

**A REFINEMENT OF HISTORIC NEUTRAL CHRONOLOGIES:
EVIDENCE FROM SHAVER HILL, CHRISTIANSON AND DWYER**

William R. Fitzgerald

ABSTRACT

The Christianson and Robertson village sites, and their associated cemeteries Shaver Hill and Dwyer, respectively, as sequential occupations represent a continuum of historic Neutral Iroquoian occupation between circa A.D. 1615 and 1651 along the upper Spencer Creek northwest of Hamilton, Ontario. Trends in European goods on these sites can then be identified, and in light of the approximate 1619-1626 date of issue of the Shaver Hill rosary medallion can, in conjunction with fur trade events, provide more precise dates than previously possible.

The earlier occupation, Christianson and Shaver Hill, has been assigned a duration of occupation between circa 1615 and 1632, while the subsequent upstream occupation, Robertson and Dwyer, was in existence between circa 1632 and 1651. The dates assigned to these assemblages will provide a basis for the reevaluation of dates assigned to other historic components.

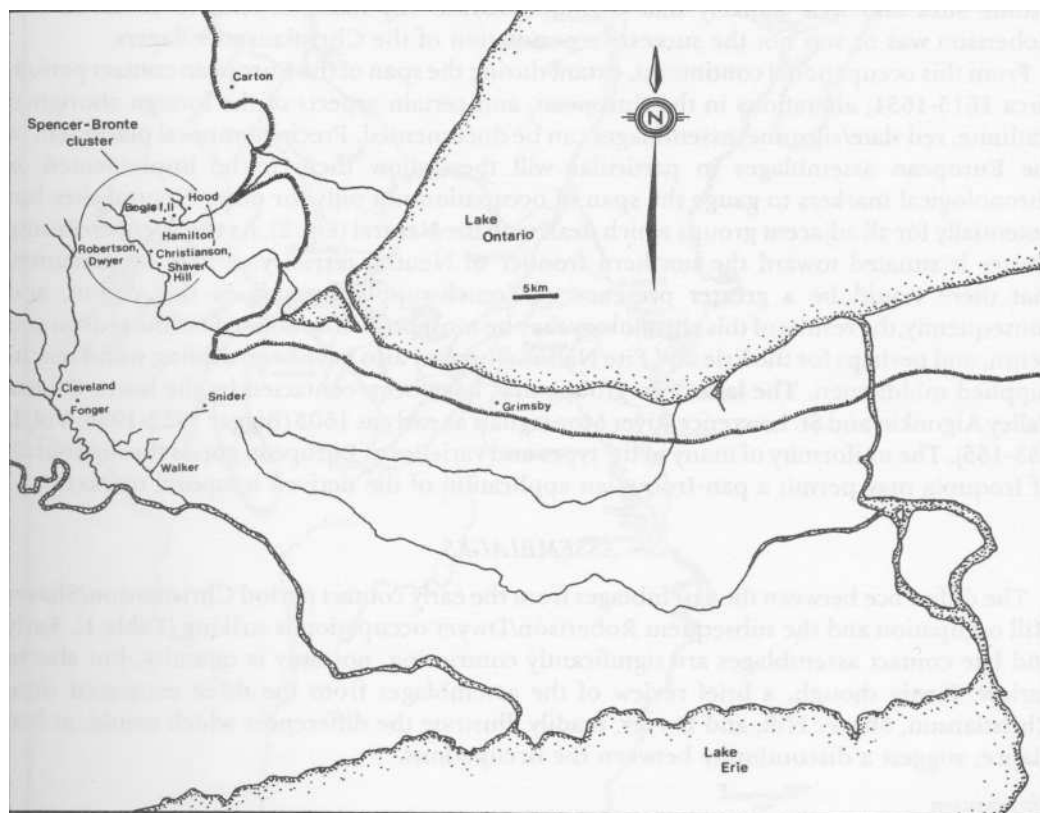


Fig. 1. Historic Neutral site locations mentioned in text.

Fitzgerald, William R.

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INTRODUCTION

Amongst the Spencer-Bronte cluster of historic Neutral sites (Fig. 1) there is a rare opportunity to examine assemblages from demonstrable sequential village occupations: the Christianson village site (Fitzgerald 1981) and its associated cemetery, Shaver Hill (Stothers 1968; Fitzgerald 1982), and the subsequent upstream village occupation, Robertson and its cemetery, Dwyer (Fitzgerald 1982) (Fig. 1). Integral to the hypotheses to be advanced is that Christianson and Robertson do in fact represent a single community. While the Robertson site has yet to be excavated, the data derived from its cemetery provides abundant comparative information regarding European and certain foreign aboriginal items. It is from this data that relative temporal differences between the occupations were noted, and information gleaned from fur trade events of the period has been used to explain, in part, the European assemblage differences that lead to the belief that Christianson and Robertson were sequential occupations. Further bases for this contention are detailed below. That a sample from Robertson is not available should not seriously hamper the contention. A ceramic sample, for example, from Robertson would not aid in clarifying the relationship between Christianson and Robertson as ceramic assemblages from late contact Spencer Bronte cluster sites such as Hamilton (Lennox 1981), Hood (Lennox 1978), Bogle I and Bogle II (Lennox: personal communication) are similar. Presumably Robertson would resemble the other Spencer-Bronte sites and it is unlikely that it could provide any more conclusive evidence that Robertson was or was not the successive occupation of the Christianson villagers.

From this occupational continuum, extant during the span of the European contact period, circa 1615-1651, alterations in the European, and certain aspects of the foreign aboriginal (catlinite, red slate/siltstone) assemblages can be documented. Precise temporal placement of the European assemblages in particular will then allow them to be implemented as chronological markers to gauge the span of occupation not only for other Neutral sites but potentially for all adjacent groups which dealt with the Neutral (Fig. 2). As the Spencer-Bronte cluster is situated toward the northern frontier of Neutral territory, it may be presumed that there would be a greater presence of French-supplied goods in this region, and consequently, the results of this chronology may be most profitably utilized for the Huron and Petun, and perhaps for the Erie and Fire Nation who may also have been dealing with French-supplied middlemen. The latter two groups may have been contacted by the lower Ottawa Valley Algonkin and St. Lawrence River Montagnais as early as 1603 (Biggar 1922-1936, *Vol. I*: 153-155). The uniformity of many of the types and varieties of European goods throughout all of Iroquoia may permit a pan-Iroquoian application of the derived temporal markers.

ASSEMBLAGES

The difference between the assemblages from the early contact period Christianson/Shaver Hill occupation and the subsequent Robertson/Dwyer occupation is striking (Table 1). Early and late contact assemblages are significantly contrasting, not only in quantity, but also in variety. Firstly though, a brief review of the assemblages from the three excavated sites, Christianson, Shaver Hill, and Dwyer, readily illustrate the differences which would, at first glance, suggest a discontinuity between the occupations.

Christianson

A meagre 0.28% (frequency derived from all artifactual recoveries) of the entire artifact assemblage from the 1.6 hectare village was of European origin (Fitzgerald 1981:243), a value which appears to characterize the volume of European goods on early contact and late precontact (protohistoric) Neutral sites, such as Fouger, dated at approximately A.D. 1590-1615, where the European assemblage had a frequency of 0.39% (Warrick 1979:13).

Very low percentages of glass beads in the *village* European assemblages characterize the early contact period, with only 8.9% at Christianson (Fitzgerald 1981:222) compared with 27.7% and 43.6% at the later contact Spencer-Bronte Hamilton (Lennox 1981:320-321) and Hood sites (Lennox 1978:137-137a) respectively. While glass beads appear to be absent on the late precontact Cleveland (Noble 1972) and Fonger (Warrick 1979) village sites, they are present in contemporary cemeteries such as Snider (Parkin: personal communication) and Carton (I. Kenyon 1969:4, 10-11). They are not, however, as pervasive throughout these interments as in the contact period cemeteries, indicative, as are their extreme rarity in precontact villages, of less intensive trade in European goods. While Ramsden (1981) contends

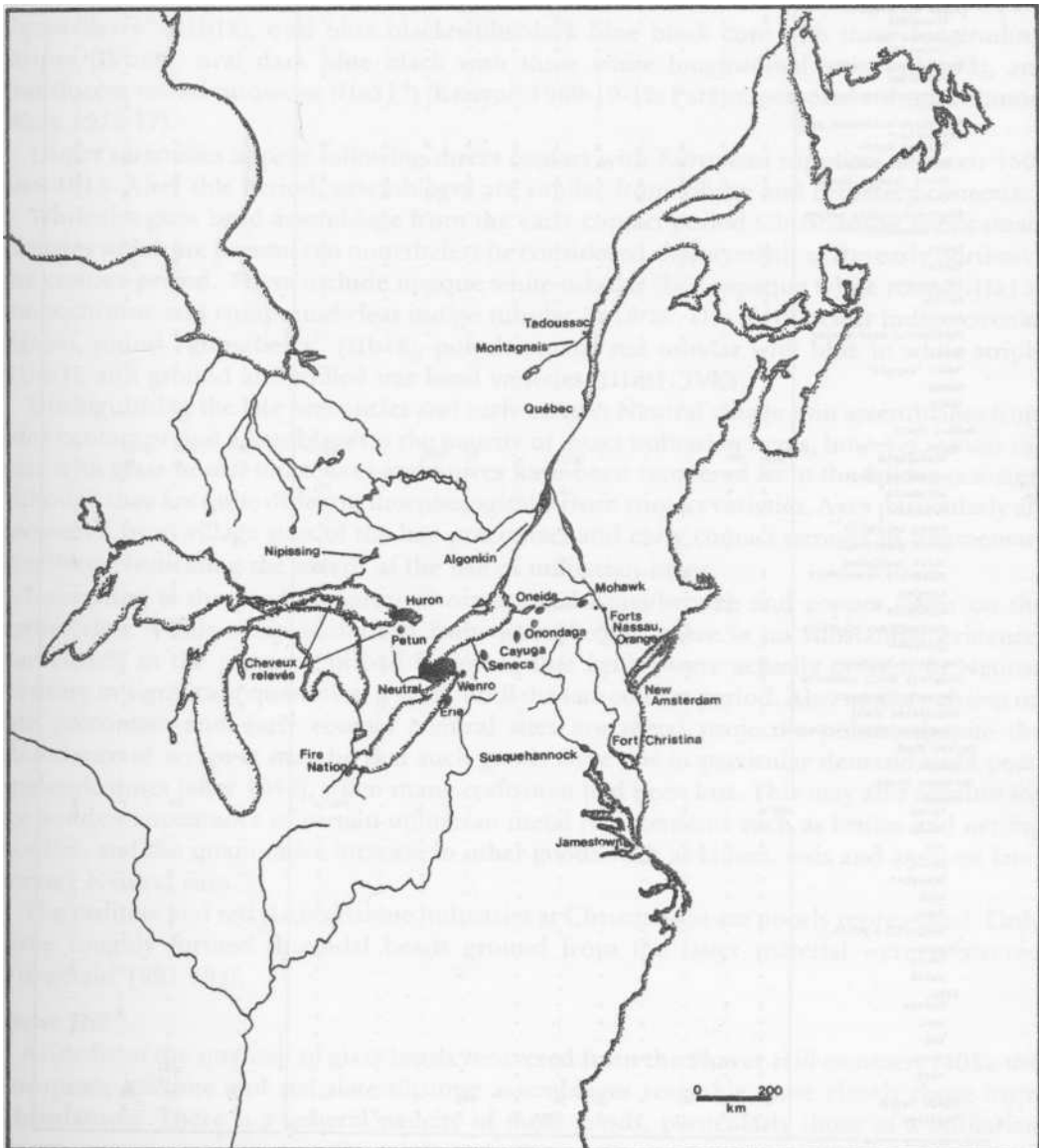


Fig. 2. The Northeast: The Early 17th Century.

TABLE 1
SHAVER HILL AND DWYER CEMETERY ASSEMBLAGES

	Shaver Hill											Dwyer			
	O1 ^o	O2	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	TOTALS	Schoolcraft [^]	Boyle	Smith	Ridley
Pottery vessels	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	2	2	P
Pipes	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	P	7	10	-
Lithics															
Red slate/siltstone beads															
discoidal	12	-	-	-	-	5	-	3	-	-	20	-	-	1	-
short tubular	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
tubular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	30	-
Catlinite beads															
discoidals	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
short tubular	2	-	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	12	-	2	-	-
tubular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	-
Black slate beads															
discoidal	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Limestone beads															
discoidal	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Quannel coal? beads															
discoidal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Red slate/siltstone effry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Red slate/siltstone or Catlinite *															
Tubular beads	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	F	A
Discoidal beads	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	P	A
Short tubular beads	P	A	F	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	F	A	A
Discs	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
Chert projectile points	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
Worked Bone/Antler															
Beads	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	6	-	3	27	1
Tubes	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	P	7	16	-
Awl handle	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Rattle	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Awl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Perforated deer antler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Gouge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Human "forget"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Combs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Spoon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Worked Shell															
Beads															
discoidals	5844	744	-	-	-	2122	-	27	500	-	9237**	P	1000	2853	F
columella proper	36	8	3	-	-	13	-	2	3	-	65	P	28	71	-
columella *	6	4	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-
tubular	14	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	1440	-
short columella**	6	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-
thick discoidals	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
large roughened columella discoidals	2	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	2	1	-
tabular	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-
columella**	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
rectangular columella	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
globular	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Columella pendants	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	7	-	10	P	-	-	-
Complete shell pendants	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-
"Corpeta"/pendants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	-	3	-
Unmodified shell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	-	1	-
Freshwater bivalve fragment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Worked Wood															
Spoons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p***	-	2	-
European Goods															
Brass															
scrap	100's	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100's	-	14	P	P
pails	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	-	3	P
pin	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
ladle	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
bracelet	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
bell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
projectile point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Copper															
beads	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
pails	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	P
Iron															
knives	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-
axe	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-
awl	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
tack	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
wire	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Glass beads	138	11	48	-	-	56	-	145	9	-	407	P	137	88	-
Textiles	?	?	?	?	?	p***	?	?	?	?	P	?	?	?	?

* Schoolcraft did not distinguish between the two materials. ^oIndividual interments
 This section summarizes the presence (P) or absence (A) at [^]Excavator
 Shaver Hill and Dwyer
 ** 12.030 we reported
 *** Perhaps preferential preservation.
 + Cut and ground tubular rectangular.
 ++ smoothed with cut end..
 • Presence inferred from imbedded iron in bone handle.

that European goods, particularly during late contact times, were abundantly present in Huron graves as a means of disposing of vast quantities, it is puzzling why such rare European ornamental and utilitarian items would have been deposited with the dead when they are rare in village contexts. Trigger (personal communication) suggests that goods foreign to the local habitat would not have been believed by native groups to have been present in the land of the dead and consequently, even if the living had to do without, these rare and recently introduced goods would be included for the souls. This may explain why European and foreign aboriginal items predominate cemetery assemblages.

Returning to late precontact Neutral glass beads, characteristic varieties include, among others, dark indigo coated frit-core beads with white rosette and linear glass appliques, "gooseberry" (IIb18), oval blue black/white/dark blue black core with three longitudinal stripes (IVb29), oval dark blue black with three white longitudinal stripes (IIb73), and translucent round turquoise (IIa31*) (Kenyon 1969:10-12; Parkin: personal communication; Wray 1973:17).

Larger quantities appear following direct contact with European suppliers between 1608 and 1615. After this period, assemblages are similar from village and cemetery contexts.

While the glass bead assemblage from the early contact period Christianson site is small, varieties which are present can nonetheless be considered characteristic of the early portion of the contact period. These include opaque white tubular (Ia5), opaque white round (IIa13), monochrome and compound clear indigo tubular Ia19/20, IIIa10/12), clear indigo circular (IIa56), round "gooseberry" (lib 18), polychromatic red tubular with blue in white stripes (IIbb1), and ground and milled star bead varieties (IIIml, IVk3).

Distinguishing the late precontact and early contact Neutral village iron assemblages from later contact period assemblages is the paucity of intact utilitarian items, however, as was the case with glass beads, intact axes and knives have been recovered from the Snider cemetery although they are quite different morphologically from contact varieties. Axes particularly are recovered from village sites of the late precontact and early contact periods in fragmentary conditions indicating the extent of the use of utilitarian items.

Interesting is the predominance of ornamental brass/bronze and copper items on the earlier sites. While scrap is derived from worn kettles, there is no substantial evidence, particularly in the presence of bail fasteners, that kettles were actually present in Neutral territory in significant quantities, if at all, until the late contact period. Also notably absent on late precontact and early contact Neutral sites are metal projectile points, despite the abundance of scrap. It may be that such goods were not in particular demand until post-epidemic times (after 1640), when many craftsmen had been lost. This may also account for the sudden appearance of certain utilitarian metal replacements such as kettles and netting needles, and the quantitative increase in other goods such as knives, awls and axes, on later contact Neutral sites.

The catlinite and red slate/siltstone industries at Christianson are poorly represented. Only three roughly formed discoidal beads ground from the latter material were recovered (Fitzgerald 1981:194).

Shaver Hill

Aside from the quantity of glass beads recovered from the Shaver Hill cemetery (405), the European, catlinite and red slate/siltstone assemblages resemble quite closely those from Christianson. There is a general paucity of these goods, particularly those of a utilitarian nature.

Also suggestive of contemporaneity between Christianson and Shaver Hill is the homogeneity of the glass bead assemblages. While quantitatively the assemblages differ

TABLE 2
GLASS BEAD VARIETIES FROM SHAVER HILL, CHRISTIANSON AND DWYER

Kind and Mark (refer)	Shaver Hill														Christianson		Dwyer					
	01 ⁺		02		B1		B4		B6		B8		TOTALS		TOTALS		Boyle		Smith		TOTALS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ia1 unaltered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	5.1	11	12.5	18	8.0
⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.5	6	6.8	8	3.6
⊠	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	2	2.3	3	1.3
⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.4	3	1.3	
⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	2	.9	
△	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	
Ia5	31	22.5	3	27.3	-	-	44	78.6	41	28.3	-	-	119	29.4	2	11.8	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4
Ia12 unaltered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2.9	4	4.6	8	3.6
⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	
⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	
Ia19	18 ⁺	13.0	-	-	10	21.7	-	-	1 ⁺	.7	-	-	29	7.2	1	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ia20	⊠	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	1	.4
Ia22	18 ⁺	13.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.8	34 ⁺	23.4	-	-	53	13.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ibb1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.9	-	-	-	-	-
Ic1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	
Ic'1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	2	2.3	3	1.3
Iia1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	10.2	-	-	14	6.2
Iia2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4.4	-	-	6	2.7
Iia3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	1	.4
Iia8	3	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iia13	-	-	-	-	23	50.0	1	1.8	-	-	-	-	24	5.9	1	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iia15	52	37.7	6	54.5	-	-	-	-	68	46.9	-	-	126	31.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iia31*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4.4	23	26.1	29	12.9
Iia31-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3.7	1	1.1	6	2.7
Iia35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4.4	-	-	6	2.7
Iia36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.2	-	-	3	1.3
Iia40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	1	.4
Iia55	-	-	-	-	2	4.3	-	-	-	-	9	100.0	11	2.7	-	-	1	.7	-	-	1	.4
Iia56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	17.6	-	-	-	-	-
Iia57	3	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iib18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	11.8	-	-	-	-	-
Iibb1-	6	4.3	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
stripes removed ⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.5	4	4.6	6	2.7
⊙	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	-
Iie2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	8.9	-	-	-	5	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iig-	1	.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIa2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	-
IIa10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.9	1	.7	-	-	1	.4	-
IIIc1	1	.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIIc-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	2	.9	-
IIIc-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	-
IIIc'3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	2	.9	-
IIIk1	-	-	-	-	3	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	3	.7	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	.4	-
IIIk3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.4	3	1.3	-
IIIa1	4	2.9	1	9.1	8	17.4	5	8.9	-	-	-	18	4.4	4	23.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IVa1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	3	3.4	4	1.8
IVa1-(circular)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	1	.4
IVa1-(twinned)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	2	.9	-
IVa2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3.7	-	-	5	2.2
IVa3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	18.3	-	-	25	11.1
IVa5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	8.0	4	4.6	15	6.7
IVa6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	21.9	-	-	30	13.3
IVb1-	1	.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IVk4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	11.8	-	-	5	5.7	5	2.2	-
Wic11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	1	.4
TOTALS	138	100.2	11	100.0	46	99.9	56	100.0	145	100.0	9	100.0	405	100.2	17	100.1	137	99.9	88	99.9	225	99.3

+ recalculated frequencies
 ° Individual interments
 ^ Excavator
 * translucent

noticeably, they do share major glass bead types, including opaque white tubular (Ia5), opaque white round (IIa13), monochrome and compound clear indigo tubular (Ia19/20, IIIa10/ 12), and ground star (III m 1) varieties (Table 2). While Christianson had the clear indigo circular variety (IIa56), Shaver Hill had clear indigo round and oval varieties (IIa55, IIa57), as well as opaque white oval (IIa15). Other minor varieties from Shaver Hill which may also be included as characteristic of the early contact period include clear dark rose brown tubular (Ia22), commonly mistaken for black tubular, opaque black oval (IIa8), polychrome red oval with blue in white stripes (IIb1-), centrally banded melon (IIe2-), flush eye (IIg-: blue body with flush eyes consisting of red star and streamers on white background), star tubular with blue and white layers ground off exposing the red layer (IIIk1), and red round with black longitudinal stripes (Ibb 1-) (Fitzgerald 1982:190). Other sites which possess similar assemblages include the Huron Warminster (Cahiague) site, the Fire Nation Indian Hills site (Tucker 1980:62-63), and the Oneida Wayland-Smith site (Pratt 1961:6-8). The dating of the Christianson/Shaver Hill assemblage will provide a basis for the reevaluation or confirmation of the dates assigned to these, and other contemporary assemblages.

Other items of the European assemblage at Shaver Hill include two intact iron axes, a brass ladle (similar to the one recovered from the Warminster ossuary), a brass pin, a copper bracelet fragment, hundreds of pieces of brass scrap (restricted to the large multiple burial), three copper beads, three iron knife fragments, an iron awl, an iron tack, a piece of iron wire, a fortuitously preserved piece of red and blue check textile, and a Jesuit rosary medallion (Fitzgerald 1982). All in all it is quite a limited assemblage, particularly when compared to later village and cemetery assemblages.

The medallion, however, is of particular importance in the establishment of the chronology for the Spencer Creek sites. The brass medallion consists of an oval plaque measuring 15 mm wide by 20 mm high. Including the medially projecting flanges, the medallion has overall dimensions of 20 mm by 28 mm. The projection from the top of the plaque is larger and has been laterally flattened to accommodate a small suspension hole. Embossed images are present on both faces of the medallion, within a raised border (Figs. 3 and 4).

Central on the obverse side is the crucifixion of Christ. At the base of the cross are three haloed figures in flowing robes. The scene depicted on the medallion appears to have been adapted from the 1617-1619 *Le Christ en Croix* by Peter Paul Rubens (Glen: personal communication) (Fig. 5). Despite minor alterations, the resemblance is striking and stylistically attributable to Rubens and specifically to that painting.

Le Christ en Croix has Mary Magdalene kneeling at the base of the cross, grasping the legs of Christ, with John to the right of the cross and the Virgin Mary to the left. It would appear, however, that the positions of the Virgin and John have been changed on the medallion. Despite all being robed, the raised hand of the figure to the left of the cross on the medallion is similar to the gesturing of John in the painting, and the narrow waisted figure with lowered hands to the right of the cross presumably is the Virgin, similarly portrayed by Rubens.

Features of the crucifixion scene on the medallion attributable to Rubens include the separately nailed feet (Glen 1977:54) and particularly in his later crucifixion paintings, such as *Le Coup de Lance* (1620), has surrounding figures proportionately smaller than Christ (Glen 1977:58).

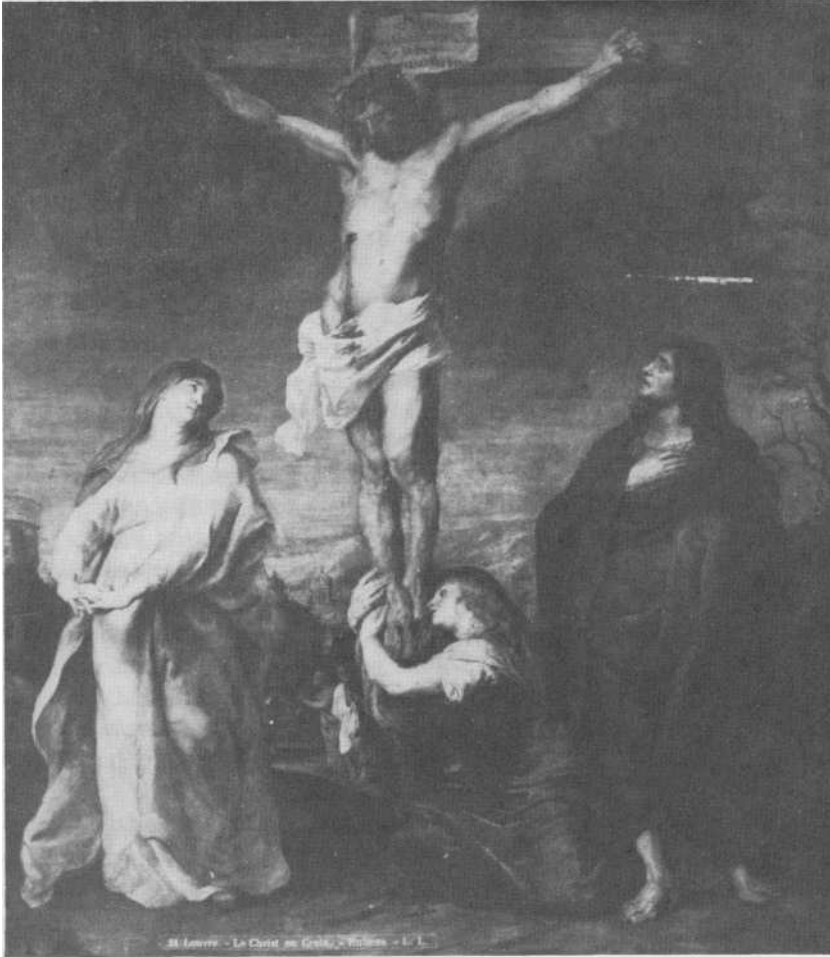
Deviations from the original Rubens undertaken when the medallion was struck, aside from the rearrangement of John and the Virgin, include the placement of a six pointed star and a quarter moon in the left and right quadrants, respectively, delineated by the horizontal and upper vertical beams of the cross. Also altered was the proportion of the bodies of the base of the cross, suggesting a post-1617-1619 date for the medallion. Additionally, halos have been placed on John and the Marys. To indicate the religious order which issued the



Fig. 3. Reverse of Jesuit Rosary Medallion from Shaver Hill.



Fig. 4. Obverse of Jesuit Rosary Medallion from Shaver Hill.



rig. *Le Christ en Croix* (1617-1619) by Peter Paul Rubens.

medallion, trefoil representations symbolizing blood flowing from the hand wounds of Christ were a later alteration. The "three-nail" configuration is characteristic of Jesuit iconography, distinguishing this medallion as being issued by the Society of Jesus (Glen: personal communication).

The crucifixion scene of the Shaver Hill medallion, as an altered version of Rubens's 1617-1619 *Le Christ en Croix* indicates the earliest date that this medallion could have been issued. Considering the time it would have taken for the portrayal to have become popularized and consequently depicted on medallions, and the fact that the Jesuits were not in Huronia until 1626 (Trigger 1976:426), it is not inconceivable that this medallion did not arrive in Neutralia until at least 1626, perhaps with one of the many *coureurs de bois* reported by Jerome Lalemant to have visited Neutral territory after Etienne Brule in 1625 but prior to the 1640-1641 mission of the Jesuits Brebeuf and Chaumonot (Thwaites 1896-1901, Vol. 21:203).

The dating of the medallion is crucial not only for the development of the cultural sequence in the Spencer-Bronte area and Neutralia as a whole, but more significantly, for adjacent Iroquoian groups. Varieties and quantities of other European goods from the Christianson

site suggest the medallion entered the region toward the terminal stages of the village occupation. As a result, the duration of the Christianson site occupation has been reevaluated from earlier estimates (Noble 1970; Fitzgerald 1981), now extending from about 1615 to about 1632. The terminal date will be discussed later. The initial date of 1615 has been suggested on the tentative basis, as mentioned previously, that larger amounts of glass beads did not enter the area until direct European contact and for the Neutral that was 1615.

As with Christianson, the catlinite and red slate/siltstone bead assemblages are poorly represented at Shaver Hill and, as was the case at Christianson, discoidal in form. The only other variety present were very short ground tubular beads (Fitzgerald 1982:178).

Dwyer

The European and foreign aboriginal assemblages at Dwyer contrast with those from Shaver Hill not only in quantity but also in their remarkable variety, a feature characteristic of all later contact Neutral (post-epidemic) cemeteries such as Grimsby (W. Kenyon 1978) and Walker (Steele and Steele 1944; Wright 1981), and Huron ossuaries including *Ossossane* (Kidd 1953). The quantitative increase in European goods is also reflected in the assemblages of village sites of this period. While Robertson has not been excavated, two other larger villages in the Spencer-Bronte group have, Hamilton (Lennox 1981) and Hood (Lennox 1978), and they exhibit European assemblages similar to Dwyer. Additionally, the Walker village (Wright 1981) from the central cluster of Neutralia has an excavated sample. Respectively, their European assemblages comprise 7.14%, 8.36% and 3.76% of the entire artifact assemblage (Fitzgerald 1981:293), frequencies substantially greater than the fractional values at the late precontact and early contact (pre-1632) Fonger and Christianson sites.

While only two of perhaps as many as seventeen multiple burial pits at Dwyer have had their contents recorded, the alterations in the European and catlinite-red slate/siltstone assemblages are dramatic. While Ian Kenyon (1969:12, 19) had placed Christianson/Shaver Hill in Period 2 (1600-1620) of his glass bead sequence and Dwyer in Period 4 (1635-1650) (I. Kenyon 1969:51), it would appear that they were in fact successive occupations and that a virtual replacement of the Christianson/Shaver Hill period glass bead assemblage occurred when the Christianson villagers moved upstream (Table 2). Catlinite and red slate/siltstone beads ground longitudinally into a variety of geometric cross-sections (Table 1), along with monochrome opaque red tubular glass beads (Ia1) similarly altered, appear suddenly and in substantial quantities at Dwyer, as do, of course, the unmodified red glass tubular variety. Also represented in large quantities, perhaps characterizing the later contact period, are translucent tubular, round and circular turquoise varieties (Ia12, Ila31*, Ila31-*) distinguishable by their longitudinally striated nature, and compound red round and circular varieties with clear light grey (IVa3) and apple green (IVa5, IVa6) cores. As opaque white, clear indigo and gooseberry beads appear to be the common denominators of early contact assemblages, these three varieties appear to be most readily identifiable as types defining the later contact period. Assemblages in which all six of these types are present would suggest that the site spanned portions of the early and late contact periods. A more precise temporal placement of these "mixed" sites may be determined by the relative frequencies of these diagnostic varieties. While the blue in white striped oval (IIbb 1-) variety is present in early contact assemblages, it is absent in an intact form on later sites, the stripes being ground off, presenting an exclusively red exterior, a colour which appears to become popular after about 1630. It is possible that the Dwyer assemblage can be definitely attributed to the later contact period (post circa 1632) as it possesses varieties and relative frequencies identical to those recovered from historically datable assemblages from Ste. Marie I (1639-1649) (Kidd 1949) and Ste. Marie II (1649-1651) (Carruthers 1965).

Notable is the lack of continuity between Christianson/ Shaver Hill and Dwyer for the major bead types. A sudden and apparently complete replacement of bead varieties appears to have occurred sometime prior to the movement of the Christianson villagers. The distinct 1615-1632 and 1632-1651 assemblages can then be of particular use as gauges for other glass bead assemblages, with the amount of admixture permitting relative temporal placement. For example, among the Spencer-Bronte cluster the Hamilton site possesses some early contact specimens suggesting the village may have spanned portions of the early and late contact periods while Hood appears to have been occupied during the very terminal stage of the late contact period.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A gradual transition from the Christianson/Shaver Hill glass bead assemblage to the Robertson/Dwyer glass bead assemblage does not appear to have occurred. Rather, a sudden, wholesale replacement of the glass bead assemblage occurred in conjunction with a quantitative explosion in all aspects of the European assemblage. While the Christianson and Robertson villages, and their associated cemeteries, are hypothesized to represent a continuous occupation which spans the contact period between about 1608/1615 and 1651, the European, catlinite, and red slate/siltstone assemblages are of such a dissimilar nature that they would appear to negate such a contention. Other lines of evidence, however, lead to the conclusion that the Christianson villagers migrated directly upstream to the Robertson site, with other factors accounting for the lack of continuity between certain aspects of the artifact assemblage. Confirmation of the hypothesis that Christianson/Shaver Hill and Robertson/Dwyer represent a continuum within the Iroquois-induced contracted Neutral contact period include:

1. the fact that Christianson is the only early contact village in the Spencer-Bronze cluster,
2. the proximity of the two villages (1.7km),
3. the drumlin-burial complex association unique within this cluster, suggestive of a close cultural relationship,
4. twenty years, or perhaps more, of occupation at each of the sites not being an overburden on the resource-rich area adjacent to the Beverly swamp (Fitzgerald 1981:14-32), and
5. the quantity of dead in the village cemeteries which presumably mirror the longevity of the occupations (Stothers 1968; Fitzgerald 1982).

The dissimilarity of assemblages from two sequential occupations may have resulted from a change in the supplier, or the style of European goods imported. That the replacement was so extensive, and the frequency so great on the later site suggests other factors were involved, for if it was simply a matter of stylistic or supplier change, a gradual replacement would have been more likely even if it occurred at such a crucial point in the occupation of the area, i.e. the movement of the village. The historical events of the period shed revealing light on this manifestation.

Exclusive trading rights in the St. Lawrence until 1624 were issued in 1613 to merchants from Rouen and St. Malo (Trudel 1973:105). The monopoly, however, was taken from the Rouen and St. Malo Company and given to the de Caen family in 1621, which was then to have exclusive control until 1635 (Trudel 1973:129-130, 136). Protests from the Rouen and St. Malo Company, whose charter was not to end until 1624, resulted in an amalgamation in 1622, with the de Caens having majority ownership (Trudel 1973:133). In 1626 the Rouen and St. Malo associates relinquished their trading rights to the de Caen Company on condition that they

would still receive a portion of the profits (Trudel 1973:137).

About this time a change in the foreign policy of the French government was necessitated by the inadequate colonization attempts by the private Rouen and St. Malo, and de Caen companies. Cardinal Richelieu, Chief Counsel to Louis XIII, formed the Company of the Hundred Associates (New France Company) in the spring of 1627 (Trudel 1973:168-169). The company was granted the monopoly of all commerce in New France, with the exception of fisheries, for fifteen years, to the end of 1643. After this, the monopoly would cover only furs (Trudel 1973:170).

An intensity of trade and commerce marked this period of government involvement, permitted initially by large amounts of invested capital from nobility, clerics and merchants, with a continued operation ensured by government incentives. There were a large number of Parisian merchants in the Company of the Hundred Associates, changing the commercial orientation of New France from Brittany and Normandy to Paris (Trudel 1973:171). The presumed reorientation of French suppliers of the goods which ultimately percolated into southern Ontario, and the greater intensity in commercial activities following the replacement of private trading companies, should be mirrored in the European assemblages from Iroquoian sites of these two periods (Fig. 6).

The inception of the Company of the Hundred Associates in 1627 corresponded temporally with the war between France and England which made passage to New France hazardous. In the spring of 1628, a company formed by Gervase Kirke, in association with London merchants, was authorized by Charles I of England to seize New France. In July 1628, David Kirke captured the first fleet sent by the Company of the Hundred Associates in the St. Lawrence near Tadoussac, depriving Quebec of supplies and trade goods (Trudel 1973: 172-174). The French-English war, initiated in 1627, disrupted the French supply of trade goods to southern Ontario, particularly between 1628 and 1630 when the Kirkes had secured possession of New France (Trigger 1976:455,462), Champlain having surrendered Quebec on July 29, 1629 (Eccles 1972:28). While 1630 was a particularly good year for trade with the Anglo-Scotch Company operating the fur trade monopoly on the St. Lawrence (Trudel 1973:175, 178), Huron participation tapered off due to problems in dealing with the English (Trigger 1976:462), until 1632 when New France was returned to the French (Trudel 1973:179; Trigger 1976:467), even though the war had ended in 1629 (Trudel 1973:176). The de Caen Company was compensated for the inconvenience of the British occupation by the Company of the Hundred Associates with the monopoly for 1633 although the late withdrawal of the English made that compensation essentially worthless.

From 1633 onward the Paris-based Company of the Hundred Associates controlled the importation of European good into New France until 1645 when trading rights were ceded to the Company of Habitants, a group of New France merchants working under the auspices of the Hundred Associates (Trudel 1973:210). Contact between Huronia and New France was severed in 1647 due to increased Iroquois hostilities and 1648 marked the last year Huron traders ventured to Trois Rivieres to trade (Trudel 1973:218).

From 1613 onward, three French trading companies and one of New France merchants, at different times possessed monopolies along the St. Lawrence, and would then have been, during the span of their monopoly, a supplier, at least indirectly, of European goods to the Neutral along the upper Spencer Creek. The first two companies were private ventures operating out of the north coast ports of France: the Rouen and St. Malo Company between 1613 and 1620, replaced by, and incorporated into the de Caen Company, operating between 1621 and 1627, and in 1633. Anticipating the potential of New France, the French government repealed the de Caens charter and formed the Company of the Hundred Associates in 1627, but it was not until 1633, after the English disruption, and the year of compensation granted

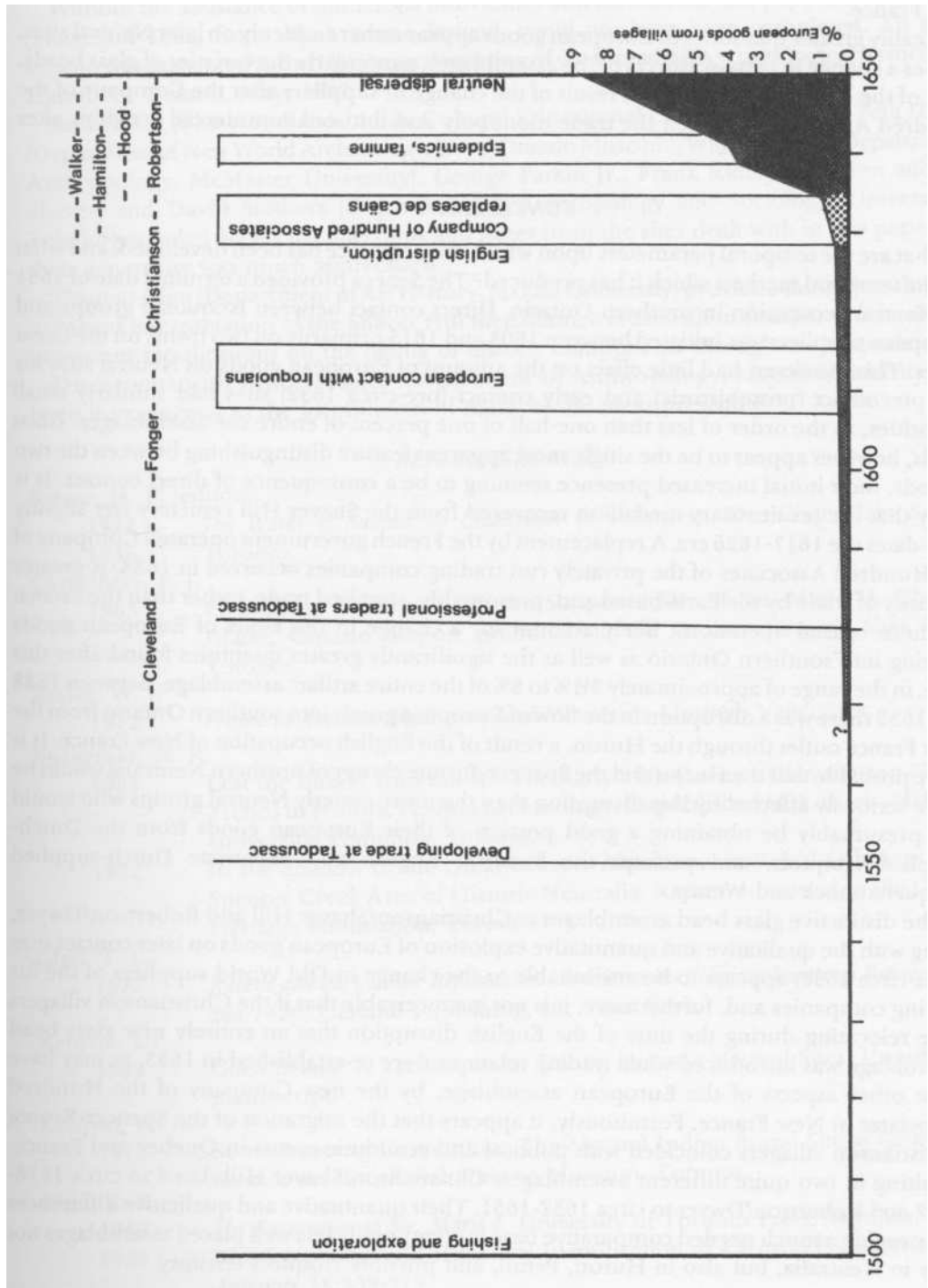


Fig. 6. The Increasing Presence of European Goods on Neutral Sites.

the de Caen Company, that intensive, large-scale commercial and colonizing efforts began in New France.

Notably greater quantities of European goods appear rather suddenly on later Neutral sites, as does a change in certain aspects of the assemblages, particularly the varieties of glass beads. Both of the trends perhaps were a result of the change in suppliers after the Company of the Hundred Associates assumed the trade monopoly and initiated commercial activities after 1633.

CONCLUSIONS

What are the temporal parameters upon which this sequence has been developed, and what are the temporal markers which it has produced? The Seneca provided a terminal date of 1651 for Neutral occupation in southern Ontario. Direct contact between Iroquoian groups and European suppliers was initiated between 1608 and 1615 primarily on two fronts on the Great Lakes. This, however, had little effect on the amount of European goods on Neutral sites for late precontact (protohistoric) and early contact (pre-circa 1632) sites had similarly small quantities, in the order of less than one-half of one percent of entire site assemblages. Glass beads, however appear to be the single most apparent feature distinguishing between the two periods, their initial increased presence seeming to be a consequence of direct contact. It is likely that the Jesuit rosary medallion recovered from the Shaver Hill cemetery *very* slightly post-dates the 1617-1626 era. A replacement by the French government operated Company of the Hundred Associates of the privately run trading companies occurred in 1633. A greater intensity of trade by the Paris-based and, presumably, supplied trade, rather than the French northern coastal operations, likely account for a change in the kinds of European goods filtering into southern Ontario as well as the significantly greater quantities found after this time, in the range of approximately 3½% to 8% of the entire artifact assemblage. Between 1628 and 1632 there was a disruption in the flow of European goods into southern Ontario from the New France outlet through the Huron, a result of the English occupation of New France. It is more probable that the Huron and the Spencer-Bronte cluster of northern Neutralia would be more seriously affected by this disruption than the more easterly Neutral groups who would still presumably be obtaining a good portion of their European goods from the Dutch-supplied Iroquois, and perhaps the Swedish, English and expatriate Dutch-supplied Susquehannock and Wenro.

The distinctive glass bead assemblages at Christianson/Shaver Hill and Robertson/Dwyer, along with the qualitative and quantitative explosion of European goods on later contact sites (post-circa 1632) appears to be attributable to the change in Old World suppliers of the fur trading companies and, furthermore, it is not inconceivable that if the Christianson villagers were relocating during the time of the English disruption that an entirely new glass bead assemblage was introduced when trading relations were re-established in 1633, as may have been other aspects of the European assemblage, by the new Company of the Hundred Associates in New France. Fortuitously, it appears that the migration of the Spencer-Bronte Christianson villagers coincided with political and economic events in Quebec and France, resulting in two quite different assemblages: Christianson/Shaver Hill dated to circa 1615-1632 and Robertson/Dwyer to circa 1632-1651. Their quantitative and qualitative differences will provide a much needed comparative base for temporally less well placed assemblages not only in Neutralia, but also in Huron, Petun, and possibly Iroquois territory.

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Department of Anthropology McGill
 University Montreal, Quebec H3A 2T7