to the experiences of everyone in the past regardless of being labelled as 'colonizer' or 'colonized'. This bridging would have the twofold effect of incorporating the experiences of the colonized into the main discussion, accompanying some popular conceptualizations of identity formation and maintenance (e.g., survivance and residence), as well as allowing for the archaeology of the colonized to place more emphasis on foci traditionally explored within the archaeology of the colonizer (e.g., class and capitalism).

 To create a conceptual bridge between the disparate dialogues, I am exploring multigenerational, 19th-century colonizer and colonized sites in southwestern Ontario (Figure 1). The colonized sites are associated with the Davisville settlement and Mohawk Village, two communities of Mohawk in Brant County. The colonizer sites are associated with the

McKinney and Odlum families, two Euro-Canadian (Irish) families in Peel County. These sites were selected because they offer contemporaneous windows into the daily lives of elite (Mohawk Village and Odlum) and non-elite contexts (Davisville and McKinney). All of the contexts examined have two sequential components of occupation that serve to explore shifts through time within approximately 30 year generational periods. By exploring the patterns between generations, contexts, and the bifurcated colonial divide, I can explore the differences and similarities between and within the conventional tropes of colonialism. Furthermore, it allows for a discussion of how archaeological taxonomic conventions shape and conceptualize our interpretations from the outset and fundamentally limit the narratives that we produce.

The sites selected for this project can also be understood as rural domestic farmsteads. Rural farmstead archaeology has become a boom topic since the explosion of the cultural resource management (CRM) industry, which now comprises a steadily growing portion of sites excavated through consultant projects in Canada and the United States (Baugher and Klein 2001-2002; Ferris 2007; MacDonald 1997). Recent publications related to rural farmstead archaeology have focused on trying to determine what factors make a rural farmstead a significant site of cultural heritage, emphasizing the contemporary struggle archaeologists are having regarding engagement with this growing data set (e.g., Baugher and Klein 2001-2002; Groover 2008; Hart and Fisher 2000). With a few noted exceptions, contemporary rural farmstead archaeology research is arguably lacking in Canada; however, rural farmstead archaeology has a longer, and more developed, history in the global context that can be transposed to the Canadian context (e.g., Dalglish 2003; Groover 2003; Horning 1999, 2004; Kenyon 1997; MacDonald 1997, 2004; Orser 2010; Poulton and Dodd 2007).
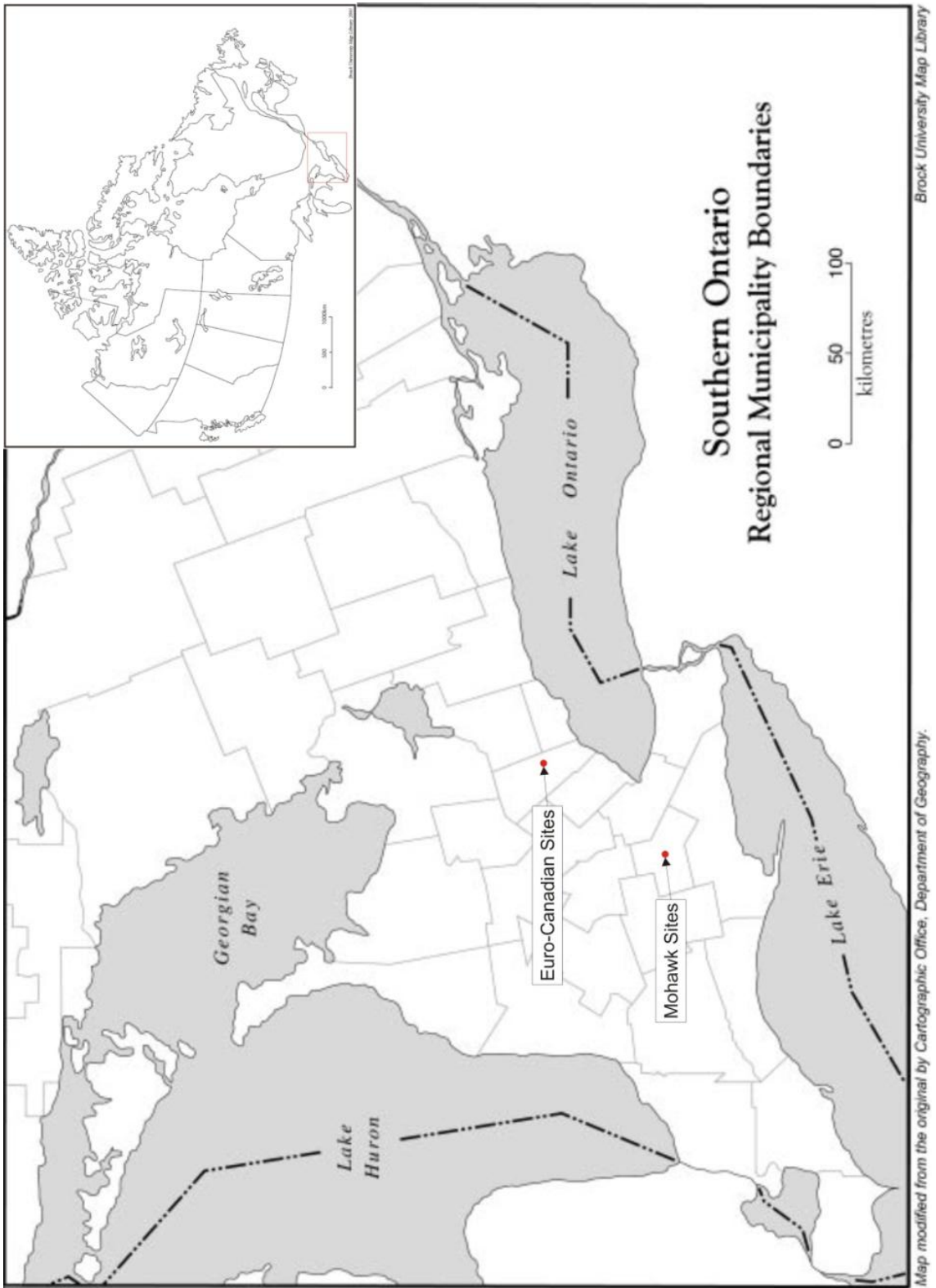
Figure 1: Location of Sites in Southwestern Ontario

Two prevalent characterizations that make rural farmsteads different from urban locales include distance from major settlements and the economic focus on agricultural lifeways in rural contexts. Both factors likely contribute to defining rural farmstead archaeology, but they create more a description of difference than a cohesive classificatory difference of meaning. As with other archaeological research topics, rural farmstead archaeology has gone through many trends and debates, generally separated into two inter-related camps: ethnic differences and power relations between farms (e.g., Barile 2004; Otto 1977; Stine 1990); and socio-economic differences between tenant, middle class, and elite farmers (Orser 1999; Stine 1990; Wilson 2009). The aforementioned two themes represent the dominant discourses within rural farmstead archaeology.

Within this project, understanding the examined sites as domestic rural farmsteads is important for two reasons. First is the pragmatic reality that domestic farmsteads are an abundant and available archaeological data set. A large number of 19th-century domestic sites have already been excavated from various contexts throughout southwestern Ontario, many of which can be reliably associated with various historic records (e.g., maps and census data). The abundance of well documented archaeological sites means that I have selected specific sites to explore that have a level of control and consistency that is not always available for archaeological research. The ability to sort through an existent data set means that the sites have several aspects in common which facilitate their comparison: multi-generationality, contemporaneous dates (1790s-1860s), known socio-economic standing, known ethnic affiliation, and the existence of a common material culture. This last factor is particularly important for this research. Being situated in the 19th century makes it difficult, if not impossible, to highlight a single artifact or class of artifact as an iconic marker of identity. The site inhabitants had, albeit with slightly differing pressures, access to similar goods

through similar avenues: whether Mohawk or Euro-Canadian they could buy a transfer printed plate for roughly the same price. The leveling of access to, and acquisition of, goods allows for a critical, and direct, exploration and comparison between the assemblages.

Second, the main livelihood of all the families was agricultural, and "rural capitalism and the agricultural economy were central organizing elements among farm families" (Groover 2003:4). The families might have engaged in other economic activities to supplement their income, but their primary economic activities were agricultural. The site occupants were all engaged in farming in which they had some level of control, meaning they had a level of autonomy to choose what they produced and consumed from the farms. They engaged with a local agricultural economy where they sold surplus crops and animals raised for the purpose, selecting crops and animals that fit within either economic profitability and/or their own foodways: if a family preferred to consume pork, they could raise pigs. This level of family choice suggests that faunal remains will reflect familial preferences more separate from or balanced with market availability. Within this conceptualization, the occupants all existed in similar, but localized, contextual economic pressures to produce surplus product for the market that was in a tension with self sustaining pressure to produce food for their own consumption.

In its essence, this project will encourage a reconsideration and rapprochement of the conventional scholarly separation of colonial and historical archaeology. This work represents the next logical step of a trend epitomized, within the archaeology of colonialism, by Lightfoot (1995): the deconstruction of arbitrary and essentialized conceptual divisions within archaeological practice.

1.1 Dissertation Outline

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 will frame the conceptualizations for this study. As this is a post-normative engagement which strives to reach beyond the colonial constraints dominant in the archaeological practice, I approach this project foremost from the perspective of the archaeology of the colonized. By engaging with the work of three major archaeologists engaged with the archaeology of the colonized, Stephen Silliman, Kurt Jordan, and Neal Ferris, whose work embodies the present day state of the discipline, I highlight the artificial limitations created by the essentialist conceptual enclaving of the colonized. Subsequently I discuss the conceptualization of the archaeology of the colonizer (historical archaeology) and how historical archaeologists are able to exclude the experiences of the colonized from their narratives. Simultaneously highlighting the weaknesses of both frameworks exposes the apparent conceptual gaps and suggests directions for collaboration between the frameworks.

Chapter 3 explores the experiences of the colonized in Southwestern Ontario as reflected through two 19th-century Mohawk communities. By engaging with the archaeological assemblages from the Davisville settlement and Mohawk Village, I highlight the similarities and differences within and between the two contexts. My research invokes lenses drawn from both the archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology to frame my exploration of these two contemporaneous Mohawk contexts.

Chapter 4 explores the experiences of the colonizer in Southwestern Ontario. I explore the patterns within and between the archaeological assemblages from the sites associated with the McKinney and Odlum families. By situating the observed patterns with regional and family historic data, I explore how and why the patterns differ. As with Chapter 3, Chapter 4

draws upon both the archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology to frame understandings for the patterns recovered for these two contemporaneous Irish/Euro-Canadian families.

Chapter 5 brings together both sets of data and observations from the previous two chapters to explore the discussion that emerges when these traditionally disparate narratives are bridged. The previous two chapters are purposefully consistent data-wise, which allows for a dialogue between them. With this in mind, I engage with the actual archaeological similarities and differences between the four sites to emphasize how preconceived colonial tropes would have constrained and influenced possible resulting narratives from the datasets.

Chapter 6 concludes this project and sums up goals for future research.

Prior to beginning this narrative, a brief note concerning terminology is necessary. This project revolves heavily around how researchers frame and name differing groups of people through time and the impacts this has on the resulting interpretations. As such, it would be disingenuous to ignore and unconsciously reproduce problematic naming conventions. Group self-identification is essential for many cultural/ethnic identities, and the preference for how varied groups desire to be named is an important consideration. Within North American contexts, the act of naming is especially notable for the disparate and changing names used to refer to local Aboriginal communities and further complicated by the differing conventions across the Canadian/United States border. As I am referring heavily to existing works from varied contexts, I have maintained the terminology used by authors as deemed appropriate from within their research contexts. Within my own discourse, I use 'Aboriginal' to refer most broadly to the populations who lived across North America prior to and through European colonialism. Following Canadian conventions, 'First Nations' refers to contexts

where Inuit and Métis populations are generally excluded. When appropriate, I use names for specific Aboriginal Nations/Groups (e.g., Six Nations, Mohawk). Any miscues are not meant as disrespect or an attempt to impose a specific identity. Instead, they are my engagements with the complex process of naming in a cohesive and consistent manner for the sake of my own discourse through this study.

Chapter 2

2   The Archaeology of Colonialism

Chapter 2 establishes my conceptual framework for this project. It discusses the current trends within the archaeology of the colonized and the colonizer and highlights the weakness of the current bifurcation.

2.1   The Archaeology of the Colonized

As with any field of study, the contemporary archaeology of colonialism has evolved over time, building upon the varied and influential work of numerous researchers. Previous researchers have laid a foundation that allows, and restricts, contemporary discourse; the conversations we are having today would not be possible without them. The history of the archaeology of colonialism has been written and critiqued on many occasions (e.g., Cusick 1998; Pels 1997; Rubertone 2000), and I personally do not feel the need to re-write that narrative. In a broad sense, the archaeology of colonialism has passed through phases of asymmetrical power relations and acculturation (e.g., Foster 1960; Gordon 1964; Spicer 1962), to hybridization and creolization (e.g., Burley 2000; Cusick 2000; Rogers and Wilson 1993; van Dommelen 2005), to de-colonization (e.g., Atalay 2006; Rubertone 2000), and finally to post-colonial archaeology (e.g., Leone 2009; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Each of these conceptual shifts are products of their own times and advanced scholarship because they addressed the weaknesses of previous conceptualizations; however, despite the subsequent research that built upon and critiqued earlier conceptualizations, vestiges of previous conceptual weaknesses remain. These vestiges are present in the

language used, basic frameworks, and conceptual baggage that continuously frame ensuing research.

There are two main foci within the archaeology of colonialism: ancient and modern colonialism. These two fields of study can be further subdivided into regional or thematic categories, but the discourse generally breaks down along these lines: ancient colonialism is concerned with research prior to 1500 C.E. and often emphasizes Greco-Roman movements or colonialism around the Mediterranean (e.g., Cusick 1998[ed]; Dietler 2010; Given 2004; Hurst and Owen 2005; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Stein 2012, 2005). Modern colonialism is concerned with research post 1500 C.E. and emphasizes the period of modern European global colonialism (e.g., Gosden 2004; Harrison and Williamson 2002; Lawrence 2003[ed]; Murray 2004; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010). There are many parallels within these two discourses that have emerged based on similar conceptual and theoretical frameworks, and there are many contexts in which they converge to great benefit (e.g., Stein 2005), but each has developed its own caveats and concerns.

For this project, I am focusing on three researchers who are emblematic of the current paradigm of a more complicated and individually focused archaeology of colonialism within the North American context: Stephen Silliman, Kurt Jordan, and Neal Ferris. These three researchers have each been key players in the archaeology of colonialism since the mid-2000s and reviewing their work illuminates the current state of this field of study and the direction of subsequent research and critiques; a view recently mirrored by Wagner (2011). There are other researchers theoretically engaged with conceptualizations of the archaeology of colonialism throughout the world, most notably Rodney Harrison in Australia and Michael Dietler in Europe, but I have chosen to focus on researchers in North America for my

discussion. This omission is not because the research in North America and in more global

contexts cannot be brought into dialogue – in fact, global studies can be very effective in

revealing many of our underlying preconceptions – but rather, in broadening the discussion

to a global context, it becomes much more difficult to delineate the colonial tropes in North

American archaeology of colonialism. Researchers in most areas follow the local

conventions of who is considered colonized and who is considered colonizer, but the

specifics of how these conventions are formed and their subsequent underlying assumptions

remain unproblematized.

2.1.1 Stephen Silliman

In his book, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California* (2004), Silliman uses the archaeological

lens of labour to explore how 19th-century Native Americans were engaged with colonial

Europeans in California. In this context, Native Americans worked for Ranchos (early

Spanish colonizers) in exchange for lodging, commodities, and food. Silliman argues that

this relationship embedded all participants in a direct and daily form of interaction and

contact (2004:8, 22-23). The daily practice of labour takes on both social and economic

values that are pervasive throughout both work and domestic contexts. Silliman demonstrates

that, despite being embedded within a colonial context in which Native Americans received

much of the material goods required for daily life from their European employer, they

retained their own material dispositions, selectively incorporated European goods into their

identities, and remained visible archaeologically.

Silliman (2004) focuses on material remains and a faunal/floral assemblage of daily goods to

support his argument. Classifying artifacts into material categories avoids projecting an

assumed functionality onto artifacts. For example, despite ambiguous archaeological

contexts, he argues that lithic artifacts recovered on Native labourer sites were contemporaneous with the 19th-century component, and that these artifacts represent a continuation of the production and use of stone tools alongside metal objects (Silliman 2004:95-96, 102). The presence of knapped bottle glass suggests that the skills remained, but the lack of formal tools made of bottle glass indicate that Native labourers produced expedient tools (Silliman 2004:130-131).

In the end, Silliman (2004) frames the construction and maintenance of a Native American identity along gender lines. For the women, their domestic dispositions of food preparation and clothing maintenance incorporated European goods, ranging from ceramics, kettles, European clothes, glass beads, sewing paraphernalia, and foodstuffs like beef, wheat, barley, and corn into their traditional practices. The activities of food preparation and clothing maintenance reinforced identity for these women while allowing for the incorporation of new goods, foods, and practices. For men, the relationship with traditional and European goods was more ambiguous, as few activities and goods could be directly associated with male actors. Silliman (2004) focuses on the production of stone tools and hunting of wild game as the primary markers of male identity. Wild foods were obtained to supplement the diet provided by the European employers, and the data indicates that this activity was conducted by men. Silliman (2004) points out that deer hides and wild bird parts, as well as sheep wool, served other purposes – such as economic commodities – and these uses, in addition to food uses, gave social value to their acquisition by men.

Overall, Silliman (2004) effectively problematizes many of the conventional assumptions archaeologists have made in searching for continuity and change among Native Americans in historic contexts. Dispositions always operate within a tension of continuity and adaptation to

the circumstances of daily life. Thus, framing the retention of practices and objects from pre-colonial contexts as simply the preservation of 'traditional' culture is of limited value (Silliman 2004:205). This conceptualization of retained practices relegates Native Americans to a static past, in which practices were maintained despite not being as effective as 'modern' practices. It must be explicit that both traditional and modern practices were all understood and enacted by people who assigned, created, and maintained their own values and meanings.

A problematic dimension of Silliman's (2004) work is the framing of Native Americans entirely within an hierarchical relationship with their European employers. This framing does limit the analysis of the Native American colonized beyond the world of European colonizers. As a result, this tends to frame the inevitable power imbalances between colonized and colonizer as a nature 'order' of the colonial process, rather than being critically deconstructed as the result of a complex set of relationships. This approach risks simply replacing the colonizer/colonized dichotomy with an uncritical higher/lower class dichotomy. Also, it complicates the interpretation of the patterns in the material culture. If the majority of the goods are coming from the employer (the archaeological patterns representing market availability and the relative choices of the market), the distinctions between colonizer employer and colonized workers become blurred (i.e. they are all 'equal' consumers of the colonizer's material culture). Further complication is added by certain goods, such as ceramics, not having clear provenance. It is unclear whether the ceramics were being obtained by the workers from the market or supplied by the employer. The source of these everyday goods can have a significant impact on their associated meanings and values.

More recently, Silliman has been researching the Eastern Pequot Nation in the Northeast (Silliman 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010). Silliman (2009) emphasizes a shift in

conceptualization of historic Native American research to include diachronic perspective (i.e. a deep time depth connecting archaeological patterns), scales of memory, and a reconsideration of cultural identities of materials. Silliman (2009) argues that the current prevalent conceptualization of historical archaeology of Native Americans frames the colonized against an arbitrary pre-contact baseline that emphasizes change as a result of 'contact' and lends itself to dialogues of acculturation and loss. In contrast, continuity and personal engagement becomes the focus when the approach is framed within a diachronic conceptualization, emphasizing continuities and the smaller scale of enacted memory. This perspective sees people as living in a continuous 'ethnographic present' in which they live and understand the world as they experience it (Silliman 2009:222-223). This 'ethnographic present' is not disconnected from the past, but rather understands the past as continuously re-created in the present. Silliman uses the re-emergence of lithic tools on later Pequot sites as an example of continuity and re-creation (2009:223). Silliman interprets the lack of stone tools on earlier sites as a form of 'social forgetting' in which flint knapping was not perceived as having a meaning in those times, and that the later re-emergence symbolizes a new associated meaning of value (2009:224).

Associated with this re-framed conceptualization of Native American archaeology is a criticism of how archaeologists have conventionally approached interpretations of material culture. Within conventional historical archaeological framings, objects get assigned a cultural identity based on who made them (Aboriginal/Colonial); on Native American sites, Aboriginal objects represent 'traditionalism' and colonial objects represent 'acculturation' (Silliman 2009:213). Silliman (2009) argues that, like the arbitrary base line of the pre-contact, strict association of object provenance and identity does not allow Native Americans to be framed as anything other than traditionalists or acculturated. Instead, who was using

and how the objects were used, based on social and embodied memories, should be emphasized (Silliman 2009:215). This emphasis allows for the same objects and/or practices to convey different meanings for various people and allow these meanings to change over time, rather than serve only a single, static, essentialized context.

Silliman and Witt (2010) further explore the Eastern Pequot Nation within a labour and market context. The authors argue that exploring colonialism through the lens of market economy interactions can no longer be framed as 'culture contact' and must be engaged with the wide variety of factors that affect such capitalist interactions (Silliman and Witt 2010:46-47). By comparing merchant records related to the activities of two identified members of the local reservation and their related archaeological sites, Silliman and Witt (2010) demonstrate that members of the local Native American community were differentially participating in the local market economy. Some members were engaged as seasonal labourers who worked for store credit, while others produced goods on their lands, such as wool, and traded it with local merchants for the goods they needed. This inference could be correlated with archaeological data that demonstrated that differences in the objects used, both in quality and source, suggested variable participation in local markets. This work demonstrates that Native Americans were directly engaged with the capitalist market economy, and despite the existence of inherent inequalities, such as limitations based on availability and inherent racial undertones that pushed them to the margins of the economy, they continued to negotiate their position and were not marginalized in all their responses to colonialism (Silliman and Witt 2010:46, 50). Variability within the types of engagement between colonized and colonizer emphasizes that choices were being made by the Native Americans as to how and in what way they were engaged with the local economy; some chose seasonal labour and others produced their own goods (Silliman and Witt 2010:62-64). Native American choices in how

they engaged with the local market economy undermines the notion of a homogenous set of

Native American forms of relationship with the local colonizers and emphasizes the need to

explore the variability in actions taken and the factors that influenced these actions. This is

not to say that they were entirely free of the trappings of colonialism in the choices they

made, or that there were no common experiences, but that framing their engagement entirely

within the lens of colonialism intrinsically disallows for the varied realities of their actions.

2.1.2 Kurt Jordan

In his book, *The Seneca Restoration 1715-1754* (2008), Jordan undertakes a critical re-

evaluation of the historic documents and archaeological data of the Seneca in New York

State to re-consider the narrative of decline[2] popular in conventional archaeological and

historical literature from the Great Lakes region. This critique is framed around the use of a

local political economy: local patterns and understandings are situated and emphasized

within a global (or regional) structure (Jordan 2008:27-30).

A majority of Jordan's argument is based on examining short-term community shifts and

house construction. This dataset focuses on trends in archaeological communities, rather than

individually recorded observations in historical accounts. This methodology is tremendously

effective in undermining a general narrative of decline because contextualizing shifts in a

community context de-essentializes individualistic historical accounts of decline and poverty.

As Jordan has demonstrated, individual historical accounts of decline can be uncovered for

almost any period in the written record, but it is the contextualization and emphasis given to

these single accounts in historical and archaeological research that creates an overall

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[2] The narrative of decline is the uncritical assumption that Aboriginal populations and groups went on a
downward trajectory post-European contact and all narratives must fit with this framework.

narrative of decline. By choosing to emphasize accounts of decline, while simultaneously ignoring accounts of prosperity or change, a master narrative of decline is created within which all understandings of Native experiences through colonialism are framed. Such a master ignores variation and general trends. A selection of individual accounts of decline can often mask the perception or purposeful action of the recorder; in fact, it tends to ignore the more general experiences of a community – experiences that are more visible archaeologically.

Jordan's fine-grained temporal and spatial analysis of the Seneca from New York State effectively demonstrates that the master narrative of decline does not accurately describe the patterns recovered from the archaeological record. The Seneca continued, rather than declined, changing their lifeways to address the European colonial encroachment, while they simultaneously maintained what it meant to be Seneca. The Seneca shifts in lifeways and architecture were not purposeful acts to appear 'more European' or 'less Seneca'. Instead, theses shifts were changes in the Seneca's own communities that were informed by pre-existing social process and histories that should not be framed entirely by 'the effects of Europeans'. The changes in lifeways are responses to the communities' changing local realities and needs, instead of a reactionary outcome to the inevitable rise of the European colonizer. The shift in emphasis to the colonized being able to change and adapt to local circumstances within their own best interests, rather than the colonized changes being framed as cultural crises responses that were intrinsically unable to 'deal with' the appearance, and rise, of the European colonizer, is profound. Instead of the narratives of the colonized being destined to be a 'narrative of decline' and essential loss of Indigenous (i.e. colonized) identity, the shift in emphasis allow for more nuanced narratives that circumvent and critique these essentialist colonial framings. Once we are able to conceptualize beyond colonial

framings as being other than the master narrative of decline, we are then able and obligated to conceptualize new frameworks of interaction to discuss the history and archaeological data.

Jordan (2010) also expands on the concept of cultural entanglement as an alternative to acculturationist models to understand European-Aboriginal experiences of colonialism. Cultural entanglement is "a long-term, gradual, and non-directed process of interaction" (Alexander 1998:485 in Jordan 2010:81) in which no group is politically or economically dominant. Jordan describes how the framing of interactions as *colonialism* embeds the discussion within an assumed, realized, or imminent expression of European domination (2010:81). This framework inherently limits the types of questions asked and presupposes narratives of decline. Jordan (2010) argues the 1550-1779 Seneca Iroquois in New York State were entangled with, rather than colonized by, local European groups. Instead of the discussion being framed by an inevitable colonial rise/colonizer decline dictated by the inherent superiority of European culture and objects, entanglement re-centres the discussion towards the choices Indigenous peoples made, from within their own global conceptualization, in daily lived reality of the local colonial process (see also Dietler 1998; Martindale 2009). There are, however, problems with how Jordan (2010) has positioned cultural entanglement against colonialism. Jordan (2010) clearly states which contexts belong to cultural entanglement, but what contexts belong to colonialism are not so evident. It is apparent that there still remains a context that should fall within the colonialism framework, but it is vaguely insinuated and becomes a convenient trope to contrast with his context.

2.1.3 Neal Ferris

In his book, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism* (2009), Ferris challenges the narratives of acculturation and decline prevalent in colonial research. Ferris (2009) focuses on the Ojibwa, Fairfield Delaware, and Six Nations in 18th- and 19th-century southern Ontario, and presents several broad themes: a critical evaluation of historic documents, the manner in which historic Aboriginal communities are observed in the archaeological record, and the manner in which the tension between continuity and change is balanced within Aboriginal contexts.

In all three contexts, Ferris (2009) provides a time depth for his interpretations and integrates archaeological, historical, and census data to demonstrate that, instead of decline and acculturation, Aboriginal peoples were navigating the specifics of their circumstances to their own perceived best interests. There was a sense of logic to peoples' actions constructed from how they understood their past, present, and future. This is not to say that these choices were always the best, or that they were not restricted by the colonial bureaucracy, but rather that their practices must be, and inherently are, grounded in the past, acted in the present, and directed towards the future. Changes in practices are observed from arbitrarily determined vantage points along a continuum (see Lightfoot 1995) and thus represent changed conceptual continuities.

Ferris (2009) uses archaeological data related to subsistence practices, mobility, and settlement patterns. His analysis of subsistence practices includes a detailed emphasis on hunted foods, purchased foods, and farmed foods, as well as a detailed description of ceramics. In contrast to Silliman's work exploring the shifts in communities of the California Indians (2004) and Eastern Pequot Nation (2009; 2010), Ferris' examination of identified

families within Mohawk Village and the later community of Brantford allows for a more

detailed, specific, and nuanced examination of subsistence practices. While more localized,

Ferris demonstrates a more individualistic and contextual response to the colonial situation,

which highlights the variety in interaction. Whereas Jordan (2008) deconstructs the master

narrative of decline among the Seneca by exploring the temporal shifts, changes, and

continuities to the political economy of the Townley-Read site, Ferris (2009) deconstructs

how archaeologists frame their discussions of the past (e.g., acculturation, change, continuity,

etc.) by exploring the daily lived experiences of the Powless household in Mohawk Village.

Those discussions are supported by Ferris' emphasis on Canadian agricultural census data,

catastrophic bureaucracy, constant contacts, and 'creeping colonialisms'. The agricultural

census data illuminate how individuals focused on their farming practices, thus providing

both community and individual household level scales of data. Despite being recorded by

government employees, this data provides a quantifiable measure that can be used to contrast

varying practices between colonizers and colonized.

Catastrophic bureaucracy is a concept of interest as it characterizes more than the imposition

on Aboriginal communities, and as a concept, is described by Ferris as follows:

> Catastrophic bureaucracy encompasses various State actions of good intent,
> self-serving interest, incompetence, indifference, racial bias, strategic
> disruption of sovereignty, neglect and deceit, all arising from the apparatus
> and populace of colonial power of the day (British then Canadian) and
> imposed onto the daily lived life of Aboriginal communities. (2009:59)

Rather than representing an un-negotiated imposition on Aboriginal communities,

catastrophic bureaucracy encompasses the varied and complex actions of the State in a

nuanced manner that is contextually dependant. Context alters the actions, the interpretations,

and the results of the colonial impositions. The strength of this approach is that it gets away

from generalized colonial interactions that encompasses all peoples into essentialized tropes of colonizer/colonized and allows for a varied, contextually dependent narrative. Despite being essentialized, the colonizer/colonized tropes are retained because they do have a modern meaning that does encapsulate the Aboriginal/European dichotomy. This meaning, however, is more limited and is meant to recognize the power imbalance at a political scale rather than a micro-level explanation of how individuals experience daily life.

Ferris' concept of constant contacts is an attempt to address the often conflated relationship between 'contact' and 'colonialism', as addressed by Silliman (2005). In contrast to Silliman's (2005) attempt to frame and discuss the relationship between the two concepts, Ferris opts to jettison the debate entirely by removing contact from the discussion of colonialism. Ferris states:

> The implied opposition inherent in the concept of "contact" (as between European and Aboriginal) is entirely an artifice that masks the complex social and political relations occurring between Aboriginal nations, between each Aboriginal nation and each individual European nation, and between individuals from each of those constituencies interacting within and without their particular communities. This artifice, in turn, has contributed to shaping much of the marginalized history of the Other within European experiences and the histories of their emergent colonialist states. (2009:168)

Contacts between individuals and groups are a constant occurrence from the initial 'contact' between Nations to the present day. Every interaction is some form of contact, and basing colonialism on an initial 'contact' is a conceptual shortcut that reifies the break between pre-contact and post-contact, as critiqued by Lightfoot (1995), in a manner that allows researchers to ignore the pre-contact period. Effectively, contact 'resets' all people, especially colonized or Aboriginal people in North America, and is so disruptive that it sets the stage for the inevitability of colonialism. In reality, contact is simultaneously a seminal and mundane occurrence that allows for varied interactions that remains grounded in the past,

enacted in the present, and oriented towards the future. Effectively, contact is unrelated to colonialism, and the conflation of these concepts returns us to a reinforced use of unquestioned conceptual shortcuts, the current conceptual baggage that frames colonialism and the inevitable result of these initial contacts. In removing the singular initial contact from the colonial process, Ferris is attempting to re-connect post-contact history to pre-contact in a long term continuity in which colonialism is not obvious, inevitable, or natural, but rather is the result of a specific and local process based on personal and political interactions that are each contextually specific. In effect, colonialism for the Beothuk in Newfoundland and Labrador is different from the Mohawk in Ontario, and is different from the Tsimshian in British Columbia. They can all be framed as experiencing a similar colonial process, but they are all occurring in different times, places, manners, and effects.

Finally, creeping colonialism (Ferris 2009:169-172) is a conceptualization of the colonial process for the specific groups examined within northeast North America. Within this context and these groups, the process of colonialism was operationalized through "the more insidious and unacknowledged impact of massive populations increases" (Ferris 2009:170). In many instances, the iconic military force, genocide, and political deprivation of the colonial process, such as the Trail of Tears, were not the most significant factors of the colonial process in this region. The massive European population growth, along with the catastrophic bureaucracy, first resulted in the relocation of Aboriginal populations away from the centres of European population growth, such as the Mohawk movement from New York State to the Grand River area of Ontario, then in the physical enclaving of these groups within specific localized regions. The physical enclaving restricted movement and resource use, but also had the effect of conceptually enclaving Aboriginal peoples within a land populated by Europeans and normalized of and for the colonizer. As such, Aboriginal

peoples became physically and conceptually marginalized, and their perception by the colonizer shifted from being independent Nations and allies to wards and drains on the resources of the colonial government. The initial movement by Aboriginal groups away from creeping colonialism was an effort to remove themselves from the increasingly colonial state of affairs, but when they were unable to continue moving, whether because of European population increase or catastrophic bureaucracy, they were forced into a marginal enclave where they could no longer escape the colonial process. For Ferris, this is the moment when the Mohawk of the Grand River shift and become colonized: when they can no longer escape from colonial impingements, while the colonizers can effectively ignore the marginalized physical and conceptual enclaves of the colonized.

Ferris' work is extremely effective at contextualizing local and individualistic engagement with the colonial context by various Aboriginal groups. Ferris highlights the variability in experiences, while allowing for a commonality within the colonized conceptualizations. Ferris' work does, however, have a framework that contrasts individual Aboriginal sites and peoples against a generalized Euro-Canadian trope. This methodology demonstrates that specific Aboriginal sites are different from a generalized Euro-Canadian pattern, but it does little to deconstruct what or how the Euro-Canadian pattern is achieved. The generalized Euro-Canadian is most evident in Figure 5.8 (Ferris 2009:162). In Figure 5.8, the relationship between the Percent Expensive Wares and the Plate:Saucer Ratio are graphed in a methodology outlined by Kenyon and Kenyon (1986). Ferris (2009:160-163) uses this graph to contrast the variability within the importance of Euro-Canadian tea drinking for various Aboriginal sites, which is then associated with trying to appear more or less appropriate for Euro-Canadian society. While an effective interpretation, variability of the Euro-Canadian sites is not addressed and is often clustered with the Aboriginal sites. If the Euro-Canadian

sites were deconstructed, would other patterns emerge related to country of origin, social

class, or region? This variability becomes lost within a generalized Euro-Canadian pattern

and could potentially re-interpret Ferris' Aboriginal interpretations.

2.2   A Deluge of Dichotomies

Despite varied contexts and approaches, Silliman (2005, 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010),

Jordan (2008, 2010), and Ferris (2009) all demonstrate a commonality that frames the current

trend in the archaeology of colonialism. They all demonstrate, in their own regions with their

own methodologies and conceptualizations, that colonized Aboriginal peoples are still visible

within the archaeological record – they have not become invisibly acculturated when they

use European goods – and that the dominant narrative of decline does not hold true when the

archaeological and historical data are evaluated as separate datasets. Effectively, the authors

have firmly established that Aboriginal sites within historical colonial contexts represent a

vast research interest in their own right, and exhibit patterns that are part of and separate

from the colonial process, while simultaneously embedded within Aboriginal sensibilities

and histories. This establishment is a significant and necessary analytical step to expand the

study of colonized peoples in the modern era. All of these researchers, however, continue to

frame colonized Aboriginal peoples against the amorphous trope of European colonizer,

which firmly embeds them within a hierarchical and dichotomous relationship. In effect,

colonizers are not part of the discussion; rather, they are foils used to emphasize the aspects

of colonized lives that are 'not-colonizer'. The trope of the colonizer was used by Silliman,

Jordan, and Ferris as a means to make their point, but this trope remains unproblematized,

essentialized, and amorphous within their discussions. The colonizer as foil serves to reify

colonizer/colonized dichotomies, in that researchers of the colonized do not need to actually

engage with the colonizer; and if that is true, then researchers of the colonizer do not need to engage with the colonized. In effect, a bifurcated historical archaeology is developed: the archaeology of colonialism (i.e. the colonized) and historical archaeology (i.e. the colonizer).

It is also demonstrated that despite the acceptance of continuity and distinct existence, colonized peoples as a conceptual category are further limited because within the historical narratives of this research, they still cannot ever become anything other than colonized. An essentialized racial divide is embedded within much of the North American colonial archaeology. As previously mentioned, the colonial conventions are that Europeans (who are primarily white) are the colonizers and various others (First Nations, African Americans, etc. – notably 'not-white') are the colonized. As such, the conventional colonizer/colonized binary can be simultaneously construed with a white/other binary. A strictly racial (i.e. colonized/colonizer) division entrenches people within an assumed racial bifurcation we project into the archaeological past, which simultaneously ignores shifts of racial perceptions and stereotyping in more recent times (Oliver in press). This is not to say that race or obvious physical differences did not play a role in the past, but rather that this was not always the strictly negative and all-consuming line of difference that archaeologists project from the present. For example, within the North American context, Indian Agents (such as Joseph Brant), or ethnically-mixed families (such as the Métis), are today arbitrarily lumped into the colonized category without much discussion. It is assumed that they were unable to overcome their colonized nature to be able to engage with colonizers as equals. Within an acculturation framework, colonized who accept colonizer practices (such as the aforementioned Brant and Métis) become acculturated or inauthentic colonized, rather than transcend the concept of colonizer. This rigid categorization is not an inherent reality of

existence, but rather a weakness of the current discourse and our associated conceptual baggage of colonialism.

As discussed by Wilcox (2009), the current discourse, narrative, and history of colonialism is itself part of the colonial process. This colonial process shapes who is doing the research, what the research focus is, and/or how the discussion is framed. The choice in terminology and tropes used within the archaeology of colonialism has long been a point of debate and numerous researchers have called for a reflexive re-evaluation of how we frame the discourse (Alcock 2005; Cusick 1998; Dietler 2010; Jordan 2009; Lightfoot 2006; Russell 2004; Silliman 2005, 2010; Stoler 1989). Each of these researchers has called for a re-evaluation because they have found the tropes wanting and restricting within their own contemporary discourses. For example, Cusick (1998) reacted against the uncritical use of acculturation, while Silliman (2005) argued against the conflation of contact and colonialism. Each of these critiques resulted in a shift in conceptualization, be it a new conception, trope, or use; however, the discourse remains firmly embedded within a colonial framework.

As demonstrated by Silliman (2010), Jordan (2008, 2010), and Ferris (2009), the current framework of colonial discourse continues to chafe at conventional conceptualizations as they each argue how their research areas fall outside of the dominant colonial baggage of decline, inevitability, and invisibility. Numerous researchers have repeatedly demonstrated the weakness of the colonial framework and its tendency to reduce all interactions to a dichotomized colonizer/colonized binary (cf. Cusick 1998; Ferris 2009; Gosden 2004; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2005). This framework simultaneously emphasizes the conflicts, disparities, resistances, and decline of colonized groups and the cruelty, rise, and seeming inevitability of the colonizer. These may all in fact be aspects of the colonial process, but

individual understandings, negotiations, and actions are lost within that broader framework. The use of concepts such as survivance and residence, cultural entanglement, constant contacts, and creeping colonialism helps re-focus/shift the narrative to highlight the creative negotiations, resistances, and acceptances of individuals without losing the broader social framework contexts.

I would argue that generally adopting conceptualizations like cultural entanglement in lieu of colonialism is a means to avoid much of the essentialized colonial baggage embedded within the archaeology of colonialism. This baggage includes the choices in language, the naturalized discourses (e.g., Narrative of Decline), and essentialized conceptual categories (e.g., colonizer/colonized binary). Initially, post-colonial research was purposed to frame relationships in a colonial context in a manner that acknowledged the power-imbalances, sub-altern voices, and the unique perspective of both the colonizer and the colonized. But the associated baggage of this terminology rapidly became limiting. Cultural entanglement, as a distinct category of engagement between groups that is not necessarily connected to colonialism, is the next step of this trend. A reconsideration of terminology is necessary, but instead of unpacking the baggage of colonialism, researchers have fractured the discourse into a series of 'non-colonialisms' contrasted against an amorphous 'colonialism'. This fracturing has shifted the narrative framework to why or why not a context is colonial. Colonial contexts still retain much of the baggage, while non-colonial contexts are frequently framed as more nuanced relationships between embedded individuals or groups.

A more general conceptualization of the colonial process, like cultural entanglement, can be used to bisect much of the discussion. This is not to argue for a simple replacement of 'colonialism' with 'entanglements', but rather, that engaging colonial contexts with a

conceptualization other than 'colonialism' can fundamentally change the discourse. Instead of arguing whether a context is colonial, we can now presuppose a complex set of relationships that have emerged over time and stress the participation of individuals in the negotiation of daily life. This negotiation does occur within an unbalanced power relationship, but instead of reifying this imbalance, the emphasis is shifted to explore how people navigated this imbalance to live as they perceived to their advantage in their own contexts. The focus on an individual's own perceived best interest can include resistance, accommodation, acceptance, or even indifference (Beaudoin in press), rather than just the continuation or acculturation often emphasized in conventional colonialism scholarship. While concepts like cultural entanglement (Jordan 2010) or creeping colonialism (Ferris 2009) can be effective ways of circumventing the contemporary dominant discourse, these new tropes nevertheless foreshadow a fragmented colonialism that does not address a major limitation: the rigid colonizer/colonized dichotomy.

By operating within dominant colonial discourses conceptually still leaves colonized peoples to become anything other than colonized, albeit as active agents, or living Native-centric lives. Within the North American context, the result has led to a bifurcation of historic archaeology: the archaeology of the colonized, studying the effects of colonization on Aboriginal groups, and the archaeology of the colonizer, studying how European immigrants and their descendants shaped the New World to their liking. These distinct historic archaeologies share some methodologies and concepts (e.g., Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller et al. 2000; Otto 1977; South 1977), but inherently deviate in their focus and how they frame their discussions. For example, within the archaeology of the colonized, the dominant discourse has shifted from 'acculturation as change' to 'change as continuity', but still endlessly defines itself against an amorphous colonizer. As previously discussed, using the

colonizer as a convenient trope of comparison allows for the exploration of changed or consistent colonized groups despite, or in spite of, the colonial process. Even post-colonial frameworks continue to frame colonized groups in this manner and remain firmly grounded in a colonial discourse, and, as Wilcox (2009) argues, endlessly trapped in the colonialist framing of the past. This process can be contrasted against colonizer frameworks.

2.3 The Archaeology of the Colonizer

Within the framework of colonizer archaeology, a very different discourse is occurring than that of the archaeology of the colonized. The archaeology of the colonizer encompasses groups that are considered to be of the dominant political and social status. The traits that constitute these dominant groups of people are fluid and contextually specific. For example, depending on the researcher's conceptual leaning, the colonizer in regions of North America could be framed explicitly as white, upper-class men, or all Euro-Canadians. Generally, the latter is favoured as a broader conceptualization of the archaeology of the colonizer that is premised on the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples. The structured nature of the political and social relationship between the colonizer and colonized is often framed as an explicit hegemonic relationship resulting from direct physical domination and control (Lightfoot 2005; Paterson 2008; Voss 2008), the movement of populations and establishment of colonies (Gibbs 2011), a process of an economic relationship (Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008), or other factors. A more insidious form of colonial relationship is the purposeful or latent act of forgetting or ignoring. Within this discussion, I follow the Canadian convention that the archaeology of the colonizer includes all historical archaeology that discusses Euro-Canadians.

As previously stated, who is considered to be the colonizer within the dominant narrative is contextually dependent and shifts through time. For example, within the United Kingdom, the Irish are often framed as colonized peoples, somewhat akin to the African experience in the Americas (O'Neill and Lloyd 2009), and are under the domination of the British oppressor (see Horning 2004; Klingelhofer 2003; O'Keeffe 2009; Rynne 2009 for discussion). That Irish colonized identity initially transferred itself to the North American context (Akenson 1984; Brighton 2004, 2008, 2009; Brighton and Orser 2006; Elliott 2004; Kenyon et al. 1984; A. Smith 2004) but shifted through the 19th century into a position that embedded the Irish heritage firmly within a British colonizer identity (Brighton 2011). As such, where the Irish fit within the continuum of the colonial process is dependent on temporal and spatial contexts, as well as on how a particular researcher has chosen to define the limits of these colonizer/colonized categories. The shift in the perception of the Irish is only a single example of an identity that is able to tack between colonial categories, but it raises an important precedence for the archaeology of colonialism: colonial categories are not absolute, and as such the categorization of the colonizer/colonized cannot be assumed or applied without question.

Researchers of colonizers have the privileged conceptual position of assuming theirs is the *de facto* definitional group imagined within much of historic archaeology, and thus are able to ignore many of the issues of identity and categorization within the colonial narrative. For example, the new standards and regulations for commercial archaeology within the province of Ontario (see Doroszenko 2009; Ferris 2003; Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011) generally follow the long standing convention that 18th- and 19th-century historic sites are 'Euro-Canadian'. There are historic sites that are classified as First Nations (i.e. colonized), such as the Davisville settlement, but these only occur because they are found

within a region that is close to a modern-day enclave, or otherwise identified as such by an informed researcher of local context. The predominant assumption about the colonizer and 'their' material culture in turn "typically represent colonized peoples through a series of essentialist binary oppositions that favor colonial (Western) cultures, presenting colonized Others as variously inferior... in contrast to the superior... modern colonial Self" (Liebmann 2008:6). As such, it establishes the framework within which legitimate histories and narratives are created and accepted, and it necessarily dictates how counter-narratives can be presented and evaluated (Appadurai 1981; Gullapalli 2008). Within the context of southwestern Ontario, being European is to be the dominant colonizer, which becomes the default category through direct legislation (Doroszenko 2009; Ferris 2003), or through the subversive omission of alternative perspectives (Babiarz 2011; Gosden 2001; Rowlands 1998; Wilcox 2009).

Since being European is considered the default assumption archaeologists adopt when thinking about the occupants of historic sites, researchers are liberated from justifying why that is their starting position and do not have to deconstruct what it means to *be* European. This assumption creates a basic level of understanding that people are living *as Europeans* adapted to their local context. Since this European-ness is assumed, researchers do not need to justify why or how they know the site occupants were European, and can instead focus on various other foci, like gender (Rotman 2009), economic class (Spencer-Wood 1987), or assorted incarnations of agency (Groover 2003). Recently, research has emphasized an exploration of material identities within the varied European ethnicities and colonizer tropes (e.g., Ferris and Kenyon 1983; Johnson 2003; Lawrence 2003[ed]; MacDonald 2004; Tarlow and West 1999). The archaeology of the colonizer often relies on the direct comparison between sites and groups, rather than an amorphous colonizer, allowing for a deeper

exploration of these concepts, and for the circumvention of being of the colonizer as the cause of any distinctions between other colonizers.

In many contexts, researchers of the colonizer use two frameworks for engaging with identities: the search for iconic vestiges, and the use of historic records to contextualize symbolic dispositions of identities. The former is the search for, and fetishization of, overt symbols that connect to an identity or heritage by the researcher. The adoption process of these symbols can range from an explicit form of defiance to an unspoken connection to the past (e.g., Cobb 2003; Fennel 2007). The types and meaning of symbols are fluid and can range from designs (Brighton 2004; Fennel 2007), to jewellery (Ferris 2009), to stone tools (Silliman 2004), to knapped glass (Harrison 2003), and more. Whatever the symbol or context, researchers seek out specific icons that become or are presumed emblematic of an identity. The presence and identification of symbols act as a conceptual shortcut for the researcher to assert an associated identity with material remains, and thus create meaning from past peoples' material engagements. It is important to emphasize that the recognition of these symbols is happening in the researcher's present, and the symbols' associated meanings might have changed through time (e.g., Brighton 2004; Ferris 2009; Harrison 2003; Mann and Loren 2001; Silliman 2004).

In contrast to the search for iconic vestiges, the use of symbolic dispositions is a more nuanced, and thus complicated, conceptualization. It is derived from practice and structuration theories (cf. Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979; Mauss 1973; Pauketat 2001) and emphasizes the search for both conscious and unconscious habitual dispositions. Habitual dispositions represent ascertained, assigned, argued, adopted, and adapted understandings and practices imbued with explicit and implicit meanings for public and

personal consumption. These incorporate the various social and personal restrictions placed on people's practices that have been reinforced or rejected by ignorance, heterodoxy, or orthodoxy. In a sense, how every person acts, the tasks they perform, and the objects they use are a confluence for the innumerable identities in which they are continuously engaged (Casella and Fowler 2004; Cipolla 2008; Jones 1997; Lele 2006; Meskell 2007). The issue here is determining how these varied dispositions differentially engage with the material world and become expressed in the archaeological record. For example, chipped glass could be indicative of Aboriginal dispositions (Silliman 2004; Warrick 2009), but framing it as such without deconstructing *why* this association is made frames the discourse in a manner that minimizes other possibilities (Harrison 2003). Could chipped glass also be a disposition of a poor European man, or even a woman or child? Alternatively, could chipped glass be the simple result of the functional necessity of the time that may be divorced from any broader dispositions? Why should our preconceptions limit our interpretations without a reflexive evaluation? Presently, researchers often rely on historic records to highlight dispositional meanings. While effective, the weaknesses of historic documents have been repeatedly touted (cf. Andrén 1997; Brumfiel 2003; Feinman 1997; Galloway 1992; Jones 1999; Last 1995; Small 1999; Voss 2007), and limited efforts have been made to understand and explore this relationship without this additional data set. Research frameworks where European is the default are troubling, as modern colonized peoples become invisible (Bell 2005; Wilcox 2009).

Both the search for iconic vestiges and symbolic dispositions has been effectively used to search for, and locate, various ethnic identities in the past; however, both have their own conceptual drawbacks. Respectively, they readily identify unique symbols and differences in patterns, but assigning meaning to either is a practice loaded with assumptions. Considering

the conventional, and insidious, colonial conceptualizations within historical archaeology, it is important to continuously consider how can we disentangle the colonizer and colonized distinctions from essentialist categories that serve to reify the colonizer/colonized dichotomy. Our research practices must be able to get beyond 'historic ceramics = Europeans / knapping = Aboriginals' and 'eating more domesticates = Europeans / eating more deer = Aboriginal', neither iconic vestiges nor symbolic dispositions alone can complete that task. Instead, the combination of iconic vestiges with contextual consideration of symbolic dispositions generated from historical sources and archaeological data, while maintaining a critical eye on our own colonial dispositions as researchers can help identify innovative methods to disentangle colonizer/colonized identities and make new connections between iconic and symbolic material engagements and various forms of fluid identities.

2.4 Seeing Identities in the Past

A central tenet of exploring the colonial process is the concept of archaeological identities. Identity can be generally understood as the process through which an agent and/or sub-group is identified through a variety of means to create socially bounded groups based on internal and external perceived differences or similarities (Brighton 2004:149; Shennan 1989:14; Stark and Chance 2008:3). These groups encompass a wide variety of differences based on traits emphasized to depict difference; identity groups are permeable (Gosselain 2000:188; Jones 1996:70; Russell 2004:33).

Identities are not necessarily mutually exclusive: an agent can concurrently embody an almost limitless number of identities (Casella and Fowler 2004; cf. Fowler 2004; Meskell 2007; O'Keeffe 2004). Identities should be conceptualized as overlapping conceptual

boundaries that are continuously being enacted, created, and/or changed. The majority of the identities function at a subconscious level until they are confronted and consciously engaged (Jones 1999:226). This does not mean that identities are only consciously manipulated and enacted, but that unless an identity is actively engaged with, then it is often enveloped within the everyday actions of daily life. While most identities are independent, many can also be intertwined in specific contexts (Jones 1996:70). The ability of different identities to co-exist is contingent on context and how the agent and others perceive the symbols of the relevant identities. If two identities are understood to use the same symbols in an appropriate manner, or if one identity is dependent on another, they can ascribe to both without any overt resistance. However, if two identities are understood to be contradictory, they will be questioned and either renegotiated or rejected by either the community or the agent.

The processes involved in identity ascription engage tension between how the agent self-identifies and how the agent is identified by others (Funari et al. 1999); in other words, the "negotiation between what you call yourself and what other people are willing to call you back" (Voss 2012:304). This tension results in the continuous reaffirmation, contradiction, and revision of identities based on how the agent and the community respond to certain accepted symbols, including specific actions, material goods, beliefs, or physical attributes that are, consciously and unconsciously, agreed upon by the community using inclusion or exclusion processes (Cipolla 2008:416; Smith 2007). These symbols are continuously negotiated and are integral in understanding how identities change (Cipolla 2008). As the agent, or the society around them, changes, acquires new skills or goods, or the context in which the agent exists changes, new identities can be acquired, others can be dropped, and others still can be negotiated to account for the changes (Casella and Fowler 2004:2; Jamieson 2004:228).

In contrast to the conceptualization of identity as static and directly linked to material culture, individuals' identities must be understood as fluid and contingent on the specific contexts in which they are engaged (Russell 2004:33; Stark and Chance 2008:3). Identities are not only passively embodied, as they can be consciously manipulated, subverted, and constructed by an agent for various purposes or unconsciously assumed based on other attributes and other elements of identity that are imposed by others. The dynamic nature of identities, and their contingency on specific contexts, makes it important to focus on how identity changes, rather than a specific identity at one period of time, because the time depth allows observers to examine what factors and influences the changes in identity are responding to (Stark and Chance 2008:2). The ascription of identities is a dynamic process that involves the continuous negotiation of symbols between agent and community. This continuous negotiation means that identities are constantly changing and must be reinforced in research understandings.

It is important to understand that identities are not directly observable in the archaeological record (Jones 1999:226). Archaeologists can observe symbols, patterns and practices, but these alone are not identities. What patterns and practices do represent is how people in the past conceptualized and enacted their lives through material culture; the changes and patterns in this material culture can suggest in turn how identities were conceptualized. By observing these changes and patterns, archaeologists can observe commonalities in the practices over space and time and infer how these commonalities represent some form of group identity (Gosselain 2000:188; Jones 1999:226). Interpretations can only be understood in the context in which they are examined and the commonalities in both context and identity studied over time (O'Keeffe 2004:31).

Researchers tend to fragment identities into manageable units of analysis, such as gender, age, class, and ethnicity (Fowler 2004; O'Keeffe 2004). These units are selected based on the researcher's own interests but are also framed by currently accepted or in vogue research interests. The tendency to correlate identity categories and social contexts is demonstrated by the protracted use of identity categories like class, language, and culture, while other identity categories, such as gender, age, and sexuality, have only more recently become popular categories of identity that invite research focus (Meskell 2007:26). The selection of research categories is an activity conducted entirely in the 'now' of a researcher's own understandings of how societies and cultures function. Thus, it is significant to understand that there are no such things as 'natural' categories: all categories are constructed in the present (Meskell 2007:31; Shennan 1989:10). These research categories, and how the researcher conceptualizes them, are then imposed onto the past and evaluated against the available data. This methodology has generated a lot of interesting data and conclusions but has maintained a fragmented concept of identity.

This fragmentation is a necessary methodological tool, but it is based on several assumptions. First, it is assumed that the selected identity categories of the present also had similar meanings in the past. Since these analytical categories were created in the present, it is possible that these categories did not exist or did not have the same values in the past. Second, it is assumed that the patterns examined by the researcher are associated with the identity category chosen by the researcher to focus on. The association of patterns with a particular identity category is often accomplished through the correlation of data; however, if the assumed categories did not exist, then the correlation may suggest something different. Because of these assumptions, it is vital to maintain a reflexive and more holistic understanding of identity by re-integrating the multivariate and disparate identities into an

understanding that they were all enacted simultaneously by an agent in the past; identities are not entirely separately gendered, aged, classed, etc., but are instead a convoluted mixture of a person who is simultaneously of a gender, age, class, etc. in a specific social context.

2.5   The Importance of Foodways

The tension and reproduction of the colonial process is manifested in a variety of archaeological contexts and is observable through a myriad of research themes. For the purpose of this project, I have selected foodways as a research theme that maintains a holistic perspective for observing the colonial process. Foodways include activities and objects associated with the procurement, preparation, consumption, and disposal of daily eating in domestic contexts and is "… the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group" (Wilk and Rathje 1982:618). Every person participates in the process of food consumption in some way, and because of its daily, domestic contexts, many aspects of foodways become subconscious activities that represent how meals are conceptualized (Smith 2006:480). Foodways have previously been divided into a male/female dichotomy, but recent research has encouraged a more nuanced reading. A male/female dichotomy cannot be assumed in the past or present as idealized norms which definitively organize people's lives. In reality, practiced foodways involve the active negotiation among the inhabitants and can be associated with identity formation processes (Beaudoin in press; Lawrence 1999; Spencer-Wood 1999).

The first step towards a nuanced interpretation of foodways involves understanding what foods are considered appropriate for consumption. Different groups have varied preferences in the type of food they consume, which can be affected by local availability; however, the

personal choice of the individual remains a major influence. In a colonial context, the colonizer will often demonstrate a preference for foods that are popular in their colonial centre, even though such foods may not be as easily accessed in the new setting. Ferris and Kenyon (1983) demonstrated that 19th-century colonizers that travelled from the Old World to Ontario adapted their livestock and meat preferences to the colonial context, but some of their practices were retained from the Old World, such as the Scottish preference for mutton. Historic documents and faunal assemblages make such preferences visible through evidence of which animals were raised, purchased, and hunted.

Another aspect of foodways that is indicative of the colonial process is how food was prepared and consumed (Graff and Rodríguez-Alegría 2012). For example, the consumption of liquid-based foods from a communal pot is a vastly different meal-time engagement and interaction compared to the consumption of solid-based foods from individually portioned plates. The emphasis on solid- or liquid- based foods are often considered the two extremes, with specific variations visible in the archaeological record. Eva MacDonald (2004) demonstrated that German and English immigrants to Ontario during the late 18th and early 19th century could be differentiated based on ceramic vessels associated with specific meal preferences; differences represented by a higher percentage of larger dinner and soup plates and a lower percentage of smaller, 'muffin' and 'twiffler' plates in German households when compared to English households (MacDonald 2004:33). The variations in vessel form percentages was interpreted as differences in how these German and English immigrants, who were both considered colonizers, constructed foodways in a colonial context. In contrast to English households, German immigrants placed additional cultural value on the afternoon *Kaffee* meal, which is associated with large platters of finger foods and is visible in the archaeological record (MacDonald 2004:33).

Changes in food preparation and consumption among the colonized are also visible in the archaeological record. Melanie Cabak and Stephen Loring (2000:25) examined vessel form, design, and historic accounts among 19th-century Inuit in Labrador and concluded that European ceramics were incorporated into their foodways. When examined within the longer context of pre-colonial Inuit foodways, it is apparent that the Inuit adapted European ceramics to fit into their own understandings of how meals should be consumed; however, tea consumption was slightly different. The meanings, values, and practices of tea consumption were still framed within the Inuit conception of foodways, such as the use of teapots to consume beverages in boats (Cabak and Loring 2000:25), but the consumption of tea as a meal was a new custom, adopted from the colonizer and incorporated by the Inuit (Cabak and Loring 2000:31).

As the example of foodways illustrates, a variety of intricate re-negotiations and individualistic changes in colonized/colonizer contexts are observable by and accessible to the archaeologist. A conceptual focus on foodways, considered from a holistic perspective that assumes the simultaneous existence of continuities and changes within foodways practices, will allow for the exploration of the ongoing nuanced colonial tensions as expressed by individuals living through the colonial process. It will also make it possible to reflect the navigation of the colonial process on the colonized and colonizer through time.

2.6   Moving Past the Dichotomy

Presently, historical archaeology is effectively divided between the archaeology of the colonizer and the archaeology of the colonized by archaeological conventions that are framed by, and subsequently frame, pervasive colonial legacies. The archaeology of the colonizer

and the archaeology of the colonized both privilege differing datasets, interpretations, and

discourses, which in turn reify the *a priori* differences between them. This creates a

continuous conceptual framework and discourse where there is something essentially

different between the archaeology of the colonizer and the archaeology of the colonized,

which in turn replicates the colonial tensions of the past within the archaeological present.

To transcend the contemporary colonial framework beyond a series of rigid dichotomies, I

must take my conceptualizations beyond the contemporary discourse. I explore the

essentialized dichotomy between the colonized/colonizer tropes with a reflexive mindset, to

both expose the implicit colonial impacts of the current conceptualization with the

archaeology of colonialism and to highlight the potential of embracing the messy nature of

the daily-lived life in the past. To do so, I must consider the following questions:

> 1. How do researchers treat colonized and colonizer sites differently?

> 2. What differences, if any, exist between contemporaneous colonized and colonizer
> sites?

> 3. What do the differences between contemporaneous colonized and colonizer sites
> mean for the lived experiences of people in the past and for the researchers who study
> these experiences in the present?

To address these questions, I start from the understanding that Aboriginal sites exhibit the

habitual dispositions of Aboriginal peoples, but they also exhibit gender and economic

dispositions of people familiar with and engaged in the mores and norms of 19th-century

southern Ontario. People in this context are aware of their position within a temporally scalar

world of the present, framed by the past, and oriented towards the future, and exist in a

manner designed to operate within their perceptions of that world. Nobody exists to disappear. Even as marginalized peoples, communities, families, and individuals made choices, albeit restricted ones, with the intention to continue on in what they would perceive, in the moment, as within their own best interests. This speaks to the concepts of *survivance* and *residence,* as recently championed within the archaeology of colonialism by Silliman (Silliman 2001, in press). Survivance is best summed up as meaning "survival with attitude, implying activity rather than passivity, using aggressive means not only to stay alive but to flourish" (Velie 2008:147 in Silliman in press). The concept situates individuals as surviving through the best means they foresee with the ability to incorporate and change their materials and dispositions yet continue to remain the same. When combined with residence, or the concept that people inhabited an actual real world in a manner that emphasizes daily dispositions in lieu of purposeful and confrontational resistance (Silliman in press), then archaeologists have a new set of approaches that change the narrative of colonized identities. This is not to say that the colonized had freedom to operate beyond European colonizers, but rather that the colonized still navigated their dispositions within the tangible dimensions and understandings of the world they lived in. Survivance and residence are powerful first steps in going beyond the contemporary discourse of colonialism and its conceptual baggage; however, they have yet to be applied to colonizer contexts, which continue to emphasize, by omission and by assumption, the divide between the colonizer and colonized.

The colonized are engaged in the same process of existence as Europeans and their descendants living in southern Ontario; while the process might lead to different manifestations and social realities, it is nevertheless the same process. As such, there are viable comparisons to be made, both in the past and present, to explore the various, and simultaneous, navigations of the colonial process. Recognizing the similarities of the process

allows for a measure of commonality that no longer forces similarities to be downplayed and/or differences to be attributed to essentialized colonizer/colonized tropes. Assessing commonality of the process builds upon the work of Silliman (2004, 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010), Jordan (2008, 2010), and Ferris (2009), who have demonstrated that Aboriginal dispositions are maintained and archaeologically visible through the rise of colonialism through the 19th century. Comparing Aboriginal sites to temporally and geographically contemporaneous European sites, rather than contrasting them against an amorphous European colonizer generalization, will allow me to access specific patterns of similarities and differences. These patterns ultimately represent the confluence of the varied identities and are framed as such - they are not the reproduction of essentialized differences based on homogenizing colonial tropes; instead, these patterns reflect the choices of individuals who are navigating their lived reality as they see fit. People did not live to unconsciously reproduce their respective cultural traditions; cultural traditions were learned behaviours that were purposefully enacted in a lived present towards a perceived future. Methods are poached from both colonizer and colonized research, such as Silliman's (2009) and Groover's (2003) generational focus, and MacDonald's (2004), Ferris' (2009), Jordan's (2008), and Silliman's (2004) foodways and farming foci.

Chapter 3

3 The Colonized: Mohawk

Chapter 3 reviews Mohawk Iroquois 19th-century archaeology in southwestern Ontario with an emphasis on the Davisville and Mohawk Village communities in order to explore how the Mohawk in these communities navigated change through this time. The Mohawk, one of the Nations of the Six Nations Iroquois, many of whom relocated from New York State to the British (Ontario) side of the border in the late 18th century (Johnston 1994; Weaver 1978). To explore this engagement, I provide a brief history of the Mohawk in Upper Canada, examine the data from Davisville and Mohawk Village, and then compare the two data sets to explore how each community and generation navigated their context.

3.1 Mohawks in Canada

Much of the conventional master narrative of Mohawk and Six Nations history is based on anthropological and historical research conducted by Western academics (e.g., Boyle 1900; Cork 1962; Fenton 1998; Francis 1998; Graymont 1991; Hale 1885; Johnston 1994; Richter 1992; Starna 2008; Taylor 2002; Tooker 1994; Weaver 1978). Though not an inherent problem, "like all Native people in the Americas, the Iroquois have endured academic paternalism…" (George-Kanentiio 2007:397; cf. Hill 2009; Wilcox 2009), as researchers write through their own conceptual lenses that privilege certain data sets and dialogues and under represent others. My own engagement with archaeological research is not free from this critique, but by purposefully engaging with the effects that this 'academic paternalism' has on the resulting narrative, I hope to reach beyond the conventional limiting frameworks.

The challenge for any research trying to reach beyond these limiting frameworks, including this study, is to be aware of those constraints and seek to directly engage with them in interpretation.

Numerous accounts of the origins of the Iroquois peoples exist that range from Western accounts of the peopling of the New World (e.g., Crawford 1998; Meltzer 2009), to archaeological shifts of Paleoindian to Archaic to Woodland cultures (see Ellis and Ferris 1990 for an Ontario example), to oral traditions that describe the origins of Turtle Island (e.g., Hale 1963; Morgan 1851; Sioui 1992). Instead of engaging with these various long term origin discussions, my own starting position for this project is, for all intents and purposes, that "The Iroquois people have lived in the North American Northeast from time immemorial…" (George-Kanentiio 2007:394). In other words, the Iroquois people have lived in northeast North America for generations and have a long term connection with the archaeological traditions within this landscape (see Basso 1996). Obviously, the long archaeological record speaks of various population movements, other notable events, and significant cultural shifts during the length of 'time immemorial', but this does nothing to delegitimize contemporary connections to this region.

The Mohawk Nation is a Haudenosaunee group that comprises part of the Six Nations (formerly Five Nations) Confederacy of the Iroquois. The Haudenosaunee are a confederacy of Nations (including the Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, Mohawk, and Tuscarora) in upper New York State that were aligned through the efforts of Deganawida (The Great Peacemaker) and Hiawatha to halt the in-fighting between the different Nations (Engelbrecht 2003; Hale 1963; Hewitt 1894; McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004; Morgan 1851; Snow 1994). There is little consensus on when the Confederacy actually began, and there is much debate

that places its beginning between 1100-1650 C.E. (Engelbrecht 2003; Hatzan 1925; Hewitt 1894; Snow 1994; Starna 2008). The development of the Confederacy was a process that provided the Iroquois Nations with the ability to act together in a unified fashion to accomplish similar goals; however, Nations retained their own independence. Much of the literature on the Six Nations relates to their abilities to act as middlemen in the fur trade and as strong military allies (e.g., Innis 1999; Morgan 1851). For example, it is often recounted that the Confederacy of the Iroquois became a major player in the early period of the European presence in North America with their participation in the Beaver Wars and the French and Indian Wars (Colden 1747; Starna and Brandão 2004). However, this narrative presents the Confederacy as, at best, an ally, or at worst, a tool of the European powers that were engaged in North America. All too often, such participation is presented within a discourse that uses a narrative framed as follows:

> The use of primitive peoples to fight the battles of civilized nations has, from time to time, been condemned by moralists. And yet, despite such condemnation, the practice has been frequent in our history… In the past, in North America, all nations have been prepared to employ the native Indian peoples as military auxiliaries. (Stanley 1991:105)

The Confederacy often acted and was treated as an independent Nation that was making its own choices and its own intentions. This does not mean that they were not at times engaging with the European powers and acting with them, but rather that they had a perceived obligation to or benefit in doing so (e.g., Jordan 2008, 2010).

During the American Revolution, the Confederacy of the Iroquois was temporarily disbanded as the Nations could not come to a consensus on how to navigate the conflict between Great Britain and the American colonies (Graymont 1991; Mackenzie 1896; Snow 1994; Taylor 2002). In general, the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga supported Great Britain,

while the Tuscarora and Oneida supported the American colonists. After the American

Revolution, the perception of the Confederacy by colonial powers had shifted. From an

American perspective, the Iroquois had been the ally of the defeated British government, and

hence they were also perceived as defeated. As a result, they were no longer perceived as an

independent Nation able to reside within the newly formed United States. This perception

was reinforced by the failure of the British government to include provisions for the

protection of its Iroquois allies in the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended hostilities and

abandoned any British claims to land now part of the United States. Generally, the Loyalist

Iroquois Nations were forced to cede their land and relocate north of the United States

border, while those who sided had with the United States chose to remain. Nevertheless, the

perception of those who stayed in the United States as mere wards of the state remained, and

long-term processes were initiated that would eventually result in controversial treaties that

ceded these lands to the United States government (Jordan 2008:7).

In the years following the American Revolution, because of his understanding of the political

Iroquois/British relationship for the future and contemporary negative treatment by the

American government, Captain Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) led well over 1,800 Iroquois

Loyalists from New York State to lands along the Grand River. The ownership of this land is

another area of contention. Much of the literature on the subject states that the lands along

the Grand River were granted to the Six Nations by Sir Frederick Haldimand for their loyalty

over the course of the American Revolution (Hatzan 1925; Taylor 2002; Weaver 1978). The

paternalistic language used within the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784 dictates that colonial

government granted the ownership of these lands to the Six Nations; however, the Six

Nations assert that the lands along the Grand River already belonged to them and the

Haldimand Treaty was a reaffirmation of the Albany (Nanfan) Treaty of 1701 rather than a new grant (Hill 2009:483).

Settlement along the Grand River occurred in the winter and spring of 1784 and 1785, with the Mohawks (along with the Upper Cayuga, Tutelo, Oneida, and Tuscarora) occupying villages near what is now Brantford (Johnston 1994:170; Weaver 1978:525).

The initial Iroquois settlement along the Grand River has been characterized (e.g., Ferris 2006; Johnston 1994; Kenyon and Kenyon 1986; Weaver 1978) as a series of communities of log cabins and homes along the Grand River (see Figure 2), which were generally separated by Nations (e.g., Seneca, Oneida, etc.), or by groups within Nations (e.g., Upper Mohawk, Lower Mohawk, etc.), with the occasional, more nucleated-like-settlement, such as Mohawk Village (Kenyon and Ferris 1984). These settlements are not villages *per se* but were often the centre of many public and governmental activities. As discussed by Ferris (2006), the majority of Iroquois did not live in these settlements but rather in the small clusters along the Grand River.

The initial settlement period can be contrasted with a second period, which arbitrarily began around 1814 (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986:4). It saw the decline of the clustered settlements and a rise in individual family farmsteads. Many explanations have been proposed for this shift, including a rise in European style farming practices and a lack of firewood (see Kenyon and Kenyon 1986 for further discussion).
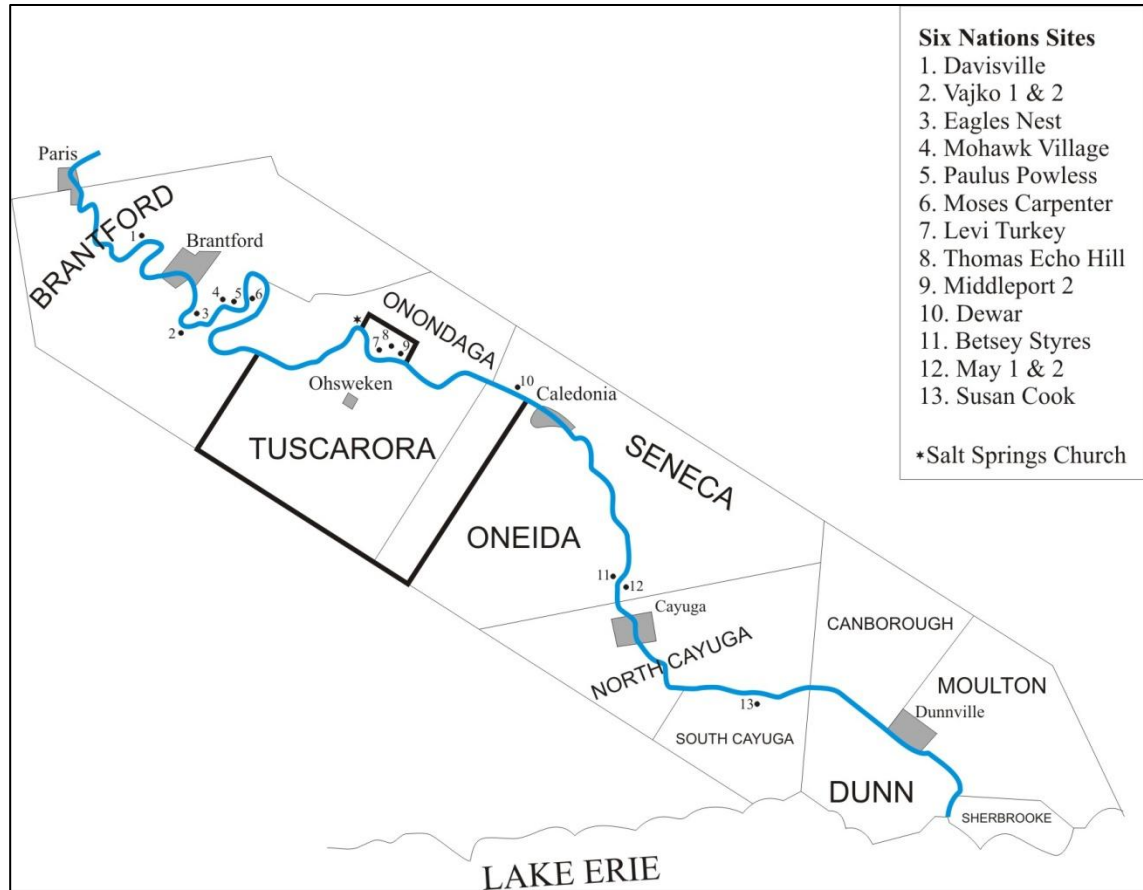
Figure 2: Six Nations Sites Along the Grand River. TOWNSHIPS are capitalized. Municipalities are grey. The bolded lines indicated the extent of the Six Nations reserve.

The final settlement period began after 1847, when the Six Nations reserve within Tuscarora Township was established (Ferris 2009:136; cf. Weaver 1994). The Six Nations reserve was established to consolidate the Iroquois settlements, address extensive encroachment by Euro-Canadians along the Grand, and thus open up the Haldimand Tract for Euro-Canadian settlement. Efforts were made to expel the Euro-Canadian settlers from reserve lands, but an examination of the 1851 personal and agricultural Canadian census for Tuscarora Township shows that this was not entirely successful (Table 1). Efforts, such as allocating each family a 100 acre Lot of land, were also made to encourage Iroquois people to willingly relocate to

the reserve. It is unclear how much this of relocation was voluntary or coerced, but some families chose to remain on their lands outside of the reserve.

Table 1: Ethnic Breakdown in 1851 Census of Tuscarora Township

	Number	%
First Nations	1669	92
Euro-Canadian	112	6
Coloured	26	1
'Mixed'[3]	13	1
Total	1820	100

3.2 Davisville Settlement

The Davisville settlement was located on Lots 18-25, Concession 3, Brantford Township, and Brant County, and was the most northerly recorded Iroquois settlement along the Grand River (Figure 2). Davisville was initially occupied sometime between 1785 and 1822 (Carrol 1871; Johnston 1994:170; Jones 1860; Playter 1862; Semple 1996; Smith 1987:52; Weaver 1978:525; West 1827). It consisted of houses aggregated around freshwater streams located on the north side of the Grand River, with 'Indian Farms' located on the south side of the river. It was a Methodist Mohawk settlement, with a brief (1825-1826) Mississauga co-occupation. Davisville is reported to have been established as a response to the perceived changes ongoing at Mohawk Village (Smith 1987). The Davisville settlement was purposefully situated, by its inhabitants, as a community that contested the alcohol and lifestyle choices observed at Mohawk Village, and it forms the basis for my examination of a

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[3] Mixed refers to individuals listed as 'Coloured and Indian' or '½ Indian ½ Coloured'

contemporary and alternative Mohawk settlement to Mohawk Village (e.g., Hosmer 1864:93-96; Smith 1987).

3.2.1 History of Davisville

Davisville, also known as 'Davis' Hamlet' and 'River Bend', based on its geographic location on the Grand River (Luard 1966:19), was named for Thomas Davis (Tehowagherengaraghkwen), a highly regarded Mohawk war chief of the Wolf Clan who fought in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 (Sharpe 2003:165; The Grand River Heritage Mines Society 2003:24); Davis was also a cousin of Joseph Brant. The Davisville settlement was established as a response to Davis' negative perception of those Mohawks who followed the Church of England in communities such as Mohawk Village (Hosmer 1864:93-96; Smith 1987). Davis and his followers were most troubled by the excessive consumption of alcohol and social changes associated with how Joseph Brant and Mohawk Village navigated their contemporary political and colonial circumstances. In contrast to Mohawk Village, the Davisville settlement embraced the teachings of Methodism, most notably alcohol abstinence, the importance of education, and an emphasis on living a moral life (Playter 1862:229-230; Semple 1996:154-155; West 1827:280-281).

Notably, in the fall of 1822, Thomas Davis, who had been baptized years earlier as a member of the Church of England, began reading scriptures and prayers in Mohawk to his neighbours at his farm upriver from Mohawk Village. It is unclear whether Davis lived in Mohawk Village prior to relocating to his farm, or if he established his farm immediately upon arriving in Upper Canada. In either case, Davis' status as Chief among the Mohawk and his relationship to Joseph Brant suggest that he was connected to the elite Mohawk, in New York State and Upper Canada, and would have been aware of the ongoing social conventions. The

people who joined Davis were disillusioned by the practices at Mohawk Village, especially

the consumption of alcohol, and believed that the Mohawks would only survive through the

acceptance of Methodism. Davis' readings became increasingly popular and served as the

foundation for what has since been referred to as the revival at Davisville (Smith 1987:52).

By 1823, Davis could not accommodate the growing number of congregants, so he donated

his home for services and moved into a log cabin in the woods. After Davis' move, he fades

from the historical documents as an active leader within the Davisville settlement. In 1824, a

new log building was constructed in Davisville which served as both a church and

schoolhouse (Smith 1987:62). At this time, Methodist missionary Alvin Torry had begun to

administer Davisville, while Davis remained a devoted congregant (Hosmer 1864). At the

age of 76, Davis was last recorded meeting a Methodist leader at Davisville in 1831 for a

celebratory mass (Carrol 1871:281-282).

A young Mississauga missionary named Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby; see Smith 1987 for

more information on this well known historical figure) often visited the settlement and

became friends with Davis, who in 1824, invited the Mississaugas of the Credit River (to the

east) to live at Davisville (Warrick 2005b:2). As Davis did for the Mohawks, Jones believed

that Methodism would be the salvation of the Mississaugas (Smith 1987:54). The

Mississaugas of New Credit's population had declined from 500 in 1787 to 200 by 1819. By

the summer of 1825, 80 Mississaugas had joined the Davisville settlement (Warrick

2005b:2). Historical records suggest that in 1825, the settlement was composed of

approximately 30 Mohawks and 70 to 100 Mississaugas from the Credit River (United

Church Archives 1826).

By April of 1825, Peter Jones was responsible for the administration of Davisville. Jones is reported to have introduced 'European-like' farming practices to the community (Smith 1987:65). By April of 1826, Jones and most of the other Mississaugas left Davisville and moved back to the Credit River, where the government had ploughed 25 acres of river flats three kilometres from the river mouth (Warrick 2005b:2). The Methodist movement on the northern banks of the Grand River continued to be successful, and the number of congregants grew to roughly 150 Mohawk by the 1830s (the total population of First Nations along the Grand River at that time was less than 2,000). It is not clear from where new congregants to Davisville came from, but presumably some of that increase may have been attributed to an interest in the Methodist, anti-alcohol teachings at Davisville, and were situating themselves contra Mohawk Village.

Thomas Davis is believed to have died in the late 1830s (Smith 2000), and limited documentary evidence is available after that time about the Davisville settlement. Warrick (2002b:56) posits that Davisville was occupied into the early 1830s, prior to its abandonment due to destructive flooding brought on by Euro-Canadian land clearance. However, it is unclear how the inhabitants immediately responded to the flooding. The Davisville residents may have abandoned the community immediately, or they may have remained and moved their houses further away from the rising Grand River, only abandoning Davisville when the local resources became impacted by Euro-Canadian encroachment, as was observed at Mohawk Village (Ferris 2009:131-136). The Methodist Mission moved to Salt Springs, on the north bank of the Grand River just outside the present day limits of the reserve, sometime after 1830 (Salt Springs United Church 1973:5), and the inhabitants of Davisville eventually re-located there (Johnston 1994:176). In 1835, the Salt Springs Methodist Church had 140 Mohawks attending mass, but this number had fallen to 112 by 1844 (Salt Springs United

Church 1973). Between 1835 and 1844, many Mohawk families had already relocated to Tuscarora Township, settling on the south side of the Grand River in anticipation of the establishment of the Six Nations reserve (Salt Springs United Church 1973). By 1860, two other Methodist churches were established on the reserve proper.

The abandonment of the Davisville settlement remains a point of contention. Sometime between the death of Thomas Davis in the late 1830s and the 1850s (according to the Land Registry Records for Brantford Township and 1851 Manuscript Census for Brant Township), the last Mohawk inhabitants of the Davisville settlement had moved and only Euro-Canadians were listed as the owners of the encompassing lots. It is likely that the majority of the inhabitants had moved to Tuscarora Township by 1844, following their place of worship; however, it is unclear whether the settlement moved as a whole or in a piecemeal fashion. The reason for the abandonment of the Davisville settlement is also unclear. As previously stated, Warrick (2002b) posits that drastic flooding of the Grand River during the 1830s forced the inhabitants to relocate to higher ground. In addition (Warrick personal communication, 2011), it is likely that a confluence of other factors (i.e. depletion of resources, new farming practices, Euro-Canadian encroachment, the move of the church, and the death of Thomas Davis) also contributed to a piecemeal abandonment of the community. This does not mean that the decision to stay or move to the new area was imposed on or freely made by the residents; rather it was a decision that balanced the social and economic pressures of staying, leaving, and personal choice.

3.2.2 Archaeology at Davisville

The location of Davisville was archaeologically verified in 2000 by Warrick (2002a). Warrick undertook work to locate and delineate residential units at the Davisville settlement

(Horsfall and Warrick 2003; Warrick 2002b, 2003, 2004a, b), which included excavation of specific residential locales (Figure 3).
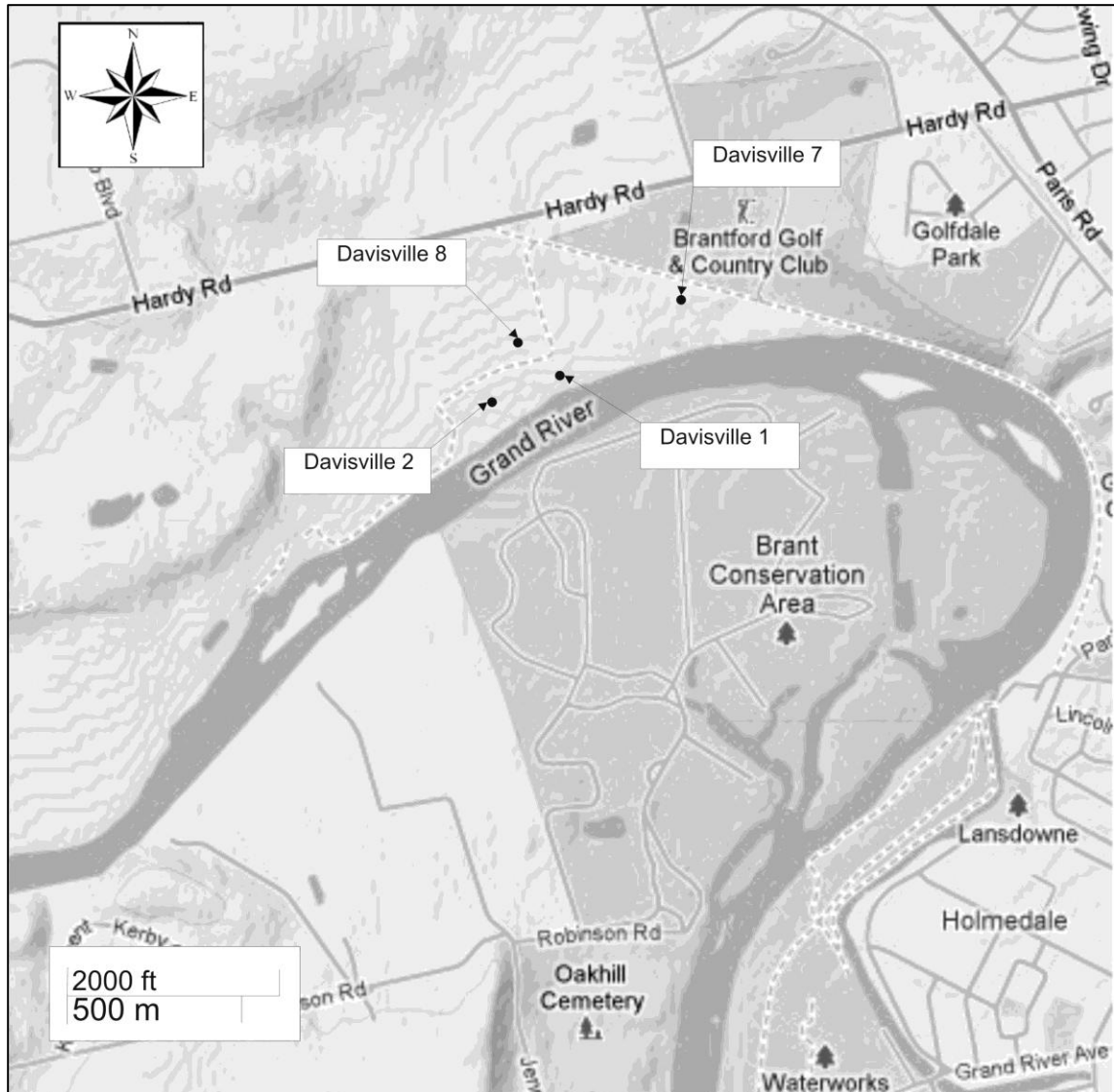
Figure 3: Location of Davisville Excavations

The excavations conducted by Warrick at the Davisville settlement primarily involved test pitting, surface collections, and excavation of one-metre test units to sample and establish the extent of specific sites thought to be associated with particular residences. This methodology resulted in an archaeological assemblage that represents a sample from each site, but few features were noted or excavated. Davisville 1 and 2 are exceptions to this. As these sites

were initially determined to be more substantial, they were the focus of more intensive archaeological investigations over several seasons.

Davisville 1 (Figure 4) has only one confirmed feature (Feature 1; 4 x 3 m) that was partially uncovered but not excavated. The size of this feature, a notable concentration of artifacts at the interface of the feature and topsoil, and rough keyhole plan all suggest that Feature 1 was a house cellar possibly used as a midden post-abandonment (MacDonald 1997). The north-west corner of this feature has a roughly circular area of fire-reddened soil and ash, which could be the result of a fire related to post-abandonment dumping or the occupation of the structure. There are no post-molds identified within the excavated area; however, a roughly rectangular pattern of flat cobble stones extends to the south-east of Feature 1 and may have been used as a means to elevate a wooden floor or veranda off direct contact with the ground. If this was the case, then the structure would have been oriented towards the south-east, facing the cold-water stream. Although several other soil discolorations were identified within the excavated area, they tended to disappear rapidly when uncovered and were not features (Warrick 2004a).

Excavations at Davisville 2 revealed 22 features, but the majority were associated with a pre-contact use of the locale (Figure 5). It is possible that the post-contact inhabitants may have been aware that the locale had been previously occupied and drew a sense of place and belonging from inhabiting the same locale, as suggested by the presence of pre-contact artifacts located within the post-contact features.
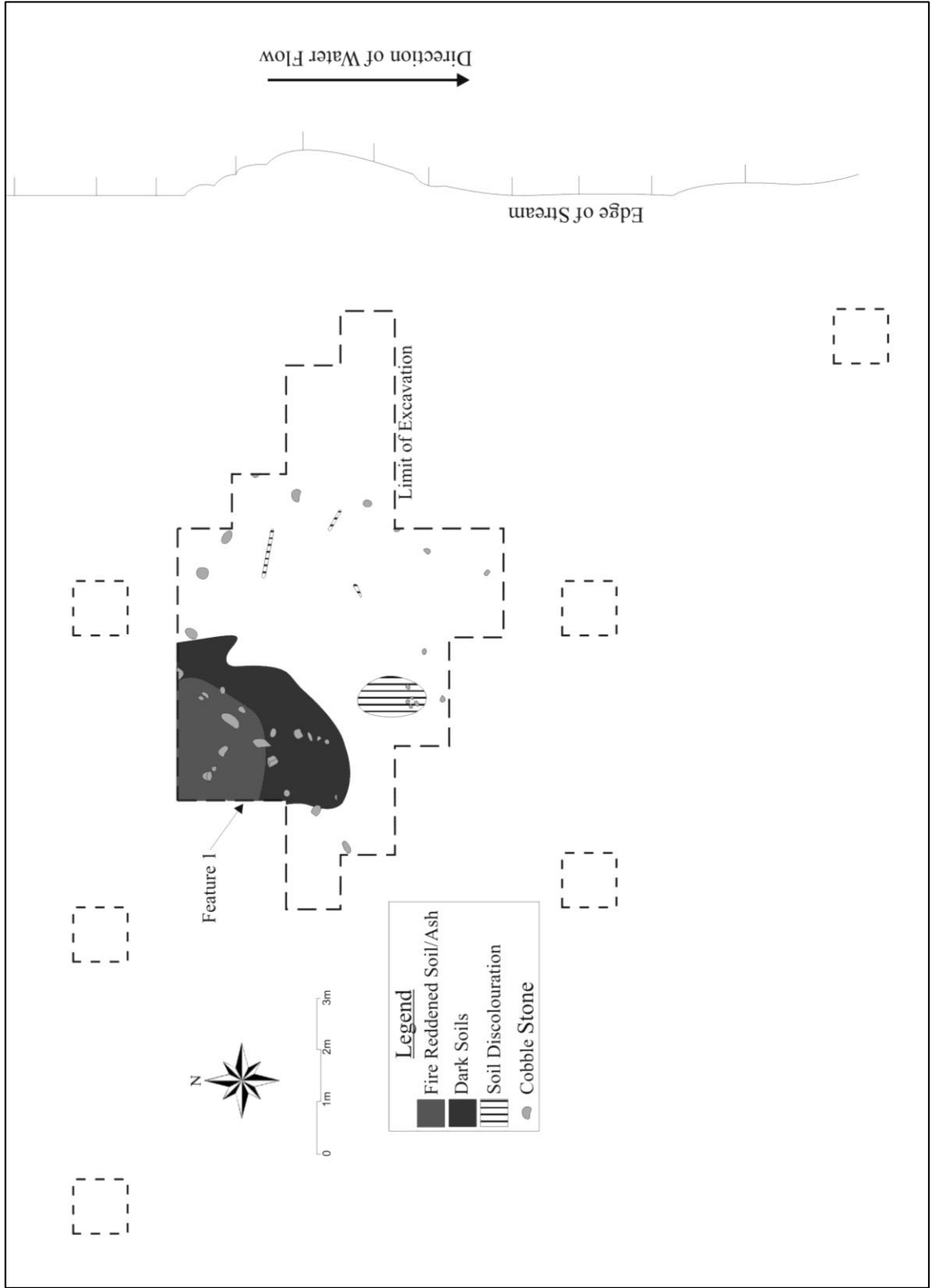
Figure 4: Excavation Plan of Davisville 1

At Davisville 2, Feature 1 (3 x 2.5 m by 130 cm deep) was partially excavated and interpreted as a keyhole shaped, subsurface cellar. The presence of a subsurface cellar would imply the presence of a floor, unless the cabin encompassed the feature and an earthen floor. Few brick fragments were identified within Feature 1, but an ash pit was located roughly in the centre of the feature, suggesting an open hearth, possibly a brick fireplace, or an iron cooking stove was used. Stone and brick platforms have been identified in other contexts (e.g., Beaudoin et al. 2010).

Two series of post-molds were identified extending from Feature 1: a smaller narrow corridor extending to the southeast, and a larger series extending to the southwest. Based on size, the one extending toward the southwest may represent the remains of a veranda; alternatively, the other could be an entryway. If either of these rows of post-molds were associated with an entrance to the structure, then the entrance would be oriented southerly towards the Grand River.

Feature 7 (68 x 29 cm by 28 cm deep) was exposed and partially excavated. It is a roughly oval shaped feature with pink and fire-reddened soil. Few artifacts were recovered from within this feature; they consisted of pre-contact lithic debitage (n=6), window glass (n=1), brick fragments (n=33), and faunal remains (n=59). The faunal assemblage was varied, but included deer and domestic pig. Also, the majority (70%) of the bricks recovered from Davisville 2 were recovered from this feature. While along with the fire-reddened soil and the faunal remains, the bricks have led to an interpretation of the feature as an exterior hearth (Horsfall and Warrick 2003), the lack of evidence of burning on the artifacts must be taken into consideration. As only one of the lithic debitage and three of the faunal fragments show evidence of burning, the area might have been used as a refuse area rather than a hearth. The
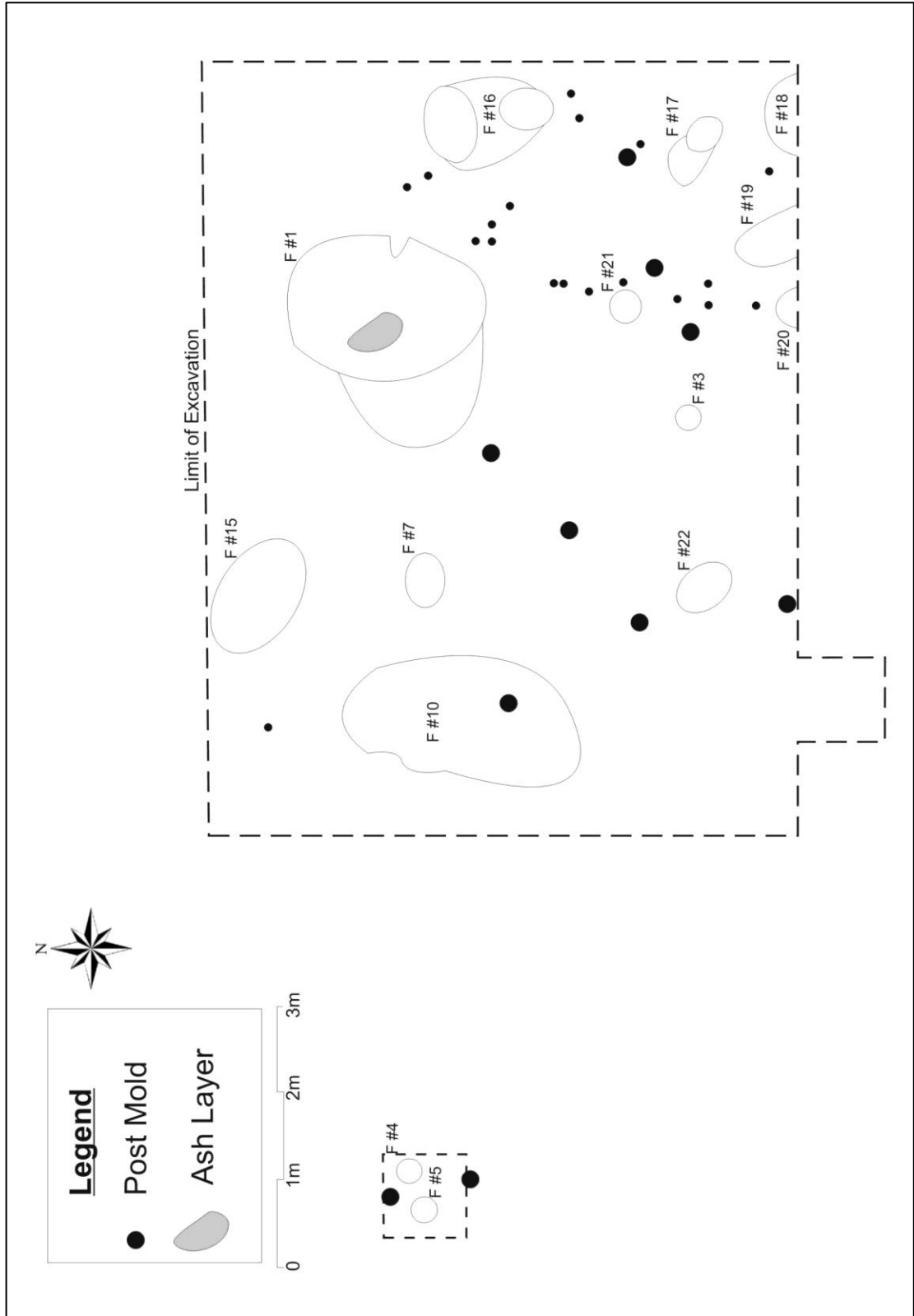
Figure 5: Excavation Plan of Davisville 2

fire-reddened soil remains to be addressed. Thus, the actual function of this feature remains indeterminate.

Feature 10 (3.2 x 1.6 m by 80 cm deep) was partially excavated. It is a roughly rectangular pit feature with 25 cut and faced stones spilled throughout the northern section. The presence of these stones, brick fragments, and fire-reddened soil has been interpreted as the remains of a collapsed chimney within the remains of a house cellar, possibly pre-dating the one associated with Feature 1.

Feature 15 (roughly 1.5 x 1 m) was excavated and consisted of a shallow, stone filled pit with few artifacts. Its function remains unknown.

At Davisville 7, only shovel testing and test excavations consisting of 26 one metre test units at a five metre interval over a roughly 25 x 25 m area has been carried out to date (Figure 6). A possible midden feature was identified in one of the units. The dispersal of historic artifacts with a gap across the middle of the site may suggest that Davisville 7 could be the locus of two former cabins.

Overall, Warrick's work at Davisville (Berg 2005a, b, c; General and Warrick 2004, 2009; Warrick 2003, 2004b, 2005a, 2008, 2009) indicates that the community was a dispersed settlement with cabins spaced approximately 200 metres apart, 15 to 20 metres from the river's edge, and associated with coldwater streams (Warrick 2008). Warrick has argued that he interprets Mohawk associations with some of the residential sites based on the presence of trade silver, glass beads, chipped glass, and a faunal assemblage dominated by fish and wild game (Warrick 2004a).
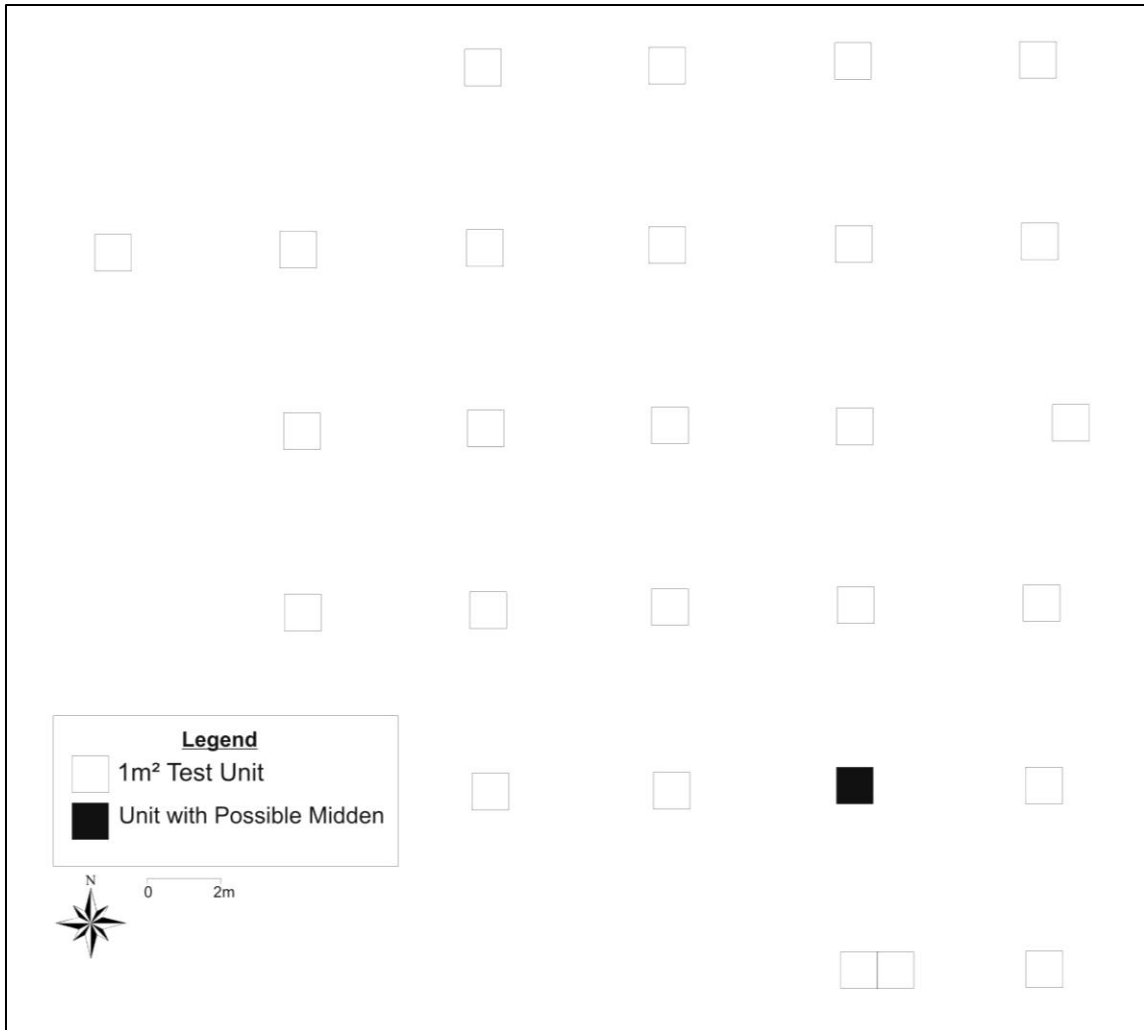
Figure 6: Excavation Plan of Davisville 7

Subsequent to Warrick's research, commercial archaeological investigations were carried out

on part of the Davisville settlement, including test excavations of a multi-component site that

included a mid 19th-century cabin (TMHC 2009). Based on discussions between TMHC and

Warrick, the 19th-century component has been associated with the Davisville settlement as

one likely occupied between the flooding of the Grand River and the abandonment of

Davisville by the Mohawks (TMHC 2011).

Work at Davisville 8 (referred to as the Hardy Road Site by TMHC), was the target of a

surface collection and a test excavation consisting of 48 one metre units at a five metre

interval over a roughly 40 x 25 m area (Figure 7). No features were identified, but the

artifacts and brick fragments were more densely concentrated over a 20 x 20 m area in the

southeast corner of testing, suggesting that this portion of the site was the approximate

location of a feature with a lot of bricks, possibly a house with a brick chimney. Presently,

Davisville 8 has been protected by the Grand River Conservation Authority.
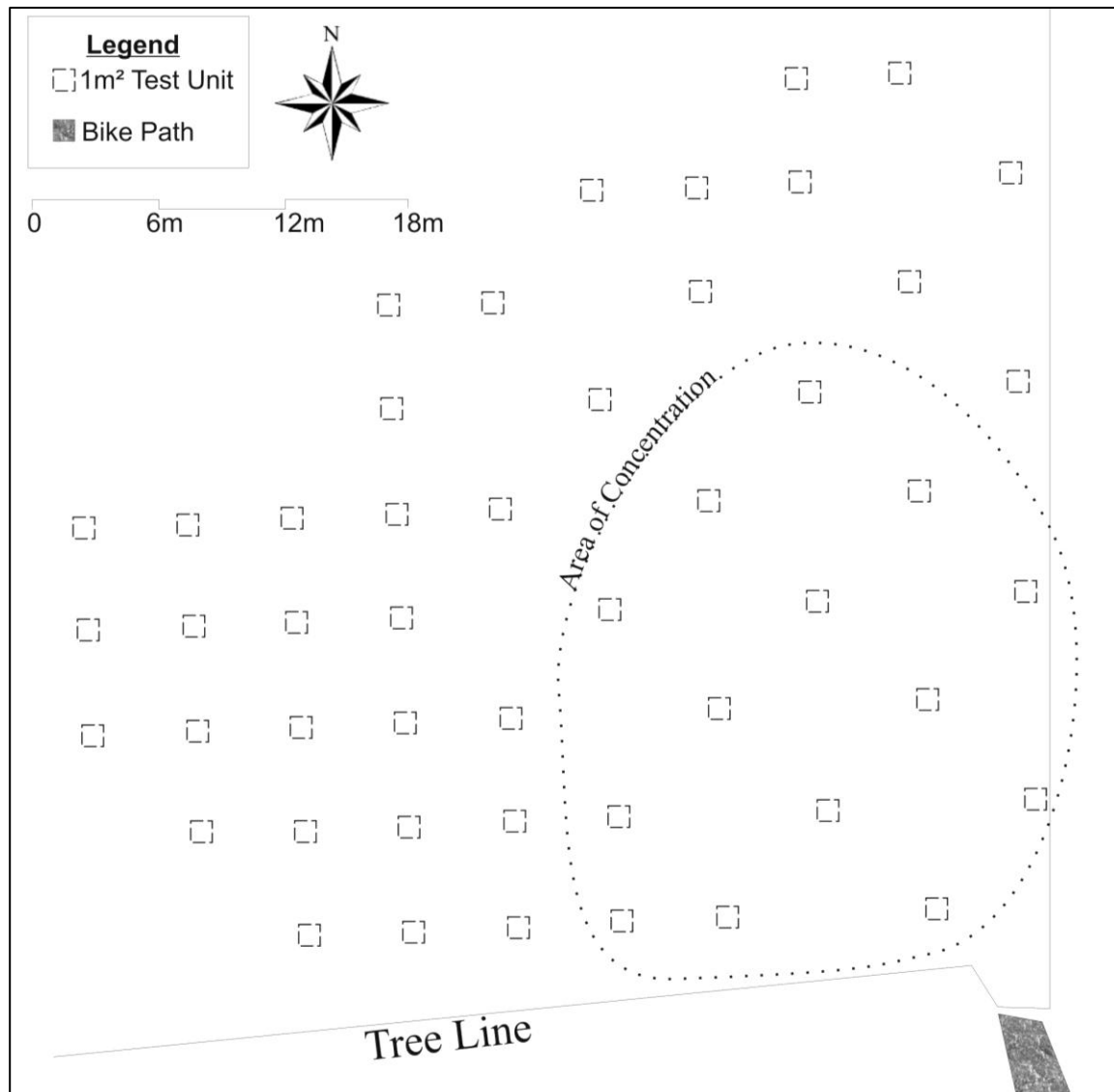
Figure 7: Excavation Plan of Davisville 8

3.2.3 Davisville Artifact Assemblages

The archaeological research completed at the Davisville settlement includes two early sites, Davisville 1 and 2, and two later sites, Davisville 7 and 8. In this section, each period is discussed separately prior to being compared. The early sites have been the focus of the majority of the archaeological work at the Davisville settlement, and their artifact assemblages are much larger than those of the later sites. The difference in excavation efforts and methods used at the sites will be noted when applicable (especially for Davisville 7).

3.2.3.1 General Assemblage

To analyze the assemblages, I first divide them based on temporal association. The early sites date c.1800-1830, and the later sites date c.1830-1860. The two time periods are fairly discrete, with the exception of Davisville 7, which potentially dates as early as the 1820s. This temporal division between early and late sites is purposefully set to explore how separate but contemporaneous habitations navigated their own sets of political and social pressures during the early 19th century. Presumably, the inhabitants of the early sites were navigating similar pressures that differed from those pressures of the later sites. When examined as a whole and divided into arbitrary functional categories, the assemblages from the early sites are similar to each other, while the assemblages from the later sites are also similar to each other (Table 2). For analytical purposes, the artifact assemblages have been divided into functional categories, as adapted from the methods used by South (1977), Resnick (1988), Groover (2003), MacDonald (2002), and Ferris (2006). The use of these functional categories is solely to organize the data for general comparative purposes between sites that differ due to variable excavation strategies (cf. LeeDecker 1994; MacDonald 1997;

Poulton and Dodd 2007; Versaggi 2000). Often attributed to Stanley South (1977, 2002), this methodology was based on analyzing percentages of artifacts from historical sites organized into distinct functional categories (e.g., military, village, plantation, frontier, etc.). These patterns were then broadened (e.g., Carolina Pattern, Frontier Pattern, etc.) and used to identify the function of sites in other contexts. This methodology has been effectively used to explore broad patterns across disparate archaeological assemblages, but it can serve to structure data in a manner that may not be appropriate for all contexts. As stated by South (2002:84), the categories within the assemblages "have a clear indication of functional use as a result of the archaeologist's familiarity with the objects from his own culture." This approach has the two-fold effect of limiting objects to a single function while additionally ignoring the possibility of creative interpretation of functionality. For example, a soup spoon can only be used as a piece of cutlery used for soup consumption and cannot be used for serving, stirring, or other cooking needs. As well, objects tend to be understood in a way that makes sense within our own understanding of what they represent and would have been used for. Beyond often limiting objects to being unitaskers[4], this approach envisions everyone seeing the same potential, purpose, and desires for how objects should be used. For example, in most contexts, tea pots are framed as associated with the actual consumption of tea; however, in fishing contexts, tea pots were often used as water containers while on boats. The shape of the tea pot made them ideal vessels for transporting drinking water while at sea with little risk of spilling. It is easy to envision objects as having single and easily defined functions. In contrast, I envision that people, today and in the past, are much more imaginative in their use of objects.

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[4] A term adopted from Alton Brown's TV show *Good Eats*. It refers to any kitchen tool that has only a single possible use. While limited to kitchen gadgets in Brown's framing, I believe the concept has a much broader applicability.

Table 2: Davisville Collections by Functional Category with Faunal

Category	Davisville 1		Davisville 2		Davisville 7		Davisville 8	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Meal Systems	**1881**	**27.7%**	**2486**	**25.8%**	**420**	**52.8%**	**1898**	**54.4%**
Ceramics	1726		2297		398		1659	
Glassware & Containers	145		175		18		238	
Cutlery	10		14		4		1	
Armaments/Hunting	**151**	**2.2%**	**226**	**2.3%**	**4**	**0.5%**	**9**	**0.3%**
Firearms Equipment	151		226		4		9	
Architecture	**311**	**4.6%**	**1129**	**11.7%**	**242**	**30.4%**	**1241**	**35.6%**
Window Glass	225		302		120		872	
Metal	47		183		23		367	
Bricks	39		644		99		1	
Plaster	0		0		0		1	
Domestic Furniture	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**5**	**0.1%**
Personal	**199**	**2.9%**	**346**	**3.6%**	**14**	**1.8%**	**84**	**2.4%**
Smoking Pipe	109		248		11		66	
Trade Silver	27		26		1		0	
Costume Jewellery	0		1		0		0	
Beads	46		29		1		0	
Clothing	13		34		1		13	
Coins/Discs	4		4		0		0	
Combs/Razors	0		1		0		0	
Writing Implements	0		0		0		1	
Eyeglass Lens	0		0		0		1	
Mouth Harps	0		1		0		0	
Other	0		2		0		3	
Domestic Activities	**17**	**0.3%**	**25**	**0.2%**	**11**	**1.4%**	**14**	**0.4%**
Thimbles/Pins	11		15		0		0	
Scissors	0		3		0		1	
Bone-handled awls/punches	1		0		0		0	
Firesteels	1		3		0		0	
Knapped Glass	0		3		11		12	
Files	0		1		0		1	
Other	4		0		0		0	
Transport	**0**	**0.0%**	**1**	**0.0%**	**1**	**0.1%**	**7**	**0.2%**
Miscellaneous	**137**	**2.0%**	**162**	**1.7%**	**17**	**2.1%**	**90**	**2.6%**
Faunal	**4086**	**60.2%**	**5269**	**54.6%**	**86**	**10.8%**	**137**	**3.9%**
TOTAL	6782	100.0%	9643	100.0%	795	100.0%	3486	100.0%

Objects can have preferred and more obvious functions without necessarily being restricted in their use. How often has a set of decorative plates been hung up on a wall or displayed in a cabinet without having been used during a dinner service? By organizing objects into more obvious, yet rigid, arbitrary categories, we restrict objects into being unitaskers, and even people to being unimaginatively homogenized automatons users of these items. Why can a gun flint not also be a strike-a-light, or a coin not be a pendant, or a spoon not be a spade? In truth, we are continuously inferring the past function of objects and can never definitively say how an object was used. This does not mean that object functionality in the past is a relativistic endeavour where nothing can be said; instead, it means that alternative interpretations for objects cannot be eliminated entirely and these novel functionalities should be allowed to exist in archaeological interpretations (e.g., Casella 2012).

Certainly the sorting of objects into primary unitasking functions is based upon the understanding that a preferred function did exist, and thus observed patterning does have some meaning. As such, while organization of objects into these categories is offered here to provide basic site to site comparisons, the interpretations must be understood with a level of caution because their resulting patterns might represent more about the organization of the data than past material meanings and uses (e.g., Farnsworth 1993; Ferris 2009; Orser 1989; Potter Jr. 1991; Resnick 1988). With these caveats, the use of functional categories in sorting data retains an analytical value as a means to organize and sort varied and disparate data into comparable sets. As long as data is consistent between assemblages, observed patterning deserves to be considered; however, a continuously critical lens must be maintained to prevent the category designations from homogenizing practices of the past.

When functional categories are compared, difference between the early and later sites is seen in the representation of faunal assemblages. For the early sites, faunal assemblages are substantial (60.2% and 54.6% for Davisville 1 and 2, respectively), whereas the faunal assemblage for the later sites is paltry (10.8% and 3.9% for Davisville 7 and 8, respectively). This variation may well be due to the differing excavation strategies between the early and later Davisville sites, since Davisville 1 and 2 were subject to more intensive excavations when compared to the series of test units excavated at Davisville 7 and 8. However, it is worth noting that the majority of the artifact and faunal material from Davisville 1 and 2 was recovered from the unit excavations and not from the features, which may suggest that the inhabitants of the earlier sites were using sheet middens for food remains disposal, perhaps as well as more formalized refuse pits. The low amount of faunal remains at the later Davisville sites might be indicative of a shift in refuse disposal practices, wherein the use of formal refuse pits became more common and sheet middens less so, though the systematic alignment of units on Davisville 7 and 8 also suggest at least some units would likely have been excavated away from concentrations of deposits.

Regardless of why the disparity exists in the available assemblages, it needs to be considered when comparing the rest of the assemblage (Tables 2 and 3). For example, at first glance, meal system artifact categories appear to vary between the early (roughly 26%) and later sites (over 50%). However, if faunal assemblages are removed from consideration, then the percentages become more equivalent (over 50%). As such, and given the variable excavation strategies and scale of recovery, I am choosing to continue with the faunal assemblages removed from the calculations (Table 3).

Table 3: Davisville Collections by Functional Category without Faunal

Category	Davisville 1		Davisville 2		Davisville 7		Davisville 8	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Meal Systems	**1881**	**69.8%**	**2486**	**56.8%**	**420**	**59.2%**	**1898**	**56.7%**
Ceramics	1726		2297		398		1659	
Glassware & Containers	145		175		18		238	
Cutlery	10		14		4		1	
Armaments/Hunting	**151**	**5.6%**	**226**	**5.2%**	**4**	**0.6%**	**9**	**0.3%**
Firearms Equipment	151		226		4		9	
Architecture	**311**	**11.5%**	**1129**	**25.8%**	**242**	**34.1%**	**1241**	**37.1%**
Window Glass	225		302		120		872	
Metal	47		183		23		367	
Bricks	39		644		99		1	
Plaster	0		0		0		1	
Domestic Furniture	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**5**	**0.1%**
Personal	**199**	**7.4%**	**346**	**7.9%**	**14**	**2.0%**	**84**	**2.5%**
Smoking Pipe	109		248		11		66	
Trade Silver	27		26		1		0	
Costume Jewellery	0		1		0		0	
Beads	46		29		1		0	
Clothing	13		34		1		13	
Coins/Discs	4		4		0		0	
Combs/Razors	0		1		0		0	
Writing Implements	0		0		0		1	
Eyeglass Lens	0		0		0		1	
Mouth Harps	0		1		0		0	
Other	0		2		0		3	
Domestic Activities	**17**	**0.6%**	**24**	**0.5%**	**11**	**1.6%**	**15**	**0.4%**
Thimbles/Pins	11		15		0		0	
Scissors	0		3		0		1	
Bone-handled awls/punches	1		0		0		0	
Firesteels	1		3		0		0	
Glass Scraper	0		2		11		13	
Files	0		1		0		1	
Other	4		0		0		0	
Transport	**0**	**0.0%**	**1**	**0.0%**	**1**	**0.1%**	**7**	**0.2%**
Miscellaneous	**137**	**5.1%**	**162**	**3.7%**	**17**	**2.4%**	**90**	**2.7%**
TOTAL	2696	100.0%	4374	100.0%	709	100.0%	3349	100.0%

After correcting for the faunal assemblage, the only percentages that vary between early and late assemblages are found in the armament/hunting and architectural categories. For the earlier sites, armament/hunting artifacts comprise roughly 5% of the assemblage, compared to roughly 0.5% for the later sites. This could suggest that there was less of a need for guns on the later sites, either for hunting or for defensive purposes, when compared to the earlier sites.

Among Davisville 1 and 2, there is some difference between the percentages of architectural artifacts (11.5% and 25.8%, respectively). This difference mostly relates to the larger amount of brick recovered from Davisville 2. These bricks could suggest that Davisville 2 had a more substantial hearth or fireplace than Davisville 1, or that the bricks were incorporated into some other architectural feature. Alternatively, as the cellar feature at Davisville 1 was not entirely excavated, it is possible that the main locus of the hearth, and the associated brick, remain unexcavated and the difference is an artifice of the excavation methodologies. If the former case, this could suggest that there was an element of difference between the inhabitants of the Davisville settlement: they were not all reproducing cookie-cutter houses.

In comparing the early to the later features of the Davisville settlement, a higher percentage of architectural artifacts can be observed among the later features. This may suggest that the structures from the early features were scavenged post-abandonment, whereas the structures from the later features were subject to less scavenging. This explanation would fit nicely if the early features were abandoned because of the Grand River flooding in the 1830s. If the Davisville inhabitants simply had moved further back from the river and built new structures, they would have had ready access to the architectural elements of the abandoned early structures. Also, if the inhabitants of the later features had relocated to the Tuscarora reserve

sometime post-1847. Thus the large distances between the locales would have made scavenging of architectural material from the abandoned structures more prohibitive.

The second major consideration of the assemblage, as a whole, is our ability to attribute these sites with Mohawk residents at the Davisville settlement. Davisville 1 and 2 pre-date 1830, and at that time, few Euro-Canadian inhabitants were recorded in the area (Warrick 2004b). While it may not be possible to absolutely confirm the identity of occupants, the fact that the sites date to a time when Euro-Canadian individuals were not settled within Davisville, Warrick (2004b) has reasonably assumed that the occupants were not European in descent. Moreover, historical accounts make it clear that the initial settlement at Davisville primarily consisted of Mohawk from New York State and Mohawk Village. While it is possible that the residents of Davisville 1 and 2 were Mississauga, the Mississauga association of the assemblages is unlikely because of the short length of their residence; they are recorded as living in Davisville for only a year or two. They undoubtedly had structures to live in during this time, but the short duration of their residence would mean they would have had less of an impact on the area, and less substantive depositions generated, than the longer staying Mohawk. Given the presence of ceramics that pre-date the Mississaugas' residence (i.e. creamware) and general historical understanding of who were settled in this area before 1830, a Mohawk association for Davisville 1 and 2 is strongly indicated.

Determining the affiliation of Davisville 7 and 8 is more challenging. These sites are in the appropriate date range and location to be occupied by Mohawk families, assuming they had simply moved back from the Grand River after the extensive flooding in the early 1830s. However, there are also Euro-Canadian settlers in the immediate area at this time, and it is possible these sites were occupied by Euro-Canadians. However, the presence of two

artifacts supports a possible association of these sites as being part of the Mohawk Davisville settlement. A piece of trade silver was recovered from the test excavations at Davisville 7. It is a portion of a silver ring that is similar to those labelled as trade silver on other sites. Trade silver was an important item for the Six Nations as they often were part of the 'King's Gift' supplied by the British Indian Department until the later 1830s. Trade silver was an important signifier of a connection between the Six Nations and the British government and became incorporated into formal dress as an analogue for wampum (cf. Ferris 1987; Fredrickson 1980; Parker 1910; Quimby 1937, 1966). Importantly, the fact that distribution of such items from the British Crown waned in the 1830s (though an Indigenous artisanal silver craft grew in its stead) suggests this item was curated, perhaps originating from a time prior to the family's occupation of Davisville 7.

The presence of 11 pieces of knapped glass from Davisville 7 and 12 from Davisville 8 may also suggest a non-European connection between the later sites. A total of 40 pieces of knapped glass have been identified from the Davisville settlement (Horsfall and Warrick 2003; TMHC 2009; Warrick 2004a; Table 4). Knapped glass has been divided into expedient tools and ambiguous knapping. Ambiguous knapping are flakes or smaller areas of knapping that have not been obviously shaped, whereas expedient tools have been shaped (e.g., concaved, notched, etc.) or have a longer knapped edge. None of the examples of knapped glass from the Davisville assemblages are formal or diagnostic tools. By labeling some as ambiguous knapping, I am not trying to deny that they might have been used as tools or expedient cutting edges, but rather I am accounting for the possibility of these edges being incidental breakage. The source of the glass does not appear to be a factor, as bottle, window, and pressed glass all exhibit evidence of knapping. Interestingly, 14 pieces of knapped glass were recovered from Davisville 1 and only three pieces from Davisville 2. This could suggest

that knapping glass was differentially practiced by households within the Davisville

settlement.

Table 4: Knapped Glass

		Davisville 1	Davisville 2	Davisville 7	Davisville 8
Bottle Glass	**Ambiguous Knapping**	1	1	-	1
	Potential Tool	4	-	5	2
Window Glass	**Ambiguous Knapping**	1	-	-	4
	Potential Tool	7	1	5	5
Pressed Glass	**Ambiguous Knapping**	-	-	1	-
	Potential Tool	1	1	-	-
Total	**Ambiguous Knapping**	2	1	1	5
	Potential Tool	12	2	10	7
	Grand Total	14	3	11	12

The motivation to ascribe an Aboriginal association with knapped glass extends beyond the

particulars of Davisville 7 and 8. Knapped glass has recently emerged as iconic evidence of

the retention and renegotiation of First Nations/Aboriginal/colonized practices in North

America (e.g., Martindale and Jurakic 2006; Silliman 2004; Triggs 2004; Warrick 2009) and

Australia (e.g., Harrison 2003; McNiven and Russell 2002; Wolski and Loy 1999).The

presence of knapped glass has been seen as both the retention of traditional practices, despite

the availability of colonizer analogues, and the incorporation of colonizer objects into

traditional practices. While the presence of knapped glass could be a reliable indicator of

colonized peoples, at this point they must still be critically examined for several reasons.

First, as in the case for the Davisville specimens, the majority of knapped glass lithic

analogues are represented by expedient tools that were made on a single edge of a bottle or

window glass fragment. These edges appear to be effective scrapers or expedient knives; however, it is difficult to determine if these edges were purposely created or were the result of natural impacts and damage throughout the life course of a glass shard. There are good examples of glass tools that are undoubtedly purposefully created, but presently they are not the majority of examples. Second, the association between knapped glass and colonized peoples is based on the assumption that colonizer peoples were not aware, or able, to knap glass. And yet, as discussed by Silliman (2004:101), there are numerous examples of colonizer peoples demonstrating the ability to create expedient glass tools (e.g., Marshall 1982; Moore 1992). It is also often overlooked that colonizer peoples, as well as colonized peoples (Ballin 2012:136; Blanchette 1975:51), were making and repairing gunflints and fire flints into the 19th century, and both would have had the knowledge to create an expedient scraper or cutting edge on a piece of chert or glass. Given this widespread lithic sensibility, knapped glass objects must be cautiously ascribed within colonial origin.

Beyond the problematic presence of knapped glass on Davisville 8, it is also worth noting that the location of Davisville 8 is spatially consistent with the other contemporaneous Mohawk cabin sites in this area of Davisville, offering a degree of confidence in ascribing a Mohawk affiliation to the occupation. Given all this, and for present purposes, I will proceed with the assumption that Davisville 8 was occupied by members of the Mohawk Davisville settlement.

3.2.3.2 Early Sites: Foodways

The foodways at the early sites of the Davisville settlement are examined twofold: through historic ceramics and faunal remains. The historic ceramics and faunal remains for the early

sites have both been previously described in technical reports (Beaudoin 2010, 2011a, b; Berg 2005a, b) as part of the archaeological licensing process in Ontario.

The ceramic assemblage for both sites was highly fragmented and vessel reconstruction was not possible. As such, a minimum number of vessels (MNV) was determined using the general methodology described by Voss and Allen (2010). The analysis of the ceramic sherd number can produce interesting interpretations; however, these results are often heavily criticized as not accurately representing the actual number of ceramic vessels used within a site. Notably, the fragmented nature and incomplete recovery of the entirety of the vessels, especially from heavily fragmented collections like that of the Davisville settlement, can over-represent some vessels while under-representing others (cf. Groover 2003; Hull 2007; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987). Therefore, it is generally accepted that analyzing the MNV as a conservative estimate of the actual vessels is more accurate than the use of basic sherd counts (see Table 5 for differences).

Table 5: Early Davisville Ware Types

	Davisville 1				Davisville 2			
Ware Type	n	%	MNV	%	n	%	MNV	%
Creamware	665	41.5%	18	38.3%	759	36.0%	14	24.1%
Pearlware	888	55.4%	22	46.8%	1260	59.7%	36	62.1%
Whiteware	25	1.6%	3	6.4%	12	0.6%	3	5.2%
Redware	1	0.1%	1	2.1%	-	-	-	-
Porcelain	1	0.1%	1	2.1%	-	-	-	-
Unidentified	23	1.4%	2	4.3%	78	3.7%	5	8.6%
Total	1603	100.0%	47	100.0%	2109	100.0%	58	100.0%

Ceramic analysis consisted of the following steps. First, sherds were divided by ware type and then by decorative technique. Second, rim sherds were divided and compared against a comparative collection provided by Ferris to determine vessel form. Because of the fractured nature of the Davisville assemblage, rim sherds of the same ware, decoration, and form were

assumed to come from the same vessel unless enough sherds were present that would have encompassed the entire vessel rim. For sherds of a ware type or decoration technique in which no rim sherds were identified, if a vessel form could be determined, they counted as a single vessel. If no form could be determined, they were still counted as a single vessel. These methods maintained an un-inflated MNV count and enabled consistency between varied artifact assemblages.

When ware types for Davisville 1 are analyzed, pearlware is predominant, followed by creamware (Table 5). The predominance of pearlware (1780-1850) and creamware (1760-1830), along with some whiteware (after 1830) and the absence of ironstone (after 1850), all suggest that the assemblage is associated with an occupation during the first half of the 19th century, most likely pre-1830 (see Kenyon 1980).

Table 5 also presents the frequency of ware types for Davisville 2 by MNV. Again, pearlware is predominant, followed by creamware. As with Davisville 1, this suggests an early 19th-century occupation date that is most likely pre-1830.

The relationship between vessel form and decoration offers the most interpretive value for ceramic collections by allowing for the exploration of meal systems and the choices made in display during, and between, meals. Vessel forms were identified by morphological traits and designs. First the vessels were divided into flatware and hollowware forms, and then the hollowware forms were further sub-divided into bowls, saucers, and cups based on diameter, angle of curvature, and location of designs. Generally, vessels with designs on the outside with small diameters were cups, and those with larger diameters were bowls. Saucers were generally restricted to hollowware vessels with designs on the interior. There are various ways that these vessels can be organized into analytical categories (e.g.,

plate/bowl/cup/saucer, etc.), but the general convention is to frame them as plates, bowls, and teas (cups and saucers). This division is built upon the three basic functional categories of consumption – plates for more solid meals, bowls for more liquid meals, and teas for tea consumption. Underlying this framework is the assumption that people were engaged with formalized dining practices and etiquette; that is, that specific meal styles were being consumed from particular vessel forms. For example, it is possible that people would consume soups, as well as other liquid style meals, from cups instead of bowls. Morphologically, this is possible and likely probable when people temporarily needed an extra bowl; however, within proper dining etiquette (Fitts 1999; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Shackel 1992), this practice of using cups as bowls would be restricted only to times of specific need and not be an everyday occurrence. Along with this framework, certain vessel forms are more restrictive than others. Bowls, cups, and saucers can each function as hollowware vessels, as well as fulfill the role of flatware vessels, albeit somewhat poorly; conversely it would be more difficult for flatware plates to fulfill the role of a bowl or cup. This suggests that the choice of stocking plates and other flatware vessels, as opposed to just bowls, speaks to an engagement with social dining etiquette where serving the proper style of food on proper serving vessels is important on some level.

This division of vessel form and function has repeatedly been used in comparing varied archaeological contexts (e.g., Brooks 2002; Brooks 2003; Burley 2000; Cabak and Loring 2000; Miller and Hurry 1983; Orser 2010; Scarry 2010; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Voss 2008). For example, Voss (2008:246-249) used the higher percentage of hollowware to flatware vessel forms at an 18th-century Presidio as the basis of her interpretations regarding colonial food preparations, consumptions, and how they related to gendered divisions of labour within the households.

One method that has been effectively used to engage with the varied importance of vessel forms within a household involves exploring the values of the vessels within each category. Like Miller's (1980, 1991) CC (cream coloured) Index, it is based upon understanding the relative economic value of ceramic decorations, with transfer-print and porcelain generally being more expensive than other forms of decorated ceramics. A higher percentage of expensive wares within a vessel form category implies that a greater investment (economic and social) was made in this vessel form; hence, being more important (Adams and Boling 1989). For example, Brooks (2002, 2003) examined the economic scaling within the vessel forms at sites in Wales, as well as globally, to explore the importance of each vessel form, and the associated social trappings and conventions within British foodways ideology. Within Brooks' examination, teas were the most expensive, followed by plates, and finally bowls, which "rarely occur in the more expensive types (2003:130)."

Within this framework, a division between personal and public dining conventions must be considered. At an individual family's dining table, were all dishes available for use during every meal, or were some dishes reserved for more specialized meals? Looking at the relationship between expensive and cheaper vessel forms can offer an insight into this question. It can be posited that more expensive decorated vessels, especially when restricted to specific vessel forms, suggest that these particular vessels were used for specialized meals (e.g., holidays, public dinning, entertaining guests, etc.), where conspicuous consumption made it important to display the family's understanding of and engagement with the trappings of prevailing dining etiquette and conventions. This conspicuous display and use of expensive vessels is oft contrasted against the use of cheaper dishes for everyday, personal meals, where the public display of etiquette is less critical (Brooks 2002, 2003; Brooks and Rodríguez 2012; Orser 2010; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987). For example, in Brooks'

(2002, 2003) research, bowls across sites were almost always cheaper, suggesting that these were the everyday dishes used to consume traditional Welsh stews, whereas the teas and expensive plates were reserved for the more conspicuous consumption of British-styled meals (Brooks 2003:131). Similarly, Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987) compared the CC-Index value of various vessel forms from 19th-century sites and observed that teas had a higher value than plates and bowls. Spencer-Wood and Herberling (1987:70-71) suggest that teas had an increased performative value compared to the more utilitarian plates and bowls and thus received a greater financial investment; however, they also suggest that factors besides socio-economic class (e.g., urban/rural, source of ceramics) could influence the CC-Index (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987:80). The presence of both expensive and cheaper sets of dishes, such as teas, could imply the emergence of a public and private sets, suggesting that the act of tea consumption itself was important for the individuals (see Monks 1999for counter argument; Mullins 1999a), beyond the more public act of the conspicuous British tea ceremony (Brighton 2001:23-24; Wall 1991:79).

Another factor to consider is how cups and saucers are incorporated into the category of 'teas' or 'teaware'. Often, cups and saucers are purchased and used as a single unit, hence the integration into teas (Klein 1991:81). There is no generally accepted convention regarding how to integrate these two separate vessel forms into a single category. For example, Brooks (2002, 2003) chose to add the number of cups to saucers to get the number of teas. This methodology is not justified or discussed by Brooks (2002, 2003), but it treats both cups and saucers as separate units that individually comprise the whole (i.e. teas). This is the simplest methodology to get a count of teas, but it does not account for the fact that teas were often purchased as a whole, and not as individual pieces, and that, archaeologically, there will be a differential breakage pattern between cups and saucers. Not considering these factors risks

artificially inflating the number of teas compared to that of plates or bowls, which can then significantly alter the perceived importance of tea consumption within an assemblage. Taking both of these points into consideration, I have adopted the methodology put forward by Kenyon and Kenyon (1982), which argues for using the number of saucers as a proxy for the number of teas within an assemblage. Kenyon and Kenyon (1982) explored the differential breakage patterns between cups and saucers, which revealed that cups were underrepresented within artifact assemblages, as their size and form makes them more likely to break into few larger pieces. As such, when contrasting teas against plates and bowls the use of saucers as a proxy for teas is a more appropriate methodology than using only cups, or a cumulative count of cups and saucers.

The patterns between the Davisville 1 and Davisville 2 assemblages are variable (Tables 6 and 7). Davisville 1, in order of frequency, has teas, followed by bowls, then plates, whereas Davisville 2 has mostly plates, followed by teas, then bowls. Otto (1977) states that the relationship between flatware and hollowware vessels correlates to the meal systems of the former occupants: flatware (i.e. plates) suggests individually portioned, solid meals, and hollowware (i.e. bowls) suggests communal, liquid based meals. This can be correlated to economic status (hollowware = lower status; flatware = higher status) (Adams and Boling 1989; Orser 1999, 2010), but cultural correlations can also be used (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Cabak and Loring 2000; MacDonald 2004; Mullins 1999a, c; Voss 2008). Given these interpretations, the difference in percentages of bowls and plates at Davisville 1 and 2 may imply a different meal focus between the two households. Both households consumed solid- and liquid-based meals, but Davisville 1 had a greater reliance on liquid-based diets, and Davisville 2 had a greater reliance on solid-based diets. Despite the

different focus of plates and bowls, teas appear to have had an important role (either for dietary or display purposes) within the meal systems of both sites.

Table 6: Davisville 1 Vessel Form and Decoration by MNV

	Plain		Edged		Moulded		Dipt		Painted		Transfer Print		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Plate	1	33.3	4	100.0	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	7	20.0
Bowl	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	3	75.0	4	28.6	4	44.4	12	34.3
Teas	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	10	71.4	4	44.4	16	45.7
Total	3	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	4	100.0	14	100.0	9	100.0	35	100.0
	8.6%		11.4%		2.9%		11.4%		40.0%		25.7%		100.0%	

Table 7: Davisville 2 Vessel Form and Decoration by MNV

	Plain		Edged		Dipt		Painted		Transfer Print		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Plate	2	40.0%	13	100.0%	-	-	1	11.1%	1	14.3%	17	40.5%
Bowl	1	20.0%	-	-	7	87.5%	2	22.2%	2	28.6%	12	28.6%
Teas	2	40.0%	-	-	1	12.5%	6	66.7%	4	57.1%	13	31.0%
Total	5	100.0%	13	100.0%	8	100.0%	9	100.0%	7	100.0%	42	100.0%
	11.9%		31.0%		19.0%		21.4%		16.7%		100.0%	

There is no evidence for the purchase of ceramic sets within the plain, edged, or transfer printed vessels at either site. The lack of ceramic sets suggests that these vessels were purchased as individual pieces. This purchasing pattern contrasts with the painted and dipt ware vessels, which indicate that possibly two sets were purchased: an early palette, painted, floral set and a rouletted, yellow bodied, annular ware set. Both of these sets were primarily restricted to teas. Furthermore, by using Miller's (1980, 1991) CC-Index as a general guideline for the purchase cost of ceramics, the majority of vessels within the Davisville 1 and 2 assemblages fall within the less expensive categories (Table 8). While sample sizes limit the utility of breaking down percents by vessel type, it is nonetheless worth noting that at Davisville 1, 33% of the bowls and 25% of the teas are expensive, compared to 17% of the bowls and 31% of the teas at Davisville 2. At both sites, plates are represented by a small

percentage of more expensive vessels (14% and 6% respectively). Following from the dining

conventions framework previously discussed, these percentages may suggest that the

inhabitants of Davisville 1 and 2 selectively, and somewhat differentially, acquired expensive

vessels. At Davisville 1, they acquired more expensive bowls, the more abundant vessel form

in the assemblage, thus perhaps indicating these residents consumed more liquid-based

meals. For the latter, the reliance on less expensive plates, despite plates being the most

common vessel form present, is worth considering. This could suggest that the inhabitants of

Davisville 2 had limited purchasing power, and as a result, differentially selected for more

expensive teas over plates. Once again, teas are roughly similar for the both Davisville 1 and

2, which reinforces the theory that tea consumption was important for both sets of

inhabitants.

Table 8: Expensive Ceramics from Davisville

	Davisville 1	Davisville 2	Davisville 7	Davisville 8
Expensive Sherds	14.1%	22.8%	16.8%	19.6%
Expensive Plates	14.3%	5.9%	-	25.0%
Expensive Bowls	33.3%	16.7%	-	16.7%
Expensive Teas	25.0%	30.8%	28.6%	37.5%
Expensive Wares	25.7%	16.7%	16.7%	27.1%
Plate:Saucer	0.43	1.30	0.43	1.25

A caveat worth mentioning is that Kenyon (1992) identified temporal changes in the

frequencies of decorative techniques on specific vessel forms during the 19th century. Based

on this patterning, the designs on the plates and teas from Davisville 1 and 2 support an

occupation between 1800 and 1830 (Kenyon 1992:14). This date is important because during

this time, supplies of ceramics were more restricted by merchants, making it more difficult to

determine the level of choice in vessel form or design.

3.2.3.3 Early Features: Faunal

The faunal collections from Davisville 1 and 2 have been analyzed in detail by Berg (2005a,

b) and a summary is presented in Table 9. For Davisville 1, 785 of 4,086 bones (19%) could

be identified to species, and for Davisville 2, 967 of 5,269 bones (18%) could be identified to

species (Table 10). Both assemblages are similar and exhibit the same basic trends.

Domesticated mammals comprise 11% and 10%, respectively, of the Davisville 1 and 2

faunal assemblages. This value is very low when compared to the high frequencies of wild

mammals at both sites (42% and 51%), almost half of which for both is comprised of white-

tailed deer. The remainder of wild mammals represented include a variety of fur-bearing

animals (e.g., muskrat, racoon) that could have been harvested as part of food consumption

and/or fur/skin harvesting. The diversity of the species present, despite the low amounts

overall, is worth noting. This diversity, which is rarely seen on Euro-Canadian sites, speaks

to the inhabitants harvesting the breadth of local animals available to them, instead of relying

on domesticates.

Domesticates for both sites are primarily pig (over 60%), but both chicken and cow comprise

significant portions of the assemblages. Sheep is present in minimal quantities at Davisville 1

and absent in Davisville 2.This patterning of pig-cow-sheep fits into the patterning observed

by Kenyon and Ferris for 19th-century sites in Ontario (Ferris 2006; Ferris and Kenyon 1983;

Kenyon and Ferris 1984; Kenyon et al. 1984; Kenyon and Kenyon 1986). The respective

assemblages show a roughly equal division between domesticates, fish, and other (between

11% and 20%), with the fish comprising the smallest component (under 10%).

Table 9: Summary of Faunal Analysis from Berg (2005a, b)

	Davisville 1		Davisville 2	
	n	%	n	%
Domesticates				
Pig	70	61.95%	84	66.14%
Chicken	30	26.55%	14	11.02%
Cow	9	7.96%	15	11.81%
Sheep	3	2.65%	-	-
Dog	1	0.88%	-	-
Cat	-	-	14	11.02%
Total	113 (14%)	100.00%	127 (13%)	100.00%
Mammals				
White-tailed Deer	142	43.03%	229	46.83%
Muskrat	79	23.94%	34	6.95%
Vole	23	6.97%	49	10.02%
Racoon	18	5.45%	15	3.07%
Rodent	15	4.55%	42	8.59%
Eastern Chipmunk	12	3.64%	8	1.64%
Snowshoe Hare	9	2.73%	12	2.45%
American Beaver	7	2.12%	4	0.82%
Artidactyl	7	2.12%	5	1.02%
Woodchuck	6	1.82%	14	2.86%
Red Squirrel	3	0.91%	10	2.04%
Grey Squirrel	2	0.61%	40	8.18%
Squirrel	2	0.61%	-	-
Deer	2	0.61%	3	0.61%
American Porcupine	1	0.30%	-	-
Black Bear	1	0.30%	-	-
American Marten	1	0.30%	1	0.20%
Deer Mouse	-	-	10	2.04%
House Mouse	-	-	9	1.84%
Short-tailed Shrew	-	-	4	0.82%
Total	330 (42%)	100.00%	489 (51%)	100.00%
Birds				
Passenger Pigeon	9	50.00%	40	54.79%
Ruffed Grouse	6	33.33%	13	17.81%

	Davisville 1		Davisville 2	
	n	%	n	%
Duck	2	11.11%	3	4.11%
Sharp-shinned Hawk	1	5.56%	-	-
Common Loon	-	-	4	5.48%
Common Merganser	-	-	4	5.48%
Short-eared Owl	-	-	4	5.48%
Perching Bird	-	-	3	4.11%
Bald Eagle	-	-	1	1.37%
Hawk	-	-	1	1.37%
Total	18 (2%)	100.00%	73 (8%)	100.00%
Fish				
Redhorse	46	27.88%	10	5.99%
Walleye/Sauger	25	15.15%	16	9.58%
Rock Bass	24	14.55%	18	10.78%
Sucker	22	13.33%	13	7.78%
Freshwater Drum	16	9.70%	69	41.32%
Lake Sturgeon	8	4.85%	7	4.19%
Stonecat	6	3.64%	-	-
Golden Redhorse	5	3.03%	8	4.79%
Bass	5	3.03%	6	3.59%
Sunfish	4	2.42%	9	5.39%
White Sucker	2	1.21%	1	0.60%
Minnow	1	0.61%	-	-
Perch	1	0.61%	-	-
Northern Pike	-	-	4	2.40%
Silver Redhorse	-	-	4	2.40%
Shorthead Redhorse	-	-	2	1.20%
Total	165 (20%)	100.00%	167 (17%)	100.00%
Other				
Snapping Turtle	1	0.63%	60	54.05%
Turtle	7	4.40%	20	18.02%
Pond Turtle	-	-	1	0.90%
Snake	-	-	4	3.60%
Frog/Toad	2	1.26%	15	13.51%
Mudpuddy	-	-	1	0.90%
Spike	131	82.39%	2	1.80%
Pocket-Book	17	10.69%	1	0.90%

	Davisville 1		Davisville 2	
	n	%	n	%
Kidney Shell	1	0.63%	-	-
Gastropod		0.00%	7	6.31%
Total	159 (20%)	100.00%	111 (11%)	100.00%
Grand Total	**785**		**967**	

Overall, the faunal assemblages suggest that the former occupants' diets were dominated by a wide diversity of wild species, with an emphasis on deer and supplemented by a limited amount of domesticates.

Table 10: Unidentified and Identified Species from Davisville 1 and 2

	Davisville 1		Davisville 2	
	n	%	n	%
Mammals Identified	413	18.6%	602	17.3%
Mammals Unidentified	2223		3476	
Birds Identified	48	61.5%	87	96.7%
Birds Unidentified	78		90	
Fish Identified	165	42.5%	167	23.1%
Fish Unidentified	388		722	
Other Identified	159	26.0%	111	925.0%
Other Unidentified	612		12	
Total Identified	785	19.2%	967	18.4%
Total Unidentified	3301	80.8%	4300	81.6%
Grand Total	4086		5267	

3.2.3.4 Early Sites: Architecture

No images or descriptions of the Davisville settlement are known to exist, so discussions related to its architecture must be restricted to identified features and archaeological assemblages. Overall, both Davisville 1 and 2 were likely wooden structures with subsurface cellars. They both had glass windows, and their bricks were likely associated with interior hearths. The brick features of Davisville 2 were likely more substantial than that of Davisville 1. No plaster was identified during excavation, which suggests that the wooden

walls had wooden shingles or were left relatively bare. It is unclear whether the structures had wooden or earthen floors. Earthen floors have been noted in Six Nations cabins in other regions (Lantz 1980), but other structures, like those at Mohawk Village, had wooden floors. Only 45 wrought iron nails were recovered from the excavations at Davisville 1, whereas 177 wrought iron nails were recovered from the excavations at Davisville 2. Despite the partial excavations at Davisville 1, this difference in the number of iron nails suggests that the structure at Davisville 2 was more substantial than at Davisville 1. At this point it cannot be determined whether that Davisville 2 had a wooden floor or a loft and Davisville 1 did not, or whether Davisville 1 might have been the recipient of more focused post-abandonment scavenging, but it is likely that there is something architecturally different between Davisville 1 and 2.

3.2.3.5 Later Sites: Foodways

Turning to the later sites, ware types analysis for Davisville 7 and 8 indicate that pearlware is predominant for Davisville 7, while whiteware is predominant for Davisville 8 (Table 11); however, it must be noted that the ceramic assemblage recovered from testing Davisville 7 is quite small and may not embody a representative sample. Both creamware and ironstone are present on both sites, albeit in limited amounts. Considering the makeup of the ware types found, both Davisville 7 and 8 likely date later in the 19th century. The limited amount of creamware, whiteware, and ironstone at Davisville 7 suggest that it likely dates between c.1820-1840, whereas Davisville 8 likely dates slightly later (c.1830s-1850s). Indeed, the ware type data suggests the two sites may have overlapped in occupation only briefly, or not at all.

Table 11: Later Davisville Ware Types

Ware Type	Davisville 7				Davisville 8			
	n	%	MNV	%	n	%	MNV	%
Creamware	13	4.8%	5	31.3%	5	0.3%	1	1.6%
Pearlware	166	60.8%	1	6.3%	94	6.2%	4	6.6%
Whiteware	34	12.5%	6	37.5%	1349	88.5%	48	78.7%
Ironstone	1	0.4%	1	6.3%	44	2.9%	3	4.9%
Yellowware	2	0.7%	1	6.3%	19	1.2%	2	3.3%
Redware	-	-	-	-	4	0.3%	1	1.6%
Porcelain	-	-	-	-	4	0.3%	2	3.3%
Unidentified	57	20.9%	2	12.5%	5	0.3%	0	0.0%
Total	273	100.0%	16	100.0%	1524	100.0%	61	100.0%

Because of the smaller assemblage, Davisville 7 has fewer identified vessels and a much more restricted variety of decorations present than seen for the earlier sites, or for Davisville 8 (Tables 12 and 13). Teas (58%) are predominant within the assemblage, followed by plates (25%) and bowls (17%). The low MNV at Davisville 7 (n = 12), especially when contrasted with Davisville 8 (n = 48), also can be attributed to the limited recovery of material from the site. While the excavation methods differed between the early sites and the later sites (block excavation vs. test units), the excavation methods of the later sites were comparable and, in theory, should have produced a similar sampling of the sites. That the Davisville 7 assemblage is significantly smaller than the others, but the percentages of functional categories within the assemblage are similar to that of Davisville 8, may suggest that a comparable, but smaller, sample was obtained. As well, if the percentages of expensive ceramics (ironstone, transfer print, and porcelain) at Davisville 7 are examined (Table 8), they indicate that no expensive plates or bowls were recovered; however, 29% of the teas were expensive. That expensive teas were recovered, and expensive plates and bowls were absent, albeit in a small assemblage, does allow for the speculation that expensive teas were differentially selected for by the residents of Davisville 7. Given the limited nature of the assemblage, however, no further discussion of Davisville 7 can be offered at this time.

In terms of the Davisville 8 ceramic assemblage, it has the greatest variety in decoration of all the Davisville sites. Davisville 8's vessels demonstrate the same pattern in percentages as Davisville 2 (more plates, followed by teas and bowls), but there is much more variety within the later site. Likewise, the similarity of the expensive ware between Davisville 8 and 2 is also noteworthy. Davisville 8 has a higher overall percentage of expensive wares (29%), but this is mostly attributed to a drastic rise in the percent of expensive plates (Davisville 2 - 6%; Davisville 8 - 30%), and the slight rise in expensive teas (Davisville 2 - 31%; Davisville 8 - 38%). The percentage of expensive bowls remain constant (17%), which suggests that the role bowls and teas played in dining conventions were fairly similar between Davisville 2 and 8. The importance of plates overall seems to be similar between Davisville 2 and 8, but Davisville 8 has a much greater emphasis on having expensive plates. Despite all these interpretations, it must be noted that, like the early sites, the later sites are predominantly characterized by a predominance of less expensive wares.

Table 12: Davisville 7 Vessel Form and Decoration by MNV

	Plain		Edged		Painted		Transfer Print		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Plate	1	100.0%	2	100.0%	-	-	-	-	3	25.0%
Bowl	-	-	-	-	2	28.6%	-	-	2	16.7%
Tea	-	-	-	-	5	71.4%	2	100.0%	7	58.3%
Total	1	100.0%	2	100.0%	7	100.0%	2	100.0%	12	100.0%
	8.3%		16.7%		58.3%		16.7%		100.0%	

Table 13: Davisville 8 Vessel Form and Decoration by MNV

	undecorated		edged		moulded		sponged		stamped		dipt		painted		transfer print		porcelain		total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
plate	2	67.7	9	100.0	1	100.0	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	2	13.3	5	45.5	-	-	20	41.7
bowl	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	1	100.0	3	100.0	4	26.7	2	18.2	-	-	12	25.0
teas	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	9	60.0	4	36.4	2	100.0	16	33.3
total	3	100.0	9	100.0	1	100.0	3	100.0	1	100.0	3	100.0	16	100.0	11	100.0	2	100.0	48	100.0
	6.3%		18.8%		2.1%		6.3%		2.1%		6.3%		31.3%		22.9%		4.2%		100.0%	

3.2.3.6 Later Sites: Faunal

The faunal assemblages for the later sites are significantly smaller than the early sites (Table 9), primarily due to the fragmentary nature of the assemblages and the limited excavations conducted at the two sites. As such, the remains have not been analyzed in detail, other than to note that at the Davisville 8 site, the majority of the assemblage appears to be unidentified mammal bone with three identified pig teeth.

3.2.3.7 Later Sites: Architectural

The limited excavation testing makes it difficult to speculate about the form and nature of the residential structures at Davisville 7 and 8. No features were identified, therefore, we can only speculate from the limited architecturally related artifacts. Like the early Davisville sites, Davisville 7 and 8 included quantities of window glass and brick fragments, the latter likely associated with a hearth. It is difficult to speculate about the quantity of brick at Davisville 8, because only a single sample was collected, while the remainder were only noted and discarded. Of note is a piece of plaster recovered from Davisville 8. This suggests that at least some of the walls were coated with plaster instead of being left bare or shingled. It must be considered that the variation between the architectural artifacts at Davisville 7 and 8 are the result of different basic house forms. Davisville 7 could be the remains of a 'traditional' or 'creolized' style house (as described in Guldenzopf 1986; and Jordan 2008; Lantz 1980), with earthen floors and limited interior features (echoing patterns at Davisville 1), whereas Davisville 8 could be a more substantial structure (more in keeping with Davisville 2).

3.2.4 Summary of the Davisville Settlement

The inhabitants of the Davisville settlement established their community in response to predominant lifeways carried out at Mohawk Village. Thomas Davis was an elite Mohawk Chief, and cousin of Joseph Brant, who disagreed with how the Mohawk on the Grand River were being led and established the Davisville community as an alternative. The early settlement consisted of a series of houses that had glass windows, subsurface cellars, and interior brick hearths. Refuse was disposed into several pit features, as evident from Davisville 2, but was also disposed of in sheet-middens.

The inhabitants of at least the early Davisville settlement were agriculturalists who primarily ate wild game, supplemented by domesticates. The inhabitants of Davisville may have purchased domesticates from local merchants, but it is likely that they raised at least a portion of these domesticates themselves. They ate meals from less expensive bowls but also owned expensive vessels, especially for teas. Tea consumption was important for the Davisville Mohawk, and they had cheap and expensive cups and saucers, possibly for when they were needed in private and public dining displays.

There is variation within the settlement, as evident from the analysis of the artifact assemblages. Broadly, Davisville 1 and 7 and Davisville 2 and 8 have more similarities between them. This division between Davisville 1 and 7 and Davisville 2 and 8 may imply that despite the Davisville settlement coalescing around Thomas Davis and the counter-Mohawk Village sensibilities, there were other factors that separated the community (e.g., social status, financial resources, personal choices, family traditions). The clustering of these four sites into two groups suggests that these factors, whatever they may be, allowed the various members of the Davisville settlement to differentially live their lives through their

material means. However, there are more similarities across the Davisville sites than between

Davisville and Mohawk Village, supporting the premise that, at least materially, residents did

follow lifeways that contrasted with Mohawk Village; however, differences between the

Davisville sites indicate that there was a variation regarding how individual households

enacted daily dispositions (e.g., choices in ceramic wares and meal forms). The dividing

factor of these daily choices likely varied (e.g., age, clan, gender, economic/social status,

etc.). Despite that likelihood, it still must be noted that any perceived variation across the

Davisville sites investigated to date may in part be due to the small sample size of Davisville

7. Nonetheless, the variation within the Davisville sites certainly reflects material differences

across households in the community.

3.3 Mohawk Village

Life at Mohawk Village in the early 19th century was a central factor contributing to some

residents choosing to relocate to Davisville. As such, the archaeology that has been

documented to date at Mohawk Village (AgHb-2) serves as an important comparison for the

archaeology from the Davisville settlement. As such, the previous archaeology and historical

research undertaken for the Mohawk Village community (Faux 1984; Ferris 2006, 2009;

Kenyon and Ferris 1984) will be reviewed and summarized here, before exploring a more

direct comparison between the archaeology at Mohawk Village and at Davisville.

3.3.1 History of Mohawk Village

Mohawk Village was established c.1784 and situated at an oxbow of the Grand River and

overlooked extensive floodplains (Faux 1984; Kenyon and Ferris 1984).A framed Anglican

church, school house, and Joseph Brant's (a prominent leader among the late 18th- and early

19th-century Mohawk) residence were some of the important community structures at Mohawk Village that made it an administrative centre and external 'face' for the Six Nations inhabiting the upper portion of the Grand River prior to 1805 (Kelsey 1984). As such, many prominent people passed through the community and recorded numerous descriptions of Mohawk Village (e.g., Cruickshank 1929; Gray 1954; Johnston 1964; Kelsey 1984) that contribute to "a greater descriptive legacy than for any other Iroquois settlement on the Grand" (Ferris 2006:244).

Ferris (2006, 2009) goes into detail about the descriptions and layout of the village; in sum, it was a series of single story log cabins built around the Mohawk Chapel, Six Nations council house, and Joseph Brant's residence. Brant's residence is of note because it was described as "a handsome two story house, built after the manner of the white people" (Gray 1954:120) and "resembl[ing] that of a petty English farmer" (Hall 1818:221-224).

The archaeology documented at Mohawk Village is associated with a period of occupation similar to the early and later occupation at the Davisville settlement. The two settlements are also close to one another, with Davisville roughly five kilometres upstream from Mohawk Village, and there was regular contact back and forth. For example, many travellers of the region were specifically brought to Thomas Davis' house by Joseph Brant for a visit (e.g., Burwell 1833; Hosmer 1864; Johnston 1964; West 1827). This suggests that the residents of both communities would have been well aware of the happenings and trends ongoing at each community, and even had similar opportunities for the acquisition of commodities. For example, the annual presents from the British Crown (King's Gift) were distributed from a central hub, which was Mohawk Village for the Brantford area: in order to receive these items, members of the Davisville settlement would have had to travel to Mohawk Village

(Kenyon and Ferris 1984:36). The same limitations of access occur with the purchase of commodities from merchants. The closest merchants would have been the same for both communities (Kenyon and Ferris 1984:38-40).

3.3.2 Archaeology at Mohawk Village

Mohawk Village (AgHb-2) was identified during archaeological surveys conducted by David Faux and Thomas and Ian Kenyon in the 1970s and 1980s (Faux 1984; Kenyon and Ferris 1984). A total of 13 locales were identified that date between the late 18th century and early 19th century, subdivided into Areas A-F (Ferris 2009:144, Fig. 5.5). While Brant's household may in fact still exist (and thus could not be identified as an archaeological site), several prominent Mohawk families, like the Powless' in Area A, have been found to be associated with specific sites (Ferris 2009:143; Kenyon and Ferris 1984:32). Area A was subjected to salvage excavations in 1983 and yielded a substantial assemblage of material culture and cultural features. My summary of the archaeology from Mohawk Village will thus be focused on the results from Area A.

Eight features were identified and excavated within Area A; six early dating between roughly 1800 and 1830, and two late dating between roughly 1830 and 1860 (Ferris 2009:146; Kenyon and Ferris 1984:24). Both the early and late features are focused around the likely cellars of two houses that were occupied sequentially by two generations of the Powless family – likely Paulus Sah-oh-wad-i and his family in the earlier home, with Paulus' son, Peter Powless, becoming the patriarch of the early household late in its existence. Peter Powless' family resided in the later household past his death in the 1850s, and his wife Elizabeth, relocating to the Tuscarora reserve in the early 1860s (Ferris 2009:143, 145; Kenyon and Ferris 1984:32).

Fieldwork at Mohawk Village, Area A, occurred as a result of topsoil grading during construction, leading to the exposure of the subsurface features, which were excavated during salvage excavations (Kenyon and Ferris 1984:22).

3.3.2.1 Summary of the Mohawk Village Assemblage

The published analyses for the archaeology of Mohawk Village, Area A (Powless family household), note that faunal remains from both the early and later feature clusters in Area A make up roughly 50% of their respective assemblages, which is significantly higher than the 20-30% observed on most contemporaneous Euro-Canadian sites (Ferris 2009:153). Likewise, meal system and kitchen categories of artifact class are much lower than the 40-60% seen on Euro-Canadian sites, or those of Stanley South's (1977) South Carolina pattern; however, if the faunal remains are removed from the calculation, then the meal system artifacts become 49% of the assemblage, well within the general Euro-Canadian pattern. The decision to include or exclude faunal remains within functional categories is noted as a contentious and problematic decision (Ferris 2006:271 n. 213). Of note, however, is the meal system percentage among the late features. If the faunal remains are removed from the calculations, then the meal system artifacts represent 33% of the late feature assemblage, which is below those of Euro-Canadian or the South Carolina pattern.

It is worth also noting the particulars documented from the faunal analyses of the early and late features at Area A of Mohawk Village. The remains documented indicate that residents consumed mostly domesticates, though that importance decreased between the early and later features (78% to 54%). Pig was the most important animal, but that also decreased between the features (82% to 42% of the identified domesticates). Conversely, chicken became more

important among the later features (13.5% to 39% of the identified domesticates). Ferris (2009:147) suggests that the inhabitants consumed less pig and more chicken because "…poultry would have been an easy food source to maintain near the cabin, requiring relatively little effort to raise." Ferris suggests that this would have been an important consideration for the residents, especially as the residents were aging. Also, sheep is minimal within the assemblages (0.5% and 8% of the identified domesticates) and Ferris (2009:149) suggests that the increase in sheep among the assemblage from the later features represents a greater purchasing opportunity of mutton from Brantford or nearby Euro-Canadian farmers, rather than actively raising sheep themselves. Non-domesticates play augmentative roles in the diets at both the early and the later features. The continuation of the consumption of wild game between the features suggests "… the active maintenance of all of the activities associated with procuring these species through a period when precisely the opposite would be assumed" (Ferris 2009:149). An increase in the importance of non-domesticates was observed in the later features that Ferris (2009:149) attributes "to incidental shoreline hunting, or to the use of muskrat pelts in production of cottage industries." Ferris (2009:149-150) interprets this shift as resulting from the area reverting to a more rural setting and adopting a strategy "conductive to their needs as an elderly Mohawk couple."

Other trends noted across the Area A assemblages included the point that the architecture category class is almost double between early features (13%) and late features (23%), a pattern that is consistent with the South Carolina pattern (South 1977), and with Euro-Canadian sites from southern Ontario (Kenyon 1997; Poulton and Dodd 2007), where residents shift to more substantial residences when the means allow.

Another trend noted was an increase in personal items between the early and late features; most notably within beads and clothing artifacts. Ferris (2009:154-155) interprets this as the development of a cottage industry practiced by the residents to make bead-worked clothing or an effort to maintain/repair/create/alter their own clothing within their own community.

Finally, a decrease in the armaments/hunting category initially suggests that hunting wild game became less important. Ferris (2009:154) argues, however, that the faunal assemblage actually suggests otherwise by attributing this decline to a change in the occupants' hunting abilities or a change in the types of armaments used and/or acquired after cessation of the 'King's Gift', which tended to include "… guns, ammunitions, brocade cloths, blankets, calico, and jewellery" (Hosmer 1864:139).

A major focus of the assemblage analysis from Area A of Mohawk Village was directed towards extensive ceramic collections recovered. The value of the ceramic sherds from Area A (56% from early features, and 62% from later features consisting of more expensive wares) fit nicely within a pattern observed by Kenyon and Kenyon (1986), where upriver Six Nations sites have a greater percentage of their ceramic sherds (>50%) being expensive (mostly transfer printed wares) in contrast to downriver sites, which have a lower percentage of expensive sherds. This pattern can be contrasted against a general Euro-Canadian pattern from over 100 southern Ontario archaeological sites (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986), which exhibits a general bell curve distribution and a mean of 46%. Ferris (2009:157 emphasis in original) posits that the "… use of expensive wares *could* reflect some greater capacity to actively choose ceramics in keeping with "fashion" trends for those wares, unimpeded by limited choice." It is difficult to determine the specific reasons for the higher values observed in the ceramics; they likely result from a confluence of factors.

Mohawk Village, Area A's ceramic vessel patterns also revealed patterns of note. Among the early features, there were more large plates, while among the later features, there is an increase in smaller plates. This difference suggested to Ferris (2009) an engagement with Euro-Canadian dining sensibilities that shifted from an emphasis on single plate 'meat-and-potato' style meals to a dining etiquette that emphasized the use of multiple small plates in a single service. Ferris (2009:159-160) emphasizes caution in interpreting this pattern as reflecting a wholehearted adoption of Euro-Canadian dining sensibilities at the cost of Mohawk ones. Instead of framing this as acculturation, Ferris argues that this can be understood as a conscious engagement with the Euro-Canadian sensibilities to play the role of proper host for guests. This argument is supported by the percentages of expensive wares within the assemblages. Ferris argues that, along with more expensive plates, efforts were made in both households to maintain more expensive, matching sets of tea ware; however, less expensive tea ware and large plates were also present. "Presumably these were purchased for personal use rather than for formal occasions. If so … the convention of tea drinking had been adopted *both* for formal presentation, serviced by expensive wares, and as a dining innovation accepted within their own personal domus, but serviced by less expensive wares" (Ferris 2009:160).

3.3.2.2 Interpreting Mohawk Village

Ferris characterizes the patterns recovered from the Powless residences at Mohawk Village as reflecting a continuation of 'elite patterns', as described by Guldenzopf's (1986) exploration of Canajoharie in New York State - the previous home of Joseph Brant. This elite pattern, and associated identity, was maintained by the Brants, Powless', and other Mohawk

Families in an Upper Canadian context, and was not an imposition of elite identity as understood by the colonizer, but rather:

> This sense of social status and place seems to have been maintained transgenerationally, a memory marker that was passed on to the next generation of Powlesses within notions of decorum and etiquette – not a "nouveaux riche" emerging from rural farming, but more political and social privilege (and duty), tied to a self-defined family legacy and place in the community. (Ferris 2009:163)

The elite Mohawk identity expressed at Mohawk Village emerged from the particulars of the social context in which the Brants, Powless', and others lived, as well as from their engagement with the colonial context of the time. That is to say, the families living at Mohawk Village were accorded a level of elite identity through the Mohawk society which allowed them to engage with the colonial concept of being elite, and in turn, further reinforced their elite identity within the community. These community members tacked between the Mohawk and Euro-Canadian conceptualizations of elite in a manner that "hybridized [a] blending of past practices and present opportunities in daily life" (Ferris 2009:164). These practices and objects represent a collage of old, new, and innovative meanings, symbols, traditions, and actions that signified the elite identity of the Mohawk at Mohawk Village but was simultaneously also understood as Mohawk and Euro-Canadian.

Ferris presents the early features as being within the context of a physically able Mohawk couple who operated within the heyday of Mohawk Village. The community was inhabited by other elite Mohawk, received 'King's Gifts', and was able to navigate the colonial impositions as they saw fit. They lived as elite, able to tack between the Mohawk and Euro-Canadian senses in a manner that was a Mohawk conceptualization of Euro-Canadian elite objects, practices, and meanings. This is contrasted by the later features, which Ferris (2009) presents as representing the dispositions and actions of an elderly Mohawk couple, especially

after the death of Peter (the patriarch), remaining in a community in decline that went from an urban to rural shift during their lifetime. This 'creeping colonialism' coincided with the natural aging process of the inhabitants that placed further restrictions on how they could live and maintain their elite Mohawk identity, and as such it shifted to account for their contemporaneous lived reality. They still lived their Euro-Canadian elite dispositions through a Mohawk worldview, but what that meant and how they expressed this was altered.

3.3.2.3 Mohawk Village – Residence and Survivance

The residents of Mohawk Village, Area A, presented themselves, both publically and privately, as 'elite' individuals who were aware of and participated in the social dispositions and practices of being elite as both Mohawk and Euro-Canadian. This presentation is evident in the food ways and meal systems, which resemble an elite Euro-Canadian etiquette supplemented by wild foods, and by the accounts of Brant's hospitality described as being exemplary of Euro-Canadian standards but including Mohawk displays of traditional customs, song, and dance (e.g., Johnston 1964:59-61), as well as accounts of Brant changing into 'Native attire' to "appear among his own people like one of them" (Kelsay 1984:536). In past research, such actions would likely have been framed within a discourse of acculturation (see Cusick 1998), or imitation or mimesis (see Bhabha 2004; cf. Fahlander 2007). The data could fit into such thinking, but either lend themselves more to a perceived inevitable end/loss of 'traditional' culture or disappearance that does the actors of the past a grave injustice. Such discourses are rife with assumptions and imply that these actors are merely passive recipients of the colonizer culture. An alternative discourse is that of residence (as per Silliman 2001, 2009, 2010, in press).

The concept of residence, as Silliman articulates it, includes an understanding that the involved actors had an awareness and active engagement with their circumstances and surroundings.

> Social agents conducted their daily practices, even when those practices became politicized, in ways that enabled them to go on, to adapt, and to survive in oppressive situations, either instead of or while waiting for larger resistances. Their practices were geared to *residing* … they were also about surviving, and not simply about changing or staying the same. (Silliman in press emphasis in original)

This does not imply that actors were omniscient and always perfectly aware of the reality of the consequences of their actions; however, they did have both conscious and unconscious understandings of the world, their circumstances, and the consequences to which they hoped their actions would lead:

> …people usually coalesce socially around the way they live or perceive themselves to have lived – their residence and their history – rather than around a focused and politicized attempt at resisting. Communities and individuals tend to transform or reproduce themselves through practices every day, and they do this by living in, rather than only against, the world around them. (Silliman in press)

The actions and practices of families like the Powless' remained framed by their *habitus* and *doxic* impositions, but were also enabled by a level of flexibility to adjust or respond to their circumstances. The choices were not always positive (and in many instances were horrible) or unconstrained, but like us today, choices were made perceived from their understanding and perception of the future.

Of particular importance within the concept of residence is the understanding that the archaeological focus should be on *outcome* rather than *intent.* The archaeological record is inherently produced by the outcomes of choices and actions, but the intent of past actors are imposed upon the archaeological record by actors in the present (e.g., archaeologists,

historians, community members, descendents, etc.). As discussed by Silliman (in press), this shift in interpretive perspective takes the discussion out of acculturative/resistance models and into for a much more nuanced reading of the archaeological record.

When the lens of residence is used to understand the patterning at the early site at Mohawk Village, discourses of acculturation and mimesis are found lacking. Alternatively, we can understand that the features represent an elite Mohawk family that had undertaken efforts to transpose their 'elite Mohawk' sensibilities into an 'elite Upper-Canadian'. This is not necessarily the same as an 'elite Euro-Canadian', but can encompass many of the same dispositions. The Brants and the Powless' did not necessarily see their locale as divided into colonizer/colonized understandings, but their worldview was also bisected by elite and non-elite dispositions (Guldenzopf 1986). They likely perceived themselves as obviously placed above non-elite Mohawk and non-elite Euro-Canadians. In contrast, they perceived themselves as equal to, if not better than, an 'elite Euro-Canadian' sensibilities. This acknowledgment is mitigated through being Mohawk, and I think they were attempting to create and situate themselves into an 'elite Upper-Canadian' disposition that was a hybrid 'elite' encompassing aspects of both Mohawk and Euro-Canadian dispositions that would have entrenched them into the 'elite' category; a vision of Mohawk, Iroquois, and British sensibilities often articulated by Joseph Brant as the long term outcome of Indigenous and European society collectively building a future 'new' world (e.g., Johnston 1964; Kelsay 1984).

This process can be observed within travellers' accounts of visits to Mohawk Village:

> Tea was on the table when we came in, served up in the handsomest China plate and every other furniture in proportion. After tea was over, we were entertained with the music of an elegant hand organ… Supper was served up in the same

genteel stile. Our beverage, rum, brandy, Port and Madeira wines.... (Johnston 1964:60)

The consumption of tea was important, along with "some of the social conventions around public display and formal dining" (Ferris 2009:161). The symbolic practices associated with tea consumption and presentation, along with the consumption of more European style meals, were readily adopted and adapted into the early Mohawk Village foodways.

However, they did not wholeheartedly abandon their previous activities. This was demonstrated by the many complaints and negative remarks made about the continued hunting practices of the Six Nations Iroquois along the length of the Grand River, such as:

> They depend almost entirely upon Agriculture for their subsistence, and seldom resort to hunting and fishing for a supply of food, although many of them indulge in these sports for various periods, extending from a fortnight to three Months, towards the close of the year. (Johnston 1964:308)

and:

> …those who suppose that the being farmers will debilitate them from being Hunters are mistaken. The most industrious at the plough, generally show themselves the most persevering at the chase, when in Winter they throw aside the hoe and take up the gun. (Johnston 1964:278)

In sum, the occupants associated with the early features at Mohawk Village were clearly aware of, and participated in, colonizer foodways, but mitigated them through their own practices and consumption conceptualizations.

The development of a set of 'elite Upper-Canadian' dispositions that were not wholly Euro-Canadian shifts the discourse, in the past and present, from colonizer/colonized or Mohawk/Euro-Canadian to elite/non-elite. This positioning would have been understood as beneficial by the Brants and Powless', and striving for such dispositions allowed them to maintain their 'elite' status.

The Brants, and other community members, strived to solidify their position as 'elites' within Upper-Canadian society by tempering Euro-Canadian 'elite' dispositions through Mohawk dispositions. When understood within the process of residence, the changes in foodways did not result in them becoming less Mohawk, but rather made them 'Mohawk in this specific context'. Because Mohawk Village was inhabited mostly by other Mohawk who were engaged politically on a relatively equal basis, this was not directly contested by others (although relocation to Davisville was perhaps one option to contest this view).

During the occupation of the later features at Area A of Mohawk Village, the majority of Mohawk, including descendants of the particular families that had previously resided at Mohawk Village, lived within the Tuscarora Township reservation. The Powless family represented the last family to relocate from Mohawk Village, late in the life of the widow Elizabeth Powless. At that point they were surrounded by white settlers and the political favours had shifted against perceiving Mohawks as equals. The Powless' perception as 'elite Mohawk' who belonged within contemporary Upper Canadian society would have been directly contested by encroaching Euro-Canadian farmers, forcing the Powless' to reconsider their dispositions. Based on our current understanding of the rising racialized Victorian sensibilities emergent in 19th-century Canada, the concept of an 'elite Mohawk' would have ran counter to most Euro-Canadian's sensibilities (Bell 2005; Francis 1998:52). This rising racialization of Euro-Canadian sensibilities would have created significant constraints for people perceived as different to participate fully in Euro-Canadian society; however, they would not have been insurmountable for all (e.g., Pauline Johnson). Instead of being the 'elite' among Mohawk, they now became enclaved representatives of the Mohawk. The Euro-Canadian residents of Brantford would have undoubtedly been aware of their presence

and would have engaged in supporting, refusing, or ignoring the Powless' positioning as 'elite'.

As such, the later features can be understood within the process of survivance. As described by Silliman (in press), survivance "emphasizes creative responses to difficult times, or agentive actions through struggle" as a means to strike a balance between victimization and creative responses to colonialism by Indigenous peoples. Based on the rise of hunting, trapping, and traditional clothing or craft manufacturing by the residents, it is likely that the Powless' positioning as being 'Mohawk elite,' externally, was replaced by the broader category of being 'Mohawk'. To others, it no longer mattered that they were 'elite' or had significant purchasing power; within the Brantford community, their Mohawk identity superseded their 'elite' identity. The archaeological data can be read to represent the Powless' trying to maintain their 'elite' identity, but also visibly re-asserting their Mohawk identity. They were "…chang[ing] in order to stay the same… with some coherency and purpose" (Silliman in press). The Powless', internally and personally, were still elite and Mohawk, but the associated meanings and expressions of these identities had to alter to sustain these identities within changing contexts; however, they had not acquiesced to the emerging Euro-Canadian sensibility that would have denied their elite identity entirely. Within this framework, it was beneficial to place greater emphasis on Mohawk hunting and clothing manufacture. The ceramic sherd recovered from the later features that depicted an Iroquois hunter (Figure 8) was a visible example of this greater emphasis. The Powlesses always had aspects of their Mohawk identity within their households (e.g., war clubs, trade silver, costume jewellery, etc.), but perhaps the ceramics with hunting motifs and the image of "…a venison roast placed on a flow blue platter with an image of the Versailles palace…"

(Ferris 2009:165) embodied a stronger symbolic meaning: despite the increased colonial impositions the Powless' were still there, still Mohawk, and still elite.
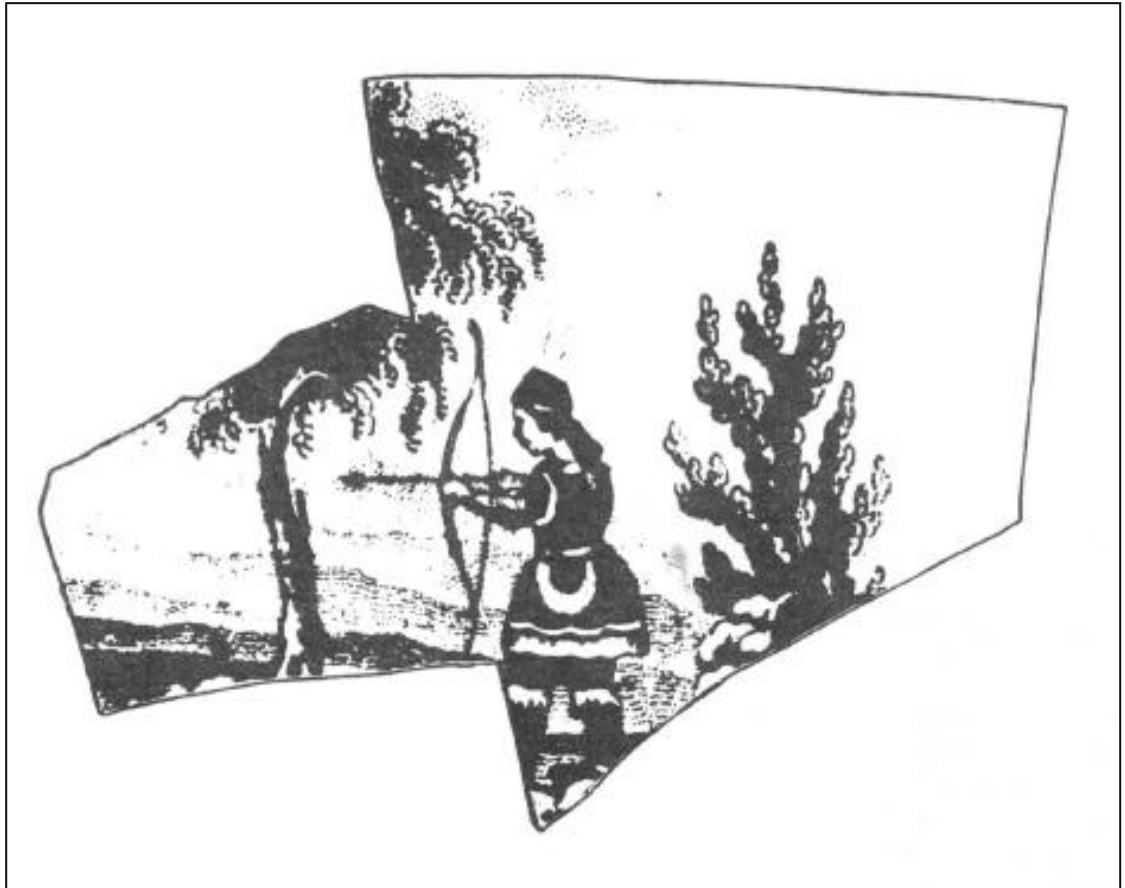
Figure 8: Ironstone Sherd Printed with Scene of Iroquois Hunting (Kenyon and Ferris 1984:45)

3.4 Situating the Davisville Settlement

The patterns in the Davisville settlement must first be contextualized in the broader context of 19th-century Six Nations sites in Ontario. This enables a comparison with Mohawk Village, which includes discussion on local context and other reasons for the patterns.

3.4.1 Davisville on the Grand River

To understand how Davisville and Mohawk Village archaeological patterns compare, we

must first see how Davisville fits within the broader Six Nations pattern for Ontario.

However, it must be noted that the data from Six Nations sites in Ontario is limited. At the

time Ferris (2009:156, Figure 5.7) conducted his research, there were 23 Six Nations sites

available for comparison to Mohawk Village, and the varied states of these assemblages

mean that not all could be compared. For example, of the 23 Six Nations assemblages from

which Ferris (2009:156, Figure 5.7) could present the percentages of expensive sherds

(including preliminary Davisville 1, 2, and 7 findings reported by Warrick 2008), only ten

assemblages were in a state where Plate:Saucer ratios could be compared to expensive ware

percentages (162, Figure 5.8). My research is able to contribute three new sites to the present

data (Davisville 8, Eagles Nest, and the Springer site), as well as revised and updated

numbers for Davisville 1, 2, and 7 (Beaudoin 2011a, b, c). The limited sample sizes and

variability regarding how the available data is organized is presently the greatest limiting

factor to making general interpretations of the Six Nations archaeological patterning. Also,

archaeologists working within the context of 19th-century Six Nations sites are still operating

within the framework established by Ian Kenyon. Not only was Kenyon the patriarch of

historical archaeology in Ontario and defined much of the 19th-century Euro-Canadian

patterning for this region (as discussed in Chapter 4), but he also described much of the

conventional patterning among Six Nations sites in Ontario (Kenyon 1985, 1987c; Kenyon

and Ferris 1984; Kenyon and Kenyon 1982, 1986). There are other sites from New York and

Pennsylvania (e.g., Cobb 2008; Guldenzopf 1986; Jordan 2008; Lantz 1980), but most of

these rarely extend into the 19th-century, and their comparability to the Six Nations data on

the Grand River is limited at best. The patterns Kenyon described were based on an even

more limited data set than Ferris'. As such, any broad trends and interpretations arising from that data must be presently understood with a critical eye. This is not to say that Kenyon's interpretations were wrong, but rather that he was restricted by his limited data set. Ferris' research added several sites to the patterns established by Kenyon and began the critical evaluation of these patterns and offered some corrections; however, the addition of the new and revised Davisville settlement data to these patterns increased the data set by almost 25%, meaning that it once again must be re-evaluated.

The first pattern observed by Kenyon was that Six Nations sites were divided between upriver and downriver locations along the Grand (corresponding with particular nation designations such as Mohawk, Onondaga, and Cayuga) by the percentage of expensive sherds present in assemblages (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986). The percentage of expensive sherds among the Euro-Canadian sites is an almost idealistic bell-curve, but the pattern of Six Nations sites is bimodal, with the upriver sites being above the Euro-Canadian average (46%) and downriver sites being below that average. The insertion of Mohawk Village to this data set by Ferris seemed to support this pattern (Ferris 2009:156); however, when the Davisville settlement, and the Eagles Nest and Springer sites (Warrick, personal communication 2012), is inserted into the data set, the overall pattern changes and needs to be re-evaluated, albeit acknowledging that, overall, it is still a limited dataset to work with (Table 14; Figure 9). These additional sites are all from upriver locations and fall within the 10-30% range of expensive wares, which runs counter to the original interpretation of a rigid upriver-downriver divide made by Kenyon, although still sustains an overall bimodal pattern that remains distinct from general Euro-Canadian patterns.

Table 14: Davisville Decoration Motifs by Sherds

Decoration	Davisville 1		Davisville 2		Davisville 7		Davisville 8		Eagles Nest		Springer	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Dipt	183	11.4	63	3.0	2	0.7	72	4.7	11	3.2	1	2.6
Edge ware	52	3.2	139	6.6	13	4.7	57	3.7	24	6.9	4	10.3
Moulded	6	0.4	-	-	-	-	21	1.4	-	-	-	-
Painted	347	21.6	243	11.5	40	14.6	98	6.3	18	5.2	4	10.3
Sponged	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.4	33	2.1	12	3.5	-	-
Stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0.5	-	-	-	-
Transfer Print	226	14.1	481	22.8	46	16.8	303	19.6	99	28.6	9	23.1
Plain	788	49.2	1183	56.1	172	62.8	955	61.8	182	52.6	21	53.8
Total	1603	100.0	2109	100.0	274	100.0	1546	100.0	346	100.0	39	100.0
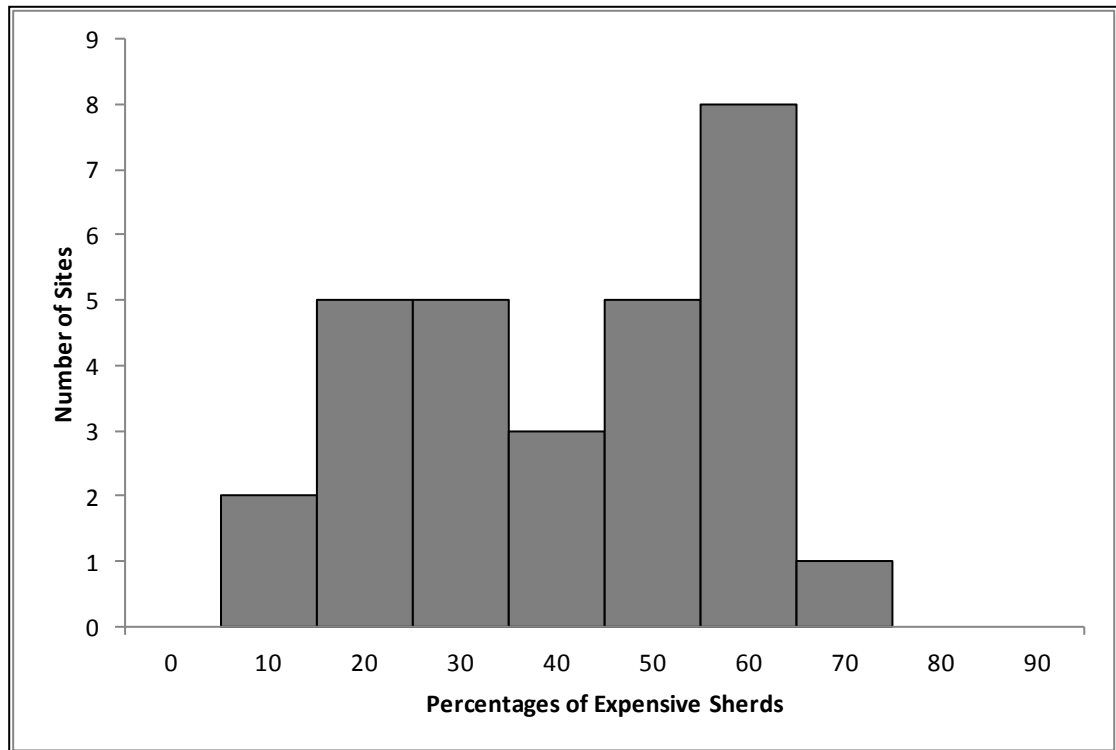
Figure 9: Number of Six Nations Ceramic Assemblages with Printed Sherds by Percent (data from Ferris 2009:156 and provided by Gary Warrick)

If it was only the Davisville settlement data that ran counter to Kenyon's interpretation, then this could be attributed to something specific occurring at the Davisville settlement; however, the Eagles Nest and Springer sites, two recently identified upriver 19th-century Six Nations sites on the Grand River, also have lower percentages of expensive sherds (20-30%). The Springer site assemblage is noticeably small, but since it mirrors the patterns from Eagles Nest, I have chosen to include it with the data (Table 14). Instead, it is likely that the initial pattern observed by Kenyon is the result of the small sample size of the 19th-century Six Nations sites at the time; thus adding more sites necessarily skews the pattern. This could be compounded by a possible over-emphasis of elite upriver Six Nations sites.

That the bimodal pattern is retained in the chart with the addition of further sites is worth noting, as it may suggest some other kind of factor dividing the 19th-century Six Nations sites. This could be related to the underlying elite/non-elite or traditional/non-traditional divide Kenyon proposed. Given that initial residents at Davisville left Mohawk Village over their rejection of lifeways at their former settlement, this may be at least part of the explanation of differences across Mohawk sites. Additionally, it may also be the case that other differences represent those already present (i.e., Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Tuscarora) within the Six Nations on the Grand River. Families associated with different Nations may have had varied accessibility to ceramics or have had different tastes in the types of ceramics they purchased.

A second pattern observed by Kenyon relates to the variable percent of plates, teas, and bowls documented across these sites (Figure 10). By calculating percents between these three vessel forms for each site and plotting the results on a triangular graph, it is possible to get a visual representation of how similar/different these assemblages actually are. Kenyon

contrasted his sample of Six Nations sites against a pattern of Euro-Canadian sites and observed that "there is considerable variation among the Six Nations sites; there is a decided tendency for the flatware-to-teaware ratio to be higher than on European domestic sites" (Kenyon and Kenyon 1982). Kenyon contextualized this by admitting there was not enough data to properly interpret the pattern, but speculated that this may have been associated with an upriver/downriver divide.
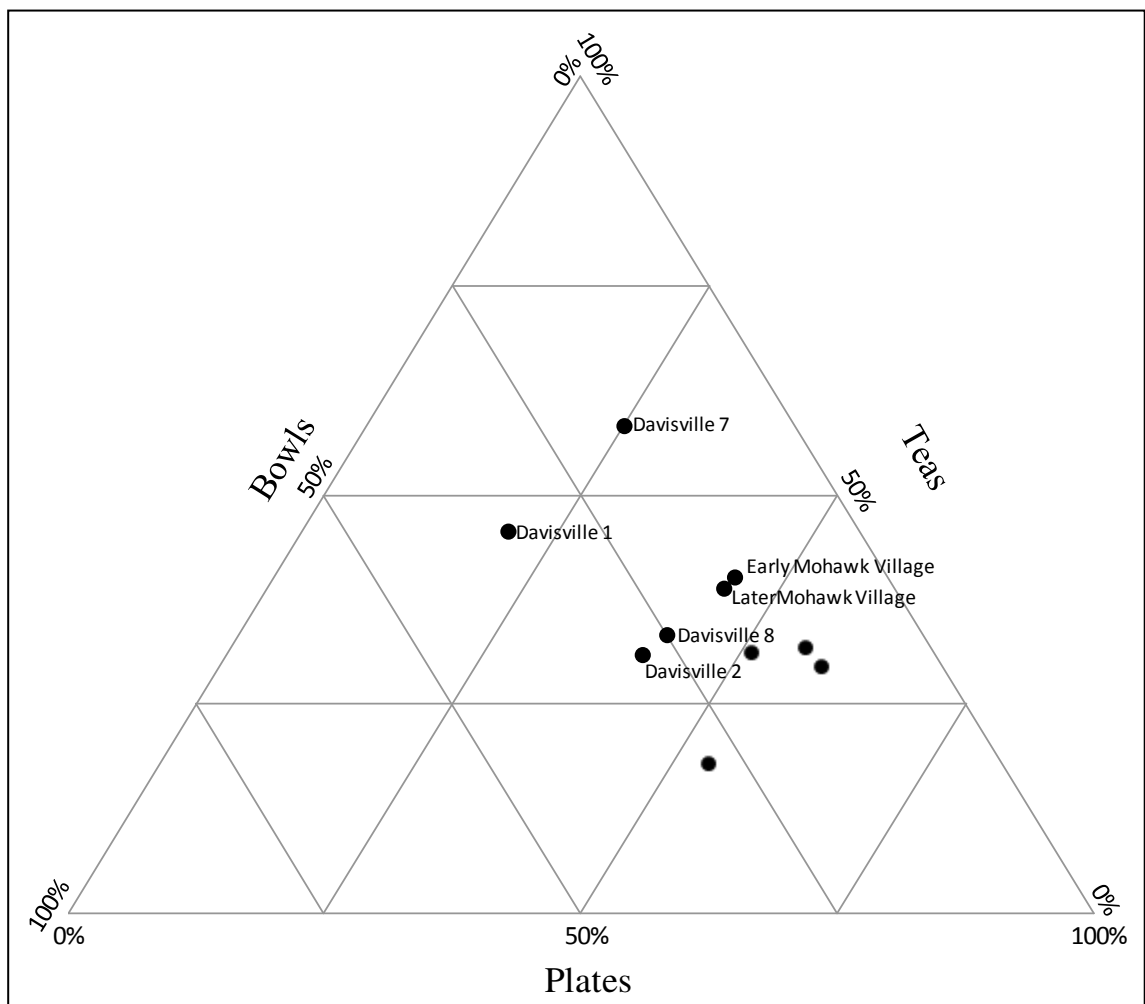
Figure 10: Percentages of Plates, Teas, and Bowls on Six Nations Sites (other sites from Kenyon and Kenyon 1982)

Current assemblages plotted onto this graph reveals that the two Mohawk Village, Area A residences plot close to one another, and so do Davisville 2 and 8. Their proximity to each other on the graph, and their relative distance to the other sites, suggests that there are similarities between these sites and the choices of ware forms by the inhabitants. It is not possible to confirm whether Davisville 2 and 8 reflect a sequential connection or a generally similar disposition towards ceramic choices. Davisville 1 and 7 are closer to each other than any other site, and both have a greater percentage of bowls than the rest of the sites; however, the greater distance between the sites and the small sample size of Davisville 7 makes certainty more tenuous.

The third pattern observed by Kenyon is the relationship between the plate to saucer ratio and percentage of expensive wares for sites. This comparison explored the Euro-Canadian pattern of elite dining practices of having multicourse meals consisting of a greater number and more expensive dishes, in contrast with non-elite dining practices which had less of both; an observed difference across archaeological assemblages (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986:22; see Monks 1999 for criticism of this methodology). Kenyon observed a significant relationship between the variables among Euro-Canadian sites, supporting this interpretation. When exploring the same pattern among eight Six Nations sites, Kenyon observed that "as the percent of expensive ware increases, regression lines for the European and Six Nations sites converge" (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986:22). This ran counter to the Euro-Canadian pattern, and Kenyon attributed it to the upriver/downriver divide, where the upriver Six Nations were more exposed to Euro-Canadian dining practices, most notably tea drinking, and thus were more likely to exhibit similar patterns to those of Euro-Canadian sites.

Ferris (2009:160-163) re-evaluated this pattern with the addition of new sites. Ferris

observed that with some added sites, and removing the Styers site as an outlier, there was no

relationship (r^2 = 0.096) between the variables, hence refuting Kenyon's hypothesis.

However, he argued that the real significance of this pattern was broader, and

"…underscore[s] that ceramics were incorporated into Six Nations households differently"

(Ferris 2009:161). Some families followed more closely the Euro-Canadian practices, while

others less so.

When the Davisville sites are then added to this data set (Figure 11), the results show there is

no correlation between the variables (r^2 = 0.1104), supporting Ferris' argument that Six

Nations sites do not follow the Euro-Canadian pattern put forward by Kenyon. This suggests

that comparing the plate-to-saucer ratio to the percentage of expensive wares is overall not

useful for understanding Six Nations ceramic practices. However, another observation may

be interesting. The Mohawk Village Powless residences and Davisville 2 and 8 all have

similar plate-to-saucer ratios. This is similar to the consistency seen for plate/tea/bowl

percents discussed above for these four assemblages. This may be explained by internal

consistencies between early and later residences, as well as family choices, purchasing

power, or some other combination of factors. The key point here is that they are making

choices. Of note as well is that Davisville 1 and 7 consistently exhibit some differences from

either the Powless or Davisville 2 and 8 sites, and are more consistent with each other,

suggesting, again, that Davisville 7's pattern, despite small sample size, is indicative of more

than just a skewed sample. At this point, it is difficult to speculate what exactly affected the
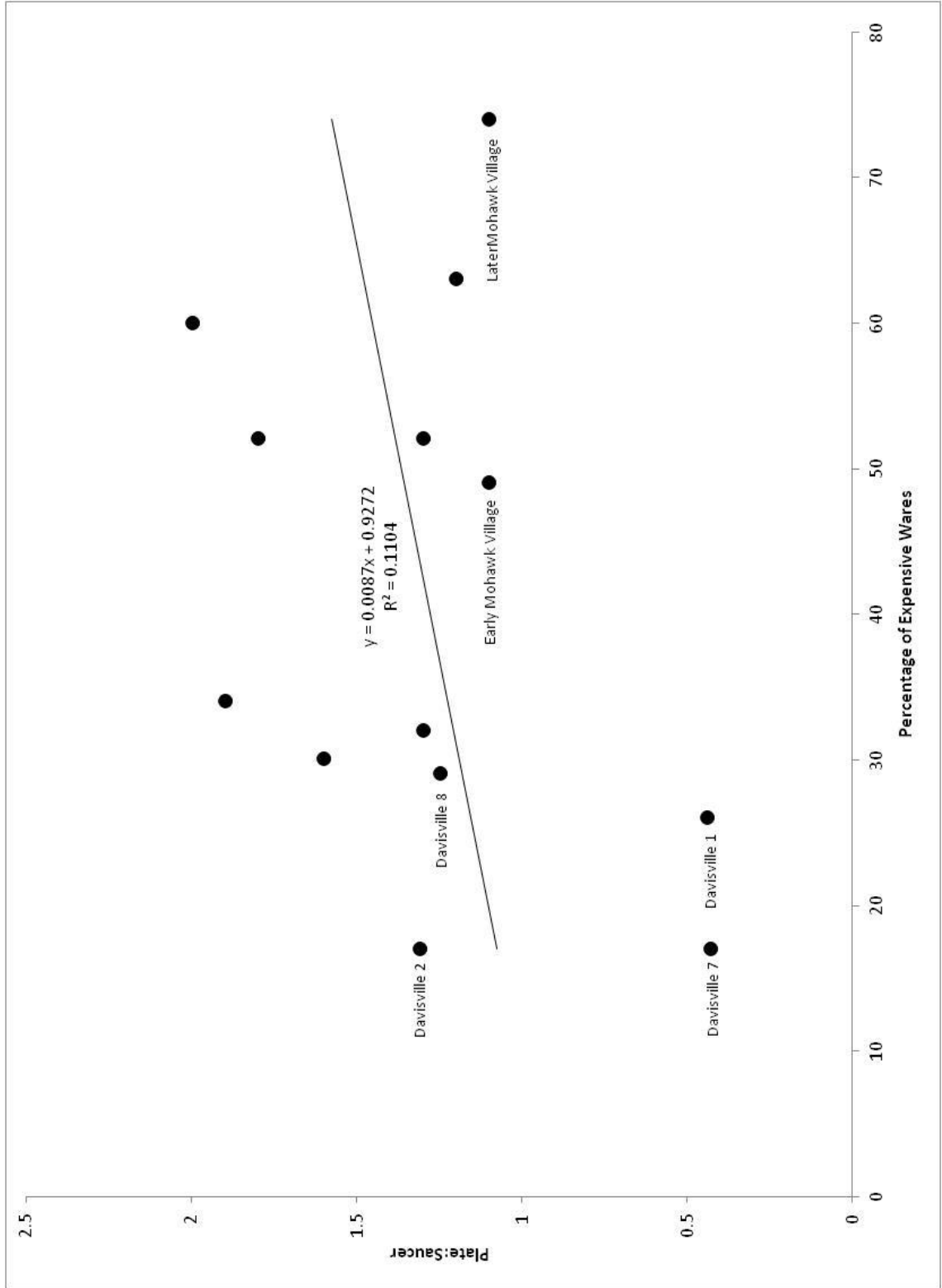
Figure 11: Plate:Saucer vs. Percentage of Expensive Wares on Six Nations Sites (data from Ferris 2009:162)

ratios across the Six Nations sites, but suffice it to say that they do not follow the Euro-Canadian pattern.

Overall, the addition of the Davisville sites, as well as Eagles Nest and the Springer site, to the 19th-century Six Nations data set forces a reconsideration of how these sites have been understood. The basic tenets put forward by Kenyon almost 20 years ago with a small data set are not maintained when these new sites are added. This is not to say Kenyon's interpretations or analyses were wrong, but rather that the broader patterns based off his limited data set are in need of revisiting. Ferris began this process, and this work continues that trend. The most prominent point regarding the addition of the Davisville sites is that the upriver/downriver divide among the Six Nations of the Grand River (based on greater and lesser contact with Euro-Canadians) is not as rigid as once understood.

3.4.2 Comparing the Davisville Settlement to Mohawk Village

Many of the differences between the Davisville settlement and Mohawk Village are related to conspicuous consumption (see Trigger 1990:124-125; Wurst and McGuire 1999:196-197). Whereas the Powless residences from Mohawk Village have high percentages of expensive sherds, plates, and teas, which all increase between the early and later features, the percentages at Davisville are all relatively low (Table 15). This difference could indicate a difference in access between the two communities, where the Davisville settlement had fewer resources to put towards obtaining expensive ceramics; however, at least some of the residents would have come from Mohawk Village and had this access. For example, we know Davis himself was related to Brant and was a part of the 'Mohawk elite', and there were likely other members in similar situations. Since this difference cannot be attributed solely to purchasing power and access, we must consider other options.

Table 15: Expensive Ceramics from Davisville and Mohawk Village (Mohawk Village Data from Ferris 2009:158, Table 5.5, Mohawk Village Catalogue)

	Davisville 1	Davisville 2	Davisville 7	Davisville 8	Early Mohawk Village	Later Mohawk Village
Expensive Sherds	14.1%	22.8%	16.8%	19.6%	56%	62%
Expensive Plates	14.3%	5.9%	-	30.0%	46%	80%
Expensive Bowls	33.3%	16.7%	-	16.7%	15%	38%
Expensive Teas	25.0%	30.8%	28.6%	37.5%	52%	70%
Expensive Wares	25.7%	16.7%	16.7%	29.2%	40%	66%
Plate:Saucer	0.43	1.30	0.43	1.25	1.1	1.1

Another interpretation is that the Davisville Mohawk actively rejected the use of the expensive ceramics, or rather, made choices in material acquisition away from gestures of conspicuous consumption. The Davisville Mohawk were aware of and engaged with the community of Mohawk Village and how these Mohawk privately and publically expressed themselves within their foodways: eating mostly domesticates off of expensive plates and drinking tea out of transfer printed cups. The vision of "a venison roast placed on a flow blue platter" invoked by Ferris (2009:165) can be understood as a point of contrast for the Davisville Mohawk. This consumption as a display of wealth that re-affirmed elite status at Mohawk Village exemplifies what the Davisville Mohawk actively eschewed/were not and was rejected. At the Davisville sites, residents appear to have eaten more wild game, used a greater number of less expensive bowls (Table 16), and made consumer choices that differed from the sensibilities on display in the Powless' material assemblage and reflected in the elite lifeways depicted for the formative period at Mohawk Village. Significantly, despite knowledge of and having access to elite etiquettes, the Davisville Mohawk demonstrated restraint to exemplify their own sense of 'being' Mohawk at that time.

Table 16: Vessel Forms from Davisville and Mohawk Village (Mohawk Village Data from Ferris 2009:158, Table 5.5)

	Davisville 1	Davisville 2	Davisville 7	Davisville 8	Early Mohawk Village	Later Mohawk Village
Plate	20.0%	40.5%	25.0%	41.7%	45%	44%
Bowl	34.3%	28.6%	16.7%	25.0%	15%	17%
Teas	45.7%	31.0%	58.3%	33.3%	40%	39%

It must be pointed out that the archaeology from the Davisville settlement also underscores that these Mohawk did not disregard the elite etiquettes altogether. They still acquired and used expensive vessels, they still partook in the gestures and conventions of tea, and they still ate domesticates. They remained engaged with the broader social conventions around foodways that echoed their familiarity with elite Mohawk status as understood at Mohawk Village, but these dispositions were tempered away from investing heavily in conspicuous consumption. It is unclear if their expensive wares were used for public or private consumption, or both, but the image of eating a deer stew out of an inexpensive bowl, while an expensive plate sat unused, can demonstrate an almost ideal counter point to Mohawk Village: we could live as you, but we have chosen not to.

If we consider the differences between the Davisville settlement and Mohawk Village within Silliman's (in press) framework of residence and survivance, an interesting narrative emerges. Whereas the archaeology of the early and later features of Mohawk Village can be respectively understood as residence and survivance, the inverse has occurred at the Davisville settlement. The residents from the early Davisville sites had contemporaneous and past connections to Mohawk Village and were undoubtedly continuously engaged with the community. They had at least seen, if not lived in, the houses at Mohawk Village,

participated in their meals, and seen how people were clothed. We cannot say for sure how many of the Davisville inhabitants actually lived at Mohawk Village (or the Brant's previous community in New York State), but we know at least Thomas Davis had, and that there were likely others. Also, Davis was vocal about contesting the lifeways of the inhabitants of Mohawk Village, decrying the excessive alcohol consumption and renouncing the Anglican religion being practiced. As such, it seems likely accurate to frame the Davisville settlement in the process of survivance contra Mohawk Village, rather than directly or solely against Euro-Canadian encroachment or creeping colonialism.

Davis, and the other residents of Davisville, chose to move away from Mohawk Village because they perceived the emergence of an 'Upper Canadian elite' identity as a crisis for the Mohawk peoples; it ran counter to what they understood it meant to be Mohawk. A similar process has been noted in other contexts, such as Wagner's (2010) description of the rise of the Nativist movement among the Shawnee, where communities coalesced around a leader who decried the actions of related community as being 'inauthentic' or 'not true' to what it means to be of the community. In Wagner's example, this was a response to the perceived negative adoption of European lifeways and loss of Indigenous sensibilities and identities. At Davisville, what was being rejected was the urbane, cosmopolitan sensibilities embodied historically in the aims and values of Joseph Brant and those who shared his views, and archaeologically, in the material dispositions of such an elite sensibility reflected in the Powless assemblages. Unlike Wagner's example, Davisville was not about a rejection of contemporary material lifeways and attempt to return to a pre-European time, but rather was a selective rejection of elite excesses and Christian emphases, while still fully engaged in the broader material lifeways of 19th-century southern Ontario.

Adapting and continuing the process of identity formation and maintenance in residence requires a foil to delineate what is a part of, and apart from, an identity. To make sense of their conceptualizations and practices, especially when contested, people need to be able to point to something, in their present or past, to say 'we are that' or 'we are not that'. Whether it is the Mohawk Village residents pointing to the Euro-Canadians and saying 'we are that plus … ', or the Davisville residents pointing to Mohawk Village and saying 'we are not that', the process provides individuals a 'signpost' to navigate what their identities mean to them. These 'signposts' can be overt or subliminal, real, or perceived, and they all function as signifiers providing meaning in daily life. This can be accomplished through active defiance, like Davis' rejection of the Mohawk Village sensibilities, or through more mundane choices, such as what ceramics to buy. The selection of plates over bowls and the role and importance of each vessel are given meaning by individuals because, within constraints of time and place, they are exercising their choice. Such meanings may have been as simple as 'we buy bowls because we have always bought bowls' or as complex as 'we buy expensive bowls because we want to visibly affirm to us and those whom we serve that we place more value on these particular bowls'. I am not arguing for a rigid them/us bifurcation of identity, but rather a more nuanced contrast between various groups. Did Six Nations women or men all have a similar sense of what it meant to be Six Nations? Or was it shared with all the people living in a region regardless of gender? What about age? Identity formation is not a simple 'I am colonizer and you are colonized,' but it is the intersection of innumerable 'me/you/us/them' perceptions that serve to coalesce people's own meaning of their own pluralistic identities.

With this understanding, I think it is inaccurate to frame the Davisville inhabitants as simply 'differently Christian' than those of Mohawk Village. While they railed against certain

aspects of 19th-century lived life being exhibited at Mohawk Village, other aspects that the Davisville inhabitants did not find problematic were retained. For example, most of the archaeology would suggest that the Davisville inhabitants did not attempt return to pre-European ways of residence. The Davisville inhabitants lived in primarily wooden cabins with glass windows, and some or most had wooden floors and subsurface cellars: the same basic forms of residence as at Mohawk Village. However, that lack of evidence for wall plaster from the Davisville sites investigated to date suggests that one of the more visibly conspicuous aspects of the Powless residences is missing. Another point of interest is that the Davisville inhabitants embraced Methodism in lieu of Anglicanism, suggesting that Christian denominations, their emphasis on differing social values, and the association of a particular denomination with perhaps differing class conceptions and self-identity, played into broader definitions of identity and the implications of belonging to one or another denomination.

If we accept the premise that people constantly construct, adapt, and come to terms with their own sense of identities, then the discussion is no longer 'traditional' or 'non-traditional', 'Anglican' or Methodist', 'elite/urbane', or conservative/restrained: a more nuanced dialogue is required. All residents of these sites were simultaneously and continuously re-negotiating their own senses of being Mohawk, being Iroquois, being in the 19th-century, and being in the emergent colonialism of southern Ontario, all based on their own perceptions, understandings, and contexts. This framework can help explain why there appear to be two groups within the Davisville settlement (Davisville 1 and 7, and Davisville 2 and 8). Each group was negotiating what it meant to be Mohawk at least in part through an awareness of and contrast against Mohawk Village, arriving at their own conclusions. Both material patterns laid down during the occupation of these locales represent the results of groups within the Davisville settlement navigating their own sets of dining etiquettes based

in the past, negotiated in the present, and oriented to the future. Allowing for these possibilities is one of the strengths of purposefully approaching this context as survivance.

Whereas the early Davisville sites are already well understood as survivance, I believe there is a strong case for understanding the later sites as residence. The basic trend in patterns from the early to the later sites is fairly similar, revealing minor adjustments such as having a greater percentage of expensive plates. This reflects a consistency between the early and later identities of the residents at the Davisville settlement. This can be contrasted against the later Powless residence at Mohawk Village, which in my analysis represents a profound shift in identity. The later Powless residence, home to Peter and Elizabeth, adult son and daughter-in-law of Paulus Sah-on-wad-i – contemporary to Joseph Brant and elite Mohawk lifestyle – reflects a shift in the social context; one that was more in keeping with urbane and aristocratic Mohawk values during the heyday of Mohawk Village, to one that was more rural in sensibility. In this context, Peter and Elizabeth were negotiating what it meant for their heritage to be part of an elite Mohawk family living through a time when that status, and the central importance of Mohawk Village, had changed considerably from the time of Peter's father. The conventions of conspicuous consumption and social obligations of the aristocracy remained, and archaeologically manifested itself as something more typical of a mid 19th-century upper class sensibility in southern Ontario, regardless of particular race or heritage.

The early Davisville site residents had already defined for themselves what it meant to them in being Mohawk, and not being of Mohawk Village, when families chose to leave Mohawk Village in the early 19th-century. The later Davisville residents continued from this heritage and legacy, and ultimately continued to define and revise for themselves notions of being

Mohawk when they relocated away from Davisville. The Davisville Mohawk expressed their sense of Mohawk within their emergent colonial sensibilities. This does not mean that they were sought or accepted into being recognized as the 'same' as neighbouring non-Indigenous households, or that they had been acculturated into a 'Euro-Canadian' way of life, but rather that they did not directly confront these sensibilities, and these sensibilities did not confront them, in a manner that stimulated the same negotiation as at Mohawk Village. In effect, I propose that the Davisville residents' negotiations of 19th-century colonialism would not have caused the Davisville Mohawk to question their own sense of self.

Chapter 4

4 The Colonizer: Euro-Canadians

Chapter 4 outlines the history of 19th-century Euro-Canadian settlement in Upper Canada, the current state of 19th-century Euro-Canadian archaeology in southwestern Ontario, and the Euro-Canadian site assemblages I have chosen for comparative analysis.

4.1 Euro-Canadian Colonization of Upper Canada

A contextual framework must be established before exploring archaeological patterns from 19th-century Ontario. This context includes the history of the colonial process in Upper Canada, as well as how archaeologists conventionally frame the archaeology of the colonizer.

4.1.1 History of Euro-Canadian Colonization of Upper Canada

The earliest European colonization of the lands of what today is known as southern Ontario, and what was earlier in the 19th century known as Upper Canada[5], began in the 17th century with the arrival of French fur traders, missionaries, and explorers. These early arrivals were relatively limited in number and primarily traveled through the area for economic purposes or imperial imperatives (Errington 1987; Wood 2000). This European presence remained minimal through much of the 17th century, with any kind of a stable European settlement not really emerging until close to the end of that century. Forts, trading posts, mission sites continued to characterize most European settlement in this region until well into the 18th century.

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[5] Before it became known as Canada West in 1840, which was the designation that remained until Confederation in 1867.

The Great Lakes region during the later 17th and 18th centuries has often been conceptualized as a 'Middle Ground' frontier for First Nations and European interactions in need of special consideration (White 1991; cf. Rinehart and Beatty-Medina 2012). Despite many Europeans taking First Nations wives, eventually resulting in the ethnogenesis of the *Canadiens* (Mann 2008) or Métis peoples (Barkwell et al. 2001; Boisvert and Turnbull 1985; Lischke and McNab 2007; Peterson and Brown 1985), the large influx of people required to create a permanent European population base did not occur until the second half of the 18th century.

After New France was ceded to Great Britain with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the British government was the sole colonial interest in the Great Lakes region. As a means to encourage a level of self-sufficiency and appease the largely French population of the newly expanded British colonies in North America, the British colonies were divided into Upper (largely now the province of Ontario) and Lower (largely now the province of Quebec and Labrador) Canada.

After a series of conflicts in the region and the emergence of the new colonial nation of the United States following the American revolution, the first session of the new legislature for Upper Canada was opened by Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe in 1792 (Errington 1987:20). During this time, British immigrants began arriving from Europe, as well as a continued flow of United Empire Loyalists[6] (UEL) from the newly minted United States (Marshall 2004), but the population did not increase as rapidly as the colonial government desired. By the early 19th century, the British government feared that Upper Canada would be annexed or invaded by the United States and believed that a large population was called for

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[6] The United Empire Loyalists (UEL) were British citizens within the United States who maintained their connections to the British Empire during and after the American Revolution. Post-Revolution, many of these settlers preferred to relocate to Canada, which was still a British colony, instead of renouncing their connections to the British Empire.

that could operate as a local militia as a necessary deterrent (Knowles 2007:51-52). One outcome of the War of 1812 between the American and British colonial powers – which confirmed British fears of invasion – was the implementation of a British policy of assisted immigration between 1815 and 1826 that bolstered local populations of people from the colonial home base (Errington 2007:16). Immigrants during this period were encouraged to emigrate with financial assistance, free lots of land, and provisions upon their arrival.

These assistive efforts of the British government were successful in increasing the population of Upper Canada but were soon found unsustainable. By the late 1820s, the British government began reducing State sponsored immigration incentive measures, while simultaneously encouraging private companies, such as the Canada Company (Coleman 1978; Karr 1974; Lee 2004), or organizations such as the parishes of the Petworth Project (Cameron and McDougall Maude 2000), to continue the process of increasing British emigration to Canada. This shift towards private immigration measures was very successful in increasing the Upper Canadian population, which was the fastest growing region in North America between 1826 and 1851 (Lewis 2001:175). These incentive efforts had the additional benefit of spurring land surveying efforts within Upper Canada. Before land could be allocated to settlers, it needed to be surveyed and organized. Within the first quarter of the 19th century, the majority of Upper Canada was divided into Counties and Townships, which were then subdivided into Concessions and 100 or 200 acre Lots. These Lots were then hived off to the Crown or Church, or granted or sold to settlers, often with requirements of 'improving the land' through forest clearing minimums or hours required on road construction. As part of the surveying process, and most notably within the Canada Company's Huron Tract (Griffith 1945; Lee 2004), major roadways and secondary laneways were planned and created, while company towns were also established to help provide for the

incoming settlers. In summary, the layout, roadways, and regional foci of settlement within Upper Canada were established during this period.

4.1.2 Fifty Shades of White

The early immigrants to Upper Canada were a varied lot who came for numerous reasons; however, the 'white settler colony' presumption homogenizes this diverse population within a white British sensibility. In reality, there were many groups of people who chose to emigrate, such as Germans (Lehmann 1986; MacDonald 2004), Europeans from other nations, UEL refugees (Marshall 2004), along with pre-settled French Canadians, and even some refugee African-Canadians. Nonetheless, the principal immigrant population base for Upper Canada during the first three quarters of the 19th century was largely comprised of British citizens from the British Isles, notably England (Errington 2007), Ireland (Akenson 1984; Houston and Smyth 1990; A. Smith 2004), and Scotland (Campey 2005; Vance 1992). Many of these immigrants tended to settle in areas actively being settled and cleared, so there was a general trend of immigrant settlement expanding from waterways and transportation routes north into southern Ontario through the 19th century. Given the dominance of British Isles immigration, the majority of research about the settlement of Upper Canada is orientated towards specific and historically known white, Protestant or Catholic, English-speaking (generally British) communities (Brunger 1990). This generalized normative history and associated meanings have become enveloped within the Euro-Canadian label that is generally used within history and archaeology to refer to non-Indigenous peoples of 19th-century southern Ontario.

The term Euro-Canadian is used to refer to 19th-century residents of Canada that were of European, and generally British, descent who were engaged with a white, British colonial

sensibility and range of dispositions. There is no accepted standard of who specifically is or is not Euro-Canadian, but it is assumed that sometime between the first and second generations of settlement in Upper Canada, an ethnogenesis occurred. Akenson (1995:395) notes that it was not until 1961 that the federal government coalesced the varied British Isles identities into a single analytical category as part of the process of defining a distinct Canadian identity. This could suggest that the Euro-Canadian identity is a recent political construct, rather than a historically experienced one, that emerged as a category of analysis due to "the confusion of English-language culture with English national origin" (Akenson 1995:399). I do not think that the Euro-Canadian moniker is solely of recent origin, however, but this debate highlights the dire need for further research into what it may have meant to be Euro-Canadian. The only other common standard of use, albeit an unstated one, is the exclusion of First Peoples or African-Canadians from the label.

The term Euro-Canadian implies that the peoples who created the formative history of southern Ontario were of white European heritage, and this connection has been used to frame an 'Upper Canadian Experience' (e.g., Kenyon 1987a, 1992, 1997; Kenyon and Kenyon 1992, 1993); however, the term also acts as a homogenizing label to avoid engaging with the variability of encompassed groups. As stated by Paynter and McGuire (1991:3), "…cultural uniformity should be considered a phenomenon to be explained, rather than given…" As researchers attempt to deconstruct the 'British' label in England (e.g., Johnson 2003; Lawrence 2003[ed]; Tarlow and West 1999), a similar undertaking is needed for 'Euro-Canadian.' The continued and unreflexive use of the Euro-Canadian label is what Matthew Johnson (2003) refers to as a 'muffling inclusiveness': the assumption by researchers that the colonial identity and experience is paramount, which in turn is used as a

short-cut to avoid engaging with varied contexts and ultimately detrimentally affects colonial

research.

Despite the general homogenization of varied groups under the Euro-Canadian trope, one

especially important dichotomy is pertinent to my ongoing discussion: the division between

Protestant Irish and Catholic Irish. The importance of this distinction between these two

religious identities, when discussing the Irish in North American contexts, has been

repeatedly stated (e.g., Akenson 1984; Mannion 1974). During the 19th century, Irish in

Upper Canada were mostly Protestant in origin and avoided many of the more negative social

stereotypes experienced by the Catholic Irish in the United States (Akenson 1984; Elliott

2004; Houston and Smyth 1990; A. Smith 2004). They arrived prior to the potato famine and

were generally wealthy enough to pay for their own travel accommodations. Generally, the

Protestant Irish were well accepted as rural farmers and as important members of the

community within Protestant, British Euro-Canadian society (Akenson 1984). Catholic Irish

settlement prior to the 1840s typically was State planned (e.g., Robinson settlements in

central Ontario; see Akenson 1984; Bunger 1982). As the number of poor, urban Catholic

Irish arriving in Upper Canada increased during mid-century, so did the prevalence of

negative associations with the Irish moniker (Nicholson 1985). This increasingly negative

association reified a social division and tension between Protestant Irish and Catholic Irish in

Upper Canada that had been previously minimal. As such tensions increased, the Protestant

Irish increasingly made efforts to differentiate themselves from Catholic Irish – in many

cases by adopting an Orangeman identity in lieu of Irish (Nicholson 1985). The Orangeman

identity and associated Orange Lodges were important early institutions in rural Ontario

(Houston and Smyth 1978, 1980; McLaughlin 2006; Wood 2000:63-64). The Orange Lodges

became organizational rallying points for Protestant Irish to network throughout the region to

better represent their interests in the emergent Canadian nation state during the 19th century (Elliott 2004:231; Houston and Smyth 1980). This importance became underscored during the influx of Catholic Irish, as the Orange Lodges have been attributed as one reason the Protestant Irish did not receive as much negative stereotyping in Ontario as in other areas (Akenson 1988:99; McGowan 1999; McLaughlin 2006). The well documented social and political fissure between the Catholic Irish and Protestant Irish in Upper Canada belies the homogenization of the various inhabitants of European-descent into the umbrella-like category of 'Euro-Canadian.'

The normative history, or grand narrative, of Upper Canada encourages a perception of 19th-century Upper Canada as a patchwork of British citizens who had moved into a largely uninhabited, natural landscape to settle how they please: the white settler colony thesis (cf. Abele and Stasiulis 1989; Akenson 1995; Hutcheon 2004; Stanley 2000). This is a very romanticized and problematic framing of the settlement of Upper Canada that "…is more of a cultural artifact than a serious history" (Stanley 2000:82). For one thing, it ignores the abundant land speculation that was ongoing and the privileged nature of land acquisition at that time. Obtaining land was not a process that was equally accessible by all members of society. Specific groups of people, such as UEL or people receiving military land grants, were often given preferential choices or large quantities of land before other groups, who subsequently were often relegated to more remote or less productive regions (Errington 1987, 2007; Gagan 1981; Gagan and Mays 1973; Wood 2000). For example, the land value of Toronto Gore Township, Peel County, was significantly higher than the surrounding region, partially because of its proximity to the urban centre of Toronto and because of its highly productive soils. As such, it was purposefully settled later than its surrounding regions to increase its sale value, and the people who did settle the land were generally more elite

(Mays 1979, 1980). A large portion of the Upper Canadian landscape was populated with farmers from varied places who often moved throughout the Upper Canadian landscape responding to economic and social pressures (Gagan 1981; Gagan and Mays 1973; McIvor 1975). Some farmers did own their land, but tenant farming was also a common, but under-discussed, practice throughout 19th-century Upper Canada (Wilson 2009).

The other main issue to early Canadian framings of history is the absence of people who are not generally explored within the grand narrative of Upper Canada: First Peoples and African-Canadian peoples. Most Upper Canadian histories have sections on First Peoples and African-Canadian peoples, but if and when they are mentioned, they are enclaved within 'Pre-history' and 'The Underground Railroad', respectively. Beyond these two contexts, First Peoples' and African-Canadian peoples' history is generally discussed separately from Euro-Canadian settlement histories and processes. This conceptualization of 19th-century Upper Canada frames a landscape devoid of various non-white 'others' that becomes the sole property of present day descendant Euro-Canadian individuals and government. Needless to say, this conceptualization is very problematic, as it ignores the presence of First Peoples' and African-Canadian peoples' farmsteads and communities in early survey notes (Burwell 1833) and in Upper Canadian census data (Faux 2002), and, of course, in shaping the history of the 19th-century. Also of note are the Crown Patents on Lots that were previously occupied by First Nations farms, such as the Davisville settlement. The previous occupation by First Peoples on these lands is not questioned within the master narrative; however, the Crown Patent records indicate that the lands had always been owned by Euro-Canadian occupants, initially granted from the British colonial state, which effectively erased any First Peoples association with the lands. As far as the legal record of the Crown's ownership and allocation of the land, this reflects the sovereign imperative of the colonialist state, and people who use

that data end up with no knowledge or acknowledgement of any previous ownership or occupation by non Euro-Canadian peoples.

The conventional framing of the Upper Canadian grant narrative is problematic for both people subsumed under and excluded from the Euro-Canadian identity. Beyond exclusion of non-white actors, the homogenizing effect of the grand narrative presents all Euro-Canadians as similar without having to critically evaluate how and whether differences actually existed between Euro-Canadians and those others, and between Euro-Canadians themselves. Because "…racism and ethnic difference are recognized as characteristics of white settler colonies, but are not given central analytical attention, these factors tend to disappear in other work that draws on the white settler colony thesis" (Abele and Stasiulis 1989:244). White, British Euro-Canadian becomes the assumed category of differentiation that "…obscures important aspects of reality" (Abele and Stasiulis 1989:268).

The assumption that everything we use to define and associate with the dominant group must have an antithesis within various 'others' is at the forefront of this framework: Euro-Canadians used 19th-century European ceramics as part of their dining etiquettes, therefore the 'others', mostly non-white and non-British, could not have used these same objects, and if they did, they were only engaged within a process of mimicry or acculturation. Mullins (1999b, 2012) repeatedly demonstrates that African-Americans used and subverted American consumerism for their own purposes that went beyond differentiating themselves from, or acculturating with, White Euro-Americans. As such, the fluidity of these markers and associations must forever be at the forefront of our interpretations. Because these various 'others' were embedded within and contributed to the pluralistic social context, that in turn framed the Euro-Canadian identity, they "…cannot be included simply by having their

stories tacked on as separate chapters in what might be thought of as a multicultural history"
(Stanley 2000:85). Grand narratives, such as that of the development of the Euro-Canadian
identity, often emerged from the engagement within their own pluralistic contexts that helped
define what they are by confronting them with what they are not (Casella and Fowler 2004).
Therefore, the Euro-Canadian identity, and those excluded from it, emerged from the tension
within and between the pluralistic contexts of 19th-century Ontario and cannot be understood
without engaging with the heterogeneous past within which all these people existed. As such,
we must continuously explore those included and excluded within these identities by
understanding the fluidity and arbitrariness of the present-day process of identity delineation,
selective remembering and forgetting, and reimagining the past (Abele and Stasiulis 1989;
Freeman 2010; Hoerder 2010; Hutcheon 2004; Stanley 2000).

The conventional history of the settlement of Upper Canada is well detailed regarding
specific Euro-Canadian communities and contributes to the formation of a single, master
narrative. However, this ignores the actual heterogeneity of the landscape and the numerous
'others' existing within and throughout the landscape, creating multiple narratives that
compliment, contradict, or differently contribute to the history of this region. The dominant
discourse cannot move beyond the ethnogenesis of a Euro-Canadian norm that remains
contrasted against enclaved minorities who are merely relegated to special topics or non-
conventional histories.

4.1.3 Euro-Canadian Archaeology in Southwest Ontario

The archaeology of rural, domestic sites in southwest Ontario has emerged out of the local
CRM (Cultural Resource Management) industry and the driving interest of Ian Kenyon
(Ferris 2007). The Ontario archaeological community recognized that historic sites were of

cultural heritage value, reinforced through provincial standards, and thus the CRM community eventually were required to assess, excavate, and analyze these sites. However, the use of arbitrary cut-off dates used to deem which historic sites were significant have continuously shifted, most recently from c. 1850 to c. 1875 (Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011).

The way 19th-century domestic sites came to be investigated and documented in southern Ontario (i.e., overwhelmingly as CRM-driven documentation) is troubling because until recently, required analyses were vague and generally left to the judgement of the licensed archaeologist. The vast majority of these sites have been documented by consultant archaeologists, which means that sites tend to be packaged and interpreted in a very rote fashion (Ferris 2007). Presently this trend has shifted, and some historic sites now receive a greater level of investigation, and some consultant archaeologists have a greater knowledge and appreciation of this site type because they were schooled in a historic archaeology background. This shift can arguably be attributed to the work of Ian Kenyon.

Ian Kenyon was an archaeologist who worked for the government between the 1970s and 1990s. Kenyon had a variety of research interests, including a strong interest in the values and material culture of the 19th century. Kenyon established a detailed and descriptive baseline for 18th- and 19th-century archaeology in Ontario. Kenyon was a major contributor to *Nineteenth Century Notes* (London Chapter 1980-1988), a collection of research articles published in the London Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society's newsletter, *KEWA*, and defined 19th-century ceramic classification and chronology for the regions (Kenyon 1980, 1987b, 1991). These efforts continue to be a cornerstone of 19th-century rural, domestic archaeology in Ontario (Ferris 2007).

Kenyon also established the interpretive baselines for Euro-Canadian (Ferris and Kenyon 1983; Kenyon 1987a, 1992, 1997; Kenyon et al. 1984; Kenyon and Kenyon 1992, 1993) and First Nations (Kenyon 1987c; Kenyon and Ferris 1984; Kenyon and Kenyon 1986) sites in Ontario. Kenyon's work was often based around archaeological materials, though some of his most valuable contributions emerged from his archival research in regards to how material dry goods, especially ceramics, arrived in the region, as well as local purchasing practices that distributed these material goods to future archaeological sites. Kenyon established the basic understandings of four major patterns within 19th-century Upper Canada of particular relevance to this study: 1) the pattern of initial construction of simple log dwellings and subsequent shift to a more substantial frame house when the resources allowed (Kenyon 1997); 2) that early 19th-century market availability was at risk for 'stock-outs', which "is a homogenizing process resulting in a consumption pattern where there is a reduced variability among households when it comes to categories of ceramics" (Kenyon 1992:17); 3) the basic understanding of the Euro-Canadian meal system (Kenyon and Kenyon 1992); 4) the distinction between the Euro-Canadian elite and non-elite patterns (Kenyon and Kenyon 1993).

As previously discussed, 19th-century Ontario was the recipient of several waves of immigrants from primarily the British Isles. These waves of emigrants can be tracked through the regional increases in population by Counties and Townships and the overall peak in the population of Upper Canada. For example, between the 1830s and 1850s, there was a large influx of immigrants from Ireland and Scotland who settled across rural and urban settings (as urban areas emerged), including rural enclaves based on location of emigration. A pattern of residential abandonment was observed and described by Kenyon (1997:39): "Unless a settler had independent means, their first house was usually a log cabin or shanty.

Only later was it possible to build a more substantial dwelling of frame, brick or stone." It usually took a new settler between 10 and 20 years to be in a financial position to erect and supply these new dwellings; however, regional waves of when that initial household abandonment occurred varied, due to when an area of southern Ontario was first opened to settlement. Kenyon also documented a second series of waves of regional household abandonment, which occurred between the 1880s and 1930s (Kenyon 1997:47), as rural regions depopulated and people moved into cities and towns for employment and livelihood. The implication of this pattern of dwelling transhumance is that many farmsteads had a sequential pattern of occupation, consisting of two or three residential dwellings that were abandoned (or renovated and expanded, in the case of second residences), after a period of 10 to 30 years, roughly corresponding with generational shifts. This suggests that 19th-century farmstead archaeology in Upper Canada has the potential for tracking generational changes in daily lifeways from first to second generation Upper Canadians. This potential has been the limited focus of some research (e.g., Ferris and Kenyon 1983; MacDonald 1997), but largely remains unexplored.

Prior to the 1840s, stores in Upper Canada were limited and generally supplied by Montreal wholesalers. This resulted in the stores generally placing orders once a year and receiving their shipments in the late summer or early fall, with their stocks being once again depleted, or 'stocked out', within three months. Kenyon outlines numerous features of this supply system (Kenyon 1992:13); however, only a selection is significant for my research. First, stores attempted to obtain a mixed variety of ceramic forms through the purchase of pre-packed crates of ceramics. Second, stores ordered ceramics by general design (e.g., printed, edged, painted, etc.) rather than specific patterns (e.g., Blue Willow). Third, ceramic breakage, especially with teas, was high. Fourth, life-cycle events, such as a dwelling shift or

marriage, often resulted in the acquisition of entire new stocks of ceramics by farmers.

Overall, these patterns suggest that ceramic breakage and replacement was high, but also that

the ceramic selection was limited and purchasers had to make do with what they could obtain

rather than acquiring preferred choices. This has several significances for the archaeology of

Upper Canada: ceramic sherd and vessel counts will be high, despite limited ownership of

vessels at any one time; vessel form and function become more important features than

vessel decoration; and the economic value of the ceramic assemblage (sensu Miller 1980,

1991) can be more a product of limited choice than the economic purchasing power or

desires of the consumer. By the 1840s, shops became more prevalent and transportation

routes more reliable, making the shop stocks more standardized, replenished more frequently,

and providing a greater selection for purchasers. Nevertheless, a lag undoubtedly existed

between the availability of new ceramic styles and the replacement of the entire ceramic

assemblage.

The Euro-Canadian (or Canadian) meal pattern as described by Kenyon is contrasted against

an English meal pattern (Kenyon and Kenyon 1992). Generally, the Euro-Canadian meal

pattern consisted of eating three meals a day: breakfast, dinner, and supper. Many differences

exist between the English and Euro-Canadian meal patterns; however, the attitudes towards

'moist' or 'liquid-based' foods are retained:

> English distaste for liquid foods appears to have been transferred to Upper
> Canada, with its "dry" (but sometimes greasy) diet. While immigrants from
> Scotland and Ireland brought their "moist" food traditions with them, the
> distinctiveness of their cuisine could be soon modified by Canadian ways.
> (Kenyon and Kenyon 1992:9)

This preference for 'dry' foods results in the higher ratio of plates to bowls and an increased

reliance on pork and potatoes (see also MacDonald 2004).

Initially, Kenyon was attempting to explore a more segmented Euro-Canadian social status by examining the ceramic trends of mid-19th-century National Elite, Local Elite, Artisans, Labourers, and Farmers (Kenyon and Kenyon 1993). The results of such a fragmented set of categories were of limited value; however, a division between elite and non-elite ceramics was apparent. In general, elite households had a larger number of ceramics and matched sets with a more complete set of glassware, and the non-elite households had fewer ceramics, with limited evidence for matched sets and few pieces of glassware (Kenyon and Kenyon 1993:17). This difference was attributed to the requirements of the elite, and aspiring elite, to meet the social performances of high dining etiquette and entertaining. While non-elite attempted to enact similar performances, the goods required for high dining were often inaccessible. Whatever the cause, a social and economic division can be premised in 19th-century Upper Canada that is divided between elite and non-elite.

This body of work played a key role in framing the focus and intent of 19th-century domestic site archaeological research in Ontario, and while research in historical archaeology has advanced beyond Kenyon (e.g., Doroszenko 2009), in many ways, Kenyon's research and framing continues to be engaged with, especially by local CRM processionals, who document the vast majority of 19th-century domestic sites in Ontario (Ferris 2007). Kenyon's interpretations were built upon the kind of historical archaeology practiced in the 1970s and 1980s. As such, they embody many of the conceptual frameworks popular at those times. This is not to say that the work is faulty or of no value, but rather to emphasize the need to bring contemporary understandings and conceptualizations into conversation with Kenyon's work, especially given how his work continues to be rather unreflectively used today (Ferris 2007:22). This is the framework for my Euro-Canadian research: building off the existing

local research, with a conceptualization developed from my engagement with contemporary historical archaeology discourses.

4.1.4 Historical Archaeology – A Modernist Capitalism

Historical archaeology has gone through many conceptual shifts since the 1980s; however, it has predominantly been conceptualized as Marxism (Matthews et al. 2002; McGuire 2002, 2006), capitalism (Croucher and Weiss 2011; Groover 2003; Johnson 1996; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter Jr. 1999; Matthews 2010; Nayton 2011), and modernity (Dawdy 2010; Orser 1996). These conceptualizations became explicit and theorized within the archaeological research of people like McGuire, Orser, and Leone.

Orser, in particular, integrates these three distinct conceptualizations of historical archaeology to suggest the primary aim of historical archaeology is to explore the rise of the modern world we are all a part of today. For example, Orser (1996, 2012) asserts that colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism (which subsumes Marxism), and modernity are the 'haunts' of historical archaeology "that can never be truly separated" (Orser 1996:86). The inter-relationship between these concepts has repeatedly been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Leone 1995; Leone and Potter Jr. 1999; Matthews 2010; Mullins 2011; Orser 1996, 2012), so for present purposes I will simply use the term 'capitalism' to explore historical archaeology's conceptual focus, but I am aware of the complicated and interconnected nature of this trope.

A significant concern of the increased importance of capitalism in historical archaeological writing, which mirrors my previous discussion about colonialism, is the lack of a clear distinction between who/what is, and is not, capitalist. Dalglish (2003:60-61) also raises the

lack of critical engagement and consensus about when/where capitalism originated. This critique can be taken beyond the origins of capitalism and applied more broadly to capitalism as a whole (Horning 2011). The most common definitions frame capitalism as "a social system in which the people who won and control the fields, factories, machines, tools and money do not assume the brunt of the work. Other men and women, who must sell their labor as if it were a commodity, perform the work" (Leone 1999:13). Within this ideological framework, capitalism is dependent on a hierarchical social structure that serves to commodify people and objects. Concepts of individual ownership and occupational specialization are at the forefront of this conceptualization, and it is premised on people working indirectly to acquire the goods and commodities – the material culture – required for daily life. This is a flexible and contextual definition of capitalism that is strongly associated with modern, colonial European history and ideologies, but the consequences of this model do not adequately accommodate colonized 'others' in their formations.

Should the formation of the modern North American context as a whole fit within the purview of a capitalist ideology? This model tends to homogenize the modern experience and restrict our understandings of individuals' actions to being framed entirely within, and explicitly though, modernist capitalism. But to frame their actions solely through the lens of capitalism risks negating the meanings associated with and arising from specific contexts, and non-Eurocentric sensibilities. The capitalist lens tends to conceptualize historical archaeological interpretations as people directly engaged within a structural hierarchy that really only makes sense at a gross scale, and privileges discourses that emphasize such orientations.

Orser (1996:80) briefly touches on the dangers of the observer creating capitalisms in contexts where they might not have existed; however, he fails to draw out what makes these inauthentic capitalisms different from others. This stems from Orser's (1996, 2012) conceptualization of historical archaeology as inherently an Eurocentric endeavour, which in the end does not differ greatly from Deetz's (1996:5) earlier conceptualization of historical archaeology as "the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples." This conceptualization of historical archaeology is embedded within the modernity of European colonialism, which implies that there is something inherently and essentially different between the rise of European capitalism and everything prior. In a very real sense, the rise of capitalism as a mainstay of historical archaeology ends up being a means to isolate modern European colonialism and global history from other times and contexts. This isolation creates a model of the recent past that privileges a colonizer-centric narrative within which various colonial others can only be seen through and engaged with through that colonizer lens. The assumption being made is that the capitalist endeavour subsumes other forms of identity in a manner that places varied groups on a 'more equal ground' for comparison, homogenizing them into a European sensibility.

The emphasis on capitalism within historical archaeology has been effective at stimulating new questions and interpretations. This is most notable in research of the 19th-century and that of lower social-economic classes, both of which have been under-represented within historical archaeology yet play significant roles within capitalist interpretations. For example, recent special issues in *Historical Archaeology* (Spencer-Wood and Matthews 2011) and the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (Orser 2011) have emphasized the concept of poverty, in contrast to lower socio-economic class, as a relevant research focus. These

explorations of poverty have emerged directly from the complication of capitalist

conceptualizations and promise to be fruitful research avenues going forward. Other

conceptual strides have emerged from a critical capitalism, but situating capitalism as an

implicit result of European modernism creates a dialogue that still frames all participants

within the process of becoming European, and those who do not or cannot become

disenfranchised (e.g., slaves, in this model, can only ever be slaves; Indigenous peoples can

only ever be either acculturated into, or resisting of, capitalist sensibilities.). This is not to say

that capitalism cannot engage with the 'other,' but rather that the perspective of the 'other'

must be allowed to differ from that of the European capitalist without being relegated to the

annals of 'pre-history'; non-capitalist ideologies existed simultaneously alongside capitalist

ones, and both must be given acknowledgment.

4.2 19th-Century Domestic Site Archaeology – McKinney Family

The McKinney family was a 19th-century farming family that conventionally could be

thought of as middle class. The family emigrated from Ireland in 1827, and serves as an

exemplar in this study of non-elite Euro-Canadian practices. Class is a complex

categorization that is very contextually specific. Wurst (2006) provides a comprehensive

review of the caveats and benefits related to using class as a theme of categorization;

however, archaeologists generally refer to the contextually specific nature of what construes

a class category and the needed awareness of the varied local factors that relate to class. Class

remains a valuable thematic research focus, especially in capitalist contexts (Croucher and

Weiss 2011; Hamilakis and Duke 2007; Johnson 1996; Leone and Potter Jr. 1999; Matthews

2010; McGuire 2006); however, class is based on a variety of differing factors besides

purchasing power. With this in mind, I have chosen to identify non-elite and elite families in 19th-century Upper Canada via the criteria described by Kenyon (1993) and explored through the local historic records. As previously discussed, Kenyon's elite/non-elite division is premised on differences in accessibility to the trappings associated with social performance, rather than a purely economic divide, but often parallels the conventional middle- and upper-class divides.

4.2.1 History of the McKinney Family in Ontario

The patriarch of the McKinney family in Ontario was Alexander McKinney, a widower who emigrated from Northern Ireland in August of 1827. He had several children from his previous marriage, but they initially remained in Ireland. On route he met and married Mary Delaney, a widow from Ireland, and they eventually brought their children over from Ireland in 1830. McKinney purchased the west half of Lot 13, Concession 2, Geographic Township of Chinguacousy, in 1834.

Chinguacousy Township was an emergent farming region during the early 19th century. The survey of the township began in 1819, but progress was slow (Gagan 1981:35-36; MNR 1819). Initially, population growth was relatively constant, growing to 4,000 between 1821 and 1839 (Wood 2000:38) and almost doubling by 1851 (Table 17). At this time, the recorded population peaked at 7,469 and began decreasing. In 1851, 52% of the recorded population was born in Upper Canada, followed by Irish and English, but by 1881, the percentage of the recorded population born in Upper Canada had increased to 80%. As the population decreased, the number of recorded farms increased. This is likely related to the process of the Canadian born children of the initial settlers taking ownership of the farms. Most farmers had several children and would either acquire new farm land or subdivide their

own to provide occupations or dowries for each of their children (Gagan 1981:54-60; Mays 1979:46). The diminishing amount of open lands and ever-decreasing size of the active farms created a trend among Canadian born farmers to have fewer children (McIvor 1975) or their children had to move elsewhere to acquire farmland (Gagan 1981:58; Gagan and Mays 1973:35). Brampton emerged as the primary economic centre for this township in the 1870s when the Grand Trunk Railway allowed a direct connection to Toronto (Gagan 1981:126; Pope 1877; Roulston 1978:19).

Table 17: Population Make Up of Chinguacousy Township Based on Aggregate Census Data (Canada 1851-52, 1861, 1871, and 1881)

	Population	Farms	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Canada	Other
1851	7469	661	12%	9%	25%	52%	2%
1861	6897	675	11%	6%	16%	65%	2%
1871	6128	728	9%	5%	12%	73%	1%
1881	5476	742	9%	4%	7%	80%	0%

The McKinneys initially constructed a log cabin until they could afford a more substantial structure. Alexander McKinney died in 1841, but his wife Mary remarried, to Josh Cooper, and the family remained on the property (ASI 2010b:5). Josh Cooper died sometime before 1851, and Mary Cooper was listed in the census as a 51 year old widow who lived in a two-storey log house with her seven children (Canada 1851-52). The entire family listed the Church of Scotland as their religious affiliation, a trend that continues throughout the available census data. Alexander and Mary's child, Alexander McKinney II, was old enough to be the principal owner of the Lot by 1861. At that time, the family was recorded as occupying a two-storey frame structure and farming a total of 80 of their 100 acres (Canada 1861). Alexander II married Mary McClure in 1868 and had several children. In 1871, Alexander II was living with his wife, Mary, and their first child, Eliza (Canada 1871). It is noted that Alexander II's mother, Mary Cooper, was living in another house on the same property, a trend that continued in the 1881 census (Canada 1881). Alexander II's son,

Alexander McKinney III, was born in 1872 and continued to operate the farm into the 20th century. The family is purported to have moved to another farmhouse on the property c. 1887 (ASI 2010b:5).

The McKinney family can be considered to be a relatively typical farming family from Chinguacousy Township, Peel County through the 19th century. The patriarch of the family was an Irish born immigrant who was wealthy enough to travel to Upper Canada and purchase a farm, but not wealthy enough to immediately establish an expansive house or obtain more than half a Lot. By 1861, the family owned 100 acres of land. This places them close to the median size for farms holdings in the township at the time (Gagen 1981:48). To get a sense of where the McKinney family fit within the agricultural community of Chinguacousy Township, the existing manuscript census data is reviewed. Unfortunately, the 1851 and 1881 manuscript agricultural censes for Chinguacousy Township have been lost, so I have relied on the 1861 and 1871 censuses to provide snapshots of the McKinney family through time (Tables 18 and 19).

In 1851, Chinguacousy Township can be understood as a rural farming community known for its wheat production (Pope 1877). Diverse agricultural products were produced across farms for personal needs and to exchange or sell surpluses (Table 18). As demonstrated by Tables 18 and 19, the production of animal products is fairly constant between 1851 and 1881. In 1861, the McKinney family offers an interesting comparison against the average numbers obtained for the township. The land value of the McKinney farm is slightly higher than that of the average farm, while the remainder of the recorded values are lower than the average (Table 18). This could represent a stage in the growth of this farmstead, where they had expanded the holdings, including improved land, but had yet to translate that into higher

production yields. Considering that the McKinney family's animal products were below the average, while their number of animals was above the average (with the exception of horses), this is a likely scenario.

Table 18: Comparison of Values and Livestock Produce for the McKinney Family Manuscript Census (1861) to Averaged Aggregate Census (1851, 1861)

	1851	1861	
	Chinguacousy Township (Average)	Chinguacousy Township (Average)	McKinney
Land Value ($)	-	5650	6000
Implement Value ($)	-	207	120
Horse Value ($)	-	231	150
Livestock Value ($)	-	472	342
Barrels of Beef	1	1	0
Barrels of Pork	4	5	5
Wool (lbs)	42	47	38
Butter (lbs)	-	353	100
Sheep	14	14	17
Cow	10	10	11
Pig	9	7	8
Horse	3	4	3

The McKinney family trends are relatively consistent when compared to the average production in 1871 (Table 19). In 1871, the McKinneys produced almost three times the amount of wool and held a greater amount of sheep that was the average recorded, while holding similar numbers of cattle and pigs as seen for the county. This could suggest the McKinneys' were more heavily invested in wool production than was typical for the township. Certainly wool was a more typically important commodity in 19th-century Ontario

than mutton (McInnis 1987). Considering that the family had not increased their improved

lands above the 80 acres recorded in 1861, and their overall agricultural production was

lower in 1871, this may suggest that this 10 year period was not one of economic prosperity.

The relatively small numbers for livestock, for both the McKinneys and for the township,

also suggest that livestock was more raised for personal consumption than for large scale

surplus commodities (Jones 1946; Wood 2000).

Table 19: Comparison of Livestock Produce for the McKinney Family Manuscript Census (1871) to Averaged Peel County Aggregate Census (1871, 1881)

	1871		1881
	Peel County (Average)	McKinney	Peel County (Average)
Sheep Killed	5	7	3
Cattle Killed	2	2	2
Swine Killed	8	8	6
Wool (lbs)	57	140	38
Butter (lbs)	-	200	318
Sheep	12	10	7
Cow	9	7	8
Pig	7	5	6
Horse	4	4	4

The agricultural production of the McKinney family in 1861 and 1871shows that the

McKinneys are engaged with the major economic products of their time: wheat, barley, and

oats (Table 20). However, for both years the bushels of produce grown was almost half of the

average for their township. Despite a higher value to their holding, they are producing

significantly less than the average farmer.

The family went through several housing shifts that correspond with shifts in housing

dynamics. The initial log cabin was constructed by Alexander McKinney upon his arrival on

the Lot around 1834. It is unclear whether the two-story log house listed in the 1851 census is

a new structure or the original structure. Between 1851 and 1861, the family moved into a

two-storey frame structure, and this shift corresponds with the rise of Alexander McKinney II

as the head of household. This house remained the family's primary domicile until they

relocated to another farmhouse c. 1887, coinciding with the death of Alexander McKinney II

and the rise of Alexander McKinney III as the head of household. In sum, each house

corresponds with a generational and presumably dispositional shift through the family.

Table 20: Comparison of the Bushels Produced for McKinney Family Manuscript Census (1861, 1871) to Averaged Aggregate Census (1861, 1871)

	1861		1871	
	Chinguacousy Township (Average)	McKinney	Chinguacousy Township (Average)	McKinney
Fall Wheat	342	150	231	250
Spring Wheat	150	100	45	100
Barley	100	80	225	100
Oats	231	200	162	50
Potatoes	156	100	83	0
Turnip	113	0	210	0
Total	1092	630	956	500

4.2.2 The Covenanter (AkGw-109) and McKinney (AkGw-110) Sites

Both the Covenanter and McKinney sites were originally identified via a Stage 2 pedestrian

survey in an agricultural field conducted during a CRM archaeological assessment (ASI

1999). The initial archaeological assessment determined that the Covenanter site was a Euro-

Canadian domestic site dating between 1820s and 1840s, and that the McKinney site was a

Euro-Canadian domestic site dating between 1840s and 1870s (ASI 1999). The dates and

locations of these sites correspond with the discrete domestic and generational shifts of the

McKinney family: the Covenanter site is likely the log structure occupied during the lifetime

of Alexander McKinney I, while the McKinney site is likely the two-storey frame structure

occupied during the lifetime of Alexander McKinney II.

In late 1999, excavations were conducted on both sites (ASI 2010b). This involved a controlled surface collection of artifacts to delineate site limits, the hand excavation of one-metre square test units to identify site concentrations and sub-surface features, and the monitored mechanical stripping of the plough zone soils to identify any further sub-surface features. All features were mapped, hand excavated in halves, and profiled (ASI 2010b).

The Covenanter site was located on level terrain overlooking the south side of a valley drained by a tributary of Fletchers Creek (Figure 12). Eleven test units were excavated and approximately 1,050 m^2 of ploughzone soils were mechanically stripped. A total of 2,856 artifacts were collected for the entire excavation, and six features and four post-molds were identified in an area roughly 12 x 16 metres in size (ASI 2010b:4). Features included a filled-in cellar and midden (F.5), a remnant floor (F.2), and a floor and drain (F.4). These features were all associated with a structure, suggesting the presence of a domestic farmstead. Other features included a midden (F.1) and isolated pits (F.3, 6).

The McKinney site was located on lands that slope down into a swale drained by a tributary of Fletchers Creek (Figure 13). Fourteen test units were excavated and approximately 1,600 m^2 of ploughzone soils were mechanically stripped. A total of 4,201 artifacts were collected from the entire excavation, and 13 features and eight post-molds were identified in an area roughly 25 x 50 metres in size (ASI 2010b:7). Features included a cellar (F.7), a possible cistern (F.1), a well (F.5), and a privy (F.14). These features were all associated with the presence of a structure, suggesting the presence of a domestic farmstead. Other features included refuse pits (F.6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), and isolated pits (F.2, 3).
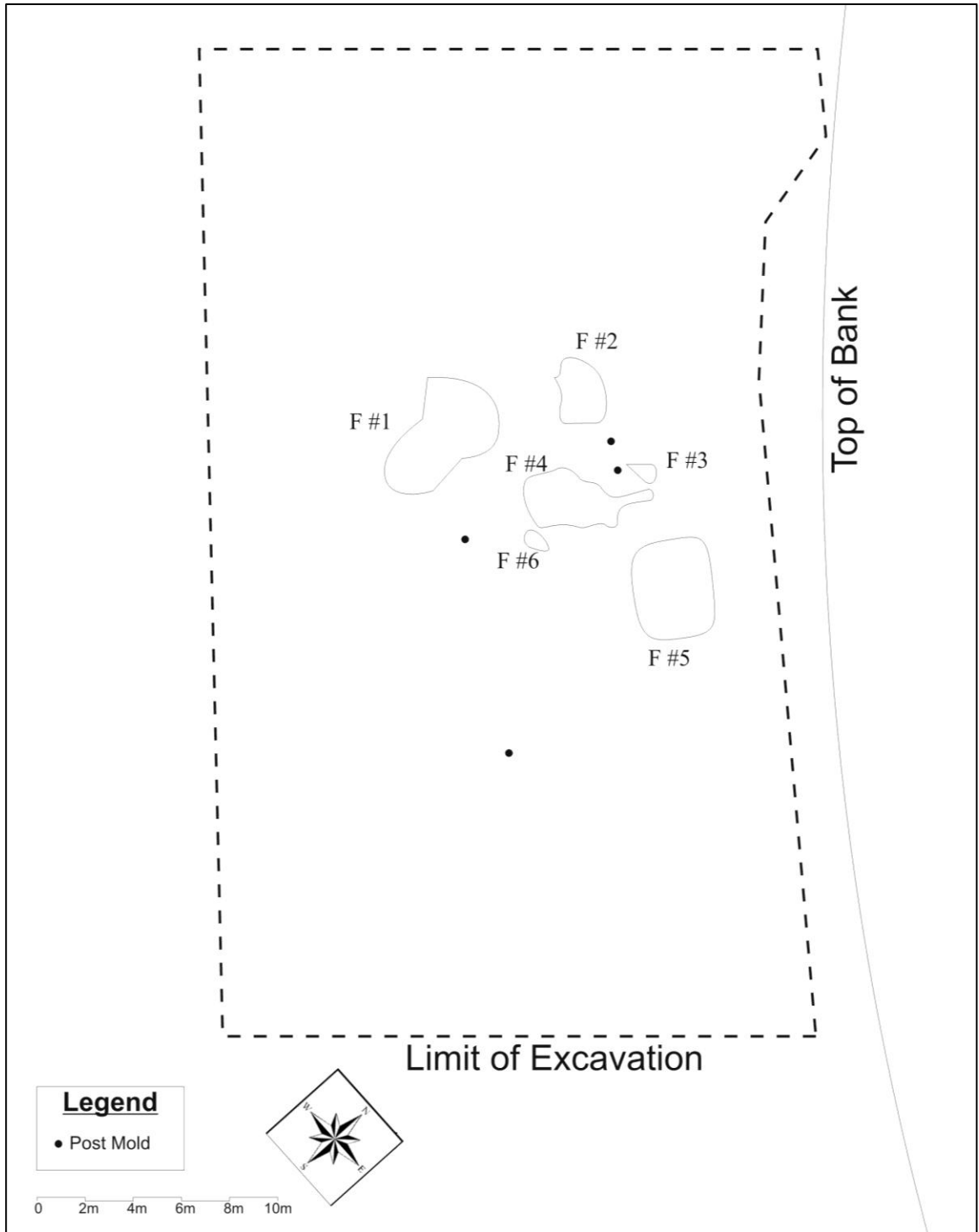
Figure 12: Covenanter Excavation Plan
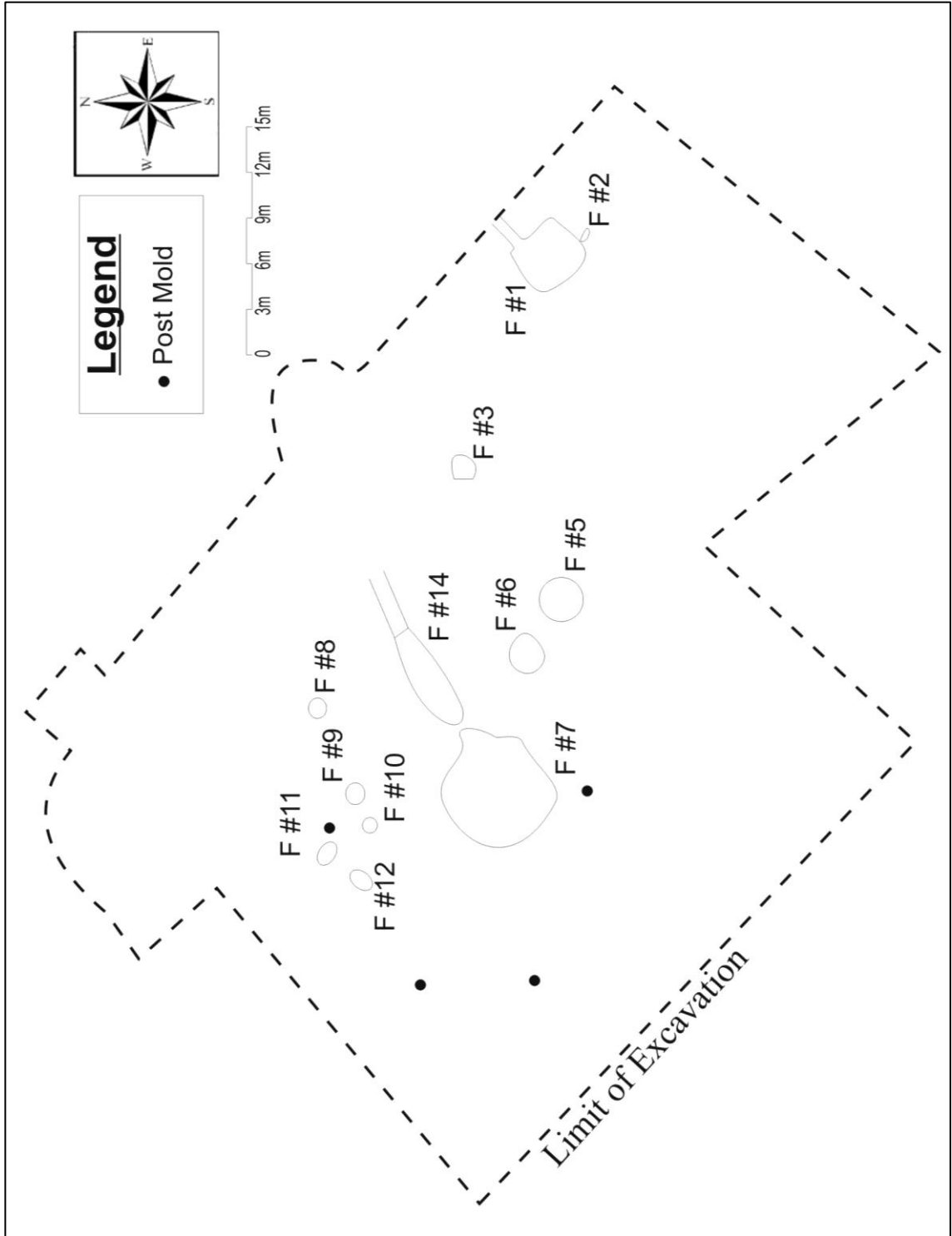
Figure 13: McKinney Excavation Plan

The Covenanter and McKinney artifact assemblages were all initially identified, catalogued, and interpreted by the consulting company; however, I reanalyzed the ceramic assemblages in further detail and standardized the presentation of the data so as to assure consistency with my own methodology and across the other sites I analyzed for this study. That methodology, described in the previous chapter, is applied to analyze the Euro-Canadian assemblages in this chapter, as it is important to frame the assemblages in a similar manner so as to ultimately bring them into dialogue with one another in Chapter 5.

The division of the Covenanter and McKinney artifact assemblages into arbitrary functional categories reveals some basic patterns (Table 21). Faunal remains make up 24% and 13% of the Covenanter and McKinney site assemblages. With the faunal remains removed, the artifacts associated with meal systems make up the majority of the assemblages (59% on Covenanter and 61% on McKinney).

The percentage of faunal remains at Covenanter is roughly twice as large as at the McKinney site. This difference could result from a shifting emphasis on meat as a food source between the sites. For example, if on-site butchering was replaced by purchasing of barreled meat or other commercial supplies of meat, then faunal remains could comprise a smaller proportion of the assemblage. Alternatively, there may have been a shift in the waste disposal of faunal remains between the sites. For example, it is possible that the faunal remains at the later site were disposed of further away. In either case, the difference between the two sites suggests some degree of change in how the inhabitants processed and disposed of animal remains.

Table 21: Covenanter and McKinney Site Artifact Assemblages by Functional Categories (with and without faunal remains)

Category	Covenanter				McKinney			
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Meal Systems	**1233**	**44.6%**	**1233**	**58.9%**	**2141**	**53.5%**	**2141**	**61.2%**
Ceramics	1203		1203		1960		1960	
Glassware & Containers	20		20		174		174	
Cutlery	10		10		7		7	
Armaments/Hunting	**0**		**0**		**0**		**0**	
Architecture	**626**	**22.6%**	**626**	**29.9%**	**1208**	**30.2%**	**1208**	**34.5%**
Window Glass	203		203		268		268	
Metal	410		410		931		931	
Bricks	10		10		4		4	
Plaster	3		3		5		5	
Domestic Furniture	**0**		**0**		**0**		**0**	
Personal	**99**	**3.6%**	**99**	**4.7%**	**100**	**2.5%**	**100**	**2.9%**
Smoking Pipe	73		73		52		52	
Jewellery	-		-		1		1	
Clothing	17		17		41		41	
Combs/Razors	2		2		1		1	
Writing Implements	5		5		4		4	
Toys	1		1		-		-	
Mouth Harps	1		1		1		1	
Domestic Activities	**8**	**0.3%**	**8**	**0.4%**	**43**	**1.1%**	**43**	**1.2%**
Thimbles/Pins	1		1		4		4	
Scissors	1		1		38		38	
Bi-pointed Needles	2		2		-		-	
Whetstone	3		3		-		-	
Files	-		-		1		1	
Other	1		1		-		-	
Transport	**2**	**0.1%**	**2**	**0.1%**	**7**	**0.2%**	**7**	**0.2%**
Miscellaneous	**124**	**4.5%**	**124**	**5.9%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**
Faunal	**673**	**24.3%**	**-**	**-**	**502**	**12.5%**	**-**	**-**
TOTAL	2139	100.0%	2092	100.0%	4001	100.0%	3499	100.0%

The high proportion of artifacts associated with meal systems suggests that a significant amount of energy, resources, and money went into the residents' foodways, along with their associated conscious and unconscious meanings. When this is combined with the shift in the proportion of the faunal assemblages previously discussed, an interesting possibility emerges. If the percentage of meal systems artifacts remained fairly similar between the sites, but the faunal assemblage decreased by half, this could suggest a shift in the family's meal dispositions and etiquettes. Groover (2003, 2008) suggested that within multigenerational domestic sites in the United States, both ceramics and faunal remains changed in proportion to household size. However, the McKinney pattern of meal system artifact percents remaining constant while faunal remain percents decrease suggest that changing household size may not be the only factor contributing to change.

The increase in the architectural artifacts between the Covenanter and McKinney sites (30% to 35%) is slight, but in line with the pattern of residential movement and the construction of more substantial frame houses (Kenyon 1997). This increase is primarily related to an increase in the metal recovered, most of which consisted of nails. This suggests either a greater need for nails in the building's construction, such as a shift from a log to frame building, or there was a greater amount of renovations at the second structure that would have required nails.

4.2.2.1 Covenanter Site Material Culture – Ceramics

To maintain consistency with Chapter 3, I have restricted my analysis on the ceramics from the Euro-Canadian sites to the methodologies that I previously applied to the assemblages from the Mohawk sites. This means that I have not engaged with ceramic vessel forms other

than plates, bowls, and teas, and I am not discussing other types of artifacts that can generally

be associated with foodways (e.g., pressed glass, cutlery, stoneware and redware crocks,

etc.). These other ceramic vessel forms and artifacts are important facets of the meal system

that have been previously explored to look for patterning (Brighton 2011; MacDonald 2002);

however, my discussion requires a lateral consistency between sites that belies a deeper

exploration of a single assemblage. Of note, there are two tureen sherds at the Covenanter

site and one tureen and one teapot sherd at the McKinney site. These few sherds of other

ceramic vessel form highlight the limited emphasis the former inhabitants placed on these

trappings of formalized, multi-course dining etiquettes.

The majority of the ceramic vessels from the Covenanter assemblage (Table 22) fall within

the lower end of Miller's (1980, 1991) CC-Index for ceramics, suggesting that the occupants

were obtaining and using mostly less expensive vessel form, with only 10% of the sherds

(20% of the vessels) coming from more expensive forms of ceramics (e.g., transfer print,

ironstone, and porcelain; Table 23). There is also only limited evidence of the purchase of

sets of vessels in the assemblage. Also of note are the percentages of vessel forms. Plates

make up 44% of the ceramic assemblage, followed by teas (cups and saucers; 44%) and

bowls (15%).

Table 22: Covenanter Site Vessel Form and Decoration by MNV

Vessel Form	Undecorated		Edged		Moulded		Dipt		Painted		Transfer Print		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Plate	1	16.7	21	100.0	5	100.0	1	16.7	-	-	5	33.3	33	44.0
Bowl	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	5	83.3	1	4.5	4	26.7	11	14.7
Teas	4	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	95.5	6	40.0	31	41.3
Total	6	100.0	21	100.0	5	100.0	6	100.0	22	100.0	15	100.0	75	100.0
	8.0%		28.0%		6.7%		8.0%		29.3%		20.0%		100.0%	

Table 23: Expensive Ceramics from McKinney Family

	Covenanter Site	McKinney Site
Expensive Plates	30.3%	39.3%
Expensive Bowls	36.4%	16.0%
Expensive Teas	18.2%	40.0%
Expensive Vessels	26.7%	33.0%
Plate:Saucer	1.00	0.80

The less expensive ceramics and lack of identifiable sets could suggest that the occupants were making acquisition choices consistent with a 'non-elite' socio-economic class, as defined by Kenyon (1987b), but this could also represent limitations due to market availability and limited choice (Kenyon and Kenyon 1993). The high percentage of teas indicates the importance of tea consumption and its associated practices within the household (Brooks 2002, 2003; Burley 2000; Cabak and Loring 2000; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987). Also, the discrepancy between the percentages of plates and bowls suggest that the consumption of solid-based foods was preferred to that of liquid-based foods (Otto 1977; Voss 2008).

The relative percentage of expensive vessels at the Covenanter site represents a selective choice by the inhabitants to invest more or less resources into specific vessel forms. For example, despite comprising a similar percent of the vessel forms (41-44%), 18% of the teas and 30% of the plates are expensive, which indicate a differing investment – or logic – went into informing both choices. Most interesting is the high percentage of expensive bowls within the assemblage (36%). Despite bowls comprising only 15% of the vessel assemblage, a third of these bowls were expensive, suggesting a more active preferential choice being made of a less frequently used form, given the differential in percents with plates and teas. It also suggests this preference overcame any limited choices available at point of acquisition, again because of the differing percent with other forms. If there were specific meals that the

inhabitants desired to consume from bowls – in which the act of consuming from the bowl had some sort of extra demonstrative significance, such as a specific type of meal – then they might have invested in having more expensive bowls specifically for this purpose. This does not mean that these bowls may not have been used for everyday meals as well, or signify whether they were for private/public/both uses, but rather that ownership of transfer printed bowls, instead of plain or painted ones, was a visible signifier of the importance of these meals, for either the entire family or for select individuals in the family who influenced those choices.

4.2.2.2 Covenanter Site Material Culture – Faunal Remains

The faunal assemblage for the Covenanter site has only been briefly been analyzed at this point (Table 24). The analysis divided domesticates into pig, cow, and sheep/goat, but the remainder of the assemblage was only described to class. The majority of the assemblage is comprised of mammal (69%), followed by bird (5%) and fish (0.7%). Overall, domesticates comprise 80% of the identified assemblage, and half of that was pig (49%). Sheep/goat was the next most common domesticate (39%), followed by cow (11%). This fits within the pattern described for the domestic sites of families who were either Canadian born or those who had adapted to the Upper Canadian lifeways (Ferris and Kenyon 1983:6). Birds and fish were also present within the assemblage, but they are in limited numbers and not described further.

Table 24: Summary of Faunal Analysis from ASI (2010b)

	Covenanter		McKinney	
	n	% of Identified	N	% of Identified
Unidentified Mammals				
Total	**315** **46.8%**		**223** **44.4%**	
Unidentified Faunal				
Total	**175** **26.0%**		**142** **28.3%**	
Identified Mammals				
Pig	72	49.3%	22	48.9%
Cow	16	11.0%	9	20.0%
Sheep/Goat	57	39.0%	14	31.1%
Dog	1	0.7%	-	-
Total	**146** **21.7%**		**45** **9.0%**	
Birds				
Total	**32** **4.8%**		**92** **18.3%**	
Fish				
Total	**5** **0.7%**		**-**	
Total Identified	*183*		*137*	
Grand Total	*673* *100.0%*		*502* *100.0%*	

4.2.2.3 McKinney Site Material Culture – Ceramics

When wares, vessel form, and designs are examined from the McKinney site, the first observation is the variety of design techniques present within the assemblage (Table 25), typical of mid-century assemblages (Kenyon 1980; Miller et al. 2000). Teas comprise 40% of the ceramic assemblage, followed by plates (32%) and bowls (28%). Some higher value ceramic types are present in the assemblage, but the assemblage remains primarily (67%) lower value ceramics (Table 23). As at Covenanter, the distribution of expensive vessels is higher for teas (40%) than for plates (39%) and bowls (16%). Of note is that the two identified porcelain vessels are both saucers.

The increased number of decoration styles, though typical of changing fashions through the mid-19th century, does suggest that the residents of the McKinney site were continuously replacing and adding to their ceramic assemblage in keeping with these broad commercial trends. Vessel form percents represent a shift from the pattern at the Covenanter site in that bowls, still a less frequent vessel form than either teas or plates, is nonetheless more substantially represented in the assemblage. Also of note is that, compared to the Covenanter site, McKinney has a slightly lower frequency of expensive vessels.

While sets of specific decorative designs are generally difficult to identify in the assemblage due to fragmentation, one set of note was readily identified. Comprising at least one bowl, saucer, and cup is a set of painted green plants representing stylized shamrocks (Figure 14). Considering the Irish heritage of the McKinney family, this is likely a visible material marker of their identity within the household, especially given the style crosses vessel forms, and so was likely bought as a set, rather than as a single replacement piece. The materiality of symbols have often been used to act as signifiers of a specific heritage or identity, especially

Table 25: McKinney Site Vessel Form and Design by MNV

	undecorated		edged		moulded		sponged		stamped		dipt		painted		transfer print		porcelain		total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
plate	-	-	12	100.0	7	63.6	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	3	18.8	4	28.6	-	-	28	31.8
bowl	1	20.0	-	-	2	15.2	1	9.1	-	-	15	100.0	4	25.0	2	14.3	-	-	25	28.4
Teas	4	80.0	-	-	2	18.2	8	72.7	2	100.0	-	-	9	56.3	8	57.1	2	100.0	35	39.8
total	5	100.0	12	100.0	11	100.0	11	100.0	2	100.0	15	100.0	16	100.0	14	100.0	2	100.0	88	100.0
	5.7%		13.6%		12.5%		12.5%		2.3.0%		17.0%		18.2%		15.9%		2.3%		100.0%	

within diasporic communities (Fennel 2007), and this trend has been repeatedly observed within Irish communities in the northeast United States (Brighton 2004, 2008). During the 19th-century, English ceramics were produced with Irish symbols to specifically target the Irish as a purchasing community (Brighton 2008; Brighton and Orser 2006), and the painted shamrock design, an important 18th- and 19th-century symbol of Irish identity and nationalism (King 2011:143-144), is another example of this consumer trend.
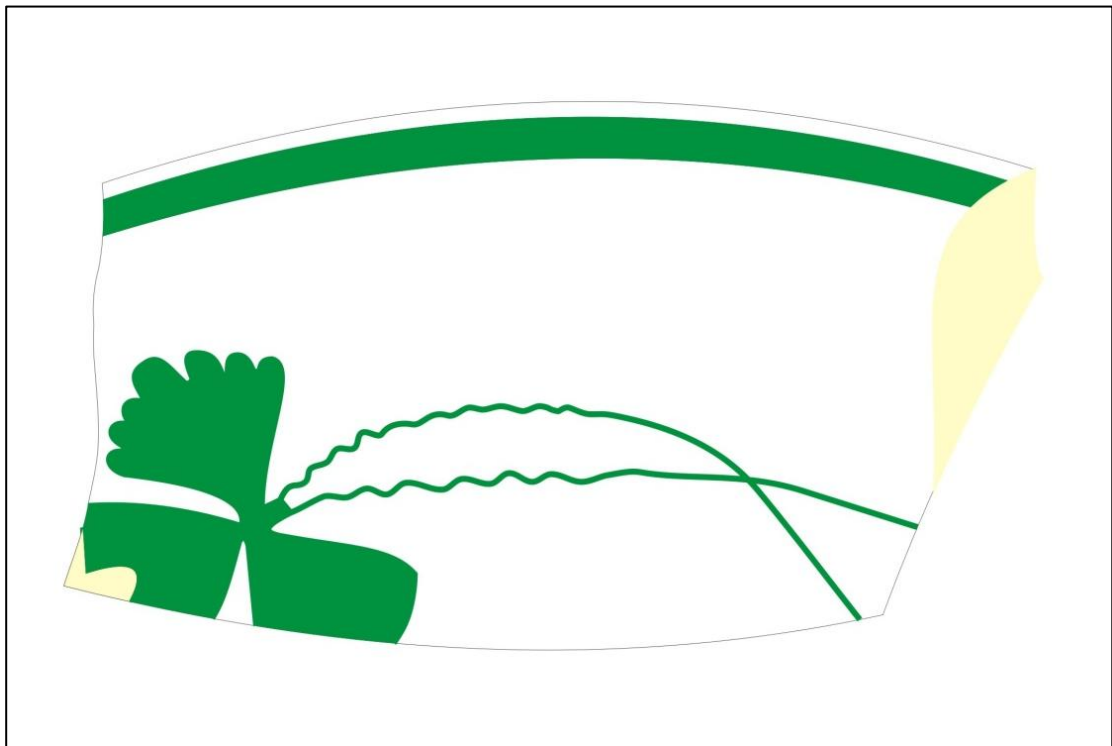
Figure 14: Hand Painted Shamrock Design

4.2.2.4 McKinney Site Material Culture – Faunal Remains

The identified faunal assemblage from the McKinney site (Table 24) is quite small (28.3% of the assemblage being entirely unidentified). The faunal assemblage is comprised of 53.4% mammals (9.0% percent of which were domesticates that were identified to species) and

10.3% birds. Like the Covenanter site, the types of birds were not identified, although it is assumed this mostly consists of domesticated birds. Identified domesticates include pig (49%), followed by sheep/goat (31%), and cow (20%). The breakdown of domesticates resembles the range of Euro-Canadian domestic site patterning (Ferris and Kenyon 1983), with perhaps a slightly higher percent of sheep than typical for second generation Upper Canada preferences. However, this percent is consistent with the agricultural census data, and suggests the McKinneys both harvested wool, and mutton, from the herd of sheep they maintained through this period.

4.2.2.5 Covenanter and McKinney Site Assemblage Comparisons

In comparing the artifact assemblages from the Covenanter and McKinney sites, both appear to exhibit a non-elite farmstead pattern within Upper Canada. Their ceramic assemblages consist of mostly less expensive wares, punctuated with a few examples of more expensive transfer print and porcelain. Tea consumption is important for both households, but there is an increase in the percentage of bowls from the early to later site. This could suggest a shift in preferences towards more liquid-based meals, presumably for personal consumption rather than any more elaborate dining convention, given the fact that over 80% of the bowls in the McKinney ceramic assemblage consists of inexpensive wares. Domesticated mammals are present in the faunal remains of the later assemblage, along with an increase in bird remains compared to Covenanter, suggesting this shift was part of the residents adopting more varied diet.

The presence of a set of ceramic vessels decorated with painted green shamrocks in the McKinney assemblage is distinctive. At the earlier Covenanter sites there are no obvious

visible manifestations of an Irish identity. Considering the influx of Irish immigrants at that time, and the negative stereotypes applied to these immigrants in North America (Brighton 2009; Kenyon et al. 1984; A. Smith 2004), it is perhaps not surprising that visibly Irish material culture may have been reluctantly selected as overt signifiers of their identity. Although it is also worth noting that the McKinney family were Protestant Irish, who were generally better received within 19th-century Upper Canada than Catholic Irish (Akenson 1984; Houston and Smyth 1990).

The desire to subvert or hide an identity that is framed as a hindrance or negative is well noted within colonial contexts (Barkwell et al. 2001; Boisvert and Turnbull 1985; Fahlander 2007; Lischke and McNab 2007; Peterson and Brown 1985; Seretis 2003; Smith 2007). The sublimation of identities can be framed as being acculturated or having to 'give up' an identity in the process of negotiating dominant colonial context (Cusick 1998, 2000); however, I do not believe those characterizations accurately portrays people's actions or decisions. Instead, people operated multiple identities, and when negotiating contexts where stigmatized identities are problematic, they make choices to emphasize or de-emphasize aspects of their identities as part of an effort to live in a present framed by their past and understandings of their future. This does not mean that people abandon components of their identity or that this dimension of identity are not more readily engaged with in other contexts (i.e., the difference between performative aspects within personal and public spaces), but rather that they are acting within a process of continuously, contextually negotiating identities to allow them to continue within an ever changing present.

The possible subversion of an Irish identity is part of this process. The appearance of a shamrock design on a set of dishes from the home of the later McKinney household is an

overt acknowledgment of Irish identity, subsuming both Protestant and Catholic identities, within the second generation of the McKinney family. The McKinneys were a Protestant Irish family, but as previously discussed, social pressures at various moments during the 19th century associated with the Catholic Irish that would have discouraged them from emphasizing their Irishness. As previously discussed, the Protestant Irish often elected to be framed as Orangemen, emphasizing their place with the British colonial state, in lieu of Protestant Irish. A set of obvious markers of Irishness among the later assemblage suggests that the families (or at least those individuals making ceramic and other fashion choices) had altered to be more allowing of this acknowledgement of their Irish identity. This alteration could be due to generational change, where the second generation had shifted their sense of identity enough to not feel threatened, or that their heritage was not otherwise directly consequential to living in rural 19th-century southern Ontario. Early immigrant Catholic Irish were often treated as a colonized people who could not fit within the British conceptualization of the appropriate colonizer (A. Smith 2004), in part due to the associations of Catholicism at the time with Irish nationalism and destitution. However, a general shift occurred through the 19th century and into the early 20th century that encouraged the acceptance of an Irish-American identity, or the acceptance of the Irish identity within the trope of Euro-Canadian (e.g., Brighton 2011). Temporal shifts allowed for the inclusion of Irish as part of the 'empire,' first along Protestant/Catholic colonizer/colonized lines, then later as more Irish broadly as part of the colonizer identity in the shaping of the descendant colonial state of Canada. This does not mean that the Catholic Irish, in particular, became entirely accepted as colonizers through much of the 19th century, but that when they were contrasted with other groups active within the North American context, such as First Peoples, African-Canadians, Chinese, and Creoles, then they were more 'appropriate' (especially if

not nationalistic sympathizers), and thus were able to engage in and embrace a shifting acknowledgment of 'Irish' as British, and as 'Canadian', as the emergent colonial state took form. As such, the display of iconic Irish symbols in everyday life would have been more appropriate for both Protestant and Catholic Irish as any stigma associated with these markers decreased, proportional to personal acceptance of identity as descendant 'Irish-Canadian.' This process is similar in some ways to how such heritage symbols took on new meanings in the context of, for example, elite Six Nations families in the later 19th century, including for Pauline Johnson (e.g., Strong-Boag and Gerson 2000) and Oronhyatekha (e.g., Nicks 2003).

4.3   19th-Century Domestic Site Archaeology – Odlum Family

The Odlum family was a 19th-century Protestant farming family from Ireland, the patriarch of which was formerly part of the British Navy. The archaeology for this family serves as an exemplar of elite Euro-Canadian practices.

4.3.1 History of Odlum Family

Data related to the Odlum family are available from many of the conventional sources in Ontario; moreover, there is an online family genealogy (Odlum and Daily 2011) as an additional source. The family genealogy provides detailed information about the family prior to their arrival to Canada; however, certain facets of the genealogy contradict other data sources and cannot be independently verified. Hence, the family genealogy is a valuable source of information, but one that must be read with a cautionary eye.

The Odlum family immigrated to Upper Canada in the late 1820s. The patriarch of the family was Abraham Odlum, a British naval officer who was born to a prosperous farming family in Tullamore, Ireland, in 1784 or 1785 (Odlum and Daily 2011). Abraham served in the 5th Royal Dragoon Guards in 1801 and fought in the Peninsular War until 1814. In 1814, Abraham returned to Ireland to marry Eliza Frazer, who was an English woman born in 1796 or 1797. After their marriage, Abraham was stationed in West Africa. Their two eldest daughters, Eliza Elisabeth and Sara Ana Maria, were born in West Africa between 1815 and 1818. By 1819, the family were living on the Isle of Guernsey and had their third daughter, Charlotte Frances. Between 1821 and 1827, three more children were born – Edward Daniel Henry in 1821, John Abraham in 1823, and Mary Jane in 1827 – however, there is contradictory information regarding whether they were born on the Isle of Guernsey or in Ontario. Their last two sons, William George and Thomas Alexander, were born in Ontario in 1829 and 1833, respectively.

Toronto Gore Township is the smallest township in Peel County and, in the 19th century, contained some of the best agricultural soils (Gagan and Mays 1973:38). Toronto Gore Township was settled later than most of the other townships in the county, but its agriculturally productive soils kept its land values high. The early settlers of Toronto Gore Township between 1828 and the 1840s were "a heterogeneous mixture of English, Irish, Scots, and native born" (Mays 1980:193); however, English and Irish families comprised 90% of the families. By the 1850s, the high price of land there had forced poorer farmers to relocate. Similar to that discussed for Chinguacousy Township, this resulted in a shift of the population dynamic that reflected an ever growing percentage of Canadian born farmers. "In any given ten-year period almost half of the householders listed … left the township" (Gagan and Mays 1973:37). The first generation of the Odlum family were thus entering into a North

American context in which they were the part of the majority, and with the general shift from an English/Irish dominated population to a Canadian population, the second generation arguably remained part of that majority (Table 26).

Table 26: Population Make Up of Toronto Gore Township Based on Aggregate Census Data

	Population	Farms	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Canada	Other
1851	1820	249	20%	2%	28%	49%	1%
1861	1728	173	19%	3%	17%	59%	2%
1871	1679	195	23%	2%	9%	66%	0%
1881	1363	197	11%	3%	7%	79%	0%

The precise date of the Odlums' arrival to Ontario is obscured by contradictory genealogical information; however, all sources confirm that by 1831, they had established themselves in Ontario, settling onto land provided to Abraham as part of a military land grant (Mays 1979:90-91). Abraham was issued the Crown patent for the east half of Lot 16, Concession 8 of the Toronto Gore Township in Peel County, Ontario, in 1834. The Odlum family history lists Eliza and Abraham Odlum as dying shortly after their arrival, respectively in 1836 and 1838 (Odlum and Daily 2011). Abraham's will was not legally read until 1857, almost 20 years after his death, and the will had not been updated to note the death of his wife. The will is very detailed and divides his 500 acres of land among his sons, with the remainder of his goods, notably including a set of silver spoons, passed on to the rest of his family. Edward Daniel Henry Odlum, Abraham's oldest son, was bequeathed the Lot containing the Odlum Site, and the census data indicates that he was living there as the primary farmer by 1851 (Canada 1851-52).

In 1851, the average farm in Toronto Gore Township consisted of 70 acres, which was roughly 30 acres smaller than the average for Peel County (Mays 1979:44-45). If the 500 acres of farmland listed in Abraham Odlum's will from the 1830s is accurate, then the

Odlums' possessed a significantly higher amount of farmland than the average farmer in Toronto Gore Township. The closest community centre to the Odlums' was Tullamore, located two concessions west of the Odlum farmstead, and Abraham Odlum is credited with naming this hamlet after his birthplace in Ireland (Roulston 1978:74; Tavender 1967:81). Tullamore slowly grew as the local community hub with the establishment of a hotel, blacksmith shops, and other necessities of rural life (Tavender 1967:81-87). During the 1850s, Tullamore began to decline with the establishment of Brampton as the regional community centre (Tavender 1967:81).

The Odlum family can be considered an elite farming family in Toronto Gore Township, Peel County. The patriarch of the family was an Irish born immigrant who was wealthy enough to travel to Upper Canada and obtain a substantial farm through a military grant in one of the most expensive townships of the region. Besides obtaining an initial 100 acre farm lot, Abraham Odlum also obtained at least 400 more acres in the area. In 1861, the family is listed as having 93 of its 118.5 acres improved. This amount of land is likely an artifice of the census documentation process because the early data indicate the family owned 500 acres of land, and the 1871 census indicates that the family owned 1,187 acres of land. As such, the 118.5 acres listed in the 1861 census likely refers solely to the lands immediately associated with the family's farm and not their broader landholdings. The value of that smaller parcel of land, in 1861, when compared to the average land values of the Toronto Gore Township, is slightly lower, but again, this likely ignores the family's broader landholdings (Table 27). Considering that the Odlums' implement, horse, and livestock values are all higher than the average, they can be considered to have run a more substantial agricultural operation. This increased emphasis remains in evidence in 1861 and 1871, as the Odlums' constantly surpass or at least equal the average production values of the area, with the exception of pig (Tables

27 and 28). The Odlum family can be considered an above average farming family; combined with the amount of land they were able to purchase and their military heritage, they can be considered an elite family within the context of 19th-century Upper Canada.

Like with the McKinney family, the 1861 and 1871 agricultural censuses demonstrate that the Odlum family is engaged with producing the major economic crops of the time (Table 29); however, the difference in the amount grown between 1861 and 1871 is striking. In 1861, the Odlums produced roughly a third more bushels of produce when compared against the average for their township, whereas in 1871, their production decreased to almost half of the average number of bushels. This shift could represent a change in agricultural emphasis from growing crops to other products, such as butter; however, considering the drop in the livestock produce, it is more likely that the Odlums experienced a period of economic contraction and produced less on their farm.

It is also interesting to note how the Odlum family members' place of birth and ethnic affiliation was recorded at different times. For example, the second generation Odlum patriarch, Edward Odlum, has three different origins, depending on census year. In 1851, Edward is listed as coming from the Isle of Guernsey (Canada 1851-52), and according to the aggregate census, he is one of three people in Peel County ascribed such ancestry (Canada 1853). As noted earlier, Edward himself was not actually born in Ireland, despite his parents' heritage there. His association with Guernsey continues in the 1861 and 1871 censuses (Canada 1861, 1871), but in 1871, a person's 'origin', in contrast to 'place of birth', was also recorded. This was adopted at the time to 'see' past second and third generation families'

Table 27: Comparison of the Odlum Family Manuscript Census (1861) to Averaged Aggregate Census (1851, 1861)

	1851	1861	
	Toronto Gore Township (Average)	Toronto Gore Township (Average)	Odlum
Land Value ($)	-	6330	6000
Implement Value ($)	-	205	340
Horse Value ($)	-	259	300
Livestock Value ($)	-	595	815
Barrels of Beef	0	1	6
Barrels of Pork	0	5	8
Wool (lbs)	40	57	80
Butter (lbs)	-	444	700
Sheep	12	15	22
Cow	7	9	15
Pig	8	10	8
Horse	3	5	7

Table 28: Comparison of the Odlum Family Manuscript Census (1871) to Averaged Aggregate Census (1871, 1881)

	1871		1881
	Peel County (Average)	Odlum	Peel County (Average)
Sheep Killed	5	16	3
Cattle Killed	2	3	2
Swine Killed	8	7	6
Wool (lbs)	57	60	38
Butter (lbs)	-	300	318
Sheep	12	16	7
Cow	9	10	8
Pig	7	8	6
Horse	4	5	4

**Table 29: Comparison of the Bushels Produced of the Odlum Family Manuscript
Census (1861, 1871) to Averaged Aggregate Census (1861, 1871)**

	1861		1871	
	Toronto Gore Township (Average)	**Odlum**	**Toronto Gore Township (Average)**	**Odlum**
Fall Wheat	208	300	193	300
Spring Wheat	74	150	5	0
Barley	220	150	328	100
Oats	251	150	163	150
Rye	0	0	0	0
Potatoes	160	150	80	22
Turnip	79	500	143	0
Total	992	1400	912	572

places of birth in order to record their nationality/ethnicity origins; this was variably used and

applied to all household members based on head of household, but also variably used and

misinterpreted by individual census takers (e.g., Curtis 2002; Richmond 1980). As such, in

1871, the Odlum family was listed as being entirely of English origin (Canada 1871). In the

1881 census, which asked the same question as in 1871 although census takers were provided

with different instructions on this question (e.g., Curtis 2002), Edward was listed as born in

England, but with Irish origins (Canada 1881). The entire family, with the exception of

Edward's wife Sarah, was also listed as being Irish in origin. It is also of note that Leonard,

the family's oldest son, was married at this point in time to Lisie Odlum, a woman born in

Ireland and of Irish origin.

4.3.2 Archaeology at Odlum Site (AkGw-389)

In contrast to the McKinney family, the Odlum family resided in a single location, made up

of a complex of features and perhaps one or two distinct residences for two generations,

demonstrating a pattern distinct from that of a moderate, non-elite farming family: that of a rich, elite farming family (Kenyon 1987b).

The Odlum Site was initially identified during a Stage 2-3 archaeological assessment conducted by D. R. Poulton & Associates Inc. in 2008-2009 (D. R. Poulton & Associates Inc. 2010a). The Stage 3 assessment consisted of a controlled surface collection and the excavation of one metre test units to delineate the limits of the site (D. R. Poulton & Associates Inc. 2010a:6). Subsequent Stage 4 excavations consisted of the manual block excavation of 60 one metre units, followed by monitored mechanical stripping. A total of ten subsurface cultural features were identified, mapped, and hand excavated (Figure 15). These consisted of a root cellar (F.1) and drain (F.1a), a rectangular stone foundation (F.2) with a stone and brick drain (F.2a), a stone-lined well (F.3), a barn footing and ash pit (F.4), a refuse filled depression (F.7), and three post-molds (D. R. Poulton & Associates Inc. 2010d:3-4).

The majority of the artifacts recovered from the Odlum site came from Features 1 and 1a. Some artifacts were recovered from the other features, but their numbers were minimal and are generally not part of this discussion (Table 30). Based on the temporally diagnostic ceramics, the Odlum site was occupied between c.1830-late 1850s. Within the ceramic sherds, this association is mostly related to the absence of creamware (1 sherd), limited presence of pearlware (677 sherds), predominance of whiteware (8187 sherds), and limited presence of ironstone (120 sherds) (Kenyon 1980; Miller et al. 2000). The occupation of the Odlum site spanned at least two generations (Abraham Odlum - generation 1; Edward Odlum - generation 2), as evidenced by the depositional record at the site (following the framework established by Groover 2003). The differing functions of the Feature 1a and Feature 1, respectively drain and cellar, must be considered throughout this section of analysis, and the
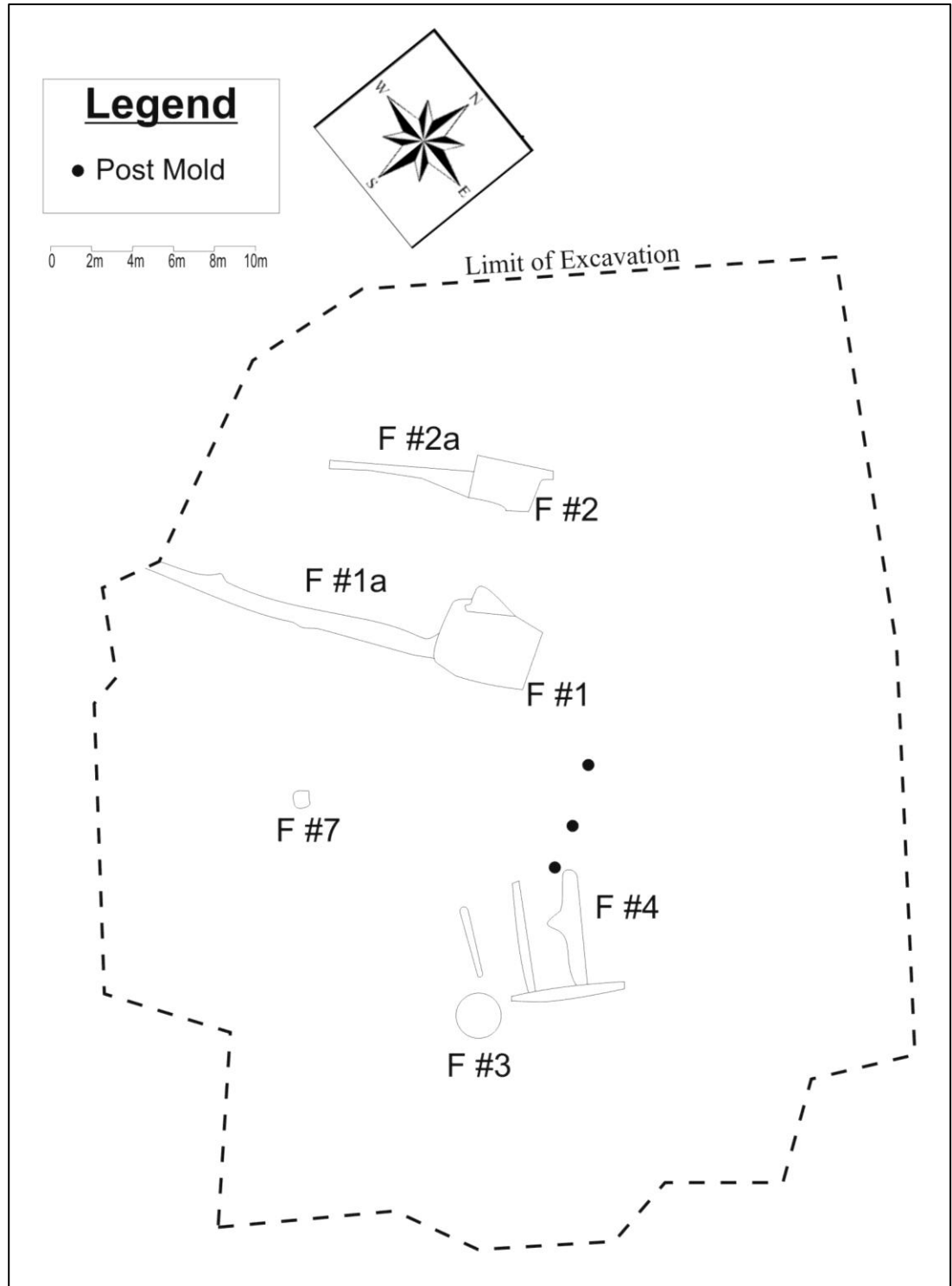
Figure 15: Odlum Excavation Plan

temporal associations of the features are more complicated and intertwined than seen at the

other sites explored in this project. The consulting archaeologists who excavated the site

think that artifact deposition from Feature 1a was the result of an erosion event that initially

deposited artifacts into the drain, which was subsequently used as a midden (D.R. Poulton &

Associates, personal communication, 2012). This can be contrasted with the cellar (Feature

1), which likely saw the deposition of material throughout the life of the household and may

have been used as a midden post-abandonment. Both features represent complex, mixed

deposits that spanned the duration of occupation; however, some temporal differences can be

teased out of the patterning between the two features.

Table 30: Artifacts from Other Features

Feature	n
Feature 2	514
Feature 2a	27
Feature 3	60
Feature 4	593
Feature 5	5
Feature 7	5

As previously discussed, there are numerous changes in ceramic decoration style during the

span of occupation; new manufacturing techniques and decorative motifs were coming into

fashion, as older motifs declined in fashion. By focusing on two decorative styles that

changed through this period, sponged ware and edged wares, the temporal associations of

Features 1 and 1a can be teased apart (Table 31). In Ontario, scalloped edgeware is most

commonly found on sites that pre-date the 1850s, whereas unscalloped edgeware is the most

commonly found on sites that post-date 1850 (Kenyon 1980:8). Also, sponge decorated

sherds were most popular in Ontario between 1840 and 1870 (Kenyon 1980:11). The

breakdown of these temporally specific decorative motifs between Features 1 and 1a

demonstrates that Feature 1a has 74% of the scalloped edgeware sherds and 11% of the

sponged sherds, whereas Feature 1 has 71% of the unscalloped edgeware sherds and 79% of the stamped sherds. The pattern indicates that, despite both features being used as middens throughout the use-life of the Odlum site, Feature 1a contains a larger proportion of pre-1840s ceramics, and Feature 1 contains a larger proportion of post-1840s ceramics. As such, while both Feature 1 and 1a were in use during the occupation of the Odlum family household, Feature 1a can be considered to be more associated with the period of occupation during Abraham Odlum's lifetime, whereas Feature 1 can be considered more representative of the Edward Odlum period until the house was abandoned c.1857. To be sure, build up of deposits overlapped for both features, but Feature 1a was more actively used for a portion of the fuller duration of occupation represented in Feature 1. As previously mentioned, this is a messier and less obviously separated context than that of the McKinney family; however, it does allow for an exploration of roughly generational shifts during the use-life of the household.

Table 31: Distribution of Temporally Diagnostic Ceramics from Features 1 and 1a

Temporally Diagnostic Artifacts	Feature 1	Feature 1a
Scalloped Edgeware Sherds	26%	74%
Unscalloped Edgeware Sherds	71%	29%
Sponged Sherds	89%	11%

The artifact assemblages within the remainder of the features have a more ambiguous temporal association. The ceramics within the other features span the occupation of the site, suggesting that they were being used throughout the lives of Abraham and Edward. As such, they cannot be distinctly associated with either Feature 1 or 1a and are not part of my exploration of the site. There are mended vessels from both Feature 1 and 1a that include sherds from Features 2 and 4. There are some sherds from Feature 1 and 1a that mend with vessels from the opposite feature, but these are limited in number and are usually a single sherd from one feature that mends with numerous from the other. In cases where a sherd

from one feature mends with a vessel from the other, the vessel becomes associated with the feature from which the majority of the sherds originate.

When the functional categories of artifacts are examined (Table 32), the meals systems make up the majority of the assemblage for the Feature 1a (66%), followed by architecture (14%). The contrast of the high percentage of meal system artifacts against the faunal remains (16%) suggests that the material trappings of consumption dispositions were in high demand within this household. When these numbers are examined without faunal remains, the meal systems category of artifacts make up over three-quarters (78%) of the assemblage, followed by architecture (16%). The only other category of any size is personal items (3%). This category is made up mostly smoking pipes, but also contains clothing-related implements (beads, needles, buttons, etc.) and writing implements.

The Feature 1 assemblage shows a lower percentage of meal systems artifacts (42%) and faunal remains (12%), and a drastic increase in architectural remains (34%). When the faunal remains are removed from this assemblage, the importance of meal systems (47%) and architecture (38%) categories increase slightly. The difference in architectural classes of artifacts between the Feature 1 and 1a is likely a product of the differing use of the features and the fact that, post-abandonment, architectural furniture from the dismantling or collapse of the structure above the cellar would have been deposited into the cellar. Therefore, if the architectural artifacts are removed from the calculations, meal system artifacts comprise roughly 80% of the Feature 1 assemblage, which is very similar to the percentage from the Feature 1a.

Table 32: Odlum Family Collections by Function Categories with and without Faunal

Category	Feature 1a				Feature 1			
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Meal Systems	**4903**	**65.5**	**4903**	**77.9**	**5315**	**41.8**	**5315**	**47.4**
Ceramics (refined and coarse)	4732		4732		5141		5141	
Glassware & Containers	160		160		125		125	
Cutlery	11		11		49		49	
Armaments/Hunting	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**5**	**0.0**	**5**	**0.0**
Architecture	**1020**	**13.6**	**1020**	**16.2**	**4262**	**33.5**	**4262**	**38.0**
Window Glass	285		285		1478		1478	
Metal	693		693		2722		2722	
Bricks	42		42		61		61	
Chimney Pot	-		-		1		1	
Domestic Furniture	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**89**	**0.7**	**89**	**0.8**
Personal	**214**	**2.9**	**214**	**3.4**	**932**	**7.3**	**932**	**8.3**
Smoking Pipe	150		150		662		662	
Jewelry	-		-		2		2	
Beads	5		5		6		6	
Clothing	38		38		185		185	
Coins/Discs	-		-		22		22	
Combs/Razors	4		4		11		11	
Writing Implements	11		11		26		26	
Eyeglass Lens	1		1		-		-	
Toys	-		-		10		10	
Mouth Harps	-		-		1		1	
Other	5		5		7		7	
Domestic Activities	**55**	**0.7**	**55**	**0.9**	**375**	**2.9**	**375**	**3.3**
Thimbles/Pins	12		12		325		325	
Tin Scoop/Bucket	41		41		39		39	
Whetstone	1		1		2		2	
Files	-		-		5		5	
Other	1		1		4		4	
Transport	**2**	**0.0**	**2**	**0.0**	**25**	**0.2**	**25**	**0.2**
Miscellaneous	**104**	**1.4**	**104**	**1.7**	**215**	**1.7**	**215**	**1.9**
Faunal	**1190**	**15.9**	**-**	**-**	**1498**	**11.8**	**-**	**-**
TOTAL	7488	100.0	6298	100.0	12716	100.0	11218	100.0

The personal and domestic artifacts make up relatively small percentages of the Feature 1a assemblage (3% and 0%, respectively). This in itself would not be of note, but when compared to the Feature 1 (8% and 3%, respectively), this increase merits explanation. This increase is most notable in the artifacts associated with clothing and clothing maintenance, which suggests that there was a shift between generations in their perspectives towards clothing. The drastic increase of clothing related objects in Feature 1 suggests that a greater emphasis was placed upon the maintenance and/or alteration of clothing. However, these items could also represent accidental losses through floorboards into the cellar, a phenomenon that would not have added to the deposition of these items as waste into the drain.

4.3.2.1 Feature 1a Ceramics

The vessel forms from Feature 1a indicate some patterning (Table 33). First, the assemblage is comprised mostly of plates (44%) and teas (44%), with few bowls (13%). This pattern indicates that the inhabitants primarily ate solid meals. Also, tea consumption was likely an important aspect of their dining etiquette. As a side note, while not a major focus of my comparisons, there are also numerous specialized vessel forms (e.g., tureens, platters, etc), as well as pressed glass tableware, that would have been important in multi-course, formalized dining conventions reported among 19th-century military officer etiquettes (Clements 1993 :56-57; Table 34).

Table 33: Feature 1a Vessel Form and Design by MNV

	undecorated		edged		moulded		sponged		dipt		painted		transfer print		porcelain		total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
plate	2	25	10	100.0	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	54.7	-	-	42	43.8
bowl	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	100.0	3	27.3	2	3.8	-	-	12	12.5
teas	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	7	100.0	-	-	8	72.7	22	41.5	2	100.0	42	43.8
total	8	100.0	10	100.0	1	100.0	7	100.0	4	100.0	11	100.0	53	100.0	2	100.0	96	100.0
	8.3%		10.4%		1.0%		7.3%		4.20%		11.5%		55.2%		2.1%		100.0%	

The presence of numerous sets of ceramic vessels in the assemblage from Feature 1a

indicates that the Odlum family had the purchasing power to obtain sets rather than

piecemeal vessel replacements. Unlike the other sites examined, the ceramic vessels from the

Odlum assemblage were found in large pieces that could be easily refitted. This made

assessing the presence of sets within a MNV much easier, because of the increased ability to

distinguish individual vessels. Within the assemblage of the Feature 1a, there were obviously

sets of painted and transfer printed vessels. It is unclear whether these sets were purchased

after the family arrived in Upper Canada or brought with them from Europe, but they do

indicate maintenance of formalized dining dispositions comprising the use of ceramic sets.

This desire is often attributed to people embedded within social categories for whom the

appearance of the formalized consumption practices of the elite are important (Garrow 1987;

Seretis 2003; Smith 2007).

Table 34: Other Notable Artifacts from Features 1 and 1a

Other Vessels	F.1	F.1a
Ceramic Sherds from Other Vessel Forms	6	18
Glass Tableware Sherds	18	71

Forty-five percent of the Feature 1a assemblage is expensive (transfer print, ironstone, or

porcelain). When this is subdivided by vessels, a selective choice in expensive vessels is

apparent (Table 35). Seventy-one percent of the plates and 52% of the teas are expensive,

whereas only 17% of the bowls are expensive. The similar percentages for expensive and

non-expensive plates and teas may suggest the maintenance of a non-expensive set of dishes

for daily use and an expensive set for meals for when the demonstration of elite dining

practices was important. The lower percentage of expensive bowls suggests that while bowls

may have been used in public meals, they were perhaps more important within mundane

daily meals. Most noteworthy is the fact that whether the meal was formal or not, the functional aspects of the meal (i.e. what kinds of dishes were used) remained fairly constant. This could signify that the inhabitants were already engaged in the daily dining etiquettes of the Euro-Canadian elite and were able to substitute the value of the vessels when needed.

Table 35: Expensive Ceramics from Odlum Family

	Feature 1a	Feature 1
Expensive Plates	71.4%	50.0%
Expensive Bowl	16.7%	0.0%
Expensive Teas	52.4%	50.0%
Total Expensive	45.8%	42.9%
Plate:Saucer	1.00	1.18

4.3.2.2 Feature 1a – Faunal Remains

Within the analysis of the faunal remains from the Feature 1a, woodchuck comprises over a third of the assemblage (Table 36). It is unlikely that inhabitants ate woodchuck in that quantity, so the woodchuck remains are likely intrusive, presumably using the drain and searching for food in the midden deposits. Once the woodchuck remains are removed, the remainder of the assemblage is almost entirely made up of domesticates, including pig (43%), and cow (42%). Of note is the low number of sheep/goat (10%) and chicken (6%).

4.3.2.3 Feature 1 – Ceramics

The ceramic vessels from the Feature 1 demonstrate many of the same patterns as the Feature 1a (Table 37). The assemblage is comprised of mostly plates (46%) and teas (39%), with few bowls (14%), which all indicate that the primary meals for the inhabitants were solid meals. Of note, the higher number ceramic sherds of other vessel forms and pressed glass sherds have declined from Feature 1a.

Table 36: Summary of Faunal Analysis

	Feature 1a		Feature 1	
	n	*%*	n	*%*
Domesticates				
Pig	71	42.8%	171	69.0%
Cow	69	41.6%	20	8.1%
Sheep/Goat	16	9.6%	17	6.9%
Dog	-	-	1	0.4%
Cat	-	-	1	0.4%
Chicken	10	6.0%	38	15.3%
Total	**166** **40.3%**		**248** **47.5%**	
Mammals				
Rodent	7		199	
Chipmunk	1		-	
Woodchuck	234		-	
Squirrel	1		1	
Total	**243** **59.0%**		**200** **38.3%**	
Birds				
Goose	-	-	25	59.5%
Turkey	-	-	4	9.5%
Galliform	1	33.3%	4	9.5%
Duck	-	-	3	7.1%
Pheasant	2	66.6%	-	-
Quail	-	-	6	14.3%
Total	**3** **0.7%**		**42** **8.0%**	
Other				
Frog/Toad	-		22	
Mollusc	-		10	
Total	**-** **-**		**32** **6.1%**	
Grand Total	**412** **100.0%**		**522** **100.0%**	

Table 37: Feature 1 Vessel Form and Design by MNV

	undecorated		edged		dipt		painted		transfer print		porcelain		total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
plate	-	-	11	100.0	-	-	2	13.3	13	56.5	-	-	26	46.4
bowl	1	100.0	-	-	5	100.0	2	13.3	-	-	-	-	8	14.3
teas	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	73.3	10	43.5	1	100.0	22	39.3
total	1	100.0	11	100.0	5	100.0	15	100.0	23	100.0	1	100.0	56	100.0
	1.8%		19.6%		8.9%		26.8%		41.1%		1.8%		100.0%	

Expensive ceramics (transfer printed, ironstone, and porcelain) comprise 43% of the assemblage (Table 35). When vessels forms are examined, 50% of the plates and teas, and none of the bowls, are expensive. Overall, this represents a decrease in the expensive wares from the Feature 1as. The decline, overall, in expensive vessel forms, along with the minimal number of other vessel forms, may suggest that the high dinner custom of Abraham Odlum's generation, an importation of British military officer's and landed class sensibility, gave way in the subsequent generation to less elaborate conventions around perhaps both formal and personal dining conventions, suggesting that the occupants of the Feature 1 were more engaged with a sense of their Euro-Canadian identity and social conventions.

4.3.2.4 Feature 1 – Faunal Remains

Rodents comprise over a third of the faunal assemblage from the Feature 1 (Table 36). It is unlikely that inhabitants were eating rodents in that quantity, so the rodent remains are likely intrusive to the assemblage. Once the rodent remains are removed, the remainder of the assemblage is primarily domesticates, supplemented with some bird. Domesticates in the faunal assemblage include pig (69%), but chickens also comprise a significant proportion (15%). Cow (8%) and sheep (7%) comprise only a small part of the assemblage. The emphasis on pig, with limited use of sheep and cow, most closely resembles the patterning from Irish or Euro-Canadian households (Ferris and Kenyon 1983); however, it is unclear how the presence of chicken fits within this pattern. Domestic chicken makes up a significant proportion of the assemblage, but in general, unfortunately goes unreported or under-discussed within the majority of faunal assemblages from Upper Canada. The marked decrease in the importance of cow between the Feature 1 and 1a is interesting. Considering that the census data indicates that the Odlums were raising and selling more cow and sheep

than pig (Tables 27 and 28), there exists the possibility that they raised cow and sheep for their economic value, and pig for their own personal consumption.

4.4 Comparing Covenanter/McKinney and Odlum

This section compares the patterns observed in the Covenanter/McKinney and Odlum assemblages. First, the patterns are contextualized within existing Euro-Canadian patterns, and then they are directly compared against each other.

4.4.1 Euro-Canadian Context in Ontario

To contextualize the McKinney and Odlum families within a broader Euro-Canadian context, I am exploring similar patterns to that reviewed in Chapter 4.

The first pattern examined are the percentages of the plate/teas/bowls (as described in Kenyon and Kenyon 1982; see Monks 1999 for a critique). When first articulated by Kenyon and Kenyon (1982), they provided a Euro-Canadian pattern of roughly 18 sites, and exhibited a fairly consistent pattern of mostly flatware and teas, with some bowls. Updating the same Euro-Canadian sites to 53, the general pattern remained (Figure 16); however, there appears to be a core of sites around 45% plates/45% teas/10% bowls, with outliers. Interestingly, the percentage of plates and teas appears to be variable, while the percentage of bowls is more restricted. Generally, assemblages have between 5%-20% bowls. This suggests that bowls are generally less important in Euro-Canadian meal systems, but their presence is still required within the assemblage. Overall, Kenyon's initial pattern remains the same with the addition of more sites, but the Euro-Canadian pattern is broader than initially interpreted.
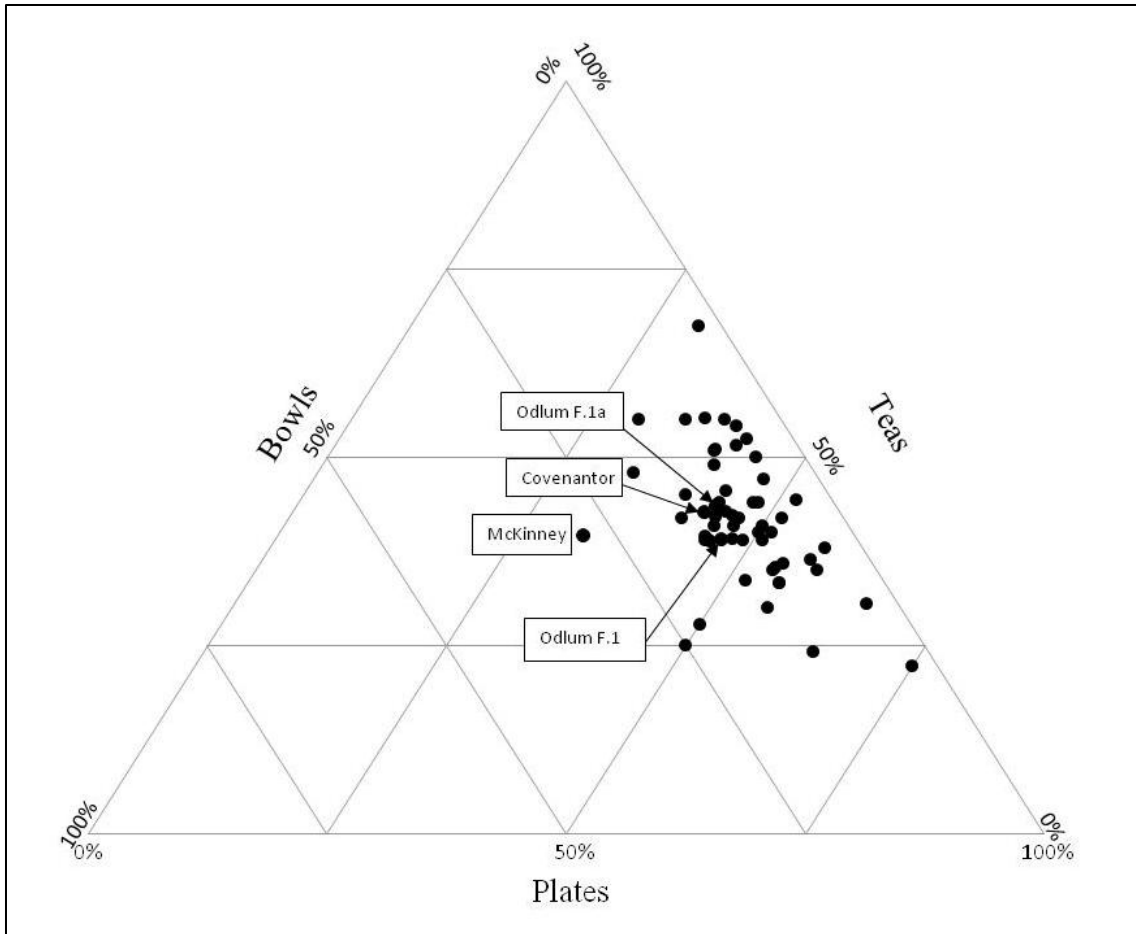
Figure 16: Percentages of Plates, Bowls, and Teas on Euro-Canadian Sites (Data from ASI 2006, 2007a, b, c, d, 2008a, b, c, 2009a, b, c, 2010a, c, 2011a, b, c, 2012; D. R. Poulton & Associates Inc. 1998, 2003a, b, c, 2006, 2009, 2010b, c; Ferris and Kenyon 1983; Kenyon 1987a; Kenyon et al. 1984; Kenyon and Kenyon 1982; MacDonald 2002; Morrison 1991)

Not surprisingly, adding the four assemblages from the McKinney/Covenanter and Odlum sites into Kenyon's broader dataset does not greatly affect the results. The Covenanter and two Odlum assemblages are all situated around the core of the concentration; however, the McKinney assemblage is an outlier because of its high percentage of bowls; in fact it contains the highest of any assemblage in Figure 16. It is difficult to explain why McKinney has so many bowls compared to other Euro-Canadian assemblages, especially when the Covenanter site falls directly within the main concentration, though it is worth noting that

over a dozen of the bowls in the assemblage were dipt or banded, suggesting that there was a

strong preference for this type of bowl, and serving perhaps idiosyncratic purposes for the

family. It should also be mentioned that McKinney is not the only outlier in Kenyon's chart.

The two other outliers with higher percentages of bowls are a Scottish farm and a tenant

farm, so it is possible this variation may be related to the economic status of the inhabitants,

but presently there is not enough data to explore this possibility within this project.

The second pattern examined is the correlation between plate to saucer ratios and expensive

ware percentages within assemblages (as described in Kenyon and Kenyon 1986:22).

Kenyon and Kenyon initially observed that within a set of twenty 19th-century European sites

in southwestern Ontario, there was a "somewhat meaningful correlation" (as cited in Ferris

2009:161) between these two factors (r^2=0.482). Kenyon attributed this pattern to dining

etiquette, in which the number of courses increased as the economic status of the inhabitants

rose, leading to the use of a greater number of plates over the course of the meal, while the

use of a single teacup and saucer per person would have remained constant across

households, regardless of economic status. Thus the expectation of the comparison would

have been that the assemblages with higher percents of expensive wares would correlate with

an increase in the ratio of plates to teas.

When the data set is expanded to include 57 domestic site assemblages, any meaningful co-

relation disappears between these two measures disappear (r^2=0.0056; Figure 17). That this

co-relation no longer holds suggests that these two factors encompass a broader range of

variables than Kenyon and Kenyon originally accounted for. For example, it is worth noting

that there is a much higher variability in plate to saucer ratios within assemblages with very

limited (below 15%) expensive wares. This may suggest that 19th-century dining conventions
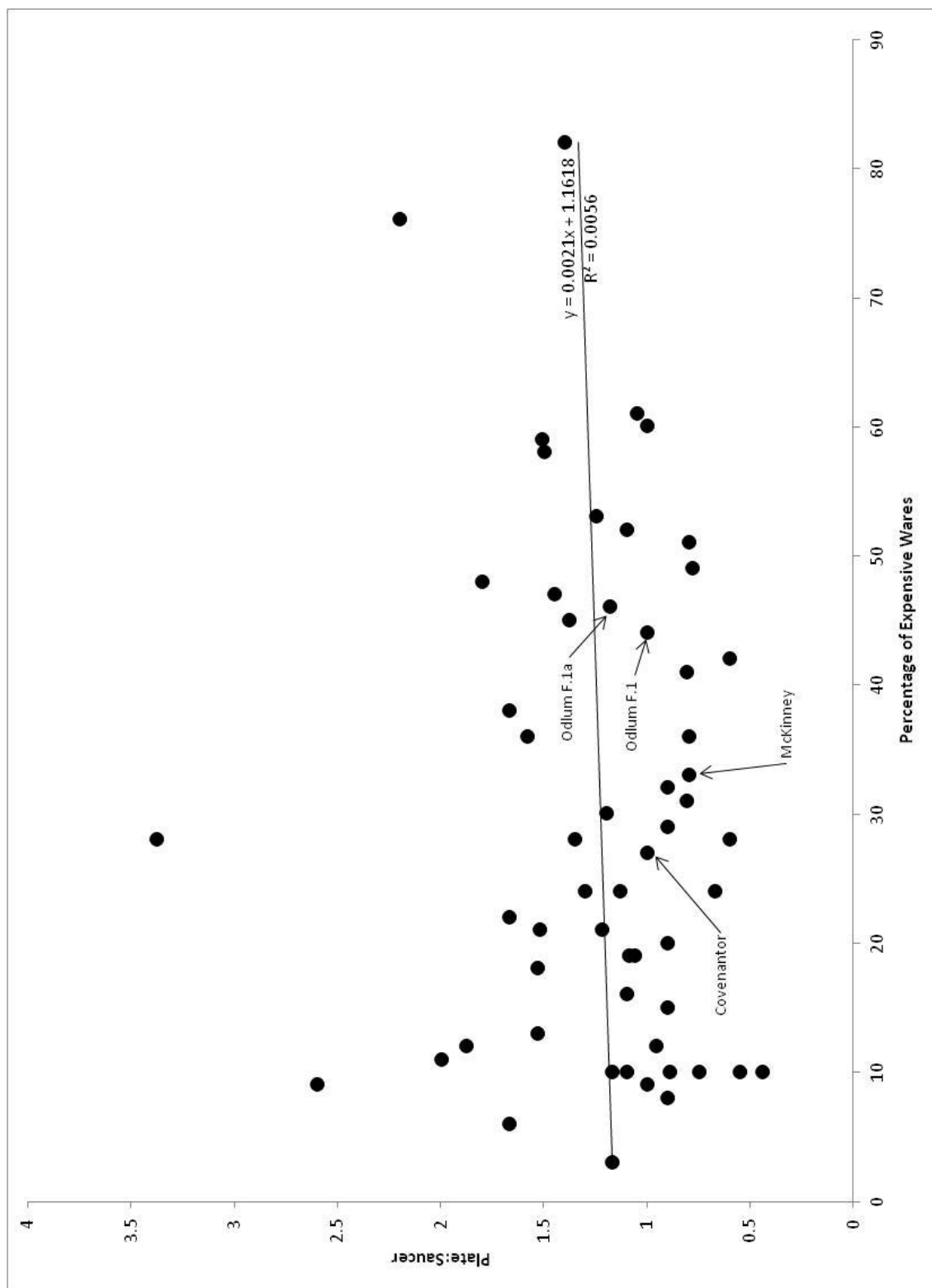
Figure 17: Plate:Saucer and Percentage of Expensive Wares for Euro-Canadian Sites (Data from ASI 2006, 2007a, b, c, d, 2008a, b, c, 2009a, b, c, 2010a, c, 2011a, b, c, 2012; DRPA. 1998, 2003a, b, c, 2006, 2009, 2010b, c; Ferris and Kenyon 1983; Kenyon 1987a; Kenyon et al. 1984; Kenyon and Kenyon 1982; MacDonald 2002; Morrison 1991)

within this subset were highly variable by access to, and capacity to choose, vessel form by cost variability. Additionally, Figure 17 exhibits additional subsets of sites, including a cluster of sites over 20% and less than 40% expensive wares that may exhibit a decline in plate:saucer ratios, while above that percentage, there appears to be a fairly consistent cluster of sites with perhaps a slight increase in plate:saucer ratios. Obviously, additional site collections might be able to better tease out sub-trends, especially if period occupation, locale, and tradition of dining conventions can be better accounted for across the chart. But it is worth nothing that these sub-trends suggest there are still variable logics at play within households. These may reflect variable capacities in choosing and acquiring ceramics and vessel forms of preference, and/or reflect the emergence of variable dining conventions across southern Ontario in the 19th century based on variability across an economic spectrum.

 If we focus on the McKinney and Odlum family sites and where they place within Figure 17, the respective assemblages for each family are plotted near each other, which suggest that there is a consistency between the two generations of each family. It is also interesting to note that the McKinney family assemblages fall well within the possible middle subset of sites, while the Odlum assemblages fall within the possible higher subset trend. This is consistent with the placement of the McKinney family within a middle, non-elite pattern and economic status, while the Odlums appear to exhibit an elite pattern and higher economic status.

In speculating why Kenyon's trends both change and disappear when the data set is increased, and possible subset trends emerge, it is possible that the 'umbrella-like' concept of Euro-Canadian (or European) category for the sites may be encompassing significant variation. As previously mentioned, Euro-Canadian is a category that is ill-defined, with

presently no accepted convention on when or how an individual is considered part of, and expected to behave within the conventions of their respective country of birth (e.g., Irish, British, German, American), or Euro-Canadian. This is not meant to imply that there is something intrinsic about where people are born that imbues them with an inherently different perspective, but rather that if an individual is raised within a set of practices, dispositions, and conceptualizations of daily life, this may play out differently in different locales. Can an adult born and raised in Ireland revise their conceptualizations to an Upper Canadian context to the point they can be considered 'Euro-Canadian', or is this something reserved for people who grew up in the Upper Canadian context? It is likely neither one nor the other, but what makes someone Euro-Canadian must be deconstructed before a 'Euro-Canadian pattern' can be understood.

For example, for some of the sites in Figure 17, the likely ethnic affiliation (e.g., Irish, British, Scottish) is known, but if we subdivide the sites into ethnic categories, the numbers become too small (between 2 and 7) to observe any meaningful patterning. As mentioned previously, small sample sizes likely had a lot to do with many of Kenyon and Kenyon's interpretations of Six Nations patterns. Also, it is clear that other aspects are fissuring these ethnic categories. The placement of the Odlum and McKinney families, who can be considered either Irish, Euro-Canadian, or British (in the case of Abraham Odlum's children), suggests that other factors, such as social class (i.e. elite/non-elite), influence where they fall within the data. Focusing primarily on ethnicity as a factor of difference, and downplaying others, might not be the ideal direction for future research. A more holistic perspective is needed when looking for patterns and differences. More data is not an answer in itself; we need to think differently about the data and our methods of analysis.

4.4.2 Direct Comparisons of the Sites

In comparing the archaeological assemblages from the McKinney and Odlum archaeological sites, some distinct observations can be offered. First, the Odlums were clearly engaged with an elite Euro-Canadian mentality, whereas the McKinneys were engaged with a non-elite mentality. Upon arriving in Upper Canada, the Odlums imported with them the sensibilities, mindset, and sense of economic entitlement and obligation of a retired British naval officer that afforded them social capital. Their move to Upper Canada to take possession of a land grant – as part of the reward of a retiring naval officer in the British military after service at various locales across the empire – was, in many ways, the Odlum's continuation of the family's economic wealth and landed gentry focus from back in Ireland. Abraham Odlum's retirement and land grant was an entitlement of someone who had served the empire and was provided with the capital and status, albeit in the colony of Upper Canada, to maintain the trappings, attitudes, and dispositions of the elite.

Stephen Silliman's (2001, in press) concepts of survivance and residence were not initially framed to be applied to groups encompassed within the colonizer; however, I believe they remain applicable. As with colonized groups, colonizers are not free to enact life outside of the purview of the colonial process and are inherently embedded within a temporal and social context in which they negotiate their lived present, through the lens of their past, while striving for a beneficial future. This being said, such limiting or enabling pressures do shift through time and are affected by ever-fluid public perceptions and values. The first generation of the Odlums, represented by Abraham, can be described as a family of the British Empire. That Abraham was born and raised in Ireland was likely of less importance than the fact that he was from the segment of society that formed the British colonial power

class in this part of the British Empire. Abraham serving as an officer in the Navy and marrying Eliza, an English woman and fellow citizen of the British Empire, both tend to underscore that point, even while his birth place was Irish. Notably, his children's birthplaces were indeed a tangible reflection of the extent of that Empire in the early 19th century, born variously in Africa, Guernsey, and Upper Canada during his career as officer and in post-military retirement.

Within the second generation, while economic sensibilities continued and the family's initial enhanced colonial entitlements earned by Abraham were substantively expanded, there nonetheless appears to have been a shift after Abraham and Eliza died in the 1830s away from the expectations and norms of colonial elite and British officer custom. What emerges then continues to reflect wealth and status in dining conventions, but perhaps not as elaborately emphasized in the second generation, where the custom and entitlements of Empire perhaps lost a bit of their resonance among the increasingly indigenous Euro-Canadian populace of southern Ontario. Unlike the second generation of the Powless' at Mohawk Village, there appears to be less of a sense of needing to sustain the rights and responsibilities of inherited elite formal dining conventions, with a less overall diversity of vessel forms and a slight decrease in the extent of expensive wares through the latter period of occupation at the original Odlum homestead. And while the site context makes it difficult to neatly separate first from second generation, if the cellar (Feature 1) does indeed represent more of the material remains of second generation, the decline in cattle and increase in pig within the diet may be one modest signature of a shift from British gentry meal time conventions towards more of a broad 'Euro-Canadian' convention in dining. In short, there was less of a commitment to expressing a colonial power class sensibility and officer customs, which belonged more to the father and less the children, and more of an embracing

of an economically upper class sensibility emerging through the middle of 19th-century southern Ontario.

Within the Odlum narrative, I envision the second generation as engaging with the process of residence: adapting (perhaps even resisting) the original colonial elite conventions Abraham imported over time, as the sensibilities were no longer relevant to sustaining the second generations' context (as elite and important shapers of the local tenor of the agricultural cash crop economy of southern Ontario that had emerged by the mid 19th century). Indeed, while census recordings are fraught with observer bias at the time, it is still worth underscoring that by the early 1880s, Edward Odlum and the rest of the Odlum family at that time were willing to be ascribed in the 1881 census record as 'Irish in origin', rather than British. Affiliation with the British Empire for the Odlums at this time may have simultaneously been an obvious fact, and irrelevant in early formation Canada, despite the obvious facts of birth and place for many of the second generation. The 'heritage' of the founding mother and father in southern Ontario shifted to be the place they had originated from – by late 19th century, a specific nexus of concepts that did not require the distinction of British Empire – and entirely inconsequential to the reality of wealth and status sustained in the second generation in southern Ontario.

The Odlum narrative can be contrasted against the McKinney family, who were not likely considered poor or living in poverty, but were firmly embedded within the middle class, classified as non-elite, and as such exhibited material dispositions consistent with that framing. Their dispositions were more similar to those of other Irish-originated immigrant farmstead sites in Ontario (Ferris and Kenyon 1983; Kenyon et al. 1984), but there was certainly variability between generations. This suggests that their Irish dispositions were

being maintained, while simultaneously changing to accommodate reflect local context. As such, the McKinney family can be understood as being within Silliman's (2001; in press) process of residence as well. The McKinneys do not appear to ever overtly deny their Irish identity, and that aspect of their identity did not directly contest their other identities as farmers or non-elite.

The process of residence for the McKinneys can be observed within the archaeological records. The presence of painted, green, shamrock designs on a set of ceramics within the assemblage from the second generation of the McKinney family can be attributed to an effort of the occupants to visually express and assert their Irish identity and heritage within their consumption dispositions at a time when this was readily accepted within North America (Brighton 2011; A. Smith 2004). This trend has repeatedly been observed at Irish sites in the United States (Brighton 2004, 2008, 2009, 2011; Brighton and Orser 2006) and presumably, this visible assertion of Irish identity operated without threats to the other categories of identities the family also operated within (e.g., non-elite, Euro-Canadian, colonizer, etc.). The faunal data from the McKinney sites also suggest that they adhered to broad 'Euro-Canadian' food preferences.

 Both families were engaged with their Irish origins to varied degrees and at different points in time. But were their Irish origins, as having definitional meaning (or not) within their sense of identity, entirely subsumed by their social class or their engagement within the Euro-Canadian context? It could be argued either way, as their understandings of both social class and Euro-Canadian-ness would be framed by a lens developed from living in or engaging with their contemporary identity, their Irish origins, their understanding of their socio-economic place in the emerging Canadian society of southern Ontario, etc. Indeed,

shifting understandings of Irish-ness as origin or aspect of identity for both families over time means that it cannot be essentialized through time, even if, in time, essentialized stereotypes were variably embraced or resisted. When we, as archaeologists, choose to engage with an essentialized identity (e.g., Irish, Mohawk, British, etc.), we are inherently imposing an essentialized understanding from the present, not the past, and these understandings can vary drastically in reality. Just as the Odlums and the McKinneys had different lived experiences and continually revised positive, negative, or indifferent notions of what their Irish origins may have meant, so do archaeologists in the present. Even if we try to contextualize these essentialized identities in our understandings of the past, they remain our own constructs of the present.

If we then accept that essentialized identities do not exist, we must turn to other forms of identity, such as Euro-Canadian. As previously mentioned, the Euro-Canadian identity is poorly defined and is left amorphous so as to encapsulate or differentiate varied groups of people when it is convenient for the researcher to make such distinctions. Depending on a researcher's focus, the McKinneys and Odlums could arguably be framed as either both or variably Irish, British, and/or Euro-Canadian, and each would be 'correct' and incorrect, because of the limitations of either-or categorizations. I do not think this in itself is problematic for archaeologists, but the almost-blind faith with which archaeologists tend to embrace essentialized categories, either within historic or ancient archaeological records, certainly is. These essentialized categories of differentiation become tools that are used to remove or include data into data sets to create patterns. These categories do not necessarily reflect a true reality; instead, they only have meaning within the artifice of archaeological classification because we assume and infuse these categories with meaning and have opted, as a local archaeological discipline, to make these our major categories of difference. The

creation of these umbrella-like ethnicities (Irish, British, Euro-Canadian, etc.) allows us to impose our presently-constructed order onto a chaotic and disorganized past, thus enabling the creation of an easily digestible narrative for our discipline's, and public, consumption.

Chapter 5

5 Bridging the Conceptual Divide

Chapter 5 brings the Six Nations and Euro-Canadian data and interpretations together to consider whether assumptions of difference on both sides of the colonial divide hold up to direct comparison, or whether there is instead a conceptual narrative perpetuated by the continued use of such assumptions within archaeology. The previous two chapters engaged with the Six Nations and Euro-Canadian datasets independent of one another to purposefully demonstrate the narratives that can be created from within already-established colonizer and colonized categories. The interpretations developed in these chapters are valid, logical, and have the strength to stand on their own merit; however, by bringing these divided narratives into dialogue, a new discourse becomes possible.

5.1 The Colonial Imaginary: A Shadow of the Present

The divide between the archaeology of the colonizer and the archaeology of the colonized is rooted in how both are conceptualized within the discipline. To bridge this divide, a reflexive re-evaluation is needed to re-conceptualize our own colonial imaginary. There are a growing number of archaeologists who are engaged with the notion that we, as researchers of the past, are active agents in the production in knowledge (Charest 2009; Haber 2007, 2012; Horning 2011; McGuire 2008; Oliver in press; Voss 2010; Wilcox 2009; cf. Hodder 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1987). Thus, we are not objective translators of the archaeological record. Instead, the questions we ask, the data we value, and the interpretations we accept are all based in our own present, which we impose onto the past so that we can make sense of it. The

archaeological past that we create is not an inherent truth; it is observed through each researcher's particular lens of their present. This is not to say that archaeological interpretation is an entirely relativist endeavour (e.g., Shanks and Tilley 1987), but rather that the materiality of the archaeological data that constrains our interpretations exist entirely in the present. Archaeological data represents partial vestiges of past practices which are fleshed-out by interpretive processes in the present. The process of archaeological interpretation produces an ever-changing set of multi-narrative pasts that are continuously re-negotiated by the shifting conceptualizations of various researchers. In a sense, the colonial past with which we engage is imaginary, subject to the transitory nature of our understandings of people in the present. This is not to say that colonialism did not occur, or that colonialism is not real and thus has no impact. Colonialism had very real and horrendous consequences in the past, and this past continues to play out in hurtful and marginalizing ways in the present by continually reifying difference, exclusion, and power differentials. As such, present day discourses of past colonialisms are in fact extensions of the ongoing and present colonial process, serving to make colonialisms, as they are understood in the present, more real.

For any form of research, archaeological or otherwise, it is of the upmost importance to emphasize our own positionality: we, as researchers, are embedded within academic, political, disciplinary, and personal baggage that all inherently influence the research conducted, including the questions that are asked, the meanings that are inferred, and the narratives that are then written. This is not a new thought, and the essentialist debates of 'what is the purpose of archaeology' and 'how do archaeologists make meaning' are long standing (Binford 1962, 1972, 1987; Childe 1956; Hodder 1986; Hodder and Hutson 2003; Renfrew 1984; Shanke and Tilly 1987; Trigger 2006 to name a few). I understand the core of

this positionality debate as involving oft-acknowledged paradigm shifts (e.g., culture history, processualism, and post-processualism) and present day perpetuations of our discipline's many -isms as the products of differing archaeologists observing and critiquing their contemporaneous meaning-making conventions and then arguing, from their own positionality, for a more accurate archaeological interpretation of the past: a variation that ranges from an objective scientific discipline to a relativistic theoretical engagement, and everything in between. Each subsequent archaeological iteration is an effort to interpret beyond the observed conceptual baggage and re-position of the archaeological process (e.g., to being more objective or subjective) to a better vantage point. In keeping with this archaeological truism, efforts should be made to make our positionality explicit so that others can critique and offer alternatives to our created narratives; however, we cannot unshackle ourselves from our conceptual presents.

Each researcher is an individual whom has developed their own conceptual imaginary of how the world, and people within it, functions and functioned in the past. This does not mean that new ideas, data, and concepts cannot or should not be incorporated by researchers, but that we must first 'make sense' within how we, as individuals, conceptualize the world before being able to apply it onto research contexts (Charest 2009:420). We do not need to live out these concepts or processes ourselves, but they must 'make sense' in our worldview. For example, I grew up in a household in Newfoundland with a Newfoundland father and a German mother. Both of my parents had strong attachments to their backgrounds and traditions, and as such, I was socialized in a hybridized Newfoundland-German household that embedded me into Newfoundland society as simultaneous insider and outsider. My upbringing has encouraged me to conceptualize household negotiation in a manner that embraces the many different possibilities for each negotiation or experience and

fundamentally shapes how I 'make sense' of the world. To that end, I approach archaeological households with an awareness of household mixing that others may not. I am not saying that others cannot see similar things without my specific experience, or even that experientialism, which is what I believe McGhee (2008) was arguing against, necessarily provides an inherently better narrative.

Rather, I do believe that it is our own experiences, both in life and in the academic milieu, which allow us to make sense of the world and ultimately create the lens through which we make our archaeological interpretations and narratives. For example, if I had presented my narrative in Chapter 3 as one of acculturation of the Mohawk, in which they had become 'good colonizers' at the loss of their Indigenous identities, I would have encountered some agreement but also a tremendous amount of resistance from some in the academic community (as well as others) that would make any counter arguments prohibitive. However, if I had presented this narrative as one where the Mohawk had maintained, unchanged, their Indigenous identities and practices in spite of colonial impositions, this would have been better received by those who would have critiqued me in the first scenario, and I would have been critiqued by those who better received my first scenario. In fact, selective data could feasibly be presented to support an argument in favour of either narrative, and differing times within which the research was conducted would have privileged differing narratives. For example, invoking the more acculturative archaeological discourse, such as critiqued by Cusick (1998), the presence of domesticates within the faunal assemblage at Mohawk Village – when compared to the emphasis of wild game at the Davisville settlement – could lead to a discussion of the Mohawk Village inhabitants as becoming more European. Alternatively, Ferris' (2009) research presents the same data, but invokes different literature with a different conceptualization: in this narrative, the Powless' of Mohawk Village did not

simply 'become more European', but rather their elite identity engaged with their

conceptualization of who they were and how they hoped to incorporate and maintain

traditions in the future as they engaged with the material trappings of the colonial class elite.

As often stated, the data does not and cannot speak for itself, and it is our role as

archaeologists to give voice to the data (Hodder and Hutson 2003:4; Wylie 1993:21); yet, the

voice we provide is ultimately our own subjective one, tempered through our disciplinary

habitus and constrained by the realities of the available data. This allows for alternative

interpretations, but also restricts the interpretations to topics or debates considered

appropriate at the time.

5.1.1 "You Are Perpetuating a Lie"

The above statement came from a 2012 meeting between a local First Nations community

and the archaeological community in Ontario. The speaker was referring to the role

archaeologists play in legitimizing the elected band council over the traditional band council

within their community. While this sentiment arose from debating the various dimensions of

contemporary archaeological practice and its impacts on First Nations' communities, this

comment also underscored to me the continuing colonial legacies that play out in the

archaeological process of making meaning from contested pasts. A good example of such

practices is how the act of labelling archaeological sites serves to create a historical and

cultural affiliation for a site as defined by the archaeologist; how we label sites makes it real.

Notably, the process of determining the cultural affiliation of sites usually serves to reify a

colonizer/colonized divide. Historic Euro-Canadian sites often receive the label 'homestead'

or 'farmstead', invoking an image of a nuclear family taming the wilderness and eking out an

agricultural existence (Ferris 2007:3). This can be contrasted with historic Aboriginal sites

that are often labelled 'cabins' or 'shacks', invoking a very different image. Cabins and

shacks invoke less permanence and a disengagement from agricultural practices, especially

when contrasted to homesteads and farmsteads, despite the long-term history and

continuation of Iroquoian farming practices well into the 19th century (e.g., Morgan 1851;

Snow 1994; Warrick 2008; Weaver 1978). A similar pattern of differential naming has been

noted within African American CRM archaeology in the United States:

> Domestic sites associated with black occupants were listed as tenant, farmstead, or dwelling, whereas a site listed with a white occupant, whether the occupant owned the property or not, was called a farmstead or homestead. In other words, there were no white tenant sites. The recording archaeologists seem to have naturalized the binaries of white/black with owner/tenant rather than to first question their own inadvertent racial assumptions. (Barile 2004:96)

Through exploring how sites are labelled in the province of Ontario, it is apparent that this

practice can have significant effects on the world beyond archaeology (Ferris 2003). For

example, in order to trigger the Aboriginal engagement legislation within the Ontario

provincial standards and guidelines, one criterion is that other Aboriginal sites need to be

identified in the provincial database within one kilometre of the property under investigation

(Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010, 2011); however, our labelling practices

remove these sites from the database before we even look. Presently, to obtain permission to

conduct an archaeological assessment on an existing archaeological site or to register a new

one, an archaeologist is forced to identify whether the site is Aboriginal or Euro-Canadian.

The archaeologist has the option to leave temporal or cultural affiliation blank in other parts

of the form, but they must be checked as either Aboriginal or Euro-Canadian in the final box;

it cannot be neither, or both, or 'I don't know'. In practice, this broadly follows the 'pre-

contact = Aboriginal: post-contact = Euro-Canadian' convention (critiqued by Lightfoot

1995), which serves to remove Aboriginal archaeological sites from the post-contact era; this

effectively makes post-contact Ontario a colonial landscape populated solely with Euro-Canadian families.

To emphasize the impact of this convention, I chose to review the existing archaeological record in Brantford Township. An examination of the 1851 manuscript personal census for Brantford Township, Brant County, Ontario, shows a population that is predominantly of British decent; however, a wider range of counties of origin are represented and subsumed within the 'mixed' category (Table 38). When this is compared to the archaeological sites registered within the Township, a disjuncture is apparent (Table 39; MTCS 2012). Of the 70 historical archaeology sites in the Township, 58 are labelled as Euro-Canadian and 12 are labelled as Aboriginal. On initial inspection it would appear that the Aboriginal sites might be over-represented; however, when this is deconstructed, nine of the Aboriginal sites are historic Neutral Iroquoian sites which do not go beyond the 17th century and are not truly considered contemporaneous with historic Euro-Canadian sites. The three remaining Aboriginal sites are labelled as 19th-century historic Aboriginal cabins/shanties. Once again, the presence of three sites might appear relatively mundane and well within what should be represented in the documented record (though it is worth noting that little more than a decade earlier than the 1851 census Brantford Township would have contained many more 19th-century Aboriginal heads of household). But what is not included within the archaeological database creates silences, which make any interpretations problematic and serve to reify an underlying pre-contact Aboriginal/post-contact European dichotomy. Furthermore, despite the extensive research and publication on Mohawk Village (AgHb-2), it is registered as a multi-component, pre-contact village site within Brantford Township and NOT as a post-contact Aboriginal community or village. Based on the MTC's *Standards and Guidelines* (2011) and *Technical Bulletin for Aboriginal Engagement* (2010), the omission of the well

documented and important post-contact association of Mohawk Village means that if an

archaeologist was only focusing on the historic component of this site, they would have no

obligation under regulatory practice defined by the State to consult with the local Aboriginal

communities. The post-contact Aboriginal association of Mohawk Village has effectively

been erased, via omission, from the master, State-sanctioned historical record. In light of the

silences created by State-controlled archaeological processes, exploring and critiquing our

taxonomic practices is a valuable hermeneutic exercise, consequential beyond internal

concerns, rather than merely an abstract ontological one. Arguably, through the taxonomic

process, archaeologists have created an archaeological imaginary that is maintained through

the continued participation in perpetuating the biases that form the imaginary.

Table 38: Country of Origin for Residents of Brantford Township, Brant County, in 1851 Census[7]

Country of Origin	Number	%
England	151	25
Canada	108	18
Ireland	97	16
Mixed	75	13
Scotland	69	12
United States	65	11
"Coloured"	16	3
"Indian"	8	1
German	4	1
Danish	2	0
Total	595	100

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[7] The numbers I am using are based on the country of origin listed for heads of household. When a single individual or a married couple from the same country of origin is listed, that counts as 1; when a married couple is listed, but they are from differing countries of origin, then they are counted within the 'Mixed' category.

Table 39: Registered Archaeological Sites in Brantford Township, Brant County, Ontario

Total Sites	406
Historic Sites	70
Euro-Canadian	58
Aboriginal	12
Neutral Iroquoian	9
Aboriginal Cabins	3
Aboriginal Homesteads	0

The 'imaginary' is a concept that is readily adopted within socio-cultural anthropology but has received limited interest within archaeology (but note Strauss 2006; Whitridge 2004). The concept has been developed out of the works of Anderson (1983), Castoriadis (1987 [1975]), and Taylor (2007), and can be conceptualized as a "simulacra that tend towards their own materialization … [that] have the important property of defining the possibilities of future states of the real by underwriting particular logics of practice … in the present" (Whitridge 2004:240). In most instances the imaginary is applied to concepts, like the nation-state, that are inherently ephemeral but made real by peoples' connections to symbols, rhetoric, or practices. In effect, a group's shared imaginary concept effectively makes the imaginary real through the group's actions, beliefs, and connections. For example, the nation-state of Canada can be understood as a completely abstract idea, a concept that at one point in time did not exist. However, Canada has been made real through actions, laws, and shared group consent. Therefore, being labelled as Canadian – despite being derived from an abstract notion – carries with it real and lived physical and social consequences.

The concept of the imaginary has received limited focus within archaeology (e.g., Ballard 2006; Dykeman and Roebuck 2008; Shepherd 2007; Whitridge 2004), and in most cases, it has been paired with Practice Theory (as per Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979; Pauketat 2001) as a means to conceptualize the habitual practices of the past. For example, Dykeman

and Roebuck (2008) used the imaginary to align oral traditions to practices, and Whitridge (2004) used it to parallel the shape of houses and connections to the landscape. It was also invoked by McGhee (1996, 2004) in his works based on the Arctic; however, in these instances, it was used more as a literary tool to deconstruct the reader's preconceptions of the Arctic. In sum, the imaginary is a concept that has started to get some play within the archaeological discipline and there are promises for further successful applications of the concept: the realization that we are continuously invoking imaginaries.

Archaeologists continuously invoke imaginaries to provide meaning or context to their interpretations. Some of these imaginaries are more concrete than others, such as those that rely on a pre-existing master narrative, but they all represent our own understandings and visions of the past. The separation between a Euro-Canadian homestead and an Aboriginal cabin is an example of the imaginary that we continuously invoke. We understand and frame the past within this understanding, which in turn makes this understanding more real with every telling. The resulting archaeological literature becomes a series of imaginary narratives that have become 'more real' with every piece of additional research.

I envision a broader application of an archaeological imaginary – that of the archaeologist's own imaginary. Archaeological interpretation is based upon a set of habitual practices (the archaeologist's habitus) that structure the archaeological record in a manner from which patterns can be constructed and recognized (Haber 2007:224). The nature of the archaeological record is that we can never get a complete picture of the past from the available data. Archaeological data, and all data related to the past, are fragmentary records that must be reconstructed in the present to create meaningful narratives. We can never see the Iroquoian longhouse that left the post-moulds or the log cabin that produced the keyhole-

shaped midden; to enter the archaeological record, they must be destroyed. Similarly, we can never get into the head of the person handling a chert core to decide which flake to remove, or the member of the Davisville community in the local shop deciding which plate to buy; these people are gone and we cannot ask them questions to understand their decision making processes. We can, however, use the fragmentary archaeological record, along with other datasets, to create an interpretive skeleton which is then fleshed out with our archaeological imaginaries to become an archaeological narrative. The lithic scatter becomes a purposeful lithic reduction sequence to create a projectile point to hunt deer; the whiteware sherds decorated with shamrocks in a midden becomes the remains of a plate that reminded the McKinney's of their Irish heritage. This is best summarized by Preucel (2010:251-252): "…all archaeology is inadequate since there is no past to be deciphered in the present; there is no original meaning that the archaeologist can uncover. There are only chains of signifiers articulating with further chains of signifiers in an endless sequence." If we accept the existence of an archaeological habitus, then we must consider the existence of an archaeological doxa: the set of unconscious or unquestioned realities that underlie and make sense of habitual archaeological practices. Doxic conceptualizations are difficult to engage with because they often operate at the subconscious level and are not visible until they are confronted.

The doxic imaginary that archaeologists are creating for 19th-century Ontario (including current labeling practices, as previously discussed) is one populated with Euro-Canadian homesteads and devoid of numerous 'others'. This doxic process is exacerbated for more recent historic sites. The less temporal distance between the archaeologist and the site, the more likely the archaeologist is to have a pre-existent imaginary framed within his or her own present. In other words, the same ontological reality that allows for a more complicated

narrative to be created from a richer archaeological context also acts to limit discourses in other ways, based on the imaginaries within which the researchers are themselves enculturated within (e.g., Atalay 2006; Murray 2011; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Smith and Wobst 2005). Archaeological framings of 19th-century Ontario are a prime example of this process. Based on understandings of conventional, dominant history, 19th-century Ontario was inhabited by Euro-Canadian farmers, who were primarily British, and who lived in single family homesteads. These inhabitants spoke English, were mostly white, and were engaged with a British socio-economic sensibility. Archaeologists tend to translate that master narrative into archaeological expectations of the record, and thus create an archaeological imaginary. While this archaeological imaginary of 19th-century Ontario does not adequately represent the pluralistic reality of the past, it becomes easily assumed, or invoked, as a conceptual short-cut to frame archaeological interpretations (Ferris 2007)[8].

In constructing archaeological narratives of the past while not acknowledging the effects that this construction has, we are homogenizing the past to represent a shadow of the present. In 19th-century Ontario, this results in a further colonization of the past that creates a Euro-Canadian norm with colonized enclaves. This broad categorization encompassed a broad diversity of peoples, such Scots, Catholic and Protestant Irish, English, French-Canadian, German, United Empire Loyalists, African-Canadian, Iroquois, Anishinaabeg, and Métis. The process of lumping sites and peoples into colonizer and colonized categories homogenizes, or indeed erases the colonized from the archaeological conception of the 19th century, through a process of *muffling inclusiveness* (as per Johnson 2003) that becomes a conceptual shortcut for archaeological interpretations.

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[8] As demonstrated within the governing documents produced by the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture (2010, 2011).

If archaeologists are truly able to access the subaltern or silenced voices of the past (Beaudry et al. 1991; Hall 1999), which I believe we are, we then need to reconceptualise how we are engaging with the past. Categories of peoples did exist, and differences and labels were conceptual frames people used to understand themselves and others in the worlds they lived: but these categories were relevant and logical to THEIR world and time, not the archaeologist's. Likewise, the past was no more homogenous than the present, with varied people internally and externally defined by various degrees of otherness such as by gender, age, race, economic class, ability, and so on; these people were also scattered throughout the urban and rural landscape, stuck within or drifting between hard and permeable boundaries of categorization. What existed was a pluralistic and heterogeneous existence where the many colonizer groupings, colonized groupings, and people straddling or drifting between these broader categorizations were in constant daily contact. Instead of enclaving research into colonized and colonizer categories that create 'straw person' arguments, or arbitrarily label historic sites by default, we should be trying to bridge the conceptual gap and embrace the messy complexities and dynamics inherent in those communities of peoples (Horning 2011:68), in order to explore how these identities continued and were continually revised. By its nature, this process of de-colonizing the archaeological record will create a more complex understanding of the past that will be more difficult for archaeologists' dispositions, assumptions, and biases to navigate or ignore; however, the outcomes are much more interesting.

5.2 He Is Euro-Canadian Because No-One Said He Is

> What whites also need to understand is that white privilege operates so well
>
> because *nobody talks about it.* (Marable 2002:49 emphasis in original)

Archaeologists are self-appointed stewards of the archaeological record and as such, have created and perpetuated the frameworks that reify in our interpretations the concept of pre-contact Aboriginal/post-contact Euro-Canadian, while imposing differences onto these categories that are embedded within an inherently colonial sensibility (Haber 2007:216). As archaeologists empowered by the State, we – in effect – are tools of the descendant colonial state of Canada and are inserted as actors within the ongoing colonial process of managing the archaeological heritage of descendant colonized peoples. This is a power imbalance where we become framed against other actors arguing against the colonial State, notably various Aboriginal governments within Canada, yet we retain ultimate control of the archaeological record that encompasses that Aboriginal material heritage (L. Smith 2004:92).

In light of State-structured processes, archaeologists hold the privileged position of evaluating, interpreting, and even defining the archaeological record. In Ontario, 'Euro-Canadian' becomes the *de facto* designation for 19th-century sites, unless there already exists overwhelming material or historical evidence indicating that label to be problematic. Labelling a historic site Euro-Canadian does not lead to contestation as long as there are historic artifacts; however, labelling a historic site Aboriginal, Métis, or African-Canadian requires a disproportionate burden of proof by the archaeologist. For example, site AgHb-220 in Brantford Township is labelled Euro-Canadian. It is a 19th-century brick pad overlooking the Grand River (MTCS 2012). There is no compelling reason, from the data in hand, why this could not be an Aboriginal site, but it is labelled as Euro-Canadian by default. Once

labelled Euro-Canadian, the potential for Aboriginal or other associations becomes negated. Considering the colonial power dynamic that is implicit within archaeological practices, we must reconsider this positioning.

Before we can move beyond a perpetuation of imaginary colonial pasts by shifting our doxic understandings, "we first need to reflexively blur the boundaries between colonialism and our present anthropology" (Pels 1997:178). The majority of the archaeology of colonialism has framed colonial encounters as an inherent power imbalance between the Aboriginal colonized and the European colonizer, emphasizing a dichotomous relationship of dominance/resistance. As previously discussed, recent research (e.g., Ferris 2008-2009, 2009; Jordan 2008, 2009, 2010; Silliman 2005, 2009, 2010; Silliman and Witt 2010; Wagner 2011) has established that this conceptualization does not adequately frame the colonial reality within North America, and researchers are searching for new ways of framing colonialism. This has included adopting a broader, comparative analysis of the archaeology of the colonized, such as comparing Canadian or American contexts with Australian colonialism contexts (e.g., Byrne 1996; Harrison 2003, 2004; Harrison and Williamson 2002; McNiven and Russell 2002; Paterson 2008). This broader perspective has had some success, but I do not believe that this has gone far enough to expose the variety of colonialisms within the past. For example, as discussed by Gullapalli (2008), the colonial framework within India is often framed more as elite/non-elite because it acknowledges that members of the elite community differentially engaged with and benefitted from varying aspects of the colonial framework (see also Alcock 2005; Dietler 2010; van Dommelen 2005 for examples from Mediterranean contexts). We must allow for such heterogeneous possibilities for both the colonized and colonizer. Both the colonizer and the colonized must be understood as living simultaneously with one another (within the rich diversity of iterations, identities, and

differing values embodied within each of those two categories), and that both were changing and staying the same.

To re-conceptualize the many understandings of colonizer and colonized so that these multiplicities are given the same flexibility within archaeological interpretation, our categories must be deconstructed in order to explore the implicit meanings within them. Arguably, the deconstruction of colonized categories has been an ongoing process within the archaeology of the colonized; however, this deconstruction needs to be accompanied by a parallel deconstruction of the colonizer. Mullins (1999b) noted that to properly discuss the differing engagements of 'others' in the archaeological record, the normative definition of 'whites' (e.g., in this context read as 'the colonizer') must be deconstructed. This sentiment is mirrored elsewhere (Bell 2005; Brighton 2011; Brooks 2002, 2003; Lawrence 2003[ed]; Zimmerman 2005). If the ubiquitous, amorphous, and homogenous white, male, adult colonizer is left uncritiqued, it can only ever serve as a two-dimensional, assumption-laden foil to the colonized, used to emphasize difference.

This point is demonstrated in Figures 18 and 19. Both of these figures combine data previously presented separately in Figures 10 and 16, and Figures 11 and 17, respectively. If we look at all of the 19th-century sites previously explored (whether Aboriginal or Euro-Canadian) at the same time, the most obvious finding is that the colonizer and colonized sites do not immediately separate into clusters. Within the percentage of plates, bowls, and teas (Figure 18), there does appear to be some polarization of the Euro-Canadian and Six Nations sites based primarily on the percentages of bowls; however, the majority of the sites, including five of the sites from this study, are clustered together within the approximate centre of the distribution limits. This suggests that there is a point of convergence within
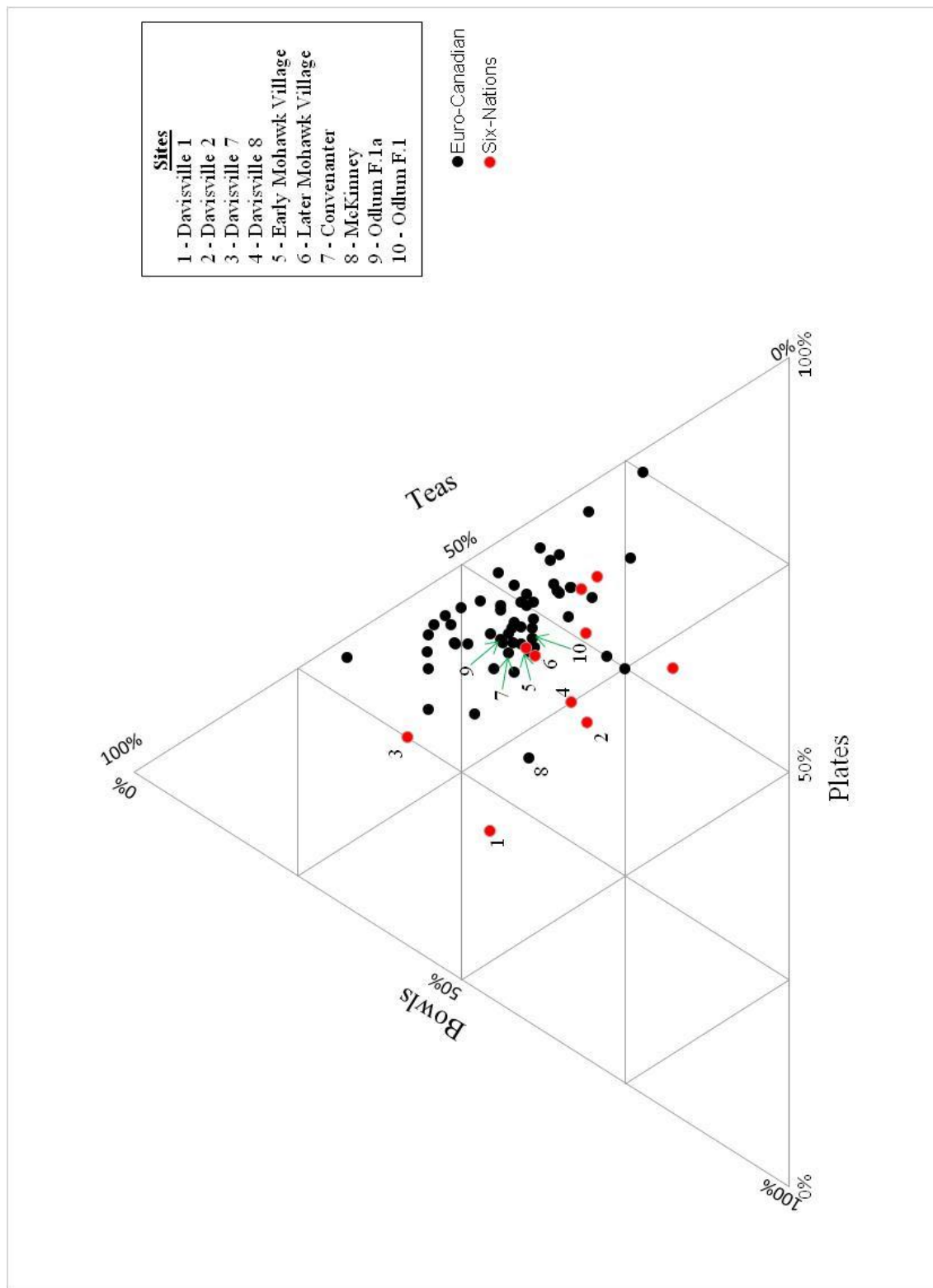
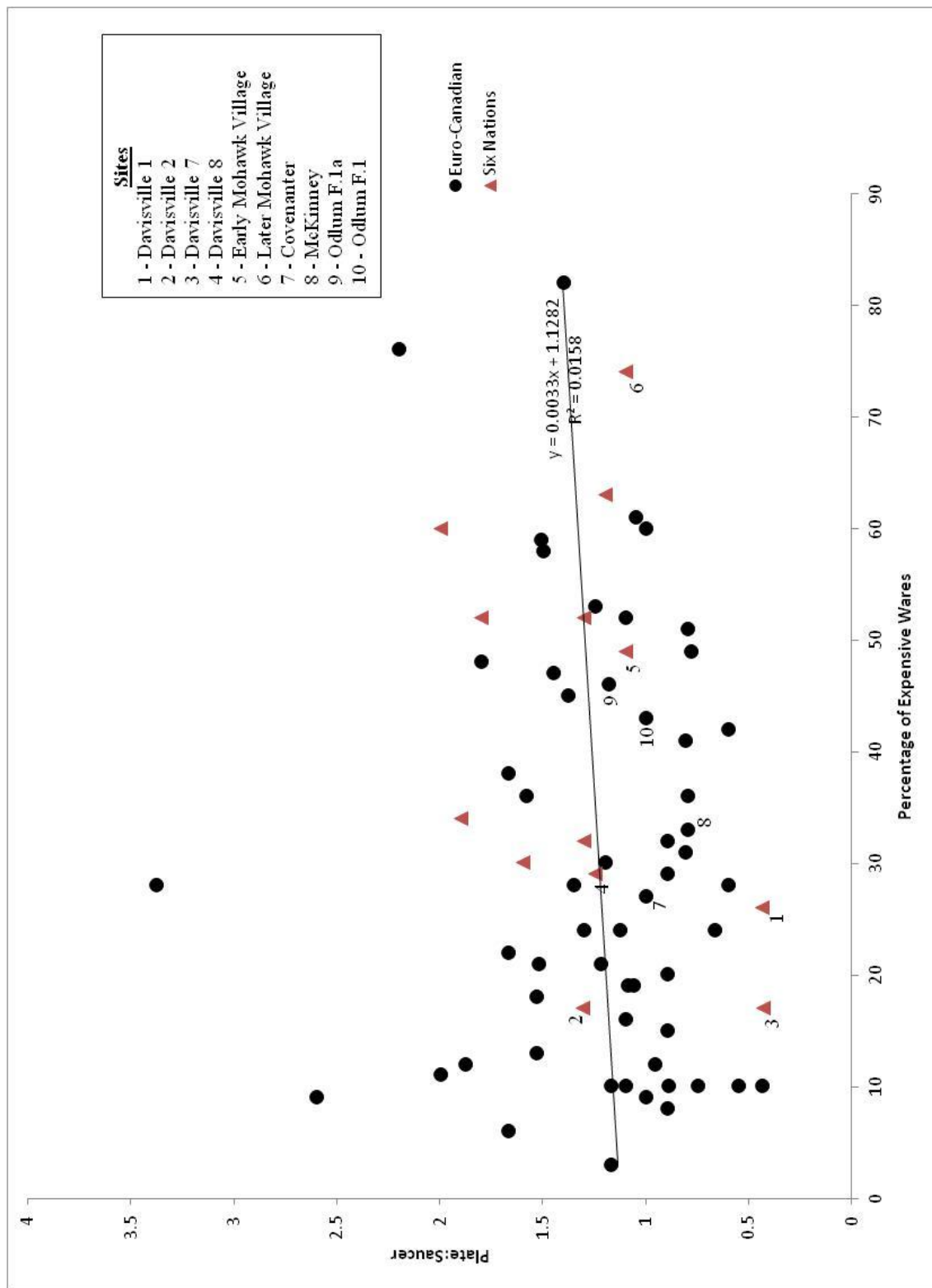**Figure 18: Percentages of Plates, Teas, and Bowls for All Sites**

Figure 19: Plate:Saucer Ratio and Percentage of Expensive Wares for All Sites

representations of 19th-century Ontario vessel forms as documented in archaeological

assemblages. All households, whether occupied by Euro-Canadians or Aboriginals, were

using plates, bowls, and teas within their meal conventions; no one was avoiding plates,

bowls, or teas altogether. There is some flexibility within the specific percentages; however,

these are subtle variations resulting from a confluence of factors, rather than an essentialist

colonial or capitalist division. The aforementioned polarization based on bowls is an example

of this subtle variation. For a variety of factors (such as tradition), some Six Nations sites

tend to have a greater percentage of bowls than many Euro-Canadian sites; however, this is

not a universal for either the Six Nations or Euro-Canadian sites and the subtle variation

precludes using vessel form as a gross means to differentiate the two. The subtleties of the

variation could be further explored to understand what they might signify, and suggest *some*

Six Nations sites 'fit less well' to general 19th-century patterns and are perhaps differentially

engaged, materially, with the colonial world they are a part of, but then, so do *some* Euro-

Canadian sites. At a general level, the variation within – and overlap between – the Six

Nations and Euro-Canadian categories renders essentialist 'just-so stories' about colonized

vs. colonizer practices wanting.

A comparable pattern of general similarities with the potential of nuanced differentiation is

exhibited when examining the plate:saucer ratio to percentage of expensive wares (Figure

19): this pattern further supports the existence of some level of general commonality between

19th-century sites in Ontario. As the data stands organized into Six Nations and Euro-

Canadian categories, it is difficult to identify any meaningful patterning that differentiates the

two; however, there are likely other more nuanced patterns, possibly associated with

temporality, location, age, occupation, etc., embedded within these overarching categories.

For example, there could be a potential divide between sites below and above 40% of

expensive wares. Below 40%, there appears to be denser clusters of points and a greater range of plate:saucer ratios, whereas above 40%, the points are more dispersed and place closer to the slope line. This is consistent with my interpretations of this chart in Chapter 4, in that the additional sites added may suggest the emergence of sub-trends across the chart reflecting particular factors at play for households in those particular groupings. For the Six Nations site clustering, the differential trending of sites below and above 50% expensive ceramics may be reflecting differential engagements with survivance/residence by those families. But in either case, this organization of Six Nations and Euro-Canadian data does not reveal a singular differentiation between colonizer and colonized; specific household contexts operate within a broader universal of the material reality of 19th-century southern Ontario.

What the patterns associated with vessel forms do indicate is that the use of plates, teas, and bowls are a commonality of existence during the 19th century. Archaeologists would be hard pressed to find a 19th-century domestic site that did not have examples of these three vessel forms; if they could find them, they would be forced to explain why a vessel form is absent. Everyone in the 19th century was using them, which belies arguments of acculturation or identity loss because they are using plates, bowls, and teas. I am not arguing for the universality of the Georgian or Victorian mindset, but rather a broader shift in 19th-century life where teaware and tea consumption was a ubiquitous disposition of personal and formal dining (Bedell 2001; Shackel 1993). As archaeologists, we are willing to accept commonalities of existence in other places and times (such as Clovis points during the Paleo-Indian Period); cell phones could be explored as a modern example of contemporaneous commonalities of existence. As such, we should not be searching to explain why these vessel forms are present at non-European sites (e.g., Adams and Boling 1989; Burley 2000).

Instead, we should be emphasizing the variability of decoration, value, and use that can be associated with the nuanced lived reality of why one household chose stamped wares (Cabak and Loring 2000), whereas another chose Gothic moulded wares (Wall 1991). Through the 19th century of southern Ontario, consumerism (in all its iterations of choice, acquisition, economic differential, etc.) emerged as a commonality of lived life. Within these distinctions, it could be tempting to frame differences as the result of a single differing identity (such as Inuit in Cabak and Loring [2000] or social status in Wall [1991]), and these singular differences may apply to any particular subset or social context; however, we need to remember that an over-emphasis of singular identities produces simplistic, one-dimensional framing of difference, instead of a nuanced confluence of daily lived life. We need to think differently about how we approach this data and accept that all identities (ethnic, social, colonial, gender, etc.) are simultaneously expressed, contested, denied, and revealed in daily choices. If we approach the archaeology of the colonizer with many of the same considerations developed within the archaeology of the colonized, we can emerge from the forever-homogenizing process of historical archaeology. There are likely meaningful patterns within Figures 18 and 19, but they are manifested underneath the common experience of living through colonialism and capitalism. This implies that neither capitalism nor colonialism is sufficient to explain a more holistic conceptualization of 19th-century Ontario. As such, we need to start considering alternatives that might help us grapple with this patterning.

5.3   What Are We Actually Talking About?

"Colonial regimes often attempt to establish a tight connection between status and its material signifiers" (Voss 2008:23). This statement refers to highly visible signifiers of

difference that can be used to differentiate colonizers from the colonized (e.g., architectural differences, clothing, foodways); however, it has a much broader significance for archaeologists. Just as past colonizers "sought to understand [Indigenous] customs through the mechanism of comparison" (McNiven and Russell 2005:5), so do we in the present. By the nature of our discipline, we are searching for the connections between material signifiers and various forms of identity. This is not inherently problematic, but the unquestioned conceptual baggage and 'practical' frameworks that are considered integral to archaeological research can greatly skew our interpretations. For example, in my research, I have interpreted the presence of a shamrock ceramic design in the assemblage for the second generation of the McKinney site (Figure 14) to represent a conscious decision to embrace the family's Irish heritage, presumably without threat to any other categories of identity the family also operated within (e.g., non-elite, Euro-Canadian, colonizer, etc.). A similar interpretation is made for the presence of Iroquois designs on ceramics at the second generation of the Powless family at Mohawk Village.

These interpretations fit nicely within how I conceptualize personal interactions; however, if we deconstruct it further, several assumptions emerge. My interpretations are based on my prior knowledge of each site being Irish and Iroquois, respectively. Without that knowledge, my interpretations would undoubtedly differ, or I would not have taken these ceramic sherds to be notable. For example, without knowing that the McKinney site was home to an Irish family, the presence of shamrocks on a set of ceramic vessels would have very little meaning. The main point being that at the time those ceramics were purchased, everyone was using commercially-manufactured ceramics bought from local dry goods suppliers. The choices made within the selection of ceramics purchased should be explored, but there were common limitations placed on all purchasers based on what the shop stocked. For example,

archaeologists would not make the association between the presence of a sherd of Blue Willow pattern on a site with a Chinese occupation: the Blue Willow pattern is a mass-produced design that was made available globally. The same caution is then required when approaching any mass-produced object. The meaning associated with this artifact becomes directly dependent on the contextual knowledge that I, as the researching archaeologist, have brought to bear on the analysis (Brandon 2009:7).

Another example is the presence of stone tools or chipped glass on colonized sites. When present, these artifacts become emblematic of a continuation of 'traditional' practices despite colonial impingements and the presence of 'superior' tools (e.g., Silliman 2004; Ulm et al. 2009). This interpretation may not in itself be problematic, but how these artifacts are treated or ignored on colonizer sites makes it so. As evidenced from numerous site reports (and how they are glossed over in other venues), stone tools on colonizer sites are interpreted as intrusive to the assemblage, or collected by the former inhabitants as curios, while chipped glass objects are simply fragmentary glass shards with feathering along broken edges.

Once again, the meaningful interpretation of these artifacts was based on prior knowledge about who occupied the site. These meaningful interpretations are valid, because of the ability of the researcher to focus on contextual particulars. However, such distinctions become problematic in the absence of contextual particulars, since historic sites are labelled colonizer by default; this troubling practice further colonizes the archaeological record by removing colonized peoples from our narratives of the past. Instead, we need to strive towards creating an archaeological imaginary where stone tools are allowed to be simultaneously curios and meaningful indicators based on their broader context: where shamrock-decorated ceramics are both indicators of a connection to heritage and an

expediency arising from what the local shop had left in stock. The meaning is not in the objects themselves, but instead on how we insert them into our pre-existing archaeological imaginaries and link them to meaningful specific contextual realities for the archaeology under study to create interpretation.

5.3.1 Expectations of Difference – Picking on Capitalism

The colonization of the contemporary past is facilitated by the bifurcation of historical archaeology into the archaeology of the colonized and of the colonizer. As previously discussed, this divide has resulted in separate bodies of distinctly cited literature, framing of questions, and interpretations. A fundamental question, rarely made explicit in the archaeology of the colonizer or in the archaeology of the colonized, is why we would expect differences in patterning across this divide. From the outset, we assume that groups that are labelled as 'other' or colonized are fundamentally different from the normative European subject or colonizer (Orser 1996, 2012). On a superficial level, there would be obvious, real, and consequential differences resulting from differing histories, cultures, and contexts. The perception of these differences by the historical actors of their time as being somehow 'fundamentally different' would also be an important part of these differences. Can the discourse move beyond reiterating generalized patterning (Brandon 2009:7) that supports what we already know (Horning 2011:67) if we continuously engage at this broader level? It is possible, albeit difficult and unlikely. Instead, we must differentially conceptualize the past within our present. For example, capitalism, class, and consumerism are all put forth by historical archaeologists particular frameworks of the past to engage within our research in order to avoid many of the difficulties of cultural inequalities of the past (e.g., Croucher and Weiss 2011; Groover 2003; Johnson 1996; Matthews 2010; Mullins 2011; Paynter and

McGuire 1991; Spencer-Wood 1987). This perspective, and the fundamental problem with this conceptualization, is best summed up by Matthews (2010:23 emphasis in original):

> The capitalist revolution, however, is not involved with the constant production of something new, but more the revolutionary destruction of the actual or "natural" social relations that define persons: kin, community, and culture. So, since all persons are born into concrete social worlds, it is mandatory for capitalism to constantly produce its detachment, individual subjectivity anew. Importantly, everyone must *become* an individual by severing their irrational, unequal, and natural bonds with other persons, and they must repeat this process consistently throughout their life. This is the revolution and it is extremely personal, for the abstract individual is constructed by each person as they dissolve the significance of their personal life in their productive relations.

Such an engagement with the past through capitalism or consumption is understood, either explicitly or implicitly, to fundamentally undermine identities related to culture or ethnicity, because it allows for these identities to be expressed through individual engagement, and the degree of success with that engagement, of capitalism and consumption. While I would agree that it is possible to explore capitalism, consumption, and class without engaging with ethnicity, or even gender, it does not mean that they are unrelated or can be circumvented. To argue that capitalism is inherently a different engagement with material culture than all previous human experience, and one that has fundamentally changed the way humans relate to each other and their own selves, unnecessarily isolates this recent human history from millennia of cultural traditions and conceptions of self and community and other and sets up a mono-causal explanation of colonialism that will only ever make sense from the point of view of the successful colonizer/colonized – success being measured solely against capitalist and consumerist benchmarks of expectation. The specifics of modern day globalized capitalism are unique, but the underlying process of people working to obtain goods or resources that can be exchanged with others – in informal exchange, egalitarian, trade or mercantile systems (which, in of themselves and through the process of obtaining these

goods, reflect personal identities) – is ageless. As such, I am not singling out capitalist conceptualizations of the past as something that completely redefines human identity, but rather, as demonstrated by Mullins (1999b, c), Silliman and Witt (2010), and others (e.g., Brighton 2009; Brooks 2003; Horning 2004), the meanings attributed to and reasons for capitalist consumption are differentially expressed within cultural and ethnic contexts, and within traditions of identities.

For present purposes, let me posit that the discourse in historical archaeology advancing the rise of a global capitalism model used to explain the last 500 years can be reduced to 'the homogenous white European was a capitalist animal who strived to obtain objects to better his/her social standing, and successfully imposed that value system on all others'. This, while a gross oversimplification, can be understood as a general impression of what historical archaeology is supposed to be about from a superficial read of historical archaeology focused on the rise and dominance of global capitalism (e.g., Johnson 1996; Leone and Potter 1999; Orser 1996). Such an emphasis on global capitalism inherently homogenizes the variable peoples within those who are part of the modern capitalist process (e.g., white Europeans) and those who are not (e.g., various others). This homogenization does a conceptual disservice to both sides of this divide; it reduces a complex set of contextually specific choices to a system of choices based on improving peoples' own social positionings within the dominant capitalist framework. For example, European descendants have been conceptualized as firmly embedded within a capitalist process that structured their lives based on socio-economic class (as critiqued by Wurst and McGuire 1999). Simultaneously, peoples conceptualized as removed from a global capitalist process – usually understood only within a colonial process – have been thus perceived as differentially engaged with the

materiality and modern processes of an emergent global capitalism; they have not been allowed to retain their 'othered' identity alongside a capitalist one.

There are researchers who are critically engaged with models of capitalism in historical archaeology and who strive to shift the narrative, but capitalism remains overwhelmingly understood as a tool of the colonizer that marginalizes the colonized 'other' while trapping them within this mono-causal frame of the world (e.g., Dawdy 2010; Schmidt and Walz 2007). But others, notably Orser (2012), have responded to this kind of Eurocentric criticism of capitalism by re-affirming that understanding the last 500 years of archaeology needs to be entirely about understanding the spread and local development of a globalized capitalism, since this is what those 500 years have led to, globally. For Orser (e.g., 1996, 2012), all are engaged in the emergent capitalism through this period, and historical archaeology should necessarily need focus on how the colonized, be they Aboriginal or other, differently engaged with the capitalist process.

We can thus understand capitalism, as it is presently framed, as a process that serves to reify the divide between the colonizer and the colonized, while subsuming both colonizer and colonized entirely within (and incapable of opting out of) the socio-economic and global historical force of European economic expansionism of the last half millennium (e.g., McGuire 2006:130). Presently, the discourse around capitalism in North American historical archaeology implies that Indigenous people cannot engage with capitalism without losing what it means to be Indigenous. For example, Matthews (2010) discusses the Brants' engagement with the colonial capitalist process in New York State and posits, "In what way was Brant an Indian?" (Matthews 2010:54), insinuating that, in becoming capitalist, Brant lost the ability to claim a Mohawk (i.e. Aboriginal) identity; his 'otherness' was no longer

showing through enough. Now Matthews has argued elsewhere (2007) about the role archaeology plays in isolating the 'other', so I do not believe that Matthews' statement about Brant reflects a general lack of consideration on this subject; rather, it demonstrates how, in the act of exploring the archaeological history of capitalism, we in effect translate the colonized into a sensibility that 'makes sense' only from a colonizer-centric understanding of the past as the history of European expansion and redefinition of the world.

If the rise of global capitalism is the primary research perspective all historical archaeology must be viewed through, this perspective is inherently European, and thus global historical archaeology can only narrowly ever be about "the spread of European cultures throughout the world… and their impacts on and interaction with the cultures of indigenous peoples" (Deetz 1996:5). Lived life within this temporal period can be nothing more, less, or other than the spread of European cultures and their impacts. This archaeological framing is thus about a process that only Europeans or 'Western' peoples participate fully within, while various 'others' are only going to be examples of difference and, ultimately, failure to fully participate in that colonial formation. Within this discourse, colonized others are inherently different until they are subsumed within the homogeneous plethora of people engaged within the capitalist process, at which point they can then be ignored. Once again, such positioning serves to reify the divide between the archaeology of the colonized and the archaeology of the colonizer (i.e. historical archaeology). This does a disservice to both orientations, as the colonized are removed from any discussion *a priori* and conceptually preclude the researcher from being able to engage with the rise of capitalism unless the discussion is about a loss of identity, while the colonizers are homogenized into an amorphous capitalist being whose identity is solely founded within, and defined by, the colonial-capitalist process. In other

words, colonized 'others' are only others until they no longer are noticeable as 'other,' while the colonizers are denied any capacity to be 'other' or 'other-like' in their lived lives.

5.4   Interpreting the Assemblages

Throughout the previous chapters, I have maintained a consistent standard of research across colonized and colonizer sites to facilitate direct comparisons. Overall, that consistency was not meant to constitute an exhaustive discussion of the entirety of the assemblages, but rather was a purposeful selection of data (foodways) that I felt was best able to demonstrate the relatively arbitrary divide that we, as archaeologists, impose on the colonial past. No doubt other researchers in the future will focus on other aspects of the assemblages to demonstrate further patterns: my goal here is to simply demonstrate that any interpretive patterns are relative to their contexts and that we should emphasize comparisons across previously established conceptual divides.

Notes of caution concerning my core assemblages are required at the outset. First, as Davisville 7 is a relatively small assemblage, there is some possibility that the patterns noted for this site are an artifice of its small assemblage size. As such, Davisville 7 will not be considered further in this discussion, although I have chosen to keep Davisville 7 in the charts in case future research demonstrates that its patterning is indeed representative, as it can then be easily reviewed. Second, when discussing the multi-generality of the sites, I have chosen to limit the discussions of the Davisville settlement. The rest of my sites have a confirmed family connection between generations that is absent among the Davisville sites. While the Davisville sites are all from the same community, we presently cannot say if the residents of Davisville 1, 2, and 8 were related. This community connection, instead of a

family one, can still demonstrate continuity and shifts between generations, but the process would differ from one involving generational enculturation within a household.

5.4.1 Dishing About Dishes: Ceramics

The first set of comparative patterns I review arising from a foodways analysis comes from ceramic patterns compared across colonizer and colonized contexts. A firm divide between a capitalist and colonialist conceptualization is absent, as neither conceptualization is adequate on its own.

5.4.1.1 Vessel Form

In examining the percentages of plates, bowls, and teas (tea cups and saucers) within the ceramic assemblages for each of the sites in this study (Table 40; Figures 20 and 21), the overall perception is that among the early sites, the percentages for Mohawk Village, Covenanter, and Odlum are all very similar (44-45% plates; 13-15% bowls; 40-44% teas). Also, the Davisville percentages have one vessel form that is within the ranges of the others (teas at Davisville 1 – 46% , and plates at Davisville 2 – 41%). At Davisville 1 and 2, there is a greater percentage of bowls (34% and 29%) that comes at the expense of plates (20%) and teas (31%), respectively. Among the later sites, the percentage of teas at Mohawk Village, McKinney, and Odlum are very similar (39-40%), while Davisville 8 has 33% teas. There appears to be a divide based on the percentages of plates and bowls. Davisville 8, Mohawk Village, and Odlum all have relatively similar percentages of plates (42-46%), and Davisville 8 and McKinney have a similar percentage of bowls (25-28%). Within the sites where we have a confirmed generational family connection (Mohawk Village, Covenanter/McKinney,

and Odlum), the Mohawk Village and Odlum percentages remain fairly constant between the

generations, whereas the McKinney site has a greater reliance on bowls (28%), at the cost of

plates (32%), than at the Covenanter site.

Table 40: Vessel Form Percentages (*Italicized are Colonized*; Bold are Colonizer)

Early Sites					
	Davisville 1 c.1800-1803	*Davisville 2 c.1800-1830*	*Mohawk Village Early c.1800-1830*	**Covenanter c.1827-1841**	**Odlum F.1a c.1840**
Plate	*20%*	*41%*	*45%*	**43%**	**44%**
Bowl	*34%*	*29%*	*15%*	**15%**	**13%**
Teas	*46%*	*31%*	*40%*	**41%**	**44%**
Later Sites					
	Davisville 7 c.1820-1830	*Davisville 8 c.1830-1850*	*Mohawk Village Later c.1830-1860*	**McKinney c.1841-1877**	**Odlum F.1 c.1850**
Plate	*25%*	*42%*	*44%*	**32%**	**46%**
Bowl	*17%*	*25%*	*17%*	**28%**	**14%**
Teas	*58%*	*33%*	*39%*	**40%**	**39%**

As previously discussed, vessel form percentages for these sites all fit within a generalized

19th-century Ontario domestic pattern (Figures 18 and 19), and the similarities across the

colonial dichotomy, class divide, and generations speak to the commonality of material

existence during this time. Whereas normative conceptualizations embedded with a

colonizer-centric mentality would frame the similarities between Six Nations and Euro-

Canadian sites as something that must be explained (e.g., acculturation), embracing a more
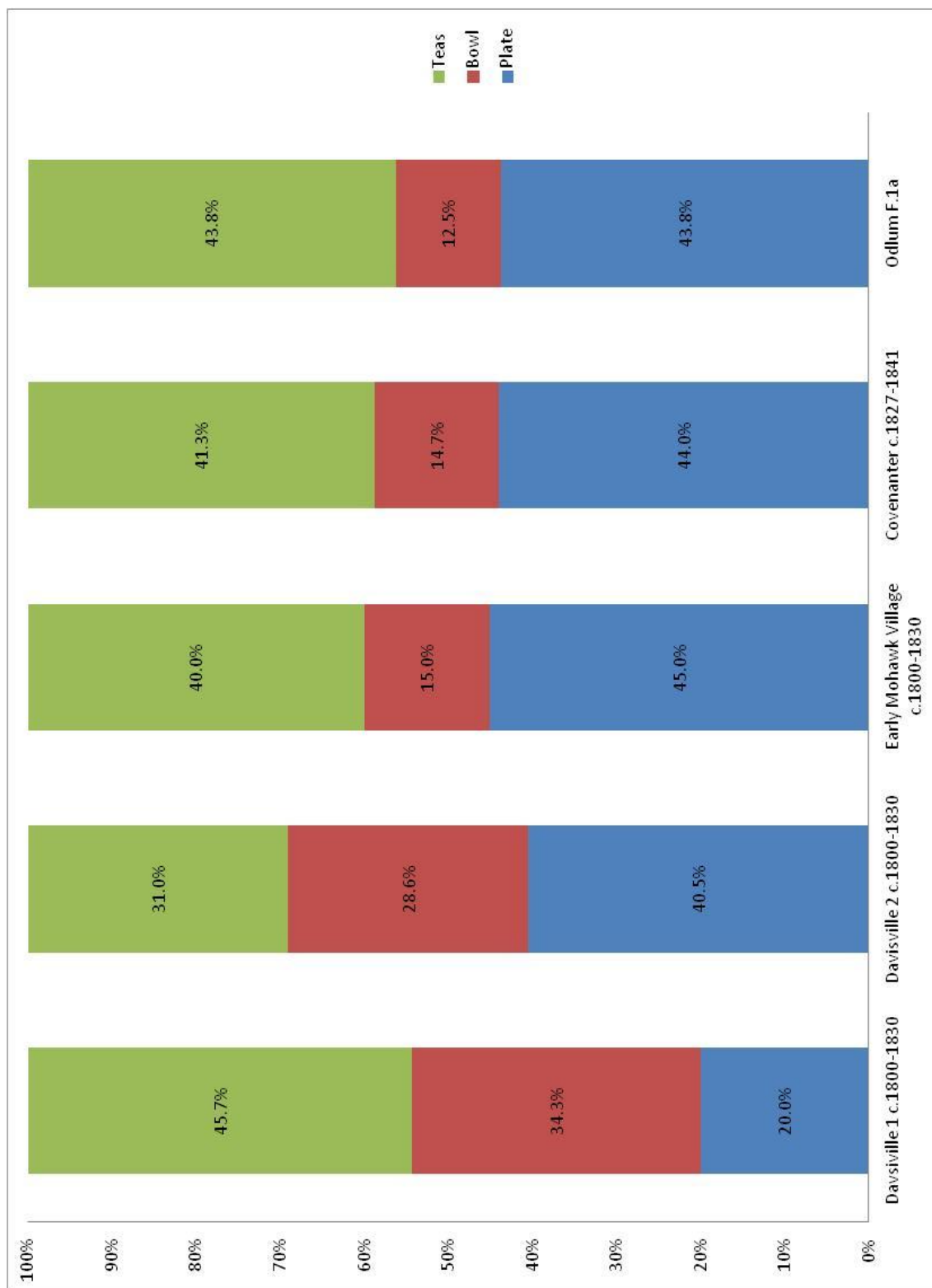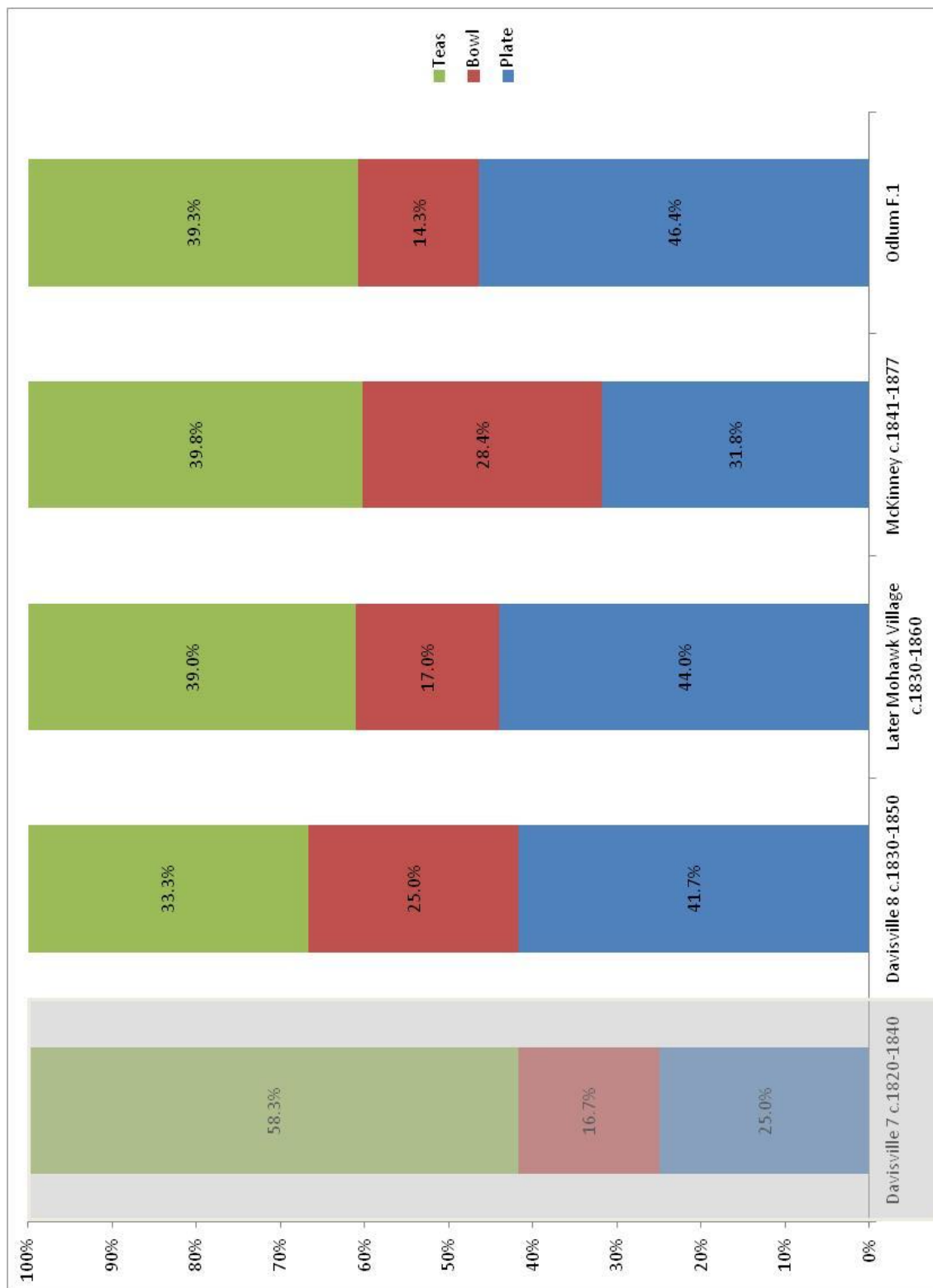
Figure 20: Early Vessel Form Percentages

Figure 21: Later Vessel Form Percentages

ambiguous and nuanced explanation based on a commonality of existence as a starting point

means that differing patterns across the totality of lived life in 19th-century southern Ontario,

instead of similar ones, demand further exploration. For example, the normative, easy, and

often 'go to' explanation for similarities such as those seen between Mohawk Village and

Euro-Canadian sites is an explanation that the elite of Mohawk Village were being

acculturated, as reviewed by Cusick (1998) or that they were mimicking (Fahlander 2007)

Euro-Canadian consumption dispositions. These explanations, however, frame the Mohawk

as being passive, rather than collaborative, participants in the emerging social diversity of

southwest Ontario in the first half of the 19th century, and who were not active agents capable

of creating a hybridized mixture of tradition and selected emergent colonizer sensibilities.

However, it could be argued that a different story unfolds once the vessel form patterns are

framed within the particular context of Mohawk Village, including knowledge of the efforts

of Joseph Brant to establish the Mohawk within a hybrid 'Iroquoian/Upper Canadian Elite'

sensibility (e.g., Johnston 1964). The patterns at Mohawk Village thus can be understood as

the residents engaging with "some of the social conventions around public display and

formal dining" (Ferris 2009:161). For example:

> Tea was on the table when we came in, served up in the handsomest China plate
> and every other furniture in proportion. After tea was over, we were entertained
> with the music of an elegant hand organ… Supper was served up in the same
> genteel stile. Our beverage, rum, brandy, Port and Madeira wines.... (Johnston
> 1964:60).

Ferris' engagement with the Mohawk Village pattern re-orients the discussion from a

colonizer-centric to a colonized-centric discussion; however, Ferris is still forced to explain

why they are similar. The underlying problem with this argument is that the Euro-Canadian

pattern is framed as the 'normal' baseline from which sites can adhere to or differentiate

from. If a Euro-Canadian site fits within this pattern, it goes unnoticed, and if a Euro-

Canadian site differs, then it has the potential to actually change the pattern. In contrast, Six

Nations sites, as well as various 'others', must risk being enveloped and disappearing, losing

their Indigenous identities, or be forever justifying their existence as something other than

mimicking colonizers, if their patterning fits within the Euro-Canadian norm. Essentially,

Euro-Canadian patterns frame contemporary modernities, while 'others' are forever excluded

from engaging with these modernities on their own terms and views of the world.

The underlying and insidious coloniality of this process becomes even more apparent if we

try to reverse the tack on this discussion. Instead of explaining why the Mohawk Village

pattern is similar to that of Euro-Canadian sites, what is to prevent us from asking why the

Euro-Canadian patterns are similar to that of Mohawk Village? The inhabitants from both

sites had used ceramic dishes their entire lives, and the ancestors of the residents of Mohawk

Village had inhabited North America well before the first generations of either the Odlums or

McKinneys. Could the Odlums and McKinneys be mimicking or acculturating themselves to

a pre-existing Mohawk pattern that was already established? It is likely that this argument

would be considered weak and even absurd to many archaeologists. However, the fact that

this reasoning would automatically be considered an absurdity belies the underlying problem:

'Euro-Canadian' has been firmly entrenched as the norm in historical archaeological research

in southern Ontario, precisely because, as research looking back, we define the Euro-

Canadian norm as other to Indigenous experiences. This, though, is our assumption of how

the 19th century worked, despite the obvious truth that whatever norms people negotiated

through the 19th century – descendant European, descendant Indigenous, or mixed – all

people negotiated those contexts within their own time and understanding. Identities, and all

the permutations embodied within the concept, were variably engaged with from the

commonly shared norms and variations in place in procuring the implements and tools of the

dining table, the foodstuffs used with those tools, and the locales set aside, or not, to receive those tools and foodstuffs once their utility had expired. Tea was consumed in all households under study, not because that was the norm for Euro-Canadian families, and acculturated loss of identity for Mohawk families, but because this was an accommodated norm of 19th-century life in southern Ontario and beyond. This temporal context to material existence is a basic way archaeology works, but we deny this when we preconceive that material world as only having made sense, or correctly engaged with, by a portion of the populace that lived through that time and region.

In light of this Euro-Canadian norm, considering commonalities of existence is a way to engage with 19th-century archaeological patterns without framing the discussions entirely within a colonizer-centric perspective. Early Mohawk Village, Covenanter, and Odlum F.1a all demonstrate the 19th-century commonality of existence in Ontario. Everyone was using plates, bowls, and teas in some proportion obtained from the local store. Davisville 1 and 2 also demonstrate this commonality, but aspects are tempered by other factors that are specific to their contexts. The differing percentages of plates at Davisville 1 and 2 could be attributed to personal preferences of more bowls, a family tradition of using more bowls, a more liquid-based diet, or an active reaction against Mohawk Village to use more bowls to be 'not them'. Whatever the reason, the variable patterns coming from these sites must be situated within the specific context of what was happening at the Davisville settlement and not an umbrella-like dismissal of 'they are different because they are colonized'. The Davisville pattern very well might be associated with an aspect or aspects of their Mohawk heritage, tradition, and contemporary realities, but that cannot be the entirety, because if we dismiss the difference as 'Mohawk culture', then we return full circle to trying to explain why, at these 'colonized'

sites, the pattern of the teas at Davisville 1 and the plates at Davisville 2 are similar to the Euro-Canadian sites.

Among the later sites, three potential patterns could emerge, depending on which dataset is emphasized. First, if bowl frequencies were indicative of variation and difference, then the sites could be divided between non-elite (Davisville 8 and McKinney; 25-28%) and elite (Mohawk Village and Odlum, 14-17%); perhaps a reflection of higher liquid, and perhaps less expensive, cuisine for diet. Among the later sites, bowls divide along a capitalist class division; among the earlier sites, bowls differentiate the Davisville 1 and 2 patterns from the rest of the sites. Second, if plates are emphasized as indicative of variation and difference, then the sites divide between Davisville 8, Mohawk Village, and Odlum F.1 (42-46%), and McKinney (32%); perhaps a corollary to liquid diet for non-elite Euro-Canadians. Third, if teas are emphasized as indicative of variation and difference, then the sites divide between Mohawk Village, McKinney, and Odlum F.1 (39-40%), and Davisville 8 (33%); this perhaps reflects resistance among some of the Mohawk at Davisville to the trappings of Mohawk Village and British colonial elite sensibilities. The first pattern follows a capitalist framing, relying on bowls being a significant divider of class differences, whereas the latter two patterns both cut across the normative capitalist and colonial divides. This variability and speculative turn to explain variability emphasizes that archaeological data does not do us the courtesy of following our archaeological conventions and ultimately belies the value of this division between vessel forms. As previously mentioned, patterns of roughly equal plates and teas with fewer bowls is a broad pattern for 19th-century Ontario. As such, the broad patterns within my data fit within the generalized commonality of existence. Within the dataset for this study, we generally observe differences of less than 10% between the outliers and the rest of the sites; no site exhibits extremes (such as75% or 0%) of any vessel form. An

obvious divide between sites, as observed by Otto (1977:106-107; Slave – 44% bowl, 49% flatware, Overseer – 24% bowl, 72% flatware, Planter – 8 % bowl, 84% flatware), is missing within my sites. Within this context, 10% is a fairly subtle variation of a fairly specific material trait that becomes difficult to explore within broad colonial or capitalist categories as markers of difference. For example, Brooks (2003:127-128) had a greater variability within his 19th-century Welsh sites, but still had difficulty temporally teasing these sites apart. Also, the percentages of plates and bowls do not represent respective positive and negative correlations with social ranking (as per De Cunzo 1987:282; Hull 2007:84; Moore 1985; Otto 1977:102). Instead, more subtle explorations, such as the nuanced specifics of lived life among the McKinney family and Davisville settlement, should be explored to explain why they might be different. Overall, neither colonizer/colonized nor socio-economic elite/non-elite binaries, nor the just-so explanations arising from a need to frame data within these binaries can explain the entirety of the present patterns; rather these binaries are too simplistic for understanding the complexities of lived life through the emergent colonialism of 19th-century Ontario.

5.4.1.2 Ceramic Values

The CC-Index (cream coloured earthenware index) was developed by Miller (1980, 1991) as a means to determine vessel choice as reflective of purchasing decisions, based on the economics of the ceramic assemblage for a site during a specific period. This index was calculated based on the relative cost of the ceramic vessel forms and decoration styles present in the assemblage. The index was based on mercantile wholesale and retail ledgers and has been a mainstay of historical archaeology for the determination of the socio-economic status of people in the past. This methodology is a useful tool for organizing ceramic data into a

consistent and easily comparable value, but its weaknesses must also be acknowledged. There have been numerous researchers who have discussed how the CC-Index ignores factors like quality (Crook 2011), the importance of specific patterns (Majewski and O'Brien 1987), consumer choice (Cook et al. 1996), availability (Adams and Boling 1989), international borders (Brooks 2002), availability and supply (Brighton 2001; Lees and Majewski 1993), or how the convergence of these factors affect ceramic acquisition (Klein 1991). Overall, the CC-Index is useful for being able to sort data into an easily comparable number, but the meaning of the calculated number should not be taken as a simple indicator of socio-economic status. As such, rather than focus solely on the CC-Index for each vessel, I use this methodology to arrange data by comparable methods and values (see Spencer-Wood 1987 for discussion). I used the CC-Index's broad concept of economic scaling, as adapted by Majewski and O'Brien (1987:132), to derive a four-tier scale with less expensively designed vessels (e.g., plain) receiving a value of one; basic decorative vessels receiving a value of two (e.g., dipt, edged, sponged); more elaborate vessels receiving a value of three (e.g., hand painted); and the most expensive vessels receiving a value of four (e.g., transfer printed, early ironstone, porcelain). This broader conceptualization and application of the CC-Index helps avoid the regional and temporal specifics of the original CC-Index, while still organizing the data into an easily comparable format.

In comparing the CC-Index values obtained for the sites under study (Table 41), it is interesting to note that all the colonized sites – with the exception of Davisville 2 – have higher values than those of the colonizer sites. The elite colonized sites have a much higher value than the non-elite colonized, while the elite and non-elite colonizer sites values are fairly similar to one another. As well, the CC-Index values for the second generation of the

colonizer sites decrease, but the second generation Mohawk Village CC-Index value is much

higher than that of the first generation.

Table 41: CC-Index for Sites (Shaded are colonized, *italicized are elite*)

Site Name	CC-Index
Davisville 1	2.95
Davisville 2	2.54
Mohawk Village Early	*3.23*
Covenanter	2.59
Odlum F.1a	*2.61*
Davisville 7	2.85
Davisville 8	2.84
Mohawk Village Late	*3.93*
McKinney	2.47
Odlum F.1	*2.59*

Patterns obtained from the CC-Index are difficult to tease out based on the difficulty in

determining what constitutes significant difference. For example, McBride and McBride

(1987:156) defined a middle socioeconomic level as falling between a 1.20 and 1.30 CC-

Index value, and a high socioeconomic level as around 1.42, whereas Spencer-Wood and

Heberling (1987:69) had a range for farmers, to slave, to merchant that ranged from

approximately 1.35 to 2.65. Alternatively Klein (1991:25) defined the range for lower,

middle, and upper class assemblages from urban and rural settings that varied between

approximately 1.1 to 3.0. With this breadth of values, it is difficult to discern any obvious

divide between non-elite and elite sites within the assemblages here, other than to note the

calculations used here scored all sites to higher CC-Index values than these other studies

allowed for. All of the sites I analyzed would fall within the upper range of these CC-Index values, but is the approximate 0.05 to 0.4 difference between the Davisville settlement sites and the Euro-Canadian sites examined for this study enough of a breadth to delineate differing patterns? In the end, "the profiles must be stated in relative terms" (Shepard 1987:192). The CC-Index is a measure of the differential purchasing habits in local and contemporaneous contexts. What is available and the costs of ceramic choices would have varied from region to region. As such, it is possible that the CC-Index in Ontario is meaningfully higher than those of the Antebellum South and a 0.4 difference could argue for a colonial divide within the CC-Index values; perhaps a general engagement with ceramic display and purchase reflect slightly variant consumption priorities and logics. But at the same time differences also reflect a clear commonality of existence in 19th-century southern Ontario that suggests variation is, at best, slight and subtle. In effect, we presently do not have enough data to make the argument one way or the other, and the patterns that I have observed may suggest that we currently do not have a conceptual handle on what it means to be non-elite and elite in 19th-century Ontario.

What is of note, however, is that there is a definitive, contextually specific difference between the values at Mohawk Village compared to the rest of the sites under study. That such a difference is present is significant, but how this pattern is interpreted is more variable. For example, it could be argued that the Mohawk Village values could be the result of the Powless family exercising a distinct Mohawk sense of elite Mohawk identity. Or it could be a result of the Powless family's Mohawk (i.e., colonized) identity mis-applying colonizer convention. However, we must also consider that this is the result of the specific choices of the Powless family to "demonstrat[e]…a sophisticated, urbane set of sensibilities and appreciation of the family's social position within Mohawk Village, the enclaved lower

Grand of the Six Nations, and the emerging colonial world" (Ferris 2009:165). In other words, a complex engagement of multiple identities and contexts playing out over the particulars of the Powless family's lived life in 19th-century southern Ontario.

The CC-Index values for the analyzed assemblages can also be compared to the percentage of expensive vessels recovered from the sites, which can serve to further explore the notion of ceramic 'value' in foodways (Figures 22 and 23). While the CC-Index values represent more of an overall economic value for the ceramic assemblage (which makes it difficult to subdivide into other categories), the percentages of expensive vessels can be grouped and/or divided to demonstrate a variety of more detailed patterning around choices made by the inhabitants when it came to setting their tables.

Among the early sites, there appears to be a divide between the elite and non-elite sites. The elite sites have a higher percentage of expensive plates and teas (each above 46%) and a lower percentage of expensive bowls (8-16%). This can be contrasted to the non-elite sites, which have lower percentages overall (below 36%), a much lower percentage of expensive plates (6-15%) and a higher percentage of expensive bowls (33% at Davisville 1 and 36% at Covenanter). Davisville 2 exhibits a similar trend to the non-elite sites, but it has a percentage of expensive bowls that is the same as at Odlum F.1a (16%). Among the later sites, a divide between elite and non-elite sites is also visible, but it is based solely upon the divide in the overall values of the assemblages at 40%. Instead, there is more obvious difference between the colonizer/colonized sites: the McKinney and Odlum sites have an equal amount of expensive plates and teas, whereas Mohawk Village and Davisville 8 have more variability in the in percentages of expensive vessel forms.
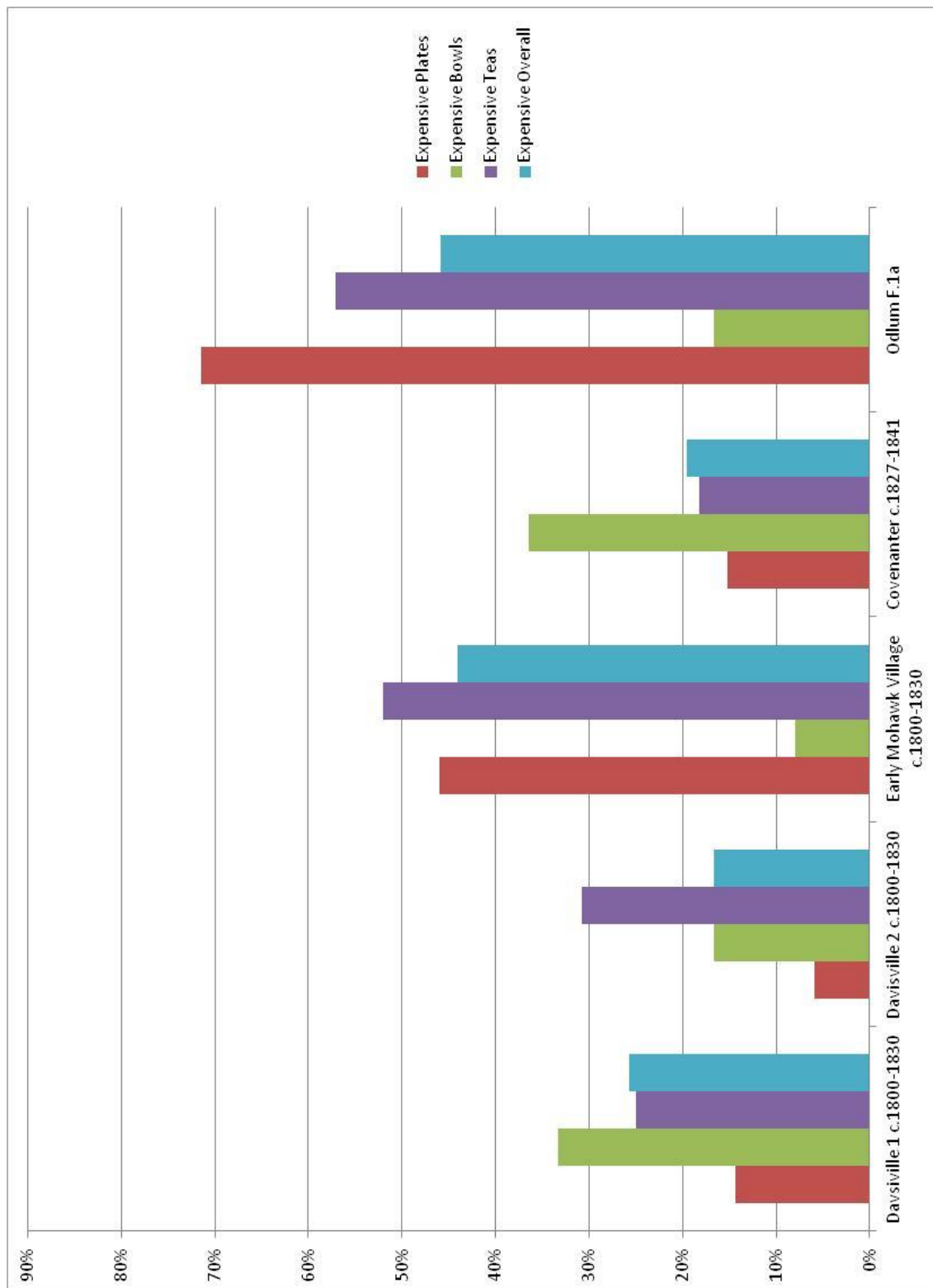
241

Figure 22: Percentage of Expensive Vessel Forms at Early Sites
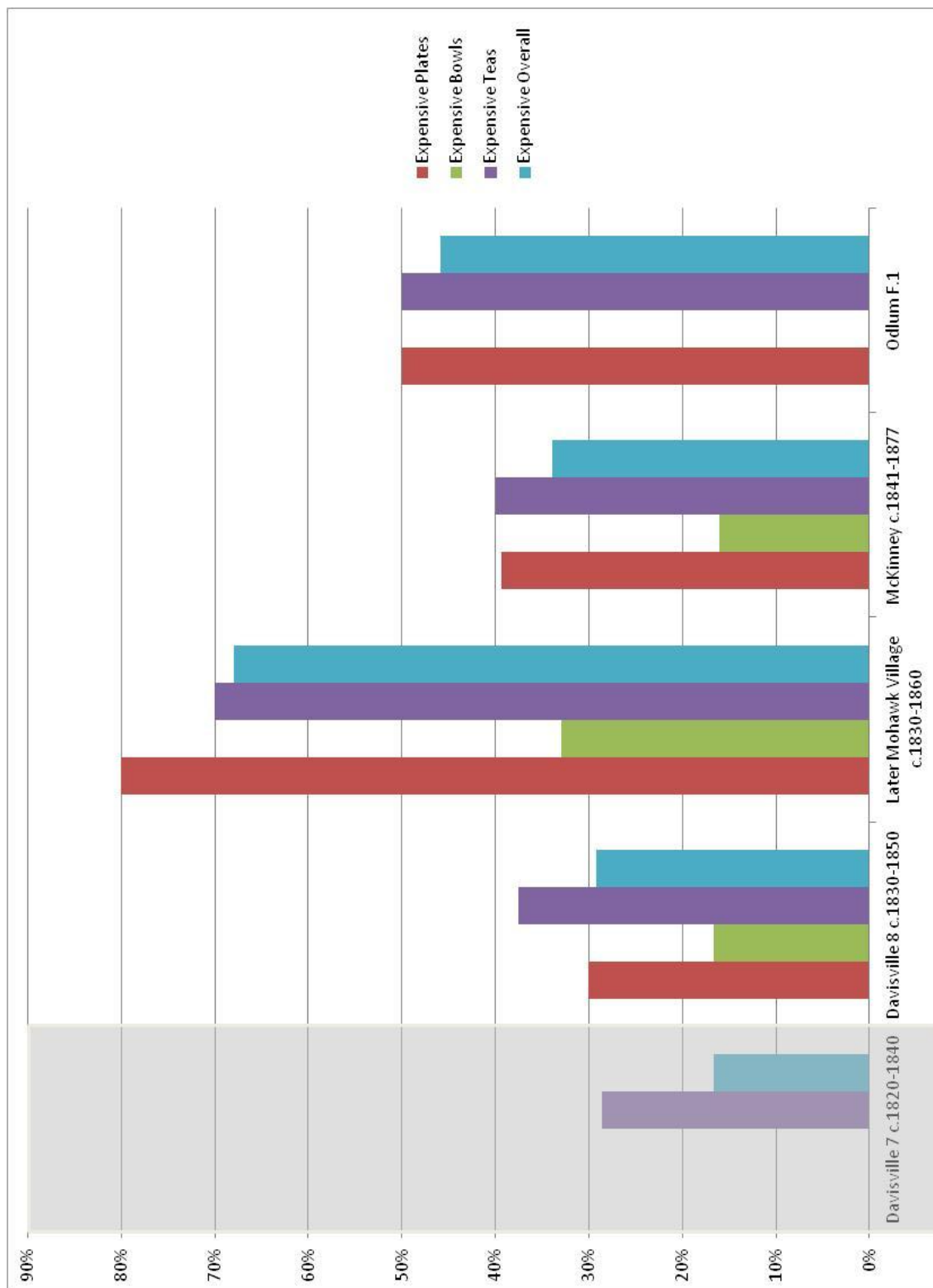
Figure 23: Percentage of Expensive Vessel Forms at Later Sites

While the dataset is limited to only four sites, it is worth suggesting that this spread in overall values from mid-19th-century Ontario, and as such that there is a gradient of ceramic values between differing social classes. An elite/non-elite pattern is still present, but so, too, is difference within this generic divide, reflecting the emergence of a mid-19th-century gradient of social classes based on varying emphases on tradition, social class obligation, and an emergent southern Ontario class sensibility.

5.4.1.3 Setting the Table: What Do the Ceramics Tell Us?

Ceramics are often touted as an almost ideal archaeological gateway to identities in the past (e.g., Brooks 2003; Cabak and Loring 2000; Klein 1991; Lees and Majewski 1993). Ceramics can provide a lens into the ethnic identity (Cabak and Loring 2000) or social class of the former inhabitants of a site, depending on the conceptual leanings of the interpreting archaeologist; however, colonialism and capitalism are rarely directly engaged with each other in these discussions (see Mullins 2010; Stine 1990 as two successful examples). If capitalism and colonialism are truly two universals of historical archaeology, as asserted by Croucher and Weiss (2011:2), we have yet to adequately theorize how these universals are related to each other. Too often, they are treated as separate entities, generally with ethnic identities being explored within the archaeology of the colonized, and capitalism being explored within historical archaeology. This is contrasted with my perception of the intertwined natures of colonialism and capitalism, and the commonalities of existence negotiated at any point in time by all people living through the emergent colonialism and capitalism of the 19th century.

By invoking a particular set of academic literature, be it colonial, capitalist, or otherwise, we align our conceptualizations of data so as to construct meaningful patterns. The patterns I observed within the ceramics, however, do not clearly define difference based on colonialism or capitalism. Neither conceptualization is able to encompass the entirety of the processes of lived life that produced these patterns; these binaries were not how people conceptualized themselves in the world as either/or, but as something more internalized, within frames of self, family, community, and communities. Those patterns of alignment indicate that ethnicity, socio-economic class, and choice informed by tradition/heritage, contingency, and the culturally relative tension between reinforcement and revision of dispositions are all intertwined within ceramic assemblages. The lived reality of identities everywhere is that they are simultaneous, constant, and differentially perceived by the identifier and the identified. Identities, by their nature, cannot be easily subdivided because their meanings and associations are continually revised and reinforced. One person may buy a cup because of the cost, another because of its role in a meal setting, another may have grown up with that type of cup, and another may simply like the colour. Alternatively, and much more likely, the same person might engage with some or all these reasons and rationales simultaneously in their purchase of a cup. Some reasons and rationales maybe more overtly thought through, while others are less so. The choices that people make, both in the past and in the present, are the results of complex reasoning that are particularistic to the individual and their specific contexts. This complexity is only compounded when exploring contexts that act as the intersection of many individuals, such as most household contexts. As such, the ordering and classification of material traits encompassed within the palimpsest of practices and dispositions shaping the materiality of lived life into fixed categories, such as ethnicity or class, create artificial divides where none may have existed in reality.

The patterns within the ceramic assemblages analyzed for this study could be interpreted as representing either ethnic or class differences, with either argument well supported in the academic literature (e.g., Adams and Boling 1989; Brooks 2002, 2003; Burley 2000; Cabak and Loring 2000; Hull 2007; Klein 1991; Lees and Majewski 1993; Miller and Hurry 1983; Otto 1977; Shepard 1987; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987). To do this, the interpreting archaeologist would place more or less emphasis on different patterns that fit their envisioning of the past; however, this replaces the 'messy' and convoluted nature of lived life with an artificially structured and compartmentalized academic discourse. But these broad groupings need to be situated and engaged more directly with their inherent complexities regarding how individuals variably negotiated their multivalent identities. As such, ceramic patterns represent people's navigations of the confluence of their ethnic and socio-economic identities through their actions (e.g., choices), and it is more productive and interesting to explore *how* they simultaneously navigated these identities, rather than try to untangle the palimpsest with relatively arbitrary lines in the sand.

The ceramic patterns examined here do not adhere to the conventional colonial or capitalist patterning, as it is understood for Ontario and the Northeast: the colonized are not obviously different from the colonizers, and the elite are not obviously different from the non-elite. There are patterns of difference within the data, and some patterns, such as the CC-Index and the value of specific vessel forms, which show there are some differences that fall along broadly conceived of class lines; yet these differences are not stark and do not cut across all the patterns. Instead of focusing on how sites deviate from a problematic Euro-Canadian norm and trying to explain why Indigenous sites might be similar and Euro-Canadian sites might be different, we need to acknowledge and understand the commonalities of existence for 19th-century Ontario that sets up a generalized contextual framework within which

everyone was engaged. For example, tea consumption is clearly a global 19th-century commonality of existence within the assemblages examined here, and within the broader material existence of 19th-century life reflected in the extensive body of literature reviewed here from elsewhere in North America and the UK. By avoiding broader assumptions of difference (e.g., colonizers use more teas/colonized use more bowls), we are then forced to delve into the more subtle differences (e.g., the ceramic values of differing vessel forms) that are more appropriate by focusing on the lived reality of individuals in the past. Likewise, any conceptualizations of a colonial divide between colonizer/colonized is clearly at least as much a phenomenon of researcher emphasis, as it is a clear divide materially. It is perhaps most evident within differential CC-Index values for entire site assemblages, but anyone would be hard pressed to identify which sites were Six Nations and which were Euro-Canadian based solely on these ceramic values. As much as ceramics may be a 'gateway' to identity in historical archaeology, they are also a gateway to the commonality of existence that bridged capitalist and colonialist divides. In the end, only shades of colonial and capitalist divides can be invoked from this ceramic data.

5.4.2 You Are What You Eat: Faunal Remains

Faunal assemblages can offer up a differing narrative to that of ceramics. But before we delve into patterns drawn out from the assemblages analyzed for this study, there are two general cautionary notes about how faunal analyses differ across the colonial dichotomy.

First, difficulty must be noted in comparing the differentially analyzed datasets. The contemporary practice of only identifying the trio of domesticates (i.e., sheep, cow, and pig) among colonizer sites, in contrast to identifying all the animals on colonized sites, potentially creates an artificial divide and constraint to comparative analyzed between the two categories

of sites (Landon 2005:7; though note that the Odlum assemblage was analyzed to species). Within this framework, the emphasis becomes colonized peoples maintaining traditional hunting practices, whereas colonizer peoples consuming almost entirely domesticates. As such, comparing percentages of 'wild vs. domesticate' animals within my assemblages is problematic since I am not able to ascertain, from the limited faunal analyses undertaken for the colonizer sites, the degree to which non-domesticate mammal species, in particular, were present in faunal assemblages.

Second, in contrast to the archaeology of the colonized, the archaeology of the colonizer rarely frames changes in foodways as traditional/non-traditional (MacDonald 2004). The North American context is implicitly understood as an emergent colonial landscape where individuals of European descent simultaneously adapted, and were adapted by, the local context. Changes in colonizer foodways become innovative adaptations to their contexts, whereas changes in colonized foodways become losses of identity. As such, changes in the diets of Europeans have been framed as a result of other forms of variation, such as differences in social class (Cheek 1998; Peres 2008), or changes across urban/rural divides (Landon 1996, 2008), but never as a loss of European foodways/identity:

> Beef and pork were major sources of winter and spring meat, augmented by small quantities of venison from whitetailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), and waterfowl. As the stores of preserved meat dwindled through the spring, the importance of wild foods grew, with a summer dietary emphasis on fish augmented by hunting or trapping wild mammals. (Landon 2008:384)

In the above example from the 17th-century Chesapeake region, the local colonizers are understood as eating deer and wild game to help them get through the year. These actions are glossed over in a single sentence, without any connotation or understanding that the act of consuming new food sources would in any way impact or change their identity.

> Migrants to the new British colonies brought these experiences with them. They built houses in the modes familiar to them, whether country estates or urban cottages. They set their tables with colorful and diverse tablewares, but those wares were all mass-produced in factories far away. They prepared traditional dishes, but they used new, store-bought convenience foods like salted meat and condiments. These migrants were modern in many ways, and they did not lose their modernity on arrival in the colonies. If anything, they struggled all the harder to assert their modernity, their civilization, in the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves. (Lawrence 2003a:29)

This second example speaks more generally about the British colonial process and emphasizes the underlying assumption that British colonizers indeed brought their colonial dispositions with them to their new home, including what they considered good to eat, demonstrating how they made adaptations as needed. These adaptations, however, are not framed as losses, or acculturation, but rather as struggles they were able to overcome.

Colonizer foodways can be contrasted to how shifting foodways are dealt with and conceived of in colonized contexts: "The resulting adoption and/or rejection of new foods by native people, both in daily practice and in the context of sacred and ritual activities, may be indicative of the attitudes of native actors towards Europeans" (Graesch et al. 2010:213). This quote is from a recently edited volume, the goal of which was to place an emphasis on Aboriginal continuity and change within colonial North America despite colonial imposition (Scheiber and Mitchell 2010). Despite the good intentions of the volume's editors, this quote embodies much of the divide between the archaeology of the colonizer and the colonized. The archaeology of the colonized is continuously forced to justify why and how colonized peoples adapted to the impositions of colonizers. Thus, despite their engagement in the 19th century with a growing global mass production and consumerism that framed a commonality of existence in southern Ontario, colonized people are reified as separate from the colonizer experience. Although such goods may have initially been produced in Europe, they do not make the user/purchaser European, at least, no more so than using Chinese export porcelain

by British society in the 18th and early 19th centuries made those people acculturated to Chinese dispositions (though certainly Oriental influences are consistently incorporated into British dispositions through that period). In these discussions, the choices of the colonized to use or eschew European goods become instead framed as a political or social choice where their Aboriginal (i.e. traditional) dispositions are confronted, combated, and perhaps 'lost' at an essential level simply by the presence of these goods within their domestic material life.

These are only brief examples of broader trends in the archaeology of the colonizer and colonized, but they emphasize the underlying, subversive, and problematic assumptions of our discipline: a First Nations household that ate pigs was acculturated (through the loss of their 'traditional culture'), whereas a European who ate deer was resourceful at adapting to local needs and did not necessarily lose what it meant to be European. Instead of relegating shifts in Aboriginal foodways to a loss of identity and excluding them from discourses of modernity, an alternative consideration, one that can paraphrase and re-align Lawrence's (2003:29) quote provided above, can be envisioned:

Aboriginal peoples inhabiting the new British colonial state brought their experiences with them. They built houses in the modes familiar to them, whether country estates or urban cottages. They set their tables with colorful and diverse tablewares, but those wares were all mass-produced in factories far away. They prepared traditional dishes, but they used new, store-bought convenience foods like salted meat and condiments. These Aboriginal peoples were modern in many ways, and they did not lose their modernity on arrival of the colonial state. If anything, they struggled all the harder to assert their modernity, their civilization, in the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves.

5.4.2.1 Faunal Patterns

As previously mentioned, comparing the faunal assemblages examined for this study along 'wild vs. domesticate' lines is problematic; however, exploring broader class is worth exploring. The first obvious pattern is associated with the presence and absence of fish across the Mohawk and Euro-Canadian assemblages, respectively (Figure 24). While this may suggest cultural or traditional dietary preferences, it must be noted that the Mohawk sites are all along the Grand River, a major source of fish, whereas the Euro-Canadian sites are further away from any major waterways (although note the presence of 1% fish remains from Covenanter). This speaks to the important role local resources play in influencing what people eat, as noted by Scott (2008:371) from her research at the pluralistic 18th-century Fort Michilimackinac: "…in many cases the geographic setting … and the ecological range and abundance of particular food resources affected the diet more than did ethnic food preferences." It is interesting to note that despite being categorized as elite and non-elite, respectively, the contemporaneous Covenanter/McKinney and Odlum sites display very similar patterns. In contrast, the Davisville and Mohawk Village sites illustrate a greater variability at the class level, both from the McKinney/Odlum assemblages, and between each other. At the very least, the variation between the Powless household, as reflective of Mohawk Village dietary preferences, and the Davisville sites, at some level representing a rejection of Mohawk lifeways, could reflect a differing degree of engagement with, and emphasis at supplying, emerging culinary preferences into domestic meal times.
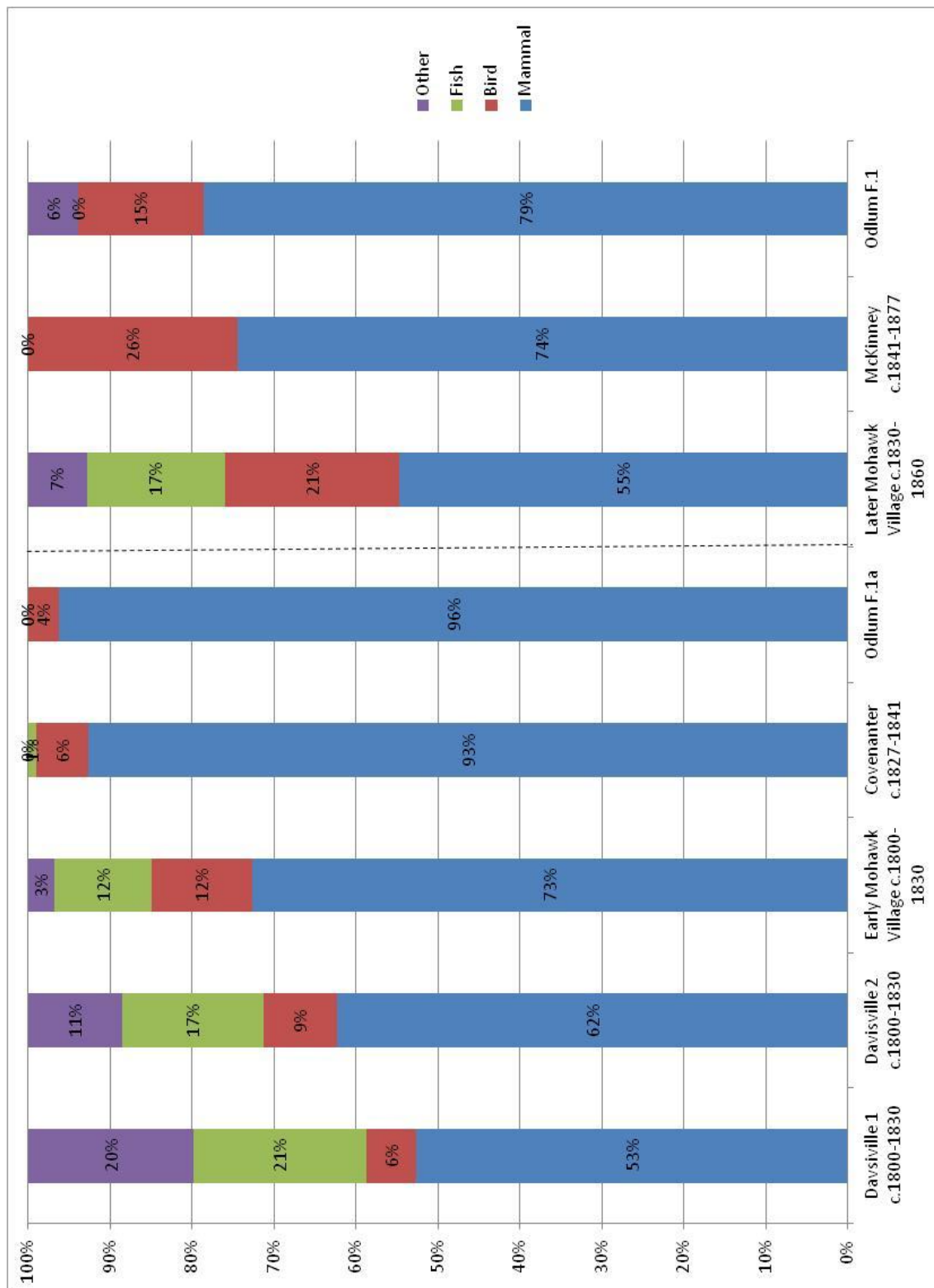
Figure 24: Breakdown of Faunal Categories by Site. Dashed line indicates divide between Early and Late Sites.

When the breakdown of sheep, cow, and pig is examined (Figure 25), there appears to be a divide, especially between the earlier Mohawk and Euro-Canadian sites, which reflects a strong emphasis on pig on Mohawk sites, with small quantities of beef and almost a complete absence of sheep in the assemblages, suggesting at least an unfamiliarity with, if not avoidance of, this domesticate in meals. While pig is a dominant food source for Euro-Canadian sites, larger quantities of beef and mutton makeup food preferences, though clearly sheep is consistently an important part of the McKinney family diet between generations. Ferris and Kenyon (1983) identified a pattern where first generation European families tended to consume less pig, and accommodated sheep despite local conditions not being conductive to pasturing sheep in large quantities, while second generations Euro-Canadian families ate more pig and lost their interest in sheep. This pattern is not reflected within the McKinney assemblages; however a shift exists between the Odlum assemblages. If F.1a reflects more of a first generation emphasis than F.1, then perhaps the shifts towards greater pig in the family's diet is consistent with the Ferris and Kenyon (1983) inter-generational pattern. For the Powless', clearly beef and mutton was more 'normalized' into diet, albeit in relatively modest quantities. This perhaps is a reflection of an increase in the degree to which a commonality of existence influenced their dietary choices by the mid 19th century, so that sheep was variably consumed by all, regardless of colonized/colonizer, or class status. Overall, the faunal assemblages suggest that among the early sites, a colonizer/colonized divide is more evident.
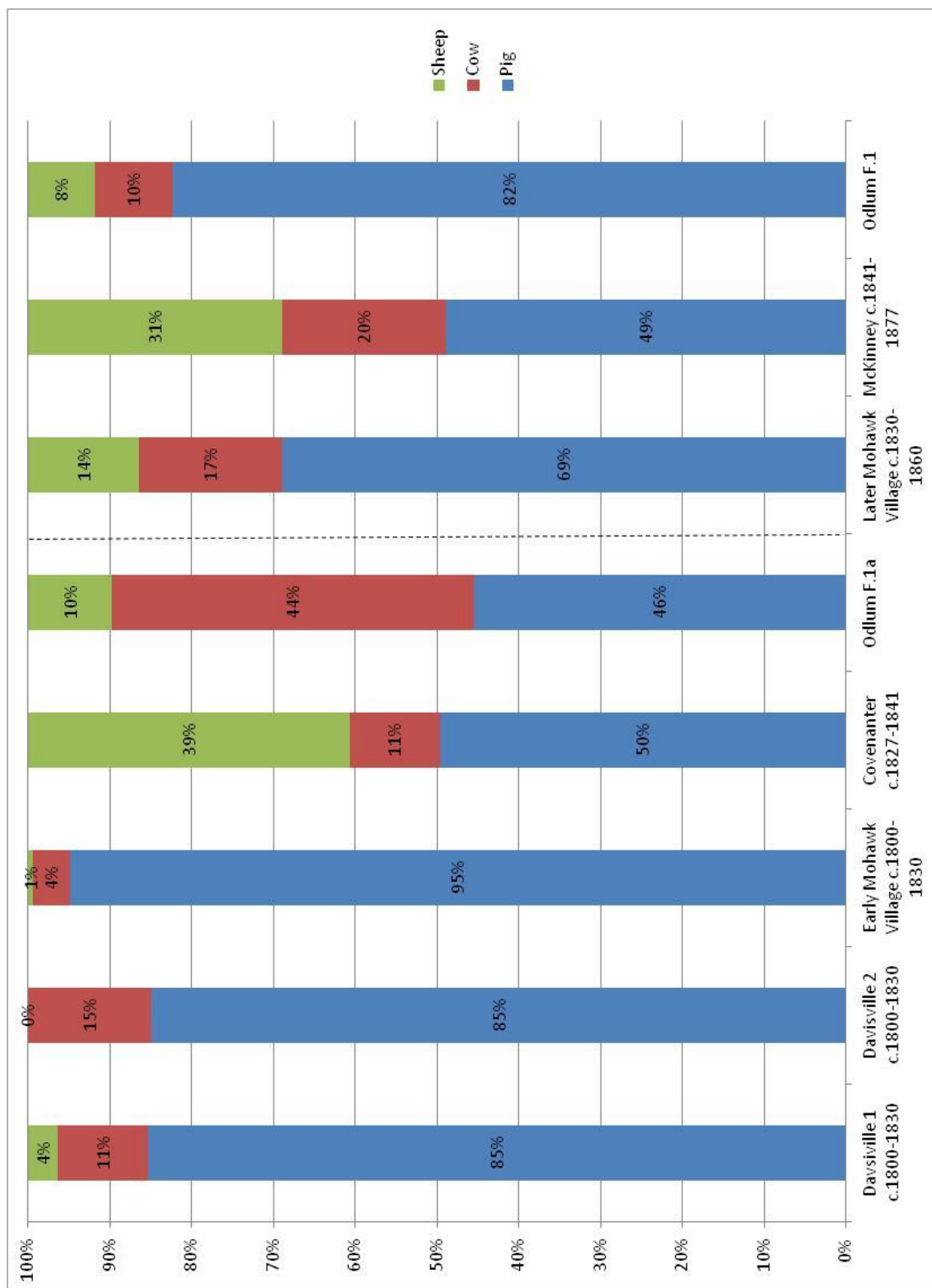
Figure 25: Breakdown of Sheep, Cow, and Pig Across Sites. Dashed line indicates divide between Early and Later Sites.

The patterns across the admittedly limited dataset analyzed here are difficult to divide into any simple dichotomy. To frame these sites as different from the outset, based on either colonial or capitalist rationales, could lead to discussions about the consumption of fish or pig among the Mohawk sites, pig and sheep among the Euro-Canadian sites, or beef as a class preference; however, to do so would frame the discussion in a manner where the researcher ignores the broader discussion of similarities between the sites. In lieu of such a simplistic discussion, by embracing the innumerable intersecting factors that influence what food choices shape the faunal assemblages from a household, we are forced to engage with the question of 'what should we expect?' Broad ethnic patterns of consumption may exist, but they operate at a general level and are tempered by local availability of resources (e.g., MacDonald 2004; Scott 2008); moreover, these patterns must be let go when we explore individual households 'below' ethnic difference, reflecting the idiosyncratic daily lives of a select group of peoples (Pezzarossi et al. 2012). The individuals that inhabited each of the households explored were exposed to the practices in which they were raised (e.g., pig consumption among the Irish or second generation Euro-Canadian, deer consumption among the Mohawk, sheep as a constancy of the McKinney family), but these dispositions also operated within a very contingent framework. Base dispositions did not operate in a vacuum; they were engaged within a broader world where understandings of how the world works were operated against the perceptions of others, the availability of goods, life expectations, and personal desires for the future.

5.5   And Where Does This Leave Us?

The overall impression that I am left with after exploring the 19th century archaeology of family homesteads that broadly could be classified into categories of colonized and colonizer

is one of muddled patterns, rather than definitive answers. At first this was troubling, but I think this might be a more accurate sense of the present state of the archaeology of colonialism and historical archaeology. Researchers are trying to divide a complex and intertwined past into two easily identified, bifurcated categories: colonizer (European) and colonized (Aboriginal). This framework might have held up in earlier periods of scholarship into contact contexts (or not), or might hold up if research is solely focussed on an amorphous colonizer/colonized comparator, or not. But as soon as we start unpacking and breaking down these larger frameworks into smaller, more meaningful categories of lived life, these dichotomies lose their rigid structure and in fact become masks that perpetuate contemporary colonial legacies. This is especially true during the 19th century. With the rise of mass produced material goods and consumer culture, the traditional framework of 'colonizer goods = colonizer' and 'colonized goods = colonized' falls to pieces. Instead of a discursive existence where the 19th-century colonized are entirely enclaved and removed from the mainstream discussion of historic sites, and hence relegated to the archaeology of colonialism, historical archaeology needs to frame these pluralistic communities and landscapes of peoples as inherently intertwined and intermingled and similarly engaged with the commonalities of existence that was the context of their lived lives.

The ceramic and faunal data from the sites examined for this study tell differing tales of subtle and nuanced differences between people with differing heritages, backgrounds, and economic capacity, but who also navigated a similar set of material contexts and emergent social etiquettes throughout the 19th century. They all used plates, teas, and bowls, but placed differing investment emphases on certain vessel forms; they all ate a range of similar animals, but placed differing emphases on specific species. It is these differing emphases

(that embrace tradition, revision, contingency, and idiosyncrasy) that best reflect the materiality of negotiating the emergent colonialism and capitalism of 19th-century Ontario.

If the colonial past is imagined as a landscape only populated by colonizers and colonized, it is inherently ill-suited to engage with groups who fall outside conventional colonial categories. For example, Lawrence and Shepherd (2006:73) contrast the research of Deagan (1983) among the Creole communities of colonial Spanish America, against Burley's (1989) research among the Métis of Canada, focusing on colonizer and colonized peoples, respectively. Both these examples explore ethnically-mixed peoples, but the Creole are framed as a new identity emergent from the colonizer and the Métis are framed as emergent from the colonized. There is no real reason for separating the two this way, but it demonstrates the difficulty in engaging with peoples who are beyond both and/or neither categories within current interpretive frameworks (Russell 2004).

Are we truly talking about identities in the past? As archaeologists, we place important interpretative values on the fact that our conceptualized analytical categories (e.g., ethnicity, class, gender, etc.) represent identities as experienced in the past. These categories are important ways in which people experienced their lives, to be sure, but for archaeologists, this tends to be distilled into a subdivision of people into 'groups.' But are the divisions we utilize as archaeologists the same ones as experienced by people in the past, and were they even perceived as standalone concepts? For example, Mullins (2010) argues that race and class are inherently linked; the power dynamic that defines class structure is embedded and maintained within a racial framework. Racial 'others' become framed as lower-class and cannot rise above the racialized glass ceiling. Another example is the use of broad categories like First Nations, Native American, or Indian:

> What this meant is that the very act of defining Indians was a task that Euro-Americans felt necessary and took upon themselves to do. As scholars and laypeople developed their definitions, they incorporated a wide variety of erroneous assumptions and stereotypes. This process happened to the chagrin of many Indian people who hadn't disappeared and felt victimized and dehumanized by being defined. At the heart of their distress was the very notion that they were Indians instead of Lenape, Anishinabe, and the hundreds of other names they called their groups. Whether Indian, American Indian, or Native American, the term has submerged their unique group identities into a category that they feel has not recognized their diversity. (Zimmerman 2005:271)

In a real sense, these broader racial categories can exist and encompass groups whose only real connection is that their ancestors were in North America prior to Europeans. If we wanted to have a broad discussion comparing these groups to others (e.g., Asians, Africans, Europeans, etc.), it is possible, but substantively meaningless, as it becomes impossible to reach beyond broad generalizations and stereotypes, and, of course, the historical legacies of colonialism and its impacts in North America. We must also acknowledge that such a framework has been and continues to be entrenched within governmental policy and serves to make these broad groupings real, along with the consequences such groupings have had on people. Making such categories consequentially real and the focus of research implies that there is a shared experience that can be used to define and understand the encompassed groups. In a conversation this broad and racialized, where can we go beyond 'White colonizer, Black enslaved, Aboriginal acculturated or erased, and Other absent'? To unpack and deconstruct these categories, we must delve into a more heterogeneous experience that played out below this dominant framework and the contemporary researcher biases imposed on the past, in order to explore a heterogeneous experience both shaped by such frameworks, but also endlessly complicated by the numerous examples of people who did and did not operate within gross-level categorizations.

We must keep in mind that the current political context forces people to actively conceptualize their own identities, and those of the past, within this strict racialized understanding of our national historical narrative. If ethnic identities are a "negotiation between what you call yourself and what other people are willing to call you back" (quoted in Voss 2008:1) then this applies to lived identities in the past – within the meaningful contexts of those negotiations at any point in the past – as well as to contemporary contexts, which itself is a constantly revising context. Peoples' identity negotiations in the past were a complex palimpsest of acceptance, rejection, and avoidance based on context-specific values of inclusion and othering; however, "…*otherness* is not a stable category for classifying peoples, times and territories…" (Haber 2012:62 emphasis in original). At different points in time and space, what made people 'undesirable' or 'different' was in flux, meaningful in the moment to those actors and power differentials, and cannot be assumed by subsequent logics. The change in perception of the 19th-century Irish is only one example of this process (Brighton 2011), and we must conceptually hold open the door for other groups to experience the same kind of process.

If this idea is taken to its logical conclusion, then the topics and themes that we are discussing in the present are undergoing the same process, and we cannot assume that the basis for discrimination understood today (e.g., race, class, gender) were the same in the past, or at least operated within the same structures of meaning operationalized today. This is not to say that these forms of discrimination did not occur in the past, but rather, we cannot approach the historical data we examine with our assumed forms of difference (Oliver in press). Discrimination and othering always existed in some form and has oft resulted in diverse populations being the targets of genocide, slavery, and various other tragic outcomes. These are realities of a complex and hurtful colonial past that continues to resonate into the

present; however, we need to explore the nuanced ways in which people navigated these colonial nightmares beyond the tragedies. These were contingencies which people *resided* through (as per Silliman in press), and they continued to live out their daily lives to the best of their circumstances. If we approach the past with our preconceived otherings in colonial contexts, which continue to emphasize the disruptive aspects of colonialism without acknowledging the manners in which life persisted, then we cannot hope to change the preconceived discourse of Aboriginal decline and European conquest. My theoretical and conceptual frame, structured by my conceptual baggage, archaeological imaginaries, and habitual practices, influences the data that I emphasize and the meanings I draw from similarities and differences. By operating within the conventional, normative conceptions of categories, shaped by colonial sensibilities, my datasets could have been used to emphasize either the colonial or capitalist differences between the Indigenous and Euro-Canadian sites, as much as they also constrain the interpretations that I could make. For example, I could not argue that drinking tea is a strictly Euro-Canadian practice – the presence of teas on Indigenous sites makes such an argument erroneous. Instead, I consciously chose to eschew the more problematic aspects of archaeological conventions to develop a narrative that better fits within my own archaeological imaginary. In the end, this becomes my own archaeological imaginary, with its own problems and baggage, but it is a step away from the continuous replication of colonial legacies and contemporary agendas within archaeology and understandings of heritage, and towards a nuanced interpretation of the past.

It may sound as if I am arguing for the dismissal of the concept of identities as a whole, or that I am taking a relativistic position where nothing matters and anything goes; however, neither is the case and this perspective actually runs counter to my larger point. In a very real sense, we are talking in the present about present day concerns that are vindicated through

the past, but this does not mean there is no value or justifiable position to take. Rather, we must all the more consider the questions we ask, and the questions we do not ask, more critically. This is most important for discourses where the discipline is bifurcated, like within historical archaeology and the archaeology of colonialism. There are very real differences and consequences between colonizers and colonized within the archaeological record in specific places, times, and contexts of identity. However, as structured today, the archaeology of the colonized is forever forced to justify why the colonized existed as colonized and when they were or were not acculturated (e.g., Panich 2013), and the historical archaeology of the colonizer is forever exploring other forms of identity. It is rare that questions are asked which bring these two discourses into dialogue. In historical archaeology, the continuity and consistency of the colonizer identity has been too often treated as a given, so limited energy has been expended to explore this reality further. Clearly, from the discussion presented here, that has to change.

Chapter 6

6   Conclusions

Bridging conceptual divides is not as simple as adding or incorporating two pre-existing frameworks together in hopes that they will fit and produce a unified and better conceptualization. Subaltern voices previously denied cannot be simply incorporated into an existent master narrative without unpacking what those silences reveal about the master narrative (Gero 2007; Wilcox 2009). The master narrative needs to be revisited to ensure subaltern voices do not become uncritically subsumed within the existent narrative, and by being so, re-silenced.

Presently, there is a trend to bring together disparate conceptualizations in archaeology (Croucher and Weiss 2011; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 2013; Mullins 2010; Oland et al. 2012; Silliman 2005; Silliman and Witt 2010), arguably because people are unhappy with the limitations of a fractured archaeology with many '-isms'. Part of the process of archaeology becoming 'more sophisticated' or 'more mature' as a discipline means that we are less comfortable with these arbitrary categorical 'boxes' of trait lists and researcher assumptions that serve to define and limit interpretive discourse, and we are instead searching for conceptualizations that bridge the breadth of the lived experiences, multi-scalar temporal framings, ways of knowing the past, and materialities that we can access. This discomfort has most likely been the catalyst for why we are now seeking alternatives: the building of conceptual bridges that reach between pre-/post-contact histories (e.g., Lightfoot 1995; Oland et al. 2012; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010), colonialism/capitalism (e.g,. Croucher and Weiss 2011; Lucas 2010; Silliman and Witt 2010), colonialism/gender (e.g., Casella and Voss 2012;

Ströbeck 2010), and race/class (e.g., Brandon 2009; Mullins 1999b, 2010), to mention a few. I applaud these efforts, and whole-heartedly believe we need to continue bridging these divides; however, we need to extend efforts beyond the deconstruction of individual 'boxes' and strive for a pluralistic archaeology that simultaneously considers and engages with all of these facets of daily lived life. But this is only the first step towards a more comprehensive interpretive archaeology where conceptual gaps and – colonial legacies – no longer exist.

Lived identities are a palimpsest of a person's identities simultaneously and continuously expressed in daily lived life (Russell 2004): as I write this document I am an archaeologist, an academic, a student, a colleague, a Canadian, a Newfoundlander, a white Euro-Canadian of British and German descent, a man, an adult, a child, a spouse, an employee, a non-elite, and more. People may be able to point to some aspects of this document, as well as to my personal characteristics, and attempt to link an idea I advance to one of my specific identities. They would not be entirely wrong, but it would be a gross simplification to associate specific ideas, dispositions, or practices with only a single identity. My actions and ideas are expressed, both consciously and unconsciously, through the composite lens of the palimpsest of identities negotiated between my sense of self, and, as Voss points out, the identities others are willing to acknowledge. This inherently produces a messy, idiosyncratic self that becomes difficult to pigeon-hole into a specific category, even though we all do this continually on a daily basis.

That this complex process is a fluid, recursive operation of identities for self and others around us, engaged with casually and imperfectly on a daily basis to regularize and define the world around us, is both the appeal and challenge to exploring the concept of identity in research. This does not mean that we cannot engage with identities, but rather, that it requires

a nuanced approach to tease out the convoluted palimpsests of lived identities and avoid *a priori* categorizations. For example, the choice to use more bowls than plates by the former inhabitants of Davisville 1 should not be reduced to 'because they were Mohawk' explanations. Instead, it was the confluence of choices emerging from their being in the early 19th-century, and being Christian, residing at Davisville and not Mohawk Village, and more. We, as researchers, are embedded and naturally accept the existence of this complex set of daily lived identities in our own experienced presents; we must embrace a similar level of complexity in the past (Charest 2009; Haber 2012). The conversations we are having as archaeologists are enveloped within our own conceptual lenses of human interactions, mitigated through social questions in the present, and imposed on imaginaries in the past. This process creates arbitrary conceptual 'boxes' of exclusive categorization that simplify our interpretations of the complexities of past lived realities (Oyen 2013).

Considering the discussion up to this point, it is valuable to return to the questions raised in Chapter 2.

1. How do researchers treat colonized and colonizer sites differently?

Colonized and colonizer sites invoke differing dialogues that have disparate foci and material emphases. Such dialogues are not necessarily apparent in excavation methodologies, but are instead conceptual divisions that reify the bifurcation between colonized/colonizer. Specific artifacts, features, or designs are given additional emphasis and meaning because of their association with one trope or the other. For example, knapped glass, trade silver, glass beads, and Iroquois designs are invoked as iconic vestiges of the continuity of colonized practices, without reflexive consideration as to why these objects embody this meaning, or why others might not use the same objects and/or use them in different ways. Alternatively, the same

artifacts can invoke differing narratives depending on which side of the divide they occur. For example, the presence of both domesticates and wild animals within the faunal assemblage of colonized sites stimulate discussions of how/why people changed their dietary practices, whereas the same faunal assemblage on a colonizer site stimulates discussions on the innovative nature and resiliency of colonizers in new contexts. One is acculturative, the other adaptive. Both reveal the constraints of the researcher as only seeing the colonized as trapped within a changed world, and seeing the colonizer as adapting to a new world.

These divergent dialogues serve to create and reify essentialist and arbitrary divides that become difficult to bridge or conceptually interpret beyond. The difficulty in identifying colonized peoples outside of their enclaved contexts further problematizes this convention. Enclaved colonized people become contrasted against a deeper time privileging a contrasting 'traditional' and 'adapted' characteristics within colonized contexts, rather than laterally compared between contemporaneous and varied contexts. By categorizing peoples in the past as either colonizer or colonized, we are homogenizing people into one side of the colonial bifurcation or the other, as we understand them from our perspective in the present. This homogenization has the unintended consequence of bringing numerous colonial experiences into dialogue (e.g., as previously discussed, Mohawk Village has been subsumed within Euro-Canadian side of the divide within the Ontario database of registered archaeological sites). By silencing the explicit presence of the colonized within a pluralistic reality, we reify the master historical narrative of the colonial state absent the colonized. In effect, the colonized are erased from this narrative, masked behind the material manifestation and emergent global capitalism of the 19th century.

2. What are the differences between contemporaneous colonized and colonizer sites?

The differences seen in this study between sites within colonized and colonizer categorization are not stark; this emphasizes the point that people, regardless of labels, found ways to negotiate the dispositions and ways of the world that were logically consistent within their household. All families engaged with the common materiality of mass-produced material culture in the 19th century. The dining conventions of all families included the use of teaware as a variably integral part of those conventions. All families also used both expensive and inexpensive ceramic wares and engaged with decorative patterns as fashion (including as memory markers of identity heritage). There were, however, some differences between households as well, including a higher CC-Index values for most of the colonized sites. This could indicate a differing engagement with how people on both sides of the colonial divide valued their ceramics and interpreted performance attributes beyond basic functionality. For example, that colonized families in this study preferred more expensive ceramics than colonizers does not mean that their preferences were based on the actual price of the ceramics, but rather that some aspect of the more expensive ceramics (e.g., appearance, role at the dining table, material translation of dining conventions, etc.) appealed. Or perhaps these families were differentially engaged in the performative aspects such fashion differences provided. Regardless, consistent differences between the divide of these two categories break down when considering specific vessel forms.

Differences and similarities between sites belie gross categorization and suggest that a more nuanced exploration is required. When considering the results of this study in comparison to broader 19th-century archaeological trends noted in the Northeast (e.g., Brandon 2009; Brighton 2009; Cabak and Loring 2000; Cheek 1998; Doroszenko 2009; Groover 2003; Hart and Fischer 2000; Klein 1991; MacDonald 2004; Shackel 1992), variation across the sites examined for this study could be interpreted as all emerging from the commonality of

existence that was the 19th-century, within which everyone from that time was a part of. The sites explored in this study, and compared more broadly against contemporaneous sites in Ontario and the Northeast, do not cleanly or clearly divide along colonizer or colonized categories. Rather, nuanced variations across the study group represent contextual shifts navigated as the former inhabitants best saw fit.

The obvious conclusion from a lack of materially distinct patterns between colonizer and colonized sites is that this colonial dichotomy, as it is conventionally applied, is more limiting than enabling for conducting archaeological research. Patterns exist that fall within these lines, while others cut across this dichotomy. This speaks to the messy nature of the lived past and the necessity of being cautious when using essentialized tropes such as colonizer or colonized when framing archaeological interpretation (Horning 2011). Real differences did exist; however, they encompassed a simultaneous palimpsest of colonial, capitalist, and numerous other forms of identity (e.g., gender, temporally specific, family affiliation, occupation, etc.) that structured daily lived life in the past, and these differences probably had far more immediate meaning to these actors than the assumption-laden definitions of colonizer/colonized imposed onto the past by contemporary research. To prefer one set of dispositions over another in archaeological interpretations reifies an imaginary past where people's actions were guided by singular social forces (be it capitalist, colonial, or some other). For example, within this project, a strictly capitalist framework would have emphasized the tensions between elite and non-elite practices, whereas a strictly colonial framework would have emphasized the tensions between the colonizer and colonized practices. Each dialogue would have created an artificial simulacra of the past that privileged one facet of life, while ignoring the simultaneous intersections of innumerable other facets.

Instead of continuously repeating the history we already know (Horning 2011), we must embrace the post-colonial goal of having our discourse transcend the normative colonial narrative. Moving beyond the colonial narrative does not mean 'white-washing' the past, discarding the concept of colonialism, or ignoring colonial identities altogether. These are all realities of the past within which people navigated; however, we must not allow colonialism to entirely define people, either in terms of the diversity of people considered colonized in the past, or the diversity of people from away and their descendants born directly into the emerging colonialist State of 19th-century southern Ontario. This shift in our discourse begins by reconsidering the disciplinary baggage we each bring to our archaeological research. This baggage is primarily present in the generalizations and conceptual short-cuts that we use to make meaning in the past, and we need to identify how that may colour our interpretations. This is especially true of the archaeological enterprise that builds understandings about the past through archaeology's interpretive engagement with the materiality of those pasts. If we reject homogenizing generalist interpretations like 'bowls = Indigenous and plates = Euro-Canadian', and explore the concept of people navigating the specific contexts of their time as they understood it, more nuanced patterns can emerge that can help deconstruct the essentialized conceptual boxes that presently define the discipline's approach to an 'historical archaeology' on the one hand, and the 'archaeology of the colonizer' on the other..

3. What do the differences between contemporaneous colonized and colonizer sites mean for the lived experiences of people in the past and for researchers in the present?

Both the lived realities of the past and the contemporary creation of archaeological narratives about the past are messy confluence points of innumerable actions that cannot be divorced from lived realities: identities, both in the past and in the present, have significant political

and social impacts on peoples' lives. The difficulty comes in applying categorizations of identity onto the past that 'make sense' in the present, based on the legacies of colonialism we as researchers naturally accept as just-so dispositions from the world we live in. This both imposes logics that may not have 'made sense' in the past, while also reflects back to the historical narratives that we use to generate the rightness of present day understandings of the world.

Revisionist research over the last few decades has taken us a long way from the master narrative of the rise of the Canadian colonial state. However, the continued emphasis on colonized and colonizer in our research, masking the diversity of peoples under both categorizations, constrains scholarship from seeing 'below' and past those two generic classifications. Within the archaeology of colonialism, the moment we invoke colonial discourse and categories, our choices are inherently limited to colonizer or colonized. Such a conceptual lens forces the complex and nuanced past through a dichotomized prism, which results in a homogenization of people's actions and experiences in the past. Such a homogenization fails to explain the lived experiences, and the materiality of that experience, reflected in the choices made by the Powless', Oldums, McKinneys, and residents of Davisville. Similarities and difference across the commonality of existence in the 19th century clearly show logics in choices consistent for both the Powless' and Odlums, in some cases, the Powless' and Davisville residents, in other cases, and among all four, in yet others. And still each household also exhibited unique material choices and lifeways that reflected the idiosyncratic and personal confluence of tradition, innovation, and the contingencies of living life through the 19th century of southern Ontario. This is a complexity, and meaning to lived life, that is lost when we rely on homogenized categorizations.

When we question the essentialist tropes of colonial categories, we are forced to search for other ways of knowing the past. This study's direct comparisons between previously divided colonizer and colonized archaeological datasets offer the possibility of new avenues of research that can critically explore the essence of a pluralistic past. Such lines of research can then conceptualize the past beyond contemporary researcher assumptions and biases, which include reifying and replicating the colonialist master narrative and denying the lived experiences of people in the past beyond that narrow prism. This is not to say that the past was an idealistic realm: genocide, dispossession, loss of sovereignty and autonomy, marginalization, and denied heritages are realities and legacies of the North American colonial process. Furthermore, trans-generational physical and mental abuse did have real impacts on people's lives in the past, and the consequences of these systemic and State-sponsored abuses continue into today.

Orser (2012) repeatedly warns of the dangers of ignoring this aspect of the past. I agree that we should not ignore the impacts of colonialism and racialized forms of discrimination in the past and present; however, when we focus only on the violence, discrimination, and constraints of colonialism, then our studies of people living through that time necessarily only ever reflect violence, discrimination, and the constraints of colonialism. By dwelling solely on the manner and history by which various 'others' – in this case, the colonized – were impacted and erased by the colonial process, our narratives are forever restricted to stories of disenfranchisement. This disenfranchisement is only one facet of lived experiences, variably and chronically negotiated, resisted or ignored at any given point of time, yet it ends up dominating all other aspects of the past: the continuous negotiation of lived identities is premised on prior disenfranchisement. Although people faced horrendous and limiting factors that influenced their lives, they also continued to live, envisioning unconstrained

futures for themselves and/or their descendants. The recursive choices people make in daily life represent the convolution of resistance, acceptance, avoidance, ignoring, and negotiation of innumerable limiting and enabling social, physical, emotional, and other factors.

Colonial realities, while certainly a commonality of existence to 19th-century lived life, did not solely define people or their experiences. For example, the Davisville Mohawk lived within a colonial world where there were real social consequences to being Mohawk; however, choices taken also made sense to them as members of that community. To frame the Davisville inhabitants' actions as resulting solely from the colonial pressures they faced denies the myriad of other pressures and concerns they engaged with and sought to address. For example, their foodways and dining practices were not the direct result of the colonial process, but rather influenced by a complex set of interactions regarding their presents, pasts, and hoped for the futures. Being colonized is indeed one facet of this existence, but there are many others that are in need of further research and exploration. Likewise, the McKinneys negotiated another reality of the 19th century, that of a continual revision of their Irish heritage in new worlds and through subsequent generations. The McKinneys' heritage went from one of being directly impacted by the colonial imperialism and negative consequences of the British state, and attitudes towards the Irish that ebbed and flowed through the social and political ramifications of starvation and social unrest in Ireland, to being a product of the emerging social plurality of southern Ontario that could be acknowledged without consequence at the dining table and in definitional framings of where that family had come from, and how they became a part of the social structure and middle class of rural agricultural Canada at that time.

This project has demonstrated new ways of examining the historical archaeology of the colonized and colonizer, and in doing so, attempted to deconstruct the homogenized notion of colonizer/colonized. However, revising focus on the past and revealing the artifice of a colonizer/colonized classification does not negate contemporary identities operating today and built from the heritage of these categorizations. For example, there are very real contemporary political, economic, and social ramifications to being perceived of or self-identifying as Aboriginal in North America today (Lightfoot et al. 2013; cf. Niezen 2003). As such, there are complex – and frequently negative – sets of social, economic, and political restrictions tied to Aboriginal identity, and it is critical in the present to understand that this colonial bifurcation continues to have consequences for peoples' daily lives. As such, exploring the mechanisms and continually revising process that has sustained the colonizer/colonized identity divide has real value in understanding the origins and legacies of these contemporary conditions. However, we must strive to remain aware of the limitations of this framework. The very inception of the colonizer and colonized categories that emerged from the legacies of the colonial process are imbued with 20th- and 21st-century rationales, meanings, and contingencies, not of those that operated in the 19th century, even though arising from that earlier time (Oliver in press).

The contemporary artifice of framing the archaeological past entirely within the colonial process is highlighted when we consider that colonial identity categories have little meaning or applicability in periods of the past where the archaeological imaginary poorly allows for colonial processes. For example, within research on pre-contact North America, colonial discourses are not commonly invoked despite well-known, otherwise acknowledged population movements, hostile encounters, and, most likely, the disenfranchisement of various others during this time. The rubric and terminology of contemporary conceived

notions of colonialism in archaeology fit poorly for such contexts, since pre-contact 'colonialisms' rarely fit within our convention of equating colonialism with European imperialism. Stahl (2012) similarly has argued that our imaginaries end up privileging a specific kind of colonial narrative, while ignoring others (usually more temporally distant or transient ones). As previously discussed, the present day colonial narrative has replaced much of the pre-contact/post-contact divide in North America (Lightfoot 1995) and extended the Aboriginal/European divide into the post-contact era under differing nomenclature (Silliman 2005). In this way, Aboriginal peoples are no longer relegated to the annals of 'pre-history', but they are still conceptually enclaved apart from normative historical archaeology. Liebmann (2012) has argued for a re-conceptualization of pre-contact and post-contact archaeologies by extending taxonomic categorizations from the pre-contact period into the post-contact period; this extension would highlight cultural continuity, while reinforcing the important (but frequently under-emphasized) point that New World/Old World 'contacts' were not clear cultural/temporal fracture points that determined all lifeways or otherwise instantaneously shifted Indigenous lifeways forevermore.

Liebmann has engaged with the problematic contemporary imaginary of colonialism's conceptual box and has sought other ways at re-framing our interpretation of the archaeological record. While I find this idea tantalizing as a means to shift the overall discourse in more comprehensive ways, it still isolates an Indigenous archaeological record from the broader historical archaeological record it was a part of.

I am not suggesting that we need to start looking for pre-contact colonialisms, but rather I am pointing out that by entrenching long term, deep time Indigenous archaeologies we reinforce the divide between archaeologies of those groups from the archaeologies of Europeans and

their descendants that also shaped and lived through the last 500 years of North American archaeology – we reify again the essentialized and bifurcated nature of colonial categories. Instead, we need to strive for new discourses that engage the archaeological past as the totality of the heritage we navigate, negotiate, and contest today. As recently discussed by Silliman (2012), the connections and disconnections between more contemporary Indigenous histories and deeper pasts are difficult to navigate, complicated in part by various contemporary political realities; however, regardless of the manner in which we navigate these complexities, we are ill-served by exploring an Indigenous identity embedded solely in the past and contrasted against a Euro-Canadian identity embedded within modernity. We need to understand the present day sensibilities that directly shape our discourses (e.g., politics), as well as more insidious biases (e.g., imaginaries). For example, current archaeological frameworks are ill-equipped to engage with mass-consumption without homogenizing everyone into a single category, which further reinforces the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from modernity without becoming something else. If I extended Liebmann's framework further in time, could it deal with the mass-consumerism of the 19th century? The mass-produced commonalities of existence during the 19th century renders Liebmann's framework unwieldy. Instead of searching for wholly new ways to conceptualize a pluralistic and complex past within the constraints of colonialism, we should strive for narratives of the past that reflexively engage with the complexities and realities of peoples in THEIR times.

This colonial legacy, and the insidious means by which it reifies and marginalizes multi-vocality, is still an issue in the maturing of archaeological practice, as scholars like Nicholas (2010) argue that maintaining a concept of Indigenous archaeology as a distinct conceptual frame in contemporary practice ends up doing more harm than good. While Indigenous

archaeology does provide a space to explore Indigenous-centric ideas and concepts in the interpretations of the past, it simultaneously maintains the separation, allowing more normative archaeologies to ignore or pay lip service to enclaved discourses. A similar sentiment has been voiced by Feminist archaeologists who have gone through a comparable process of raising conceptual problems within the broader archaeological discipline, resulting in the creation of a space for their perspective, but still a space removed from more central archaeological discourses (Conkey 2003, 2007; Gero 2007; Spencer-Wood 2011). Arguably, the archaeology of colonialism has followed this same trajectory as Indigenous and Feminist archaeologies; it is an enclaved space to have discussions about colonialism. Within these enclaved spaces, archaeologists are free to explore the biases, assumptions, and underlying essentialisms embedded within central archaeological discourse but are removed from directly revising that discourse.

There are important revelations that have occurred within the recent revisionist research coming out of the archaeology of colonialism that have had a major impact on the archaeological discipline as a whole, but as long as these revelations remain conceptually boxed with a separate 'archaeology of colonialism' in North America, they remain only of relevance to the direct subject matter of Indigenous historical archaeology and are perceived as having little relevance to other archaeological contexts. For example, Silliman's (2005) de-construction of contact and colonialism is held up as one of these significant conceptual revelations; however, it has little to no traction within the archaeology of the colonizer. The same can be said for Silliman's concepts of *residence* and *survivance* (2001, 2009, 2010, in press). I see potential for Silliman's work, and thus my attempt to explicitly engage with these concepts within both colonized and colonizer archaeological contexts. But as long as

this research remains conceptually constrained to the archaeology of colonialism, the chances of realizing these potentials are, in my opinion, minimal.

This project has sought to start new dialogues within historical archaeology, ones that bring the archaeology of the colonizer and the colonized into a common conceptual frame. Instead of assuming and searching for differences and similarities (thus, reifying colonizer/colonized), we need to acknowledge and understand the realities and identity conceptualizations that people operated within in their specific timeframes. Conducting more research, in a variety of areas that engage with colonizer and colonized contexts on a more equal footing, carries the potential of highlighting various commonalities of existence that have been previously ignored. By incorporating appropriate and successful practices from the archaeology of the colonizer and colonized in ways that have not been previously considered, we can expose new facets to explore.

In historical archaeology, researchers have advocated for the adoption of the archaeology of capitalism as a means to escape this colonial cage and its related trappings (e.g., Leone and Potter Jr. 1988; Leone and Potter Jr. 1999; Orser 1996). In this way, the struggle for transcendence beyond colonial discourse, and advancing a form of practice that is more theoretically mature and can operate beyond trait lists, has already been occurring within historical archaeology. However, the archaeology of capitalism remains centred on the rise of European global colonialism and the subsequent rise of global Western capitalism. The capitalist enterprise, with its associated mass-produced objects, becomes emblematic and representative of the success of European colonialism, through which various non-European others become framed as essentially different from the European capitalist until embracing and participating in this capitalist worldview. There are researchers trying to push these

boundaries (e.g., Brighton 2009; Dalglish 2003; Horning 2004, 2011; Matthews 2010; Mullins 2010, 2011, 2012; Mullins et al. 2011), in a similar fashion to Ferris, Jordan, and Silliman pushing the boundaries of the archaeology of colonialism; however, these efforts stretch an inherently limited conceptual box ill-suited for engaging with the nuances of post-colonial discourse. As long the archaeology of colonizer continues to be conceptualized apart from the colonial nature and legacies implicit within archaeological knowledge production, then it becomes more difficult to understand the negative effects created by imaginary omissions of colonial others.

We must continue to push historical archaeology beyond the archaeology of colonialism and the archaeology of capitalism, just as those approaches successfully pushed historical archaeology beyond description and trait lists. We can start dialogues now that reach beyond enclaved conceptual frames of reference to highlight points of commonality that deserve further exploration (Baines and Brophy 2006; Oyen 2013). Starting from commonalities of existence, we can better explore the nuanced manners in which individuals navigated the complex realities of their time, rather than transposing our sensibilities of the present onto the past. There are researchers already successfully engaged in some of these reframings, such as Mullins (1999b, c, 2010; 2011), Delle (2008), Stahl (2002, 2012), Wilkie (2000), and Singleton (1995), all for African and African diasporic communities, and Brighton (2008, 2009, 2011), Horning (2004), and Rynne (2009), for Irish communities. These successes encourage further searches for common spaces exploring the past beyond colonialism. My contribution to this dialogue demonstrates that there are such common spaces that transcend colonizer/colonized, or Indigenous/European contexts. The exploration of these commonalties of lived life at particular points in the past allows archaeology to continue its important responsibility and role of reaching beyond dominant histories, re-integrating

subaltern voices, and striving for the ultimate goal of post-colonial research: the

transcendence of essentialized colonial tropes.

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