



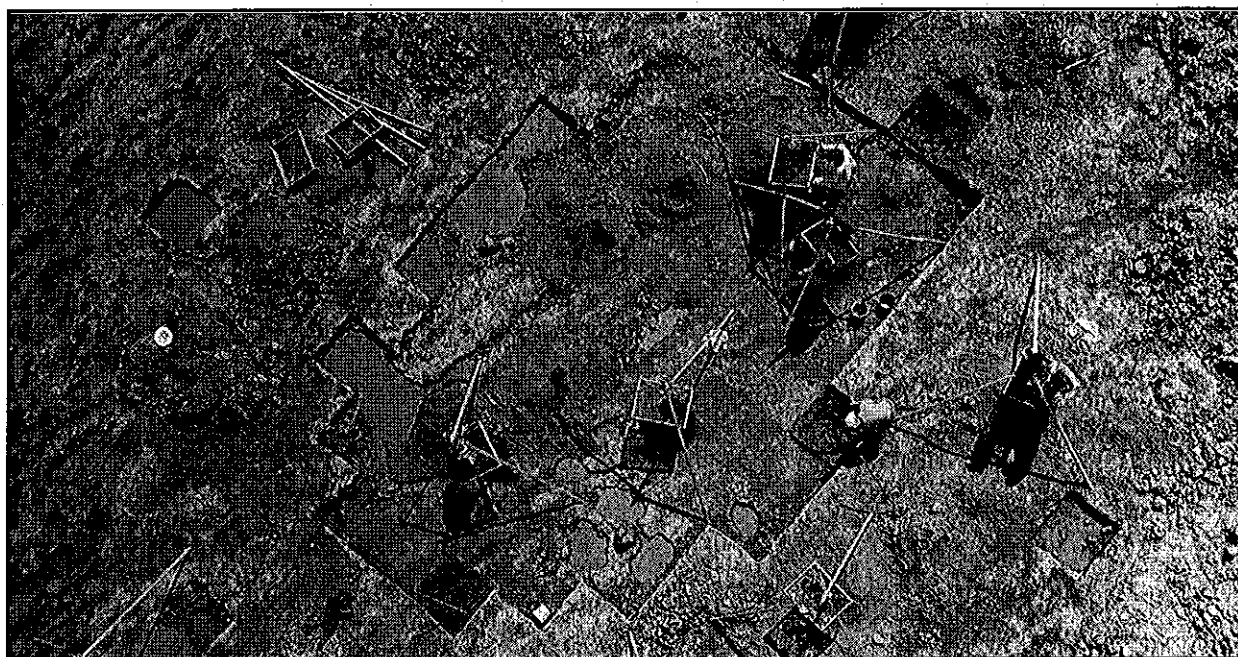
Ontario Archaeological Society

Arch Notes

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Clearing the way for yet another golf course: block excavation of a lithic scatter near Chippawa in 2000. Crew members [l to r] are Jackie Dolling, Helen Sluis, Katharine McMillan and Kevin Fisher.

Kite aerial photo by Andy Schoenhofer

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President's message

Holly Martelle

Given the unusually balmy weather and the fact that my office phone won't stop ringing, it seems hard to believe that it is January and the OAS is welcoming in a new Board of Directors for the upcoming year. We are forever indebted to our outgoing Board members, Christine Caroppo and Dena Doroszenko for their many years of service. Their countless hours of work and dedication to the Society will not be forgotten. I must acknowledge and extend my personal thanks to our two new Board members, Jean-Luc Pilon and Carole Stimmell. We are delighted to have you! Thanks also to our returning Board members Tony Stapells, Henry van Lieshout, Alicia Hawkins and Cathy Crinnion. Jean-Luc will be taking over as Director of Membership Services. Carole is our Director of Publications and Tony will continue to deal with advocacy issues. Our dedicated secretary-treasurer (Henry) returns to his post once again. Both Alicia and Cathy have retrained their respective portfolios as Director of Chapter Services and Director of Outreach and Education Services. Lise Ferguson, Executive Director, continues to be the most hardworking of us all and is available on a part-time basis in the OAS office.

Since I have only been President of the Society for less than a week I am rushed to get some thoughts on paper and out to the editor by the publication deadline. However, I do want to give you a sense of what the Board has ahead of us through

the next few months and in the year to come.

In the coming weeks the Board will be finalizing the latest version of the Society's Strategic Plan. This document outlines the objectives the Board has identified for this year through to 2008. It presents goals and targets for such things as membership numbers, marketing and promotions, finance and fundraising, human resources and quality assurance. Essentially this is the best tool the Board can use to gauge its achievements over time. We are making a big effort to address the concerns you voiced in our most recent membership survey and to include a strong focus on the interests and priorities that the membership set for the Society. As indicated in the membership survey, you were overwhelmingly in support for continued development of avocational and student services, educational programmes and outreach, and First Nations partnerships. You also gave continued support for the OAS's advocacy role.

In 2006, the Board will focus some of its time to revamping our website in an effort to enhance our public profile. We can, and will, do better at providing easily accessible information to our members. By the end of the year, we should also be closer to finishing our overhaul of the OAS edukits. Many of these are in need of repair and the accompanying documents are a bit out of date. Ultimately we would like a new educational package that is more in tune with today's technology. This means creating easy-

to-use Power Point presentations for teachers to use in the classroom. Personally, I will continue to work on our recently launched initiative to assist in the preparation of guidelines for avocational archaeologists working in Ontario.

I'd like to take a moment to remind all of you about a wonderful OAS resource: our library. As you know, we moved our library holdings when the OAS office moved to Queen Street from Richmond Hill. While we would have loved to retain the collection, we simply could not afford the cost of housing it. The library is currently kept in the London Museum of Archaeology and we are thankful to Bob Pearce and his staff who willingly agreed to take on the library and manage it for the time being. I recently had the opportunity to peruse our paper record of the library's contents and was thoroughly amazed for two reasons. First, we have well-kept, detailed paper records for every book, manuscript, and journal in the library. The paper catalogue is a testimony to the hard work and countless volunteer hours of a number of individuals who devoted so much of their time to this in the past. I must personally thank Charlie Garrad, Norma Knowlton, Andy Schoenhofer and all of those unnamed others who made such an important contribution to our society. Second, I was thrilled by the fact that the collection contained so many hard-to-find and out-of-print publications. This caught my attention since I find it increasingly difficult to lay my

hands on famed but obscure pieces of scholarship that have contributed much to the development of Ontario archaeology. The library is a great resource for students, researchers, avocational and professionals. I strongly urge you to check it out.

That being said, the Board would really like to see the paper record turned into a searchable, electronic archive. Wouldn't it be nice to be able to search through the library holdings through the simple click of a button on the OAS website? Of course, such an undertaking requires many hours of data input. Thus, we are currently seek-

ing volunteers to assist us in completing the process of transcribing the bibliographic information into a computer database program (Norma and Andy started this task a few years ago). This is not a difficult task but certainly a tedious one. If you are interested in helping in any way, please contact me (hmartelle@tmhc.ca) or Lise in the OAS office. In the interim, we do have PDF files (i.e., electronic "photocopies") of the book, manuscript and journal catalogues. If you are in desperate need of a publication, please do not hesitate to contact me and I can try my best to let you know if we have it.

These are just some of the things the Board will be working on this year. We continue to be dedicated to enhancing our programmes and services and finding new and innovative ways to make information available to you. Yet, new initiatives take time and a whole lot of elbow grease. This Society cannot exist without the talents and efforts of our members and volunteers. If you think you can make a contribution to the society, let us know!

Happy New Year and best wishes to you all in 2006!

From the OAS office...

Lise Ferguson **Executive Director**

I figure once every decade or so I should put my degree in Classical Civilization to use and visit Italy or Greece, so over the "festive season" I went to Rome to get some culture and feed my soul, not to mention to get a little R&R. I was pleasantly surprised by the amount of new archaeology that has been done since my last visit. It is pretty impressive to consider that the archaeology that goes on in Rome is considered the largest urban dig ever carried out! Near the Roman Forum is a new Visitors' Centre—small but quite spiffy, with reconstructions, maps and other info. It was back in 1924 that extensive excavations were carried out on the Imperial Fori area, which is across from the better-known Roman Forum. It is actually bisected by the modern road, so there is a great deal of archaeology beneath the Vespas and Smart cars that zoom

over this main thoroughfare. The early excavation was done with little or no regard for later Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque elements—these were basically ignored or even destroyed in the quest to get to the "good stuff". Starting in 1995, excavation started up again in the Forum of Nerva, one of the Imperial Fori. As part of celebrations to commemorate the year 2000, the city undertook an extensive archaeological survey which opened up huge areas previously unexcavated. The 1995 plan employed state-of-the-art stratigraphic methods to record all eras, including the aforementioned Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque and also the more ancient remains previously ignored. The other amazing thing is that there is a plan to build a museum, stated in a rather clumsy English translation at the Visitors' Centre: "Building a museum is the proper conclusion of a magnificent scientific project,

also rendered suitable for the enjoyment and use of the public."

I also visited a relatively new museum, which is a Museo Nazionale Romano, one of several National museums of Rome considered part of the city's most important network of museums. In 1981, the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma undertook the excavation of a city block in the historic centre of the city where two large churches sat surrounded by houses. In antiquity, this was the location of the Crypta Balbi, a huge courtyard with a portico next to a theatre built by Lucius Cornelius Balbus for the emperor Augustus at the end of the first century B.C. The Crypta Balbi offers a unique insight into the development of Rome that goes beyond the story of the site itself. Over twenty years, a huge amount of work (and a huge amount of funding, obviously) was put into excavating and studying the Crypta Balbi, providing a fasci-

nating look at the development of Rome through the centuries. The museum consists of modern exhibits (again, it appears money is no object) and a basement area where I was taken on a tour of the excavations. One of the display areas covers the transformations of urban culture from the 5th to 10th centuries A.D. The collections include artifacts from all over Rome, complete with extensive interpretations and explanations, creating a truly urban museum that tells the story of a city.

So, how does this relate to Ontario archaeology? Recently, the site of the first parliament buildings in Toronto has been in the news again. They were built in the 1790s, burned down by the Americans during the War of 1812 (leading to the burning of the buildings of the Washington capitol), and explored in 2000 when the land was sold to make way for a car dealership. This is truly a site of urban archaeology. It is of interest on so many levels: as an important site for the city, province and the country—it even has international


significance. In late 2005, the Ministry of Culture announced the acquisition of this site, a partnership between the province and the city through a land exchange with the landowner. Now, long-term options are being considered for the preservation and use of the site. While we could learn a thing or two by how it's done in Italy

(“When in Rome...”), it really pleases me that there is some positive urban archaeology being done in Rome and Toronto. What a great opportunity to tell the story of Toronto the first parliament site could be! It is important for urbanites to understand and appreciate the history beneath their feet. It's everyone's story.

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**Ontario
Archaeology**

Journal of The Ontario Archaeological Society

*Accelerator Dating the Welser Site, Kent County, Ontario:
New Perspectives on the Wolf to Fort Meigs Transition in the
Western Lake Erie Region*
David M. Stothers, Timothy J. Abel and James R. Graves

*Archaeologists in the Continental Boreal Province: A Personal
Recollection*
Kenneth C.A. Dawson

*The Barrie Site: A Pioneering Iroquoian Village Located in Simcoe
County, Ontario*
Richard E. Sutton

Number 87, 1999

Letters to the editor

Dear Editor:

In the *Arch Notes* photo from the Petawawa Symposium [*Arch Notes* 10(6)], Margie Kenedy seemed a bit distraught. I'd like to assure everyone that she was in reasonably safe company.

To the Editor: Thank you for presenting “Henry”—my symposium alias.

Regards,
Tony Stapells

Dear Editor:

In response to Mark Volterman's letter in the Nov/Dec 2005 issue of *Arch Notes*, I would like clarify that the “general public” was invited to the Society's 32nd Annual Symposium in Petawawa. A large mass mailing occurred in the early fall and every effort was made to include local heritage, culture, and advocacy groups. Glenna Roberts and two very helpful student volunteers spent much time stuffing

and addressing envelopes. This effort, combined with that of The Friends of Bonnechere Provincial Park, resulted in a large number of non-OAS members in attendance over the weekend, especially for the Thursday afternoon “Heritage and Your Community” session. When Bill Allan asked for a show of hands of “first time OAS Symposium delegates”, it was heartening to see so many. The OAS web site continually ran

updated information on our symposium.

As for the Ministry representatives walking out during the final presentation of the first session, and therefore being unavailable to answer questions during the scheduled question period, I concur that this action was extremely rude. It could be argued that it mocked the symposium theme "Partners to the Past" in a most obvious and demonstrative manner!

The experience of organizing this session for November 3, 2005 can only be described as a bad roller coaster ride. It began seven months earlier, prior to any official amendments to the new Heritage Act. When the Act received royal assent at the end of April, the session's focus changed somewhat. We assumed that a representative from the Ministry

would be willing to use the OAS's annual symposium as an opportunity to discuss the revisions and their ramifications. The new Act would already be in force for six months by the dates of our symposium. "Test drive the new Heritage Act!/Kick the tires..." appeared in our advertising. We even scheduled a full half hour for such a presentation; the other speaker times varied between 10 and 20 minutes. When our preliminary program went into *Arch Notes* in September and was posted on the OAS web page, we still had no idea if a Ministry rep would travel to Petawawa. Less than TWO WEEKS prior to the event, we finally had verification of ONE representative. If only we knew in advance that there would actually be TWO presentations and that both individuals had a plane to catch, we could have

made some adjustments, including allowing additional time for questions directly after their talks. Alas, this could not occur on such extremely short notice; it would have been difficult to approach the other eight speakers and organize such changes at the last minute. All of these extremely professional individuals agreed to be part of our afternoon, months in advance. I'd like to use this opportunity to thank them and extend a special note of appreciation to those who managed to incorporate the new Heritage Act into their talks. From all other accounts, it was an extremely interesting and useful session!

Ellen Blaubergs
2005 OAS Symposium
Committee
Heritage and Your Community
Session Chair

2005 Report from the Director of Membership Services

Holly Martelle

In 2005, a significant portion of my time was devoted to compiling the information the Society gathered from members throughout our 2004 membership survey. YOU told us what you thought about what we were doing right as an organization and what we could improve upon in upcoming years. We thank everyone for their input. It was truly informative and gave the Board many good suggestions for future initiatives. As the survey results (printed in *Arch Notes* earli-

er this year) indicated, OAS members would like to see more time and resources committed to educational programming, avocational archaeology and First Nations issues. As a Board, we have taken your input very seriously and are working on incorporating your ideas into our two year strategic plan.

Avocational Archaeology

In response to requests from our membership, we have launched a new avocational archaeology ini-

tiative. In association with the planned release of new technical guidelines for avocational archaeologists practicing in Ontario, the OAS is in the process of preparing a background document covering past, present and future perspectives on avocational and archaeology in the province. The document will present an abbreviated history of avocational involvement in heritage resource reporting, excavation and management and will summarize avocational activities in the present. However, the main

purpose of the document will be to investigate the needs and concerns of practicing avocationalists, particularly Ministry of Culture licensing and technical guidelines to be formulated in the next several years.

Our plan is to collect background information and conduct interviews over the next year in order to prepare a draft document for review at the 2006 OAS symposium in London. The information can be used by the OAS and the TAG committee representatives who will be working with the Ministry of Culture in the development of the new avocational guidelines. If you have information to contribute or would like to have your voice heard, please con-

tact me at (519)641-7222 or hmartelle@tmhc.ca.

New Brochure

Another large task this year was the revamping of our membership brochure. This was a time consuming task, but I think the results show it was well worth it. Rosalie Porter volunteered her time to write much of the text and we are greatly indebted to her for all of her hard work. Thanks Rosalie!

25-Year Members

This year the Society is honouring five 25-year members. In researching our records to compile our list of honorees, we noticed that our conversion to a computer database

way back when did not come without glitches! In some cases our "year of first membership" is not recorded or is inaccurate. We do not want to overlook anyone who has dedicated so much time to our organization so please let us know if we have missed your 25th anniversary with the Society.

What can you look forward to in 2005? Well, much of my time will be devoted to the avocational project regardless of whether I return as Director of Membership Services or take on a new portfolio. We are looking seriously at revamping and modernizing our website to enhance membership services and enhance our public profile—always with suggestions from the membership survey in hand.

Volunteers Needed!

The OAS is looking to create a digital archive of its library holdings. Through the years, volunteers have spent countless hours maintaining our paper record of the library's large collection of books, manuscripts, and serials. In order to make this information more accessible, the OAS would like to create a searchable computer database of the library records.

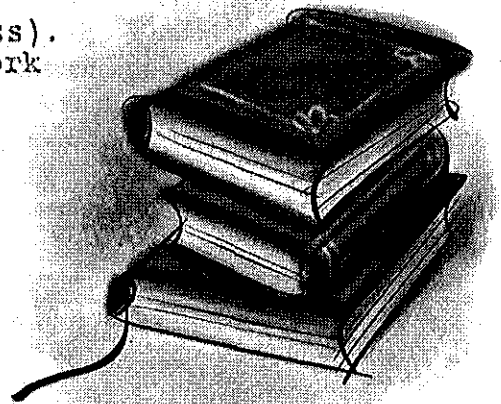
We are looking for individuals who can input the bibliographic information into an electronic file (e.g., Microsoft Access). Arrangements can be made for you to work in your home.

Please contact:

Holly Martelle
hmartelle@tmhc.ca
 (519)641-7222

OR

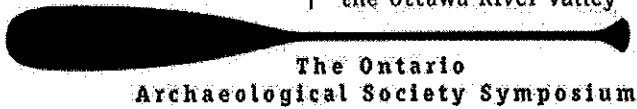
the OAS office for more information.



2005

Partners to the Past

Making Connections in
the Ottawa River Valley



The Ontario
Archaeological Society Symposium

What worked? Wonderful discussions between full-participant OAS members (65), non-OAS (24), students (10), and one-day registrants (24).

What affiliations?

Archaeological companies (13)
First Nations (2+)
Local Heritage organizations (7)
Municipalities (6)
Museums (5)
Ontario and federal ministries / institutions (5)
Provincial Parks (3)
Universities (11)
Sods like me.

Who to thank?

All who came, spoke (32!) or attended.
(Apologies to anyone inadvertently missed.)

Partners: Ministry of Culture, Cultural Strategic Investment Fund, (Carmen Goold) through Friends of Bonnechere Provincial Park, Town of Petawawa, (Mayor Bob Sweet and Cyndy Phillips, Economic Development Coordinator), Civic Centre (Mark Reinert)

Sponsors: Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn: smudge, display; Archaeological Services Inc.; Atomic Energy of Canada: display; Ottawa River Heritage Designation Project (Len Hopkins): display; Timmins Martelle Heritage Consultants.

Organizers: (mainly Ottawa Chapter):

Vision: Jim Fraser, Betty Biesenthal, Marian Clarke, Irene-Ann Lacroix

Programme: Jim Molnar, Ellen Blaubergs, Bill Allen

Registration: Lois King, the OAS's Lise Ferguson, and students from the Outdoor Adventure Naturalist Program at Algonquin College in the Ottawa Valley (Pembroke)

Mailings: Jen Birch, Erin Wilson

Translation: Smart Communications

Fund Raisers: Book Room: Heather Stronach

Raffle: Ellen Blaubergs

Clyde's Cans: Marian Clark

Silent Auction: Pelee Island Winery

Caterers: Amazingly flexible right up to the last minute. Everyone was fed! Moncion's Deli, Kelsey's, Pelee Island Winery, Tim Horton's, Ullrich's, CFB Petawawa, Civic Centre.

Music: Stone Fence Theatre (courtesy CSIF)

Tiffany Trio (courtesy Town of Petawawa)

Banners: Design House, Pembroke

Decorations: Erin Wilson, Cara Pelletier

Sunday Tours: Carmen Bauer.

CFB Petawawa and Airborne Forces Museum

Champlain Trail Village/Museum: Dave Croft

Allumette Isand: F. Lemke D. Kuschke

Fort William walk: Joanne McCann

Pontiac Historic: Ben Kuhn & Daniel Arsenault

Skelhorn Bus Lines: Our driver

Profit? A little better than the planned contingency fund, thanks to sponsors and fundraiser. Ask treasurers, Bill MacLennan and Henry van Lieshout.

Problems? Amazingly few, and nothing we could not handle with help from Alicia Hawkins, OAS Chapter Director. With modest prices for registration, food and accommodation, we had hoped for more students. Was it too far, or just not the right time of year? We had also hoped for more participation from local municipalities at the "Heritage and Your Community" workshop. All received two sets of invitations and posters. The importance of the Heritage Act will be emphasized in the Proceedings (Jim Molnar, editor), but delivering the message remains a responsibility for all OAS members.

Biggest thrill of event: My 50 year pin!
(signed) Glenna Roberts, (organizer-at-large).

See you in London, October 28, 2006!

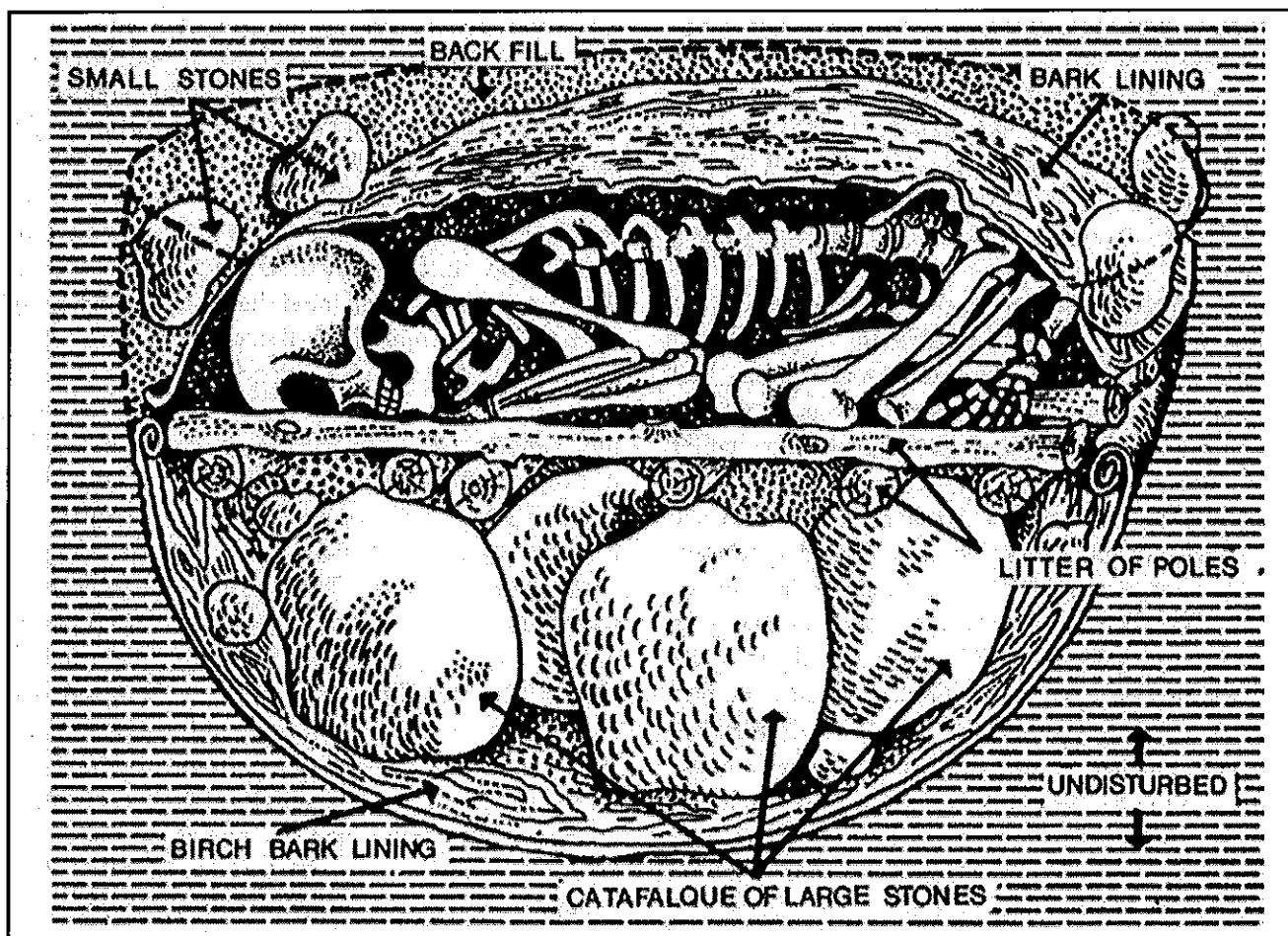
A possible archaeological manifestation of Petun belief in reincarnation

Charles Garrad

In 1970 I reported the single burial of a small ca. 30-year-old painfully crippled woman found in the former Petun Country of Nottawasaga Township, Ontario (Garrad 1970). The burial, designated Baker (BcHb-13), was unique in its elaborateness and in an unexpected location. That these features may have been determined by a belief in reincarnation will now be addressed.

The burial was discovered by J. Allan Blair in 1969. When walking across a ploughed field, Blair observed a human femur standing on end from a plough ridge. His preliminary investigation revealed a scatter of human bone fragments and pieces of bark, the

remains of a burial which had been ploughed through repeatedly. Subsequent archaeological investigation demonstrated that a pit, some 4 feet in diameter and perhaps originally of similar depth, had been dug and lined with birch bark. Four large stones had been placed in the pit as a catafalque to support a litter or stretcher of birch and/or ironwood poles on which the skeletal remains had rested in a flexed position, which were in turn covered with more sheets of bark weighted with small stones and earth. The flexed position in which the deceased was arranged complied with the description given by the Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf as customary among the Huron/Petun: "a crouching posture, almost the same



A conception of the burial by Thomas Kenyon. From *Ontario Archaeology* 1970 15:7.

Courtesy of The Ontario Archaeological Society

that a child has in its mother's womb" (JR 10:267), but the resources and effort evidently dedicated to this burial were remarkable and unmatched, as far as is known, anywhere else in the Petun or Huron countries. Among several immediate conclusions was that the deceased woman was highly regarded in her community. The reason for this evident regard, and if it in some way was connected with the circumstances of her life and death, is not known.

From the few scattered bone fragments that were recovered, mainly from the plough zone surface, Dr. Howard Savage diagnosed that the deceased had suffered life-long from congenital dislocation of both hips in which severe degenerative arthritis had developed. We therefore took the bone fragments to Dr. Robert B. Salter (M.D., M.S., FRCSC, FACS, Surgeon-in-Chief and Senior Orthopaedic Surgeon at the Hospital for Sick Children, and Professor of Surgery at the University of Toronto), who was known to Dr. Savage as the leading specialist in understanding this complex condition (e.g., Salter 1967, 1968). Dr. Salter had already determined that females from North American First Nations that used cradle-boards were among world populations with the highest frequency of the incidence of congenital dislocation of the hip compounded by severe arthritis (Garrad 1970:12-15), and here was an actual osteological example.

From his examination of the bone fragments, Dr. Salter concluded that the suffering of the Petun female was of such severity and long standing that normal skeletal growth and development had not occurred, resulting in bones that were thinner, lighter and smaller than usual. As a child she never played, and as an adult, still having the stature of a child, she never walked. She was confined for extended periods, perhaps permanently, to bed, perhaps to the litter on which she was eventually laid to rest and release. No actual cause of death could be determined, but a lifetime of pain, increasing immobility, and massive premature physical degeneration would surely have led to spiritual dejection and despair. Dr. Salter's conclusions and the X-rays taken during the examination of the bone fragments, which show the massive arthritic deformation, were published in the journal *Ontario Archaeology* as part of my report (Garrad 1970).

The burial was on the logical route of a former trail or path connecting two contemporary 1640s Petun

villages somewhat more than a mile apart. These were the Petun Etharita, named "St. John" by the Jesuits, archaeologically the Kelly-Campbell site (BcHb-10), and the McEwen (upper) site (BcHb-17), named "St. James & St. Philip". The burial was closest to Etharita and about a third of a mile west of this principal village. As the deceased had undoubtedly lived in a house in a village, which she perhaps never left throughout her entire life, the questions arise of why she was deliberately buried away from the village and why to the west of it. Possibly relevant is that west is the direction of the setting sun, and to the Huron-Petun and most other similar shamanic societies it was also the direction to the Village of Souls in the Land of the Dead (JR 10:143, 145; et al).

At the time of the 1970 report I was aware that Father Jean de Brébeuf had mentioned a burial practice associated with trails, but, as the reference specified "little children...less than a month or two old" and our subject was a woman possibly thirty years of age, I did not see any connection. The purpose of burying young deceased children "on the road", Brébeuf said, was to allow them to opportunely enter the womb of a passing woman "that she may give them life again, and bring them forth" (JR10:273). This was a good description of reincarnation, but I could see no reason why it was apparently limited to very young children. Further, I found it confusing that elsewhere Brébeuf stated that "old people and the little children...remain in the country, where they have their own particular Village" because their limbs were not strong enough to undertake the journey to the Land of the Dead (JR10:143). It seemed to me that if a deceased child's body were buried on a trail so that its soul or spirit could enter the womb of a passing woman, the soul must remain with the body, not try to go off to a Village. The confusion resolved when I realized that the Hurons believed in "divisible" or plural souls, usually two (JR 10:141-145,287; Hultkrantz 1997:31-32,83; Hurdy 1970:100; Von Gernet 1994): one to reincarnate and one to go to the appropriate Village of Souls. Although Brébeuf was clearly including the Petun as Huron in his account of Huron beliefs, there remains the question of the extent to which Brébeuf really understood those beliefs and, consequently, the validity of his other statements, such as: those who died in war or by suicide were refused access to the Village of Souls

because other souls feared them. The possible vengeance and malevolence of all souls were feared—regardless of the manner of death—and propitiated by ceremonies and avoided by such procedures as removing brains (Hultkrantz 1997:80).

Dr. Åke Hultkrantz observed that the reconstruction of native North American religion might be aided by the analysis of archaeological materials, and also that native North American religion embraced the interpretation of disease and its curing because religion is diffused in their whole culture (Hultkrantz 1983:103,127; 1992:162). The opportunity to consider this burial in the context of North American native religious beliefs generally, and Huron-Petun reincarnation beliefs particularly, came when I was made aware of a published collection of studies of reincarnation beliefs in North America, including the Huron specifically (Mills and Slobodin 1994; von Gernet 1994:38–54), and the continuing work of Dr. Hultkrantz (1992, 1997).

According to Brébeuf, the Hurons believed in a post-mortal existence “differing very little from this”, while Father François du Peron wrote “They believe that souls enter other bodies after death” (JR 10:287, 15:183), and it was of either the Hurons or the Iroquois, or both, that Father Joseph François Lafitau reported a belief in “the successive transmigration of souls into several bodies” (Lafitau 1974 I:258–259), inferentially regardless of age, condition, or manner of death. Proof of reincarnation (“metempsychosis”) would be a person with “the perfect resemblance” to a person deceased (JR10:287; Von Gernet 1994:45).

The usual custom was to give bodies of people who died in the normal course of events a temporary burial or preservation until the next Feast of the Dead, requiring a wait of possibly a decade or more, at which time all the tribe's or community's individual dead were exhumed and reinterred together in a communal pit (ossuary). The length of time from the death to the Feast was usually not important because one of the deceased's souls left the body soon after death and went to the Village of Souls in the Land of the Dead; another soul remained with the bones awaiting the secondary burial, which was the “magic aimed at ensuring resurrection” (Hultkrantz 1997:61). In addition, for the Huron-Wyandot, the pit replicated the womb of Mother Earth through which the Ancestors originally emerged from the Lower

World into life and inherently implies that the people in the pit will do the same. The bodies of those who died premature, abnormal deaths, with their souls still attached, were not made to wait until the next Feast of the Dead (unless one was conveniently about to be held) but treated separately and appropriately to enable them to reincarnate right away.

Dr. Alexander von Gernet brought together the several classes of deceased who were not included in the periodic Feast of the Dead:

The remains of those who had died through violent means such as warfare, murder, or suicide, were immediately buried or thrown into the fire. Victims of drowning or freezing (had) their bones...thrown into a grave...the bones of individuals who had met violent deaths were not included in the secondary interment at the Feast of the Dead. Since the remains of infants were buried near or under a path rather than at the local cemetery, they too were destined to forego the Feast of the Dead. (von Gernet 1994:38–41,44–45)

Father François du Creux grouped the same classes together as “buried in the ground”, as opposed to elevated above it (Du Creux 1951 1:124–125). Father Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix also recorded that those “who have died a violent death, even in war and in the service of their country” were burned or buried “immediately, and even sometimes before they are quite dead [and they] never lay them in the common burying-ground”. His explanation was that the Indians “have taken it into their heads, that the souls of these persons in the other world, have no commerce with the rest” (Charlevoix 1790 2:192). In my view, the motive was to reincarnate the deceased person quickly to minimize the time in which his spirit or ghost was beyond the control of the living.

Von Gernet discussed the difficulties that Christians generally, and the Jesuits particularly, would have had in understanding and accepting Huron beliefs and motivations. Antonia Mills assessed von Gernet's comments as a “careful appraisal” and suggested that the Hurons became reticent to speak on their beliefs to the missionaries who rebuffed them. Mills remains “somewhat sceptical about whether the Jesuits, and many anthropologists, learned everything there was to know about Native

reincarnation concepts” and concludes that “The Jesuit record...is an important but incomplete source.” Fortunately, other contributors to the volume provided “the intimate detail which is tantalizingly absent from the Jesuit Huron account” (Mills 1994a:5, 6, 8, 9). Dr. James V. Wright agreed that the Jesuits could have acquired only “limited knowledge” of those Huron beliefs which “would have been kept secret from the (French) priests” (Wright 2004:1388).

John M. Hurdy believed that “the Iroquois” (presumably meaning Iroquoians generally) were “one of the few peoples in North America to believe in the survival of the individual after death” (Hurdy 1970:100), but the several contributors to the Mills and Slobodin (1994) volume collectively pointed both to the virtual universality of belief among North American tribes in life after death, and in the parallel belief in reincarnation (Hultkrantz 1992:51). The native peoples, among them the Huron and Petun, must have been astounded to learn that the arriving Europeans usually rejected the pre-Christian belief in reincarnation. In repeating Brébeuf’s account of the “special form of burial for infants who die before the third month”, Du Creux condemned the implied belief in reincarnation as “the foolish doctrine of [rebirth] propounded by Pythagoras” (Du Creux 1951 1:125).

Contrary to Brébeuf’s inference that reincarnation was available only to very young deceased children, the wider pool of references for the North-East made available by Mills and Slobodin (1994) demonstrate that “rebirth is certainly not restricted to children”. The belief that Brébeuf seems to have somewhat inadequately understood was not simply that deceased children were expected to reincarnate, which was taken for granted, but to whom they would reincarnate. It was important “that children who die may be reborn into the same families”. Dr. John Steckley suggested that the emphasis that deceased children would reincarnate into the same family or clan from which they came was because of incest taboos (Steckley 1986:7). This “ingenious proposition” (von Gernet 1994:46–47) explains why “the most universal feature of reincarnation belief in North America is the belief that children who die may be reborn into the same families” (Mills 1994b:27). From this it follows that, to aid the soul of the deceased to enter the womb of a maternal relative,

the burial would be placed in an area most frequented by women of the family of the deceased (Steckley 1986:7). The obvious place for this would be inside the family longhouse (Wright 2004:1372). The graves of infants and fetuses inside longhouses at the Draper Site in Ontario and among the St. Lawrence Iroquois have been interpreted as placed to be “advantageous...for a child’s opportunity for rebirth” (Wright 2004:1275,1372). In-house space limitations and interior congestion would effectively limit this practice to the smallest graves. Larger persons, especially those on a litter, would necessarily be buried outside the house. Thirty-nine foetal/infant/child burials in Ontario recorded by Dr. Mima Kapches included twenty-one in houses or in a house wall, thirteen within the village or periphery in pits or clay vessels, and five in ossuaries, including one each segregated in a clay vessel and a copper kettle (Kapches 1976:31). The presumption in all instances is that these were areas specifically owned or controlled by the family or clan of the deceased. Any of these locations would be examples of “increasing the odds for a successful outcome (i.e., reincarnation)...by the strategic placement of the corpse (von Gernet 1994:48, 50). It is not known if the traditional moiety function, whereby other clans buried a clans’ dead (Wright 2004:1408), would operate in such instances, which emphasised the clan/family connection of the deceased.

The commonality that linked the body of the Petun woman who is the subject of this paper with those of still-born babies, warriors killed in battle, people who drowned or died from an accident or illness, children or adults regardless of age, is that they had all “died prematurely, violently or unexpectedly” (Mills 1994b:24, 26, 27) and were buried or treated at death immediately and specifically so that they could reincarnate as soon as possible. The Hurons accepted various evidences as proof that such special treatment was effective. A baby born as the reincarnation of a slain warrior might have birthmarks corresponding to the places of the warrior’s fatal wounds (Mills 1994b:27). Some people remembered previous lives—and deaths—and, in the case of the Huron shaman Tonneraouanont, the time between. He spent his life between lives “under the ground” where he made the decision to be reborn. He then entered the womb of a passing woman by his own “fancy” and “assumed a lit-

the body”(JR13:105–107; Hultkrantz 1997:90, 162–163; Kearsley 1997:117). Burial rituals varied because of the need to propitiate affected spirit forces—for example, a sacrifice was made to the sky when someone died of cold or drowning (JR 10:163, 273)—but the assumption consistently remained that the soul of the deceased would reincarnate.

Hultkrantz pointed out that some Huron “notions were entirely foreign to Brébeuf” and concluded that “the Jesuits’ analysis of religious materials are inspired entirely by their own religious and moral ideas”. Not only children but also women and old people had “frail souls”. The Huron belief in “postmortal existence” and the parallel “reincarnation beliefs were common” (Hultkrantz 1983:2; 1992:27, 51, 168; 1997:31, 190, 206). These comments surely apply to the Petun as much as to any other tribe.

It can be accepted therefore that the Huron and Petun, being the same Wyandot people sharing the same beliefs, would expect that the woman who died painfully at a relatively young age at Etharita would reincarnate. As she fitted into the categories of having died prematurely and having a frail soul, she would be expected to do this quickly. That the place chosen for her burial was not in the house but outside the village on a pathway—presumably one frequented by women of her own family or clan—might be to facilitate this. That it was west of the village toward the Blue Mountain may have had its own significance as shortening the interim journey to the Village of Souls.

It must be considered that the placement and manner of the burial could reflect factors other than a belief in reincarnation. Perhaps other clans and villages provided traditional burial assistance, so that the place chosen on the pathway, distant from her village, might have been at the intersection of clan jurisdictions, in a no-clan’s-land. Its location might also have been intended to be too far from the village for her soul to return as a haunting ghost. The lavish grave arrangements may not have been entirely from respect, but also fear, to placate her so that her soul would have no need to take revenge. Even the burial of babies in longhouses, on trails, or elsewhere might be simply because, not having yet received a formal clan name, they were not yet persons eligible for inclusion in the clan ossuary (Wright 2004:1415). Perhaps these considerations and practices arising from a belief in reincarnation were not mutually

exclusive. Archaeology is not able to explain the motive for special burials.

In either case, it was evidently beyond the ability of the Petun medicine men and shamans of Etharita to devise a cure for the woman. This could indicate that at this time or in this instance their ability to contact the spirit world for diagnosis, guidance and cure was limited. Perhaps this led to their conclusion that such an untreatable malignancy was of very powerful spirit origin or that the supernatural powers had withdrawn their gift of health (Hultkrantz 1992:30, 31, 164). This situation probably required, and resulted in, extraordinary effort and elaboration of the grave to ensure the successful transit of the deceased to the Village of Souls and, if a belief in reincarnation was a factor, that she would return to life completely healed and free of Other World influences.

When I recounted the above story to my adopted Wyandot relatives in 1999, they initially expressed concern that I had not complied with my earlier undertaking to the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma to safeguard ancestral Petun burials, which in their interpretation required that I should have reburied the bones at once as close as possible to the original site and not taken them for medical examination. In reply I pointed out that this was a very unusual burial which had providentially appeared just at the time when Dr. Salter was working to devise a surgical procedure to prevent children, predominantly young First Nations girls brought up on a cradle board, from becoming permanently crippled by improper development of the hips, and that seeing an actual example of the hips of a woman from a First Nation that used the cradle board (Champlain 1929 3:141; JR 26:315–316n5; Sagard 1939:129) might have assisted him to successfully devise the procedure that has aided many girls. It was only six years after the bones of the Petun woman were taken to Dr. Salter that National Geographic magazine featured the photograph of a young Indian girl at Toronto’s Hospital for Sick Children with a caption indicating she was there for an operation devised by Dr. Salter that would correct her hip deformity caused by being “carried in infancy on cradleboards” (Starbird 1975:212).

The descriptions of Huron-Petun religion do not include any concept of a Divine Plan being worked out over the centuries, but if there is such a possibility, this present instance could be held to be an exam-

ple. Four centuries after the Petun woman lived and died in pain and misery, her bones helped to save many modern girls from Canadian First Nations from the same crippling disability that so affected her life. Not many of us will leave such a legacy. I hope she reincarnated into much happier and appropriately rewarding circumstances.

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