



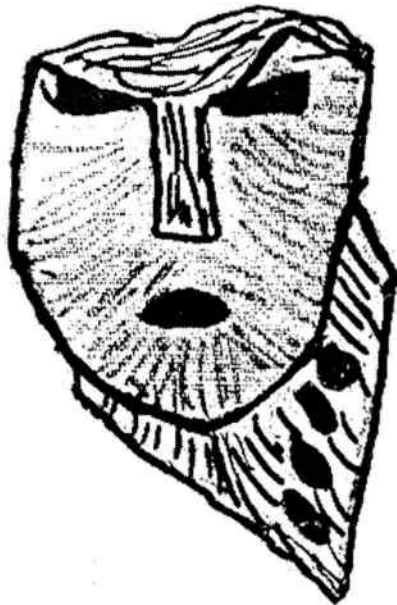
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Effigy pipes found in Squ. 6R110 L.2, left, and Squ. 3R110 L.1. Both from the Graham-Rogers site.

Drawings by Conrad Heidenreich

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... editor's note

Well, here's the first issue of a new year. In this issue, Charles Garrad finishes up the reporting on the Graham-Rogers site that began in the last one. We're also happy to include photos, drawings and a reminiscence from Conrad Heidenreich about his adventures at the dig itself.

If you have any comments about the newsletter—and especially if you have an idea for an article!—I urge you to get in touch with me. Between the two of us we can get that paper published!

And to end on a sad note: I'm sure I speak for everyone in the OAS when I extend my heartfelt condolences to Lise Ferguson, who lost her father, Howard, on January 24. Donations may be made, in memory of Howard's granddaughters Katherine and Susannah Davies, to Perinatal Bereavement Services Ontario, (905) 472-1807.

Andy Schoenhofer
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President's note

Happy New Year, OAS members! I hope that your holiday season was less eventful than ours. Quick action by Executive Director, Lise Ferguson, averted a potential disaster of Biblical proportions at the historic Jesse Ashbridge House where our office is located.

Very early on a very cold Saturday morning Lise arrived for a Board meeting and heard water running where there shouldn't have been any in the empty house. A sprinkler relief valve then burst open and a massive cascade of water began rushing down the back wall of the house and into the field stone foundation. Lise turned off the main shut-off but it kept coming. She gathered the animals 2 by 2 and called the fire department who managed to shut off the water supply before any serious damage was caused. Lise reports that the firefighters were very helpful as well as photogenic.

Alas, no real news to report with respect to Bill 60, the new Heritage Act. As you may recall, Bill 60 was stalled in second reading at the end of last year. It made it to the analysis stage in committee and all looked well for all-party support and passage of third reading. However, I am given to understand that lobbyists for school boards and churches convinced the House Leader that they would be lumbered with a lot of old buildings which they might not be able to demolish under the New Act. The House Leader then slowed down passage of Bill 60 and it eventually languished on the

order paper in favour of more pressing legislation like the bring-your-own-wine-to-restaurants bill. The House then rose for the Christmas holiday season.

The last I heard, Bill 60 might make it on to the agenda for the mini-session of the legislature which will take place in February-March 2005. Keep your fingers crossed and keep calling, writing and e-mailing your MPP/Premier McGuinty to tell them to get on with it and pass Bill 60 into law. A similar campaign in late December by members of the heritage community (including me representing the OAS) was said to have "impressed" the House Leader with the amount of support across the province for the new Heritage Act. This is terribly ironic given the fact that the heritage community has been agitating for a new and improved heritage act for more than two decades. However, irony won't win the day. Contact your MPP or Premier McGuinty and show your support for Ontario's heritage, built and archaeological. Tell them you want Bill 60 passed.

Despite blizzard conditions, the new OAS Board met for the first time in January. I look forward to working with our new members, Cathy Crinnion and Alicia Hawkins, and to utilizing the fresh perspective they bring to the issues. Thanks, once again to outgoing members Terri-Lynn Brennan and Mima Kapches for their hard work over a rough period for the OAS. Lastly, a great big thank you to retiring editor Frank Dieterman for all his eight years of service to the

Society. Your work was much appreciated.

I am pleased to be able to welcome Andy Schoenhofer as the new Arch Notes editor. Welcome to the fold, Andy! Sharpen your pencil, or should I say "pixel"? I fear Andy's greatest challenge will be getting over what a techno-peasant I am. The OAS Board would like to offer sincere thanks on behalf of the members to the other candidates for the position.

Speaking of Arch Notes, it has come to our attention that a burp in the printing process left some copies of the last issue for 2004 with missing photos on pages 34 and 36. We are working to correct the problem in the most cost-effective way possible and to try and determine the number of defective copies.

As a final word, it's membership renewal time. If you're reading this and haven't sent in your 2005 renewal please do so right away. To those of you who already have: THANK YOU, and thanks also to those members who took the time to fill out the one-sheet Membership Questionnaire which was sent to you recently. We will be tabulating all of the responses, reading and collating the written-in remarks. It's not too late to send yours in now. The more we get, the better. The OAS Board values your opinions and has undertaken this initiative to try and get a handle on the membership currently: demographics and what members want to see the OAS do. When all of the calculations are complete we will publish our findings in a future issue of Arch Notes, so stay tuned!

Christine Caroppo

Membership Services

In 2004 much of my energy and that of many other board members was directed at rebuilding the society's membership base. Henry van Lieshout spent many long hours cleaning up our existing member database and generating lists of lapsed members. This year our membership drive focussed on regaining those lapsed members and searching for innovative ways to attract new members. We have been very successful in doing this to date.

A new membership survey was drafted and sent out with membership renewals last fall. Given the trying events that have troubled the OAS in the past year, the Board felt it was necessary to receive more and better input from our members. We have decided to ask the bold and difficult questions that we feel are necessary to get the society back on track and to make it more appealing to a wider audience.

Another directive of the year has been to explore new services to offer the membership. Among these are having a kids' membership and newsletter, offering business services to cultural resource management firms and re-establishing a mentorship and networking program for avocational archaeologists. These ideas have all been brought forth by specific sectors of the society.

We have also just established a First Nations Liaison Committee to facilitate and improve discussion between professional archaeologists and First Nations communities regarding our shared responsibilities in the protection and stewardship of cultural heritage resources. This is an important step for the OAS and recognizes the growing involvement of First Nations in all aspects of archaeology today. The cultural resource protocol developed by the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagànn and presented at the 2004 symposium was an

important milestone, recognizing the desire of local First Nations communities to participate in the protection, documentation and interpretation of the aboriginal past.

What to expect in 2005? I would expect that the board will continue to devote a considerable amount of time and energy to membership issues this year. We are dedicated to improving the services of the Society and maintaining our current members.

Holly Martelle

Were you missing images in the last issue?



According to our printer, about 50 of you were missing images on pages 34 and 36 of your copy of the last issue of *Arch Notes*. They were pictures of ceramics from the Graham-Rogers site: one was of general pot sherds and a close-up of Susquehanna High Collar ware (left), the other was of a few castellated rimsherds.

Anyone who was missing the pictures and wants to insert them into their copy can contact the Editor by March 15. I'll gather the names and mail the pages out to you with the next issue.

The Editor's contact information is on Page 2.

Letters

To the Editor,

May I as a long-term member record my thanks through this column to Frank Dieterman, the outgoing editor of Arch Notes. By my count Frank was the fifteenth editor of Arch Notes and he served seven years in the post, which means 42 issues, a record only second in the history of the Society, the first being held, of course, by Mike Kirby, whose record of 21+ years and 127 issues it is not expected anyone will surpass. Frank did a good job for the Society and I trust the board and other members join me in appropriately acknowledging Frank's contribution.

At the same time I welcome the incoming editor Andy Schoenhofer, who is cutting his teeth on one of my articles. Glad to help, Andy!

Charles Garrad
Member since February 1966

To the Editor,

I am writing about the article on the Graham-Rogers site in the last issue. Everyone involved is to be congratulated on salvaging old work in the files. There is lot of potential for more of this atypical sort of "salvage archeology." I am aware of a lot of palynology and geology sitting in files doing little good.

My attention was caught in reading the article by the material on p. 11, where the site environment is described and discussed. It is said "the site is high enough to be above the highest Algonquin shoreline." Deane (1950) gives the Algonquin shoreline as 750 feet near the site, which is consistent with the site elevation of about 900 feet. Later there is reference to "the great bog which extends most of the way across the valley" and "This bog is a remnant of the Nipissing invasion of the Simcoe Lowlands." In fact this bog is on the floor of Lake Algonquin (10,500 BP). The Nipissing (5000 BP) water level is far lower with its equivalent shoreline of Lake Edenvale at Angus at about 625 feet (Fitzgerald, 1985). This same bog Thane Anderson and I

referred to as Cookstown bog and a pollen profile was created from a core there with a basal (post-Algonquin) date of 10,200 years (Karrow et al., 1975).

I know the site history is much later but I wanted to clarify the geological history as presented in the article.

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Paul Karrow
University of Waterloo



ATTENTION TEACHERS!!!!

The OAS offers a kit designed by the Ontario Archaeological Society to teach students about the archaeology of Southern and Northern Ontario.

The *Discovering Ontario Archaeology Education Resource Kit* can be used in today's elementary or secondary school classroom.

Through a series of fun, hands-on activities and lessons, students will be introduced to basic concepts used in archaeology, Ontario's pre- and post-contact history, as well as the material and ideological aspects of native cultures.

If you want more information about these kits, please contact the OAS office at (416) 406-5959, toll-free at 1 (888) 733-0042, or by e-mail at oasociety@bellnet.ca



The Graham-Rogers site, Part 2

Reminiscences of the Graham-Rogers site

by *Conrad E. Heidenreich*

In the early summer of 1952, as I was starting my holidays at grandfather's cottage on Lake Simcoe (De Grassi Point), a group of archaeologists arrived to dig, what we were told, was a "Huron graveyard." I knew nothing about archaeology and had never heard of the Huron, or for that matter, much about Canadian history. I was about to turn 16 and had just begun High School after a prolonged stay at Public School trying to learn English. My sole summer interest besides fishing was to earn money through a Globe and Mail paper route and catching crayfish for sale to local anglers. The archaeologists had been given permission to camp on the family property in a lovely clearing in the woods, beside a spring of clear water.

Along with my cousins and other interested onlookers, I watched them begin searching for "Indian bones." A few years earlier, a contractor had found a skull while widening a road through the property. The skull was reported to the ROM by my grandfather, Prof. Edmund M. Walker, and the decision had been made to excavate the rest of the bones. After poking about for a couple of days, the archaeologists told us that it was a "single burial, probably Mississauga" (another new name for me). Fortunately these interesting people did not leave. In fact they seemed to be relieved not to have to dig an "ossuary," and decided to dig a nearby "village site", which became known as the Graham Rogers site, instead.

The person in charge was Doug Bell, a burly,

mustachioed fellow with a great sense of humour who took time to answer our many questions. As I remember them, other permanent members of the crew were Doug's kindly wife Glen, Stu Nease, a high school teacher, and his wife Barbara, and James (Jim) Gooding who was in charge of the gun collection at the ROM. On some weekends members of the Ontario Archaeological Society joined the crew. Among them I remember John "Nipper" Sinclair, Mrs. J.M. Sinclair and daughter Nancy, Margaret Stoddard, Helen Devereux and of course, Dr. Norman Emerson, who supervised the overall excavation under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto.

Yorktown Motors, formerly on Yonge Street, had provided a courtesy vehicle for the dig, a four wheel drive Land Rover. Yorktown had their address painted on the doors, one with "Yonge Street," the

other with "Young Street." We always made sure when pictures were taken with the vehicle that the correct spelling faced the camera. Our family donated an old bison skull, which Doug mounted on the front of the vehicle. We were quite a sight roaring down the concession roads.

As the dig progressed I hung around the camp trying to ingratiate myself to these people by helping them wash pottery and putting little numbers on the artifacts. Eventually I learned that these numbers were catalogue numbers to show where the artifact had been found. By the end of July I shared a tent with Jim Gooding and was taken along into the field. I was given a trowel and shown



Stu Nease, assistant director, with the Rover in camp at the Graham-Rogers site.

how to dig. This was my introduction to Ontario archaeology. It was a wonderful summer. Jim Gooding, always wearing a cowboy hat, used to bring guns to the camp that he had repaired and sometimes he let us shoot them in a local gravel pit. I will never forget the recoil of a Colt '45 peacemaker. I was still learning English, when Jim taught me the difference between "can I have" and "may I have." At the end of the summer he took me to see the movie "High Noon." I thought he was terrific fellow, a real role model.



Rover and camp at the Graham-Rogers site.

My appetite was a constant source of amusement to all and became the object of a bet. Once

after a long day in the field, I was taken to a restaurant where I ate six hamburgers and drank two quarts of ginger ale. I can't remember who won the bet, but it was a lot of fun.

The site itself fascinated me and left a lasting impression. Soon after being taught how to dig I wound up in the only deep "garbage pit" on the site. As I scraped my way down, I was eventually deep enough to place a tarp over the square to keep the sun out. At the bottom of the pit, on top of the subsoil, I found an intact pipe that looked like a shillelagh, a bent tube with knobs all over the bowl. I have never seen one like it again. There was an iron awl with a bone handle, effigy pipes, a few white glass beads (tubular and oval) and a couple of oval blue glass beads, bone beads (I had not known that bird bones were hollow), copper scraps made into tubular beads and arrow points, bone awls, lots of corn fragments and bits of pottery.

One morning I made a startling discovery, a large piece of pottery with a fleur-de-lis scribed on it and signed "Samuel de Champlain." Puffed up

with self-importance, I jumped out of my square and showed my treasure to everyone on the site. After considerable laughter by all, I found out that Doug had planted the artifact during the night as a joke. I think it was the first time I had heard of Champlain. Doug was fairly convinced that it was a Huron site from the early 1620s.

Scraping in the dirt for artifacts, noting the mottling of the soil, doing precise measurements and helping Doug do the survey, shaped my future interests in Ontario archaeology. In retrospect, as important to me as the archaeology, was the fellowship of a wonderful group of people who developed my interests and exercised patience in explaining things to me. At the end of the summer, Doug Bell gave me an unprovenanced French trade axe, which had been given to him by a farmer in southwestern Ontario. It is still one of my prized possessions.

Photos from the Emerson Archaeological Photographic Archives, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Cat. No. BbGw-2-12 and BbGw-2-13. Donated by Dr. Conrad Heidenreich.

The Graham-Rogers Site (BbGw-2): A Retrospect by Charles Garrad

The excavation of the Graham-Rogers site in 1952 and the subsequent report by W. Douglas Bell form part of the development of the Ontario archaeological record, yet the site is little mentioned by later scholars. This is probably because Bell's "report was never published and hence not generally available" (Kenyon and Kenyon 1983:60). Although the report omits much information, particularly about the non-ceramic artifacts on the site, Frank Ridley pleaded for its publication because "This site is of such importance to studies of the historic period" (1966:18, 20). Patricia Reed of the University of Toronto is to be commended for rectifying this situation by having Bell's report published (Bell 2004), with supplementary information now following.

The writer is pleased to acknowledge his indebtedness to: Helen Devereux and Patricia Reed of the University of Toronto for requesting this retrospect be compiled, and for providing data for it; to Dr. Conrad Heidenreich for providing his reminiscences of the dig and access to his records; to Dr. Max Friesen of the University of Toronto; Robert W.C. Burgar; Dr. Gary Warrick; Dr. Mima Kapches and the library staff of the Royal Ontario Museum; Patricia K. Neal of the Ontario Historical Society; Caroline Walker of York University; George Hamell of New York State Museum; Jamie Hunter of the Huronia Museum, Midland; staff of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; Chris J.-Andersen, Lesley Kirwin and Robert von Bitter at the Ontario Ministry of Culture, Toronto, for providing assistance, data and manuscripts; Mrs. Barbara Nease for information; Mrs. Douglas (Glen) Bell for permission to publish the manuscript; The Ontario Archaeological Society for undertaking its publication.

The use of the term "GBP" (Glass Bead Periods) in the text refers to time periods established by Thomas (Tim) and Ian Kenyon for the pre-Dispersal European trade to northeast North America generally. Applied to research affecting the Graham-Rogers site, GBP1 may be taken as the

Protohistoric period 1580 to 1600 A.D., GBP2 as 1600 to the 1620s, and GBP3 the 1620s to 1650 (Kenyon and Kenyon 1983:68; Fitzgerald 1990:17-19).

Bell's 1952 manuscript was not paginated. All textual references made here are to the 2004 publication.

Graham-Rogers and Andrew F. Hunter

The earliest known record of what was to become the Graham-Rogers site is dated 1898 and is found in Andrew F. Hunter's Notebook #2 (n.d.), curated by the Royal Ontario Museum. The entry reads:

97—Village site & burial places, S lot 5, con 3, Innisfil, Richard Hill, owner. Many relics and human bones, ploughed up in scattered positions, have been obtained here, though the traces have been obliterated by cultivation, as the plot was cleared upwards of 30 yrs ago by John Shanacy, now of Oro. The camps extend over 2 acres or more in 2 or 3 places. 50 or more "picket holes" were found. A skeleton was found under a stump in '88. Iron tomahawks (several hundreds ??, Wm. Black), iron darts, flints, pipes, pottery fragments, &c., have been found. Iron tomahawks are picked up on adjoining farms. A stone pipe, bearing the date 1441, was found at the site by Wm. Black, & Rev. L.W. Hill of Newmarket, son of the owner. Rev. J.W. Annis secured some relics here, also Harry Mayor.

Tucked into the notebook are letters, a newspaper item and records of interviews dated 1901, 1902, 1903 and 1914 as Hunter reconstructed past events. He determined that the date "1441" on the soapstone pipe was not authentic, but had been carved there by Albert Hill, a brother of the Rev. L.W. Hill, to tease a visiting uncle, Wm. Black.

Albert Hill sold the family collection, except for the modified soapstone pipe which passed to a hired hand, to Rev. Mr. J.W. Annis, whose collection, mixed with artifacts from other sites, was eventually passed to David Boyle's Museum in the Toronto Normal School. In 1901 Hunter requested that the Hill brothers visit the museum and try to identify their former relics, apparently without success. In 1914 Maurice Hill identified as from the Hill farm (Graham-Rogers site) "Four square mouthed pipe bowls", "one fox (?) head pipe bowl", "twelve rude flints", "three bone pins, two inches long, rounded at the ends", "some charred Indian corn" and "seventeen iron and copper specimens of European manufacture", probably from the list of the donations from the Rev. J.W. Annis collection published in the *Archaeological Report for 1894-95* (Boyle 1896:15-16). The various records assembled by Hunter indicate that artifacts found on the site were: many iron axes, iron darts, scalping knives, flints, arrowheads, pottery, pipes, stone pipes, implements, bars and pieces of brass or copper kettles, beads of shell and glass, a carved bone idol, combs, trinkets and human bones, with the information that the site "covered a field of six acres."

Graham-Rogers and W. Douglas Bell

The 1952 excavations at the Graham-Rogers site were under the overall supervision of J. Norman Emerson (Bell 2004:10; Noble 1998:46), later Dr. Emerson, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. The purposes of the excavations were to continue the earlier work of Hunter (n.d.; 1899:44) and Robert E. Popham (1950) by confirming that there was at least one historic Huron village site in Innisfil Township—an area well to the south of the "traditional boundaries" of Huronia (Bell 2004:10,35)—and of Ridley (1952, 1966:17) in differentiating between Huron and Lalonde occupations. There was also the hope, although not stated until later, that "we could define a complex which would allow us to distinguish Petun from the Huron-Iroquois" (Emerson 1998:8). The resulting report, authored by Bell, documented that the Graham-Rogers site was indeed Historic, possessing European trade goods; and that it was placed in a geographic area distinct

from Huronia proper—which Bell designated "South Huronia" because "its ceramic tradition is somewhat different from North Huronia" (Bell 2004:29,35,36)—and also that it was more "Huron" than Lalonde (Bell 2004:36; Emerson 1961:184, 1968:39; Ridley 1966:20). Emerson (1998:12) speculated that the work distinguished Graham-Rogers from the Huron proper, and at the same time "we may have the key which allows us to distinguish Huron from Petun." The question of any relationship between the Graham-Rogers people and the Petun will be reviewed here.

Apart from the intrinsic value of the site as an informative archaeological resource, it has the additional interest of possibly being the very first archaeological site in Ontario to which Richard S. MacNeish's "Technique for the Study of Iroquois Pottery," published that year (1952), was applied. The 433 rimsherds retrieved were accepted as representative of the site (Bell 2004:13,17). They were assigned MacNeish's pottery type names when provided, and MacNeish's definitions and methods were followed to the extent possible (Bell 2004:13). It may be for this reason that the 1952 report was substantially devoted to the site's ceramic types, and bears two titles: "The Graham-Rogers Site: An Historic Site in Simcoe County, Ontario" and "Ceramic Analysis of the Graham-Rogers Site, Simcoe County, Ontario n.d." (Bell 1952). Unfortunately, MacNeish's work did not include a definition of the type Ridley named Susquehannock High Collar (Bell 2004:29).

Additional rimsherd types outside of the MacNeish system were named or introduced by Bell himself, and were also taken from the work of Ridley (Bell 2004:13, 23). Bell recognized 10.5% of the rimsherds as Susquehanna/Susquehannock High Collar, a type described by Ridley as a late intrusion from the Andastes/Susquehannock people of Pennsylvania (Bell 2004:21, 30; Ridley 1952:200, 203 citing other sources). At the same time, Ridley observed that the Ontario sherds were "fine grit-tempered" but "the tempering in the United States is shell" (Ridley 1952:203). Perhaps because of this, Emerson rejected the sherds as of "doubtful genetic relationship to the distant Susquehannock High-Collared type proper," and instead designated them as somehow Huron (Emerson 1961:184). In doing so, Emerson

brought uncertainty to what otherwise might have been a crucial clue to the origins of the Graham-Rogers people as well as their local connections. Ridley wholly accepted Bell's typing of these sherds. MacNeish (1952:55) does not provide any assistance in the matter of tempering, but relates "Susquehannah" pottery to the Cayuga.

It transpires that Ridley's statement was perhaps too inclusive. Typical Cayuga pottery is grit tempered and "Some Susquehanna pottery types include shell tempering, but not all" (George R. Hamell, personal communication, 28 October 2004). Shell tempering in the Cayuga/Susquehanna homeland seems to be regionally determined. The writer concludes that the grit-tempering of the Ontario sherds is not an issue, and even if it were, the high collar and decoration together are adequate to define the type regardless of the tempering. What is an issue is the presence on the Graham-Rogers site of a significant percentage (10.5%) of the type, and the cause of it being there.

Possibly because of Emerson's objection, Bell briefly renamed his Susquehannock High Collar rimsherds "Graham Grooved Ware" (2004:26) but continued to regard them as Susquehannock.

Bell's report mentioned that there were European trade goods and non-ceramic artifacts on the site but provided few details of them (Wright 1966:75). Consequently, for some time these artifacts played no role in suggesting a date and purpose for the site, or in confirming or modifying the conclusions drawn from the rimsherds. However, as previously noted, it was known that a range of European trade goods of iron, brass and glass had been found on the site (Hunter n.d.; Noble 1971:257; Ridley 1966:16, 19; Ross 1976:46).

Accepting the implication of the European goods that the Graham-Rogers people were involved in the fur trade, Bell noted that beavers and muskrats were readily procurable from a nearby marsh and that beaver bones were present on the site, "whose pelts were given in payment for the many trade goods found in the middens" (Bell 2004:12). In the 1960s two studies were made of the faunal bones. The presence of beaver was confirmed (Campbell 1960; Edey n.d.), but in fourth place at only 11% of the total mammalian sample, behind deer (29%), wolf (25%) and dog (15%) (Edey's figures interpreted).

Later student research at the University of Toronto, all unpublished, contributed to filling the omissions in Bell's report. These include studies of Graham-Rogers clay pipe bowls (Cappe 1960; Ross n.d.; Tershakowec n.d.; Wojtowicz 2003); clay pipe stems (Zeldin n.d.); beads (Dimoff 1960); gaming discs (Furness n.d.); corn (Anon. n.d.); and animal bones (Campbell 1960; Edey, n.d.). The clay smoking pipes were principally 11 Coronet (37.9%), 5 Trumpet Plain (17.2%), 4 Apple Bowl Ring (13.8%), 3 Iroquois Ring (11.1%) and 2 Human Effigy (6.9%). The remaining four pipes included two miniature pipes (Ross n.d.). A later study produced slightly different figures (Wojtowicz 2003), presumably the result of some pipes being retyped, as there appears to have been no collection attrition. Markian Tershakowec's manuscript was cited by Joann Cynthia Weber in her study of Iroquois pipes (Weber 1970). Coefficients of Similarity between Graham-Rogers and the Black Creek, Downsview, McKenzie and Benson sites, using clay pipes, placed Graham-Rogers after Black Creek and Downsview but before McKenzie and Benson (Cappe 1960:4).

In 1985 a computerized database catalogue of the 1952 University of Toronto material was compiled by Carol Lang and Heather Henderson.

Maps by both Bell and Conrad E. Heidenreich (personal communication) suggest the size of the Graham-Rogers site was ca. 550 ft north-south, by ca. 400 ft east-west, or about 5 acres (2 ha). This closely coincides with the estimate of six acres provided by Maurice Hill in 1914 (Hunter n.d.). The site was considerably larger than Hunter's initial estimate of "two acres or more" (n.d.), or .8 ha (Warrick 1990:518).

Bell was described as "a burly lecturer at McMaster University" in a newspaper account of the work on the site on the weekend of 19–20 July 1952, headlined: "Early Indians Practiced Agricultural Research." Bell was clearly the source of much of the information in the article because the wording was sometimes similar to that in his report. A photograph shows Barbara J. Nease attempting to count tree rings as a way to date the site. Volunteering on the site that weekend were "eight amateur enthusiasts drawn from the Ontario Archeological [sic] Society" (Globe & Mail, Tuesday, 22 July 1952, Final Edition, p. 4).

Another edition identified four of these as John "Nipper" Sinclair, Mrs. Doris Sinclair and daughter Nancy, and Margaret Stoddart.

Graham-Rogers and Frank Ridley

Ridley visited the Graham-Rogers site in 1966. His subsequent report (1966:15–20) includes illustrations provided by Bell, and illustrations of some of the seventeen artifacts he surface-collected from the site. Ridley confirmed Bell's designation of 10.5% of his rimsherds as "Susquehannock-Cayuga" rims and illustrated two specimens. He further discussed these rims under the heading "Hunter's Oro Site No. 41," another historic site where the pottery type occurred (Ridley 1966:52–54). Ridley concurred with Bell's assignment of the Graham-Rogers site to "early in the historic Huron period" (Ridley 1966:20).

Ridley stirred up a huge controversy by suggesting that the Susquehannock-like sherds were descendants of Lalonde High Collar and resulted from a north-to-south migration. Emerson termed this proposal an "absurdity" and he and a number of other scholars responded to the challenge (e.g. Emerson 1998:17; Emerson and Popham 1952:esp.162; Pendergast 1965; Trigger 1963). Although the Graham-Rogers site produced Susquehannock pottery, the site was not named in the dispute, so this fascinating period of Ontario archaeological history, which justifies a detailed study, is not further pursued here.

The artifacts collected from the Graham-Rogers site by Ridley in 1966 are presently curated by the Ontario Ministry of Culture (J.-Andersen, personal communication).

The Graham-Rogers and MacMurphy Sites

In 1953, evidently before completing his Graham-Rogers manuscript, Bell and substantially the same team of his wife, Glen, and Stuart and Barbara Nease, undertook another larger excavation, that of the Petun MacMurphy (BcHb-26) site. For this site, Bell produced a larger and more comprehensive report (1953). As both Bell's Graham-Rogers and MacMurphy reports cite each other (Bell 1953:68 arbitrary pagination; 2004:23, 25, 35, 37), and both include pottery types first named by Bell

and Stuart Nease on the other site, it seems he wrote much of both reports simultaneously and dated them afterward. The bibliography in the MacMurphy report cites the Graham-Rogers report as "1954" (Bell 1953:96) but the Graham-Rogers report cites MacMurphy only as "MS" (Bell 2004:37). The original Graham-Rogers manuscript report itself was dated "n.d. (1952)."

It became customary to cite the Graham-Rogers report simply as "1952" (e.g., Emerson 1961:183, 201; 1998:20; Latta 2000:73; Noble 1968:213, 317; 1971:46, 1998:50; Kenyon and Kenyon 1983:60–61, 74, 260) and the MacMurphy report as "1953" (e.g., Emerson 1961:201, 1998:20; Garrad 2003:14, 26; Latta 2000:73; Noble 1968:317; 1974:19; Ross 1976:3, 7, 64) based on the year of the work, even though the "1953" report cites the 1954 reference (Garrad 2003:14). Both reports follow a similar format, but the MacMurphy report (Bell 1953) has more detail than the Graham-Rogers report (Bell 1952, 2004), which was not finished much beyond the introduction and rimsherd analysis. The citing of the Graham-Rogers report in the MacMurphy report as "1954" may simply have been an error and should be corrected to "1952" in all copies.

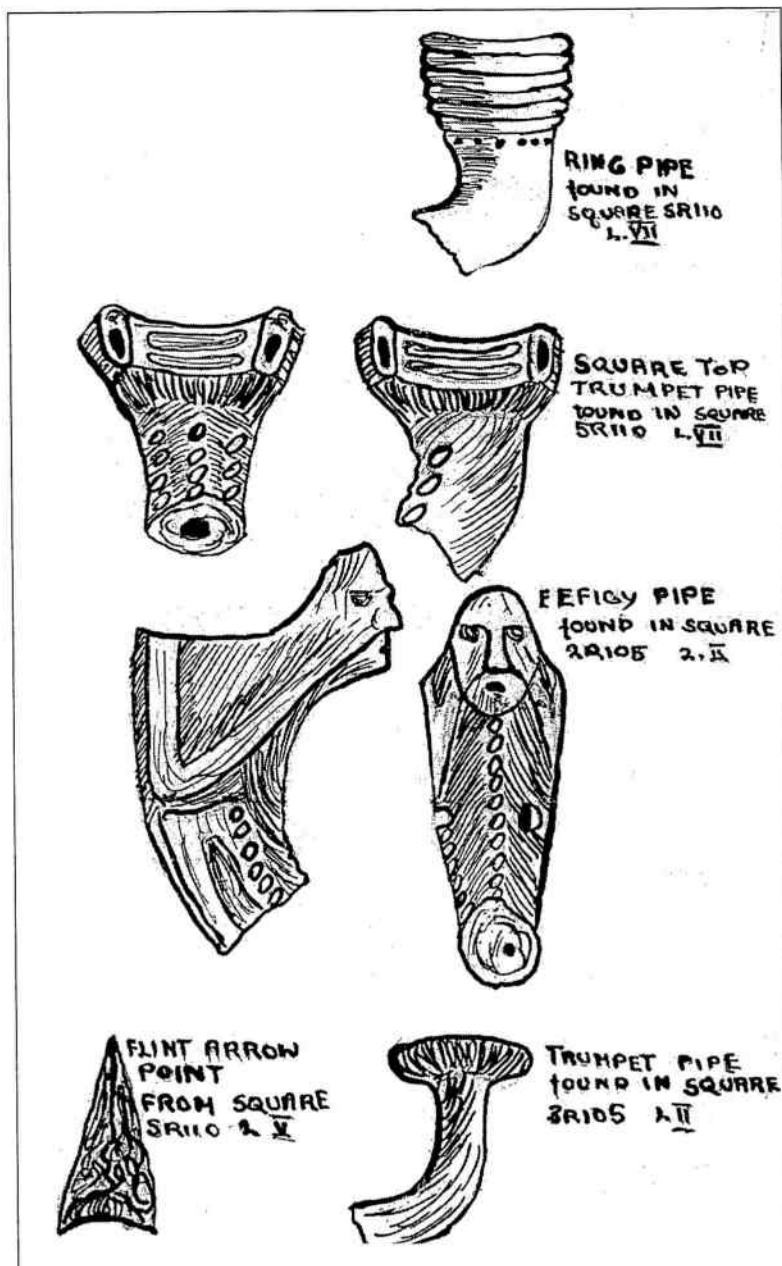
Bell concluded that the Graham-Rogers ceramics most resembled those at the Sidey-Mackay (BbHa-6) site in the Petun country and the Mackenzie (AkGv-2) site to the south, but that the Coefficients of Similarity were too moderate to indicate a connection, being 114 (of 200) and 97 (Bell 2004:27), respectively. He did not calculate the relationship of the Graham-Rogers site to the MacMurphy site because, inferentially, he viewed the similarities between them simply as the products of the same "culture wave" northward from a prehistoric south rather than evidence of a relationship (p. 35).

Graham-Rogers and the Petun

Emerson adopted a different interpretation to Bell concerning the relationship of Graham-Rogers to the MacMurphy site when he calculated a rimsherd Coefficient of Similarity of 145 (of 200)—a First Degree of Similarity. This led him to surmise that Graham-Rogers could belong to "a Petun rather than a Huron tribal grouping" (Emerson 1961:186, 187; 1968:45, 46, 47, 49, 53, 54, 59).

Later scholars, working with the same rimsherd statistics, accepted Emerson's surmise as fact. That Graham-Rogers was a Petun site, particularly related to the MacMurchy site, became part of Ontario's archaeological lore (e.g., Fitzgerald 1990:240; Noble 1968:242, 248; 1974:11, 17; Ramsden 1977:70, 104, 136, 144, 147, 185-186, 190; Ross 1976:60, 61, 62; Wright 1966:76). Although Dr. Peter G. Ramsden's trait analysis revealed substantial differences in collar motifs, shapes and basal notching between Graham-Rogers and MacMurchy rimsherds, these clues were overwhelmed by the seeming gross similarities. The absence from the Petun country of Susquehannock High Collar sherds was never considered.

Because of the Sidey Notched pottery type at both sites, Dr. James V. Wright at first saw Graham-Rogers as "perhaps" part of the same development toward the Petun as Sidey-Mackay, but then abandoned caution and specified that Graham-Rogers was Petun, with MacMurchy placed 50 years later than Graham-Rogers (Wright 1966:76, 101). William Ross went further to suggest that Graham-Rogers had been part of the Petun migration from the south and linked to a number of Petun historic sites, but he was also the first to question the value of Coefficient figures and to state the need for tests to determine levels of significance, using Graham-Rogers to illustrate his point (Ross 1976:36-38, 41, 44, 54, 60). The lack of "any assessment of the degree of similarity" was one of several factors which led Dr. Martha A. Latta to describe the whole process by which the "Graham-Rogers=Petun" concept was reached as "archaic," and to the conclusion that "There is no evidence that Graham-Rogers has anything to do with the Petun sequence" (Latta 2000:73).



Artifacts from the Graham-Rogers site.

Drawings by Conrad Heidenreich

Scholars Ian and Thomas Kenyon (1983:61), who compared artifacts other than pottery, followed Bell in continuing to regard the Graham-Rogers site and people as Huron.

Both Emerson (1959:104; 1998:16) and Ross (1976:55, 56, 57, 58, 60) questioned why Graham-Rogers had such a low apparent relationship to Sidey-Mackay if both were Petun sites. Both wondered if Sidey-Mackay was not really Petun. The problem in this regard was not the Sidey-Mackay

site pottery but that the statistics developed by MacNeish (1952:30), uncritically accepted by the cited scholars, were from a remnant collection not representative of the site (Garrad 1978b).

Recent calculations by the writer gives Coefficient relationships between Graham-Rogers and Sidey-Mackay as 128, and to MacMurchy as 140. However, these figures are largely determined by the presence of 14.3% Huron Incised and 53% Sidey Notched at Graham-Rogers (Bell 2004:21), 28% and 44% respectively at Sidey-Mackay (Garrad 1978a:25), and 32% and 49% at MacMurchy (Garrad 2003:29). These apparently close relationships are not confirmed by the minor pottery types. Graham-Rogers had at least six minor types not present at Sidey-Mackay, and six not at MacMurchy. Sidey-Mackay has perhaps 10 minor types not at Graham-Rogers, and MacMurchy has seven minor types not present at Graham-Rogers. At the time of writing (2004), no Susquehannock High Collar sherds, the third most common type at Graham-Rogers, have been recognized at the Sidey-Mackay, MacMurchy or any other Petun site.

Tershakowec (n.d.:2) concluded, from a comparison of the sites' clay pipes, that "it is possible that Graham-Rogers and Sidey-Mackay are related in period and artifacts," in other words: their relationship is temporal, not ethnic.

In the writer's view, the proposal that Graham-Rogers is a Petun site because of the high rimsherd Coefficient of Similarity to MacMurchy, or any Petun site, based on a Coefficient of Similarity overwhelmingly determined by only two pottery types and few other similarities, is not tenable. The inferences of the minor pottery types and the trade goods do not support the proposal. A high percentage (in excess of 50%) of Huron Incised and Sidey Notched sherds together is a trait common to all Huron and Petun historic sites (Wright 1966:76). This phenomenon is not a Petun ethnic marker but more a general temporal (GBP1-2) indicator.

The Graham-Rogers site produced many more glass trade beads (the present collection catalogue lists 29) than did the more extensively examined MacMurchy site, from which only three are known (Garrad 2003:17). This disparity is meaningful because both sites were excavated by substantially

the same crew using the same equipment and techniques, allowing the interpretation that Graham-Rogers is later in time than MacMurchy. Bell observed that the Graham-Rogers site was wholly historic because the "considerable number of trade goods" were consistently distributed throughout midden deposits down to the interface with the subsoil (Bell 2004:10, 15). At the MacMurchy site, trade goods were found only in the topmost 12 in. of earth, and Bell designated the lower component as "Prehistoric" (Bell 1953:7, 8, 9, 20). Although the writer would prefer to term this component "Protohistoric" (Garrad 2003:20), the fact remains that, if trade goods arrived in Southern Huronia and Petunia at the same time, and are present only in the upper levels at MacMurchy, then MacMurchy was already in existence at the time. When Graham-Rogers commenced, trade goods were already available. At best, early Graham-Rogers has to be contemporary with late MacMurchy. Graham-Rogers cannot be ancestral to MacMurchy. MacMurchy cannot be later than Graham-Rogers.

As for being a Petun site at all, Graham-Rogers fails to meet the prime requirement of being in the historic Petun country.

Graham-Rogers as a Huron Site

Bell saw the Graham-Rogers people as Hurons who originated in the south, and whose future was as Hurons among "the protection of the more thickly populated North Huronia" to escape Iroquois pressure, possibly as members of the Bear or Rock "frontier" clans (tribes) (2004:35, 37). Although he knew the Graham-Rogers and Petun MacMurchy sites better than anyone, he never proposed a connection between them or a migration from one to the other. He did, however, conclude that the Graham-Rogers and Warminster (BdGv-1) sites were contemporary, or approximately so, because of the "almost identical trade material (pp. 27, 29). Three Susquehannock High Collar rimsherds were found at Warminster (p. 29). Bell placed both sites in his "Early South Huronia Tradition"—abandoned early in the 17th century—i.e., "Early Historic," 1605–1620 A.D., or GBP2 (Bell 2004:35; Kenyon and Kenyon 1983:60, 74; Warrick 1990:187, 232).

Local Ancestry of the Graham-Rogers Site

In keeping with Ridley's theory of in situ Huron development (e.g., Ridley 1952:210), Bell concluded that "The culture of South Huronia seems to be derived, locally, from prehistoric South Huronia, and distantly from the Niagara frontier." He "tentatively" rejected that Graham-Rogers was the result of a recent in-migration, but accepted the possibility of an earlier "late prehistoric migration," presumably leading to the historic Graham-Rogers site via another earlier site in local South Huronia, which Bell equated with the "Innisfil area," and "between Innisfil and Toronto" (2004:27, 29, 30, 32, 34). At the time the term "Protohistoric" was not in use for the period between the Prehistoric and Historic periods. To restate the proposal: if the Graham-Rogers site was derived locally, its ancestor site should be among the protohistoric sites of Innisfil Township or in adjacent townships further south.

Hunter (n.d., 1889:44-45, 1897:76-68), Popham (1950), Ridley (1966) and Gary Warrick (1988) have all recorded archaeological sites in Innisfil Township. Although Hunter called all of his sites "villages," very few actually are. The only certain historic village site found by Hunter was "#97 Richard Hill" (Hunter n.d. #97), today known as Graham-Rogers. Graham-Rogers was the southernmost site located by Popham (1950:82). Ridley and Warrick followed the work of Hunter, Popham and Bell. From Warrick's (1990) master summary of Innisfil Township sites, three sites emerge for consideration as possible protohistoric ancestors of Graham-Rogers. These are Hunter's #346 Cunningham, Cooper (BbGv-20) and Molson (BcGw-27) sites.

Hunter's #346 Cunningham site appears on Popham's map (1950:83) accompanying his report on the lot immediately north of the Graham-Rogers site. Hunter accepted it as a village but did not visit it personally. His informant's comment that "There were probably a few tomahawks" seems to be the sole record of the site and does not convincingly identify the site either as protohistoric or as a village. The site does not appear on the provincial site database. Warrick's (1990:519) assessment that it was "Not a village" is accepted here.

Both the Cooper and Molson sites are to the north of Graham-Rogers, which would seem the unlikely direction for an ancestral site given the general northward movement of the times. The Cooper site is "only a few kilometres to the north-east of Graham-Rogers and also estimated to date to the late Protohistoric Period" (Lennox 2000:159). Hunter (n.d. #108) listed it as having "no iron," which may be true, but European brass and copper artifacts were found there, indicating "a protohistoric Iroquoian occupation (i.e., A.D. 1580-1600)" (Warrick 1998:75, 78), that is, GBP1. It is little more than 3 km north-east of the Graham-Rogers site and of comparable size (ca. 5 acres, 2.2 ha). The rimsherds are dominated by Sidey Notched (65%) and Huron Incised (22%), which is appropriate to GBP1-2. The Graham-Rogers site has some fourteen or more pottery types not at Cooper. The Cooper site has only two types of pottery not found at Graham-Rogers, but no High Collar sherds at all. This factor, plus perhaps its more northern position, is interpreted as eliminating the GBP1 Cooper village as a possible ancestor to the GBP2 Graham-Rogers village.

The Molson site is about 11 km (7 mi.) distant. It has comparable Sidey Notched (51.4%) and Huron Incised (14.1%) figures, but includes eight other pottery types not at Graham-Rogers. Susquehannock High Collar sherds, a marker of the Graham-Rogers site, are entirely absent from Molson. The trade goods appear to place Molson into GBP2 (Latta 2000:72-73), at least partly contemporary with Graham-Rogers. From their description the glass beads at the Molson site are significantly different from those at Graham-Rogers (Lennox 2000:89, 115-129, 160, 161, 166), but a direct comparison is needed to confirm this. Molson is too late and too different to be an ancestor to the Graham-Rogers site.

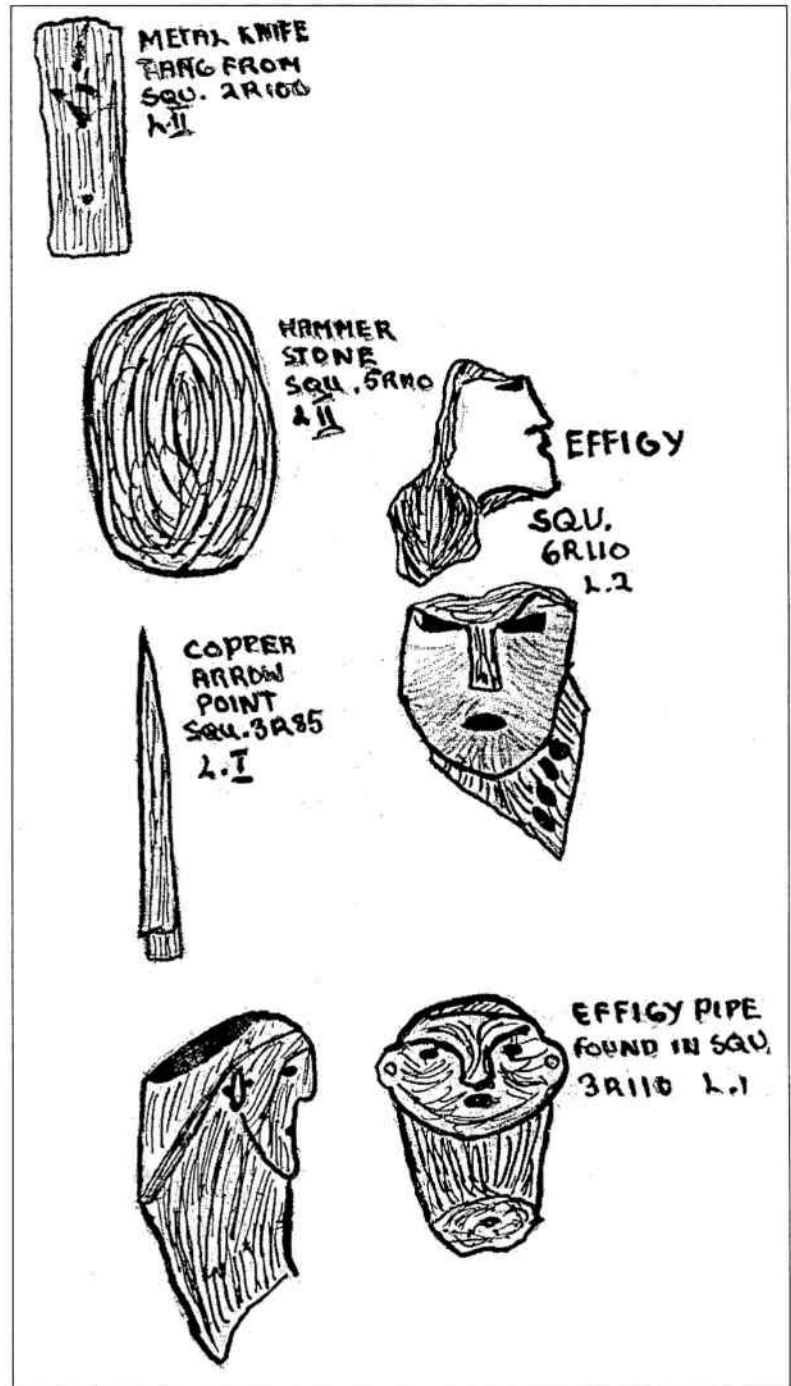
Looking outside Innisfil Township, the provincial archaeological sites database records for adjacent Borden blocks BaGv, BaGw and BbGv do not convincingly suggest any local ancestor for Graham-Rogers.

Dr. William C. Noble's innovative suggestion that the Sopher (BdGu-1) site villagers in South Orillia Township might have "quite possibly moved south to establish Graham-Rogers," with some further connection to the Petun (Noble

1968:259), was rejected by Ross because of Sopher's remoteness and lack of "significant links" (Ross 1976:58-60, 91). Sopher is certainly older than Graham-Rogers, but the writer joins Ross in rejecting any relationship for the same reasons that apply to the Cunningham, Cooper and Molson sites. The apparent relationship is the product of only two pottery types: the usual Sidey Notched and Huron Incised, respectively 41% and 29% at Sopher. The minor pottery types do not indicate any relationship. Graham-Rogers has seven types not at Sopher; Sopher has a phenomenal 35 types not at Graham Rogers. Although all 35 minor types are in very small percentages, together barely exceeding 21% of the total, and are comprised largely of new types named by Noble (Noble 1968:166, 167, 241, 243), the pottery at Sopher overall is too different from that at Graham-Rogers to support any connection. Notably, Sopher entirely lacks the Susquehannock High Collar type. The distance between the two sites, said to be twenty miles (32 km), is too far for a routine village relocation removal, which at the time was rarely more than 2 km (Warrick 1990:197). A historic (GBP3) relocation in Petunia was hardly 4 km (2 mi.) (Garrad 2003:10). Such a move would be in a southerly direction (Noble 1968:259) away from Huronia. As observed above, this would seem contrary to the trend of the times.

Two other possibly candidate sites to be considered are found south of Graham-Rogers but north of the Oak Ridges Moraine in Tecumseth Township. These are the Beeton (BaGw-1) and Dermott (BaGw-2) sites.

The Beeton site is some 16 km south-west of Graham-Rogers and dates to the "early portion of



Artifacts from the Graham-Rogers site.

Drawings by Conrad Heidenreich

the 16th century" (Latta 1980:76). However, in this instance the pottery excludes the possibility of a relationship. Beeton is a Lalonde occupation with "a high percentage" of Lalonde High Collar sherds (Hick et al. 1977:41; Kirby 1980:10), whereas at Graham-Rogers four Lalonde High Collar rimsh-

erds are an insignificant presence (less than 1%) (Bell 2004:23, 27).

The Dermott site is some 8 km south-west of Graham-Rogers and is recorded as Late Protohistoric (Warrick 1990:482). A surface collection produced two iron fragments and 13 fragments of copper kettles, as well as a range of pottery, cherts, lithics and faunal remains (Storck 1979:91, 100). This site, on which the copper fragments collected (13) outnumber the rimsherds (8), must certainly be at least Late Protohistoric in time if not later; in either case too late to be ancestral to Graham-Rogers. From the illustrated material, pending a larger collection being obtained, this site would seem possibly a GBP2 twin to Graham-Rogers. One of the illustrated rimsherds (Stork 1979:100, plate 33d) has a deep horizontal incised (?) groove on the collar parallel to and just below the lip, a characteristic of Susquehannock High Collar (Bell 2004:17, 20 figure c, 21, 26; Ridley 1952:203).

Ross's observation nearly thirty years ago (1976:vi, 60, 52) that there is no convincing local ancestor to Graham-Rogers, still applies.

Remote Ancestry of the Graham-Rogers Site

Noble and Ross agreed that for both the Graham-Rogers and Sopher sites "no direct prehistoric ancestor is currently known" locally, and that the remote ancestry of both was "in the Toronto region" (Noble 1974:17; Ross 1976:vi, 60). Popham (1950:83, 85) did not mention the Graham-Rogers site specifically, but by indicating it on his map presumably intended it should be included in his generalization that "there was a striking correspondence between the Innisfil material and that recovered from the excavation of the Old Indian Fort Site near Aurora."

Ramsden reached the same conclusion: "The ceramic and non-ceramic evidence fails to clarify Graham-Rogers' relationships," but the clay pipes and bone artifacts pointed to the south, ultimately a Neutral source via the Aurora site (Ramsden 1977:274–275).

To both Bell and Ridley, the Susquehannock High Collar pottery suggested a more distant origin "south of Iroquois territory" (Bell 2004:21, 30).

The Susquehannock High Collar pottery

Bell thought this type was "somewhat of a mystery" (2004:29). Because Susquehannock High Collar comprised 10.5% of the pottery on the Graham-Rogers site, and Dutch Hollow Notched another 3.9%, Bell was puzzled that "almost fifteen per cent of Graham-Rogers pottery is copied from the types popular in distant lands...relatively near the Niagara frontier"—the Seneca and Andaste "region of the Iroquois confederacy"—while Neutral and Eastern Ontario influences were "absent, or virtually so" (2004:21, 29–30). Concerning the presence of Susquehannock pottery Ridley (1966:52–53) "confessed to the same bewilderment." Neither came to a certain conclusion, and none has been reached since.

Bell was not entirely certain that the Susquehannock style pottery on the Graham-Rogers site was made there. As best he could determine, it had the same clay, grit temper and hardness as the Huron-style pottery present (Bell 2004:15, 17, 29). On the other hand, the type is uniquely different: "a vastly differing ware...extraneous" in origin, a high-collared type with no similarity to the short-collared pottery types on the site. With unique body decoration and a crude human face on a castellation, it was a mystery with a "foreign" appearance: "it appears so suddenly, in early historic times, having no apparent antecedents in the late prehistoric period. This fact argues for its outside derivation"; a type "from the region of the Iroquois confederacy", "distinct...if...really a foreign inspired trait...copied from the types popular in distant lands" near the Niagara frontier. Even if this admittedly foreign type was made on the site, it may have been made using foreign firing techniques, possibly detected in colour variations (pp. 15, 21, 29, 30).

Susquehannock High Collared pottery has been found on several historic Huron sites. Ridley considered it "foreign inspired" made under "outside influence" (Bell 2004:15, 17, 29). Even though by 1966 Ridley had lost enthusiasm for his earlier proposal that this pottery resulted from an Andastes alliance, and allowing that the Graham-Rogers samples were made on the site, the "outside influence" surely points in the direction of

Iroquoia and beyond. This, and beyond toward the Atlantic coast, is the direction indicated by the apparently machine-turned marine shell beads in the Graham-Rogers collection. Bell himself looked to the MacKenzie site in the Humber Valley, and beyond to "the Niagara frontier region" (2004:31).

It presently seems most probable that the real story of Graham-Rogers might well be hidden in its Susquehannock High Collar pottery and the people on the Graham-Rogers site who made it. Emerson avoided the implications of Bell's Susquehannock High Collar sherds by rejecting them as such (Emerson 1961:184). Whatever alternative name he might have preferred, no eligible candidate ancestor site with the same pottery by any name in the same abundance has been recognized either locally or in the Toronto area. The mystery remains unsolved. Perhaps the answer is complex, such as a family with Susquehannock ancestry or connections adopted into a Huron group.

European Trade Goods as the Key to Dating Graham-Rogers

Early in his report Bell mentioned that no stratigraphy was evident at the Graham-Rogers site. Artifacts including "a considerable number of trade goods" were "uniformly distributed throughout the middens" with trade goods "on subsoil at the bottoms of middens" (Bell 2004:10, 15). The site is therefore entirely historic.

Bell observed that the trade goods at Graham-Rogers were almost identical to those on the historic Warminster site: "white glass oval shaped 'seed' beads are dominant on both sites," with a few oval blue and "very small tubular dark glass beads" (p. 27).

Bell argued that the greater number of glass beads at the Graham-Rogers site than at MacMurchy, together with iron axes, demonstrated the contemporaneity of the Graham-Rogers and Warminster sites (Bell 1953:68-69). The dearth of such beads at MacMurchy, compared with their greater quantity at Graham-Rogers, indicates that MacMurchy is earlier than Graham-Rogers.

An examination by the writer, courtesy of Patricia Reed, of the trade goods from Graham-Rogers in the present collection at the University

of Toronto, confirms the presence of iron axe and trade knife fragments, an iron awl, items of brass and copper, a number of glass beads and, among the discoidal marine shell beads, a number so perfectly round and finished that they were apparently turned on a lathe.

Of the 29 glass beads catalogued for the Graham-Rogers site, the writer typed 20 as tubular off-white (Ia4/5), 2 as tubular blue (Ia17), 2 as oval white (IIa15) and 1 as tubular green (Ia3). Four beads were missing or uncertain. Twenty of these beads have been previously typed: 16 as Ia5, 2 as Ia19, 2 as IIa15 (Fitzgerald 1990:240). Despite these differences, and although not the same as Bell reported, the glass bead collection continues to imply a GBP2 period for the site as first determined by Kenyon and Kenyon (1983:61, 74; Fitzgerald 1990:240).

Included as trade goods are the discoidal, marine shell beads within the 8-10 mm diameter range, apparently machine-turned. Laurier Turgeon (2001) indicates such beads were made in Paris by Jean Perron ca. 1590-1605. A number of implications follow: the first being success in the fur trade, as machine-turned marine shell beads were vastly more valuable than glass beads; and the second perhaps being the origins of the Graham-Rogers people, as such beads of native material but manufactured in France are thought to have entered North America via the mid-Atlantic coast rather than the St. Lawrence (Turgeon 2001:61, 63, 68, 71, 76). If they were brought to the site by migrants rather than traders, an origin of the migration nearer to the Atlantic coast is possible. By the time of the Graham-Rogers village, marine shell from the Atlantic coast was reaching Huronia via the Susquehannocks and their Neutral allies in quantity (Pendergast 1989:101, 103). While this may account for the native-modified beads, it is not clear how the beads machine-turned in Paris could have entered this trade route.

The most recent work on the Graham-Rogers material is being conducted by Caroline Walker as part of her Ph.D. research, for which she examined the brass and copper artifacts. Such factors as the ratio of brass (37%) to copper (63%), and a specific brass artifact, led her independently to the opinion that the site dates to GBP2, possibly early GBP2, and originated from the south (Walker, personal communication).

Current Conclusions

1. Bell's principal conclusions concerning the Graham-Rogers site remain valid: particularly that the site belongs temporally to GBP2, possibly early within GBP2; that its people came ancestrally from the south; that the site existed at about the time of Champlain, although not visited by him; and that it was "abandoned as Jesuit times approached" to possibly subsequently join either the Bear or the Rock. However, the site seems to be the product of recent in-migration rather than of local development.

2. The Susquehannock High Collar pottery, clay pipes, modified bone and a brass artifact on the Graham-Rogers site indicate that the Graham-Rogers people originated ancestrally in the south. The machine-turned discoidal marine shell beads may suggest an origin nearer to the Atlantic coast. Subject to future research confirming the present interpretation, the lack of a local Late Prehistoric or a Protohistoric site that could be ancestral to the Graham-Rogers site confirms that the migration to the site's historic location, at least by some of its inhabitants, was from a distance. Whether the Graham-Rogers people were previously located in the Toronto/Humber area is not established. No specific ancestral prehistoric location in the south is yet recognized.

3. The lack of stratigraphy in the site deposits suggests the Graham-Rogers people arrived during the Historic period, when the fur trade was in force. Their selection of the Graham-Rogers site, on the fringe of Huronia, may suggest that they wished to participate in the fur trade while remaining independent from a Huron alliance.

4. More than fifty years after its excavation, Graham-Rogers remains a unique historic site, without recognized ancestry in "Southern Huronia" and of uncertain derivation.

5. The proposal that Graham-Rogers is a Petun site and ancestral to the Petun MacMurchy site is rejected.

6. The caution by MacNeish (1952:89) that analysis be not limited to rimsherds alone but should include "other material traits" is demonstrably justified. Trade goods would seem to be a better indicator of contemporaneity than pottery.

Finale

Earlier in this retrospect it was stated that the excavation of the Graham-Rogers site in 1952 forms part of the development of the Ontario archaeological record. Researching its history has served to remind the present practitioners of Ontario archaeology of the debt we owe to those who made this contribution, and who should not be forgotten. W. Douglas Bell became head of history and geography at Waterford high school until he passed away in December 1964. Dr. John Norman Emerson, chairman of the department of anthropology at the University of Toronto, passed away in November 1978. John "Nipper" Sinclair died in April 1984, and Frank Ridley, who lamented Bell's passing, in March 1985. A. Stuart Nease became principal of Saltfleet high school and then dean of the faculty of education at the University of Windsor. He passed away in March 1988. Mrs. Glen (Hood) Bell, became head librarian at Waterford, where she lives in retirement. Mrs. Barbara (Scott) Nease, BA(1951), MSW(1965) resides in Toronto. Conrad E. Heidenreich, who participated in the 1952 dig as a high school student, became Dr. Heidenreich, Professor of Geography, York University, and now lives in retirement in his former grandfather's house at De Grassi Point, which, fittingly, was headquarters for the Graham-Rogers dig in 1952.

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