

The Archaeology of Space & Place in The Great Lakes Region

PROGRAM

November 16 - 18, 2001, Hamilton, Ontario



OAS Conference Schedule

Thursday November 15th:

Reception: Early Registration & Reception (Cash Bar) at Dundurn Castle Museum Coach House (Upstairs) 610 York Blvd, Hamilton, Ontario. Time: 7:30pm - 11:00pm

Friday, November 16th

Ramada Plaza Towers Hotel: 112 King Street East, Hamilton, Ontario (Third Floor)

9:00am - Registration Desk Opens. [Pavilion B]

10:00am: -Vendor Tables Open [Victoria - Albert Room]

Opening Remorks Mr. Robert Mayor President Outside Archaeolacical Society

Opening Remarks: Mr. Robert Mayer, President, Ontario Archaeological Society

1:15pm:

Dr. David Slattery, Faculty of Arts & Science, Nippissing University Recent Archaeological Investigations by Nippissing University

1:00pm: Open Session [Pavilion C] - James B. Bandow, Moderator

1:45pm:

Dr. Frank Dieterman and Dr. Ronald F. Williamson, Archaeological Services Inc. Government Seat to Carwash: The History and Archaeology of Upper Canada First Parliament Buildings.

2:15pm:

Bill Allen, Ontario Archaeological Society, Burk's Falls, Ontario
With Rosary, Bell and Mortar: Mobile Jesuit Missions of the 1640's Among Algonquian
Speaking Peoples of the Southern Shield

2:45pm:

David Riddell, Strathroy Middlesex Museum

Cases for 'Regionalism': Examples from the Sydenham Watershed

3:15pm: Coffee Break

3:30pm:

Paul O' Neal, Mayer Heritage Consultants, Gifts from the Ancestors: Ceremonies, Teachings, Co-operation.

4:00pm:

J. Trevor Hawkins and Robert G. Mayer, Mayer Heritage Consultants

The "Talbot Tot": Being an Account of Professional and Social Responsibilities

Vending Tables Close 6:30pm: President's Meeting [Pavilion A] 7:30pm: Welcome Reception, Art Gallery of Hamilton Hosted by the Hamilton Chapter OAS Host Bar courtesy of <u>Upper Canada Brewing Company</u>(Registration Table Open) Saturday, November 17th, 2001 9:00am: Registration Table Open [Pavilion B] 9:30am: - The Archaeology Of Space & Place In The Great Lakes Region [Pavilion C] Opening Remarks- Dr. David Smith, Session Moderator 9:45am: Robert Von Bitter, Ministry of Citizenship, Culture, & Recreation (MCzCR), Government of Onta Managing Space: GIS & the Provincial Database 10:05am: Dr. Frank Dieterman, Archaeological Services Inc. The Archaeology of Space & Place: An Overview 10:30am: Paul O' Neal, Kristy Snarey, Siobhan Boyd, & Robert Mayer, Mayer heritage Consultants. Aamjiwnaang: The Meeting Place. 10:55am: Coffee Break 11:10am: Ms. Jenneth Curtis, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto Change of Continuity? Prehistoric Perceptions of Space and Place in the Rice-Trent River Region, Ontario. 11:35am: Dr. David Smith, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto at Mississauga Early Late Woodland Settlement Distribution in Southern Ontario

12:00pm:

Lunch Break

1:15pm:

Afternoon Session, The Archaeology of Space & Place

Dr. William R. Fitzgerald, and Ms. Darlene Johnson, It's All Fun & Games 'Til Someone Loses an Eye: The Myths and Implications of Ontario's Cult of Irocentrism

- Holly Martelle, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto at Scarborough Multiple Spaces & Places: Using A Multi-Scalar Research Design to Understand Inter and Intra-Site Ceramic Variability 2:05pm:
- A Canadian Invasion?: Exploring the possibility of an Early Ontario Iroquoian Migration into Western New York 2:30pm:
- Dr. Douglas J. Perrelli, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Buffalo; Assistant Director, Archaeological Survey, SUNY-Buffalo Spaces & Places: Modeling Iroquoian Landscape Use and Village Movement
- 2:55pm: Coffee Break
- 3:15pm: Plenary Address: Dr. Ezra Zubrow, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Buffalo; Fellow, Department of Archaeology, Cambridge University.
- "Thick" and "Thin" Archaeologists & Their "Landscapes" 4:00pm: Session Closes, Concluding Remarks, - Dr. David Smith
- 5:00pm:
- The Ontario Archaeological Society Membership Meeting [Pavilion C]
- **Evening**
- 7:00pm: Banquet & Reception (Cash Bar), Ramada Plaza Towers (Third Floor)
- Reception 7:00pm; Banquet (Buffet Style) 8:00pm followed by an Awards Ceremony

Nancy Herter, Archaeological Survey, SUNY-Buffalo

- Sunday, November 18th, 2001
- 9:30am: Session-Structure, Methodology, & Policy
- Opening Remarks Ms. Jacqueline Fisher, Moderator
- 9:45am:
- Torbidone, OAS Profiling the Feature: A Review of The OAS's First Year of Interpretive Programming at the Fifteenth Century McGaw Site.

Jo Holden, OAS, Robert Phil, Archaeological Services Inc., Terri Brennan, OAS & Linda

1:40pm:

- 10:10am:
- Ms. Claire Freisenhausen, University of Toronto The Invisible Children of Toronto's Archaeological Past: Childhood From 1793-1930
- 10:35am: Natasha B. Snyder, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Buffalo Comparisons of Spatial Distribution and Architectural Design of Rural 19th Century

One-Room Schoolhouses in Western New York and Southern Ontario.

11:00am:

Coffee Break

11:15am:

James B. Bandow, Fossil Hill Consultants, & Jacqueline Fisher, Fisher Archaeological Consulting Reflections on Water: Streamlining Predictive Models In Ontario

11:40pm: Conference Closes - Closing Remarks & Acknowledgments

Acknowledgments

The Hamilton Chapter OAS would like to thank the following sponsors for their donations and services:

City of Hamilton, Economic Development Department,

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Upper Canada Breweries



Abstracts

Bill Allen, Ontario Archaeological Society, Burk's Falls, Ontario

With Rosary, Bell and Mortar: Mobile Jesuit Missions of the 1640's Among Algonkian Speaking Peoples of the Southern Shield.

This paper summarizes current evidence about interior canoe routes on the Canadian Shield between Lake Couchiching and Parry Sound District. The presentation will include an illustrated examination of the details on two 17th century French brass artifacts, a mortar and a clochette, from two interior sites registered in 2001. Building on the Heidenreich model of the seasonal settlement pattern of Algonquian speaking peoples and on specific references from the Jesuit Relations, fresh insights will be offered about the 17th century Jesuit missions to Algonquian speaking peoples in this part of the Canadian Shield. Further archaeological site potential will be suggested.

James B. Bandow, Fossil Hill Consultants
Jacqueline Fisher, Fisher Archaeological Consulting

Reflections on Water: Streamlining Predictive Models in Ontario

With the introduction of heritage legislation in Ontario over the last three decades, the growth of Cultural Resource Management, and the resulting trend towards implementation of regional archaeological master plans, several predictive models have been produced for use in archaeological planning. Yet, there is a reluctance on the part of Ontario archaeologists to incorporate these methodologies into a standard cohesive long term strategy. Rather, archaeologists continue to rely on simple 'distance to water' criterion when determining high, medium, and low archaeological site potential. Why? The reason may lie both in the orthodox nature of government bureaucracy and in the inadequacy of deploying difficult to use models that continue to be untested, without validation, or any other form of nullification. As such, some regional master plans become obsolete: the implementation schedule does not meet the needs of the client. Is this a question of theory or scale? This paper will review and address the utility of predictive modeling in Ontario. An alternative approach is suggested combining several attributes of deductive spacial models employed elsewhere with technological solutions to the problem of low resolution of inductive approaches. These new methodologies would incorporate known aspects of culture history alongside environmental variables and contemporary social realities.

Jenneth Curtis, University of Toronto

Change or Continuity? Prehistoric Perceptions of Space and Place in the Rice-Trent River Region, Ontario

Archaeological sites are not just locations where remains of the past may be found but places that were perceived in particular ways by people who inhabited them. This paper explores prehistoric perceptions of space and place during the Middle Woodland and early Late Woodland periods in the Rice Lake-Trent River region through investigation of the regional settlement patterns. Two

aspects of the settlement patterns: site types and site distributions within the region are compared. This comparison reveals a contrast between the lakeshore base-camps with burial mounds characteristic of Middle Woodland and the upland villages characteristic of the Late Woodland, thus suggesting a significant change in prehistoric perceptions of the landscape. Ceramic data and recent excavations in the region are then used to identify sites relating to the Middle to Late Woodland transition. The nature and distribution of these sites allows a re-evaluation of the apparent discontinuity between perceptions of place and space in the Middle and Late Woodland periods.

Dr. Frank A. Dieterman and Dr. Ronald F. Williamson Archaeological Services Inc.

Government Seat to Car Wash: The History and Archaeology of Upper Canada's First Parliament Buildings

The first Parliament buildings of Upper Canada, built in 1797 at York (Toronto), were destroyed in the spring of 1813 by American forces. The second Parliament buildings, erected upon their ruins, were likewise destroyed by fire, this time by accident in 1824. In the fall of 2000, test excavations conducted by Archaeological Services Inc. discovered clear evidence of the survival of archaeological deposits associated with these buildings, despite a heavily industrialised landscape. The excavations revealed a small portion of the burned south wing of the first Parliament buildings and suggested the presence of further intact remains. For planners, politicians, and archaeologists alike, the discovery of the first Parliament buildings of Upper Canada demonstrates the potential for the recovery of significant archaeological remains within the urban core of our cities and towns, and the need for coordinated resolve to recognise and protect these invaluable resources.

Frank A. Dieterman, Archaeological Services Inc.

The Archaeology of Space and Place: An Overview

Place constitutes a culturally identifiable landscape while space is its corollary - a landscape conceptually boundless and culturally devoid. Therefore, a community's understanding of space and place is not so much about physical geography as it is about the compartmentalisation of space via social experience. The archaeology of space and place requires the identification of community margins - represented by ideological as well as physical boundaries. Moreover, the identification of space and place, as a social experience, is dependent upon the relative mobility of community members. To practice the archaeology of space and place requires one to ascertain how the landscape reflects the society under study.

William R. Fitzgerald & Darlene Johnston

It's All Fun and Games 'Til Someone Loses An Eye: The Myths and Implications of Ontario's Cult of Irocentrism

Cults, by definition, consist of persons who adhere uncritically to a common, usually fanatical, doctrine promoted by a charismatic or assertive personality. Generations of southern Ontario archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, ethnohistorians, and cultural geographers have been indoctrinated into what can then, by definition, be considered as a cult of Irocentrism. While this sect became firmly established during the 1950s and 1960s, its roots can be traced through an early 20th century Jesuit to a mid-17th century French cartographer. As the mid-20th century disciples spread from the cult's pedantic homeland, so too did the beliefs that have formed the basis for an Irocentric perspective of First Nations history across southern and southcentral Ontario. A generally uncritical acceptance of the cult's dogma, due to intellectual indolence and inadequate archaeological evidence, has allowed the tenets of this cult to persist into the 21st century.

Archaeological divinations of the past, be they rational or fanciful, have little effect on contemporary society when confined to the metaphysical domain of the craft's academic and

commercial practitioners. At their most benign they provide fodder for ridicule and reverence; at worst they influence what heritage sites can be sacrificed by the bulldozer to the bottom line. Repercussions, however, can be profound on members of society when speculations that have been constructed on faulty or non-existent foundations are uncritically imported into real world situations by persons unfamiliar with the custom of the conjurers.

The Nodwell site, a mid-14th century palisaded longhouse village overlooking Lake Huron has been a source of discombobulation for archaeologists for more than half a century. The fervour with which Irocentrics declare this reportedly solitary and isolated Late Woodland village in southern Bruce County to be Iroquoian (be it Huron, Petun, or even Neutral) reveals the extent to which cult members have selectively manipulated and subjectively interpreted the remains of a past culture in support of their doctrine while, perhaps subconsciously, avoiding what may be more rational explanations.

Archaeologists, no matter to which cult they belong, must realize the limitations of their craft. Theoretical discourse about the past, when contained within the archaeological world, can harm little more than ego; in the real world, unsubstantiated pronouncements can, in certain situations, have much more serious consequences.

J. Trevor Hawkins and Robert G. Mayer, Mayer Heritage Consultants Inc.

The "Talbot Tot": Being an Account of Professional and Social Responsibilities

In the March of 2001, the skeletal remains of a 2.5 year-old child interred in a wood coffin were found in an approximately 170-year old unmarked grave on the construction site of the Talbot Block Arena where the downtown core of the City of London now stands. Application to disinter the remains in a timely and respectful manner following the regulations of the *Ontario Cemeteries Act, R.S.O. 1990* created a great stirring of public emotion, not just within the local community, but across the country through various media.

The standard procedures to be followed by archaeologists when human remains are discovered are clear and detailed. What sets this particular discovery and disinterment apart was the very heartfelt emotional involvement of so many adults and children in the London community. The media followed the developments with considerable interest and tenacity. Commentary was heard, not only on local radio stations, but also on regional and national CBC radio. Newspaper coverage included commentary, editorials, letters to the editor, as well as the commissioning by the Globe and Mail of a fictional historical account and publication by a London Free Press columnist of imaginary correspondence of what might have happened to this little one. In response to newspaper advertisements placed by the Cemeteries Branch, members of three putative families identified themselves as being possible relatives of this child. Considerable work was done in the background, out of the glare of the media focus, in order to substantiate the scientific inapplicability of DNA testing as a family identification tool, despite concurrent media reports regarding the lack of success of DNA testing in identifying descendants of the victims of the 1912 Titanic sinking.

Details concerning the procedures followed at the request of the United Church (declared to be the next of kin by the City and by the Province), including both professional and social responsibilities, will be provided, from the moment of the discovery of the remains to their reinterment in a pioneer cemetery plot, and to the civic memorial service held to commemorate all such pioneer children.

Nancy Herter, Archaeological Survey, SUNY-Buffalo

A Canadian Invasion?: Exploring the Possibility of an Early Ontario Iroquoian Migration into Western New York

A number of archaeologists including J.V. Wright and William Ritchie have suggested that intrusive Ontario Iroquoian peoples populated the Niagara Frontier Oakfield site. Thus, the transition in western New York from a foraging to a farming economy and accompanying social change were considered primarily the result of colonization and population replacement. However, the hypothesis of an Ontario Iroquoian migration into New York State remains to be tested by examining the structure of the migration within a suitable theoretical and methodological framework and by systematically evaluating the similarities in ceramic and settlement data between sites in southern Ontario and the Niagara Frontier. Two primary questions will be explored: first, were the Oakfield Phase sites occupied by a migrant population from southern Ontario and second, how did the Oakfield phase population influence the social and political development of Iroquoian groups in the Niagara Frontier and west-central New York.

Holly Martelle, University of Toronto at Scarborough

Multiple Spaces & Places: Using A Multi-scalar Research Design to Understand Inter- and Intra-Site Ceramic Variability

In the past, ceramic research in Ontario has generally utilized single scales or units of analysis. Yet, researchers have generally been in disagreement about which scales or units of analysis provide the most meaningful and useful information about the past. This paper reunites many previously divergent approaches to ceramic analysis in a multi-scalar, multi-variate research strategy that allows a good appreciation of ceramic style at the regional, village and individual level. Through the study of intra-type ceramic variability at three village sites in Eastern Huronia, this paper will demonstrate how this approach to ceramic analysis can help answer questions about population relocation, ethnicity, and systems of craft production and distribution.

Paul O'Neal, Mayer Heritage Consultants Inc.

Gifts from the Ancestors: Ceremonies, Teachings and Co-operation

After a number of pre-contact Aboriginal burials were found during archaeological mitigative excavations for various construction projects on the Blue Water Bridge Authority property in the Village of Point Edward, near the City of Sarnia in Lambton County, a series of unique site disposition agreements were negotiated between the Bridge Authority and the Aamjiwnaang First Nation. These agreements stipulated how and when the burials could be disinterred and where they would be reburied. They specified mandatory protocols that had to be followed concerning the physical handling and documentation of the burials, and also included the provision that certain individuals from the Graves Protection and Repatriation Committee appointed by the First Nation Chief and Council would be permitted to carry out appropriate ceremonies before, during, and after the disinterments.

During a full week of sunrise ceremonies, drumming and songs, involving dozens of individuals from various First Nations in southwestern Ontario including men, women and children (each with a pre-defined role to play), six archaeologists conducted the disinterments in private under security provided by the local municipal police. The co-operation, understanding, trust, and mutual respect that have developed between the Bridge Authority, the First Nation, and the archaeologists are seen as interconnected parts of a model for others to follow or adapt as the circumstances warrant whenever similar situations occur. This paper describes how the agreements and protocols were developed over the course of many meetings, and discusses the ceremonies as seen through the eyes of a non-native archaeologist.

Dr. Douglas J. Perrelli, Assistant Director, Archaeological Survey, SUNY-Buffalo; Department of Anthropology, SUNY Buffalo.

Spaces and Places: Modeling Iroquoian Landscape Use and Village Movement

A generalized model of Iroquoian landscape use is presented based on ethnohistoric literature, oral tradition and previous archaeological research. The model considers the long-term effects of seasonality, gender divided labor and differential space usage by residents of a hypothetical semi-permanent village. The function of different site types and the recurrent use of space is considered in light of subsistence and settlement cycles. The model is used to consider how village movement sequences may operate to form site clusters and site hierarchies recognized by archaeologists. Some potential effects of Iroquoian landscape use on site formation, artifact assemblage composition and regional settlement patterns are explored.

Jo Holden, OAS, Robert Pihl, Archaeological Services Inc., Terri Brennan, OAS, and Linda Torbidone, OAS

"Profiling the Feature: A Review of the OAS's First Year of Interpretative Programming at the Fifteenth Century McGaw Site"

This year marks the initiation of innovative, three-year program which focuses on the excavation and interpretation of the fifteenth century Iroquoian McGaw site (AlGu-88). The Town of Richmond Hill and the Ontario Archaeological Society have received major Provincial funding to design and implement two types of public programs, and these will be briefly described in the first part of this paper. The first involves educational programming geared to the Grade 6 and 11 Ontario curriculum and involves indoor activities and on-site excavation designed to give students a hands-on understanding of archaeology and the First Nations occupation of Ontario. The second involves a series of one to five day "digs" at the site which are designed to give adult participants the rationale and actual experience of conducting archaeological research on an Iroquoian site.

The second part of this paper will briefly describe the key objectives and results of the excavations to date, and then will discuss the important archaeological issues arising from this project.

Claire Freisenhausen, University of Toronto

The Invisible Children of Toronto's Archaeological Past: Childhood From 1793-1930

For the most part children, their experiences and their small, yet complex worlds have been severely neglected in archaeological research, if not left out completely. The current study examines late 18th, 19th and early 20th century definitions and experiences of childhood, in a household context, through the archaeological evidence from three Toronto historical sites: Gore Vale, Spadina House, and the Ashbridge Estate. It is proposed that modes of socialization and cultural transference can be inferred through the examination of the playthings uncovered. The social roles of children in Toronto's colonial context are explored through the identification, dating and contextualization of the toys found at these sites. Childhood experiences are compared in order to determine similarities and differences across the three sites, representing varying social strata. There has been no analysis to date pertaining to the experiences and activities of children at these sites, although they all contain significant collections.

Paul O'Neal, Kristy Snarey, Siobhan Boyd and Bob Mayer, Mayer Heritage Consultants

Aamjiwnaang: The Meeting Place

"Aamjiwnaang" is an Ojibwa word that means "where people meet by flowing water." It also has an additional spiritual connotation. Beginning in 1993, a number of archaeological assessments and mitigative excavations have been conducted in Aamjiwnaang (now known as the Village of Point Edward) on behalf of the Blue Water Bridge Authority as well as the Aamjiwnaang First

Nation, Blue Water Power, and the Lambton Area Water Treatment Plant. These projects include the twinning of the Blue Water Bridge, a duty free store, a maintenance facility, security fencing, parking lots, stormwater and sludge forcemains, water mains, electrical duct banks, and a casino.

The results demonstrate that Aboriginal peoples established a series of overlapping warm-weather campsites for about 5,000 years from at least the Middle Archaic period (circa 3500 B.C.) to the Late Woodland period (circa A.D. 1500) -- and even later according to Aamjiwnaang First Nation oral traditions. These campsites ring the shoreline of the St. Clair River and the former Sarnia Bay, and may encompass virtually all of the Village of Point Edward and parts of the surrounding City of Sarnia. The stratified cultural deposits that have been exposed are in, at times, discontinuous but always distinctly separate layers of fluvial sand extending more than a metre deep from the present ground surface. Localized spatial variations by time period have been determined using radiocarbon dates, plus analysis of diagnostic pottery and lithic artifacts.

The large amounts of fire-cracked and heat-affected rock plus specialized tools suggest that the main activity of the campsites involved the procurement and processing of food. Fishing-related tools (i.e., harpoons and net sinkers) along with an abundance of fish bone indicate that a wide variety of large-sized fish were harvested on a seasonal basis from Lake Huron and the St. Clair River (and are still harvested today for commercial and recreational purposes). Long-distance trading and travel over hundreds if not thousands of kilometres using the Great Lakes water drainage as the original "North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Superhighway" is quite evident from the significant amounts of exotic chert types present from Ohio and Upper Michigan. Another reason for the popularity of the Aamjiwnaang area would appear to be its geographical location as the shortest and easiest place to cross the St. Clair River using the swift current (and back current) for propulsion in both directions. Aamjiwnaang First Nation oral traditions relate that the Point Edward / Port Huron area was well known for thousands of years to Aboriginal peoples as a popular meeting place for trade and a social centre for other inter and intra tribal activities. Archaeological evidence supports these oral traditions.

David Riddell, Strathroy Middlesex Museum

Cases for 'Regionalism': Examples from the Sydenham Watershed

For ten years or so I have been documenting Late Woodland settlement along the Sydenham River. It is apparent that even after this length of time, I could spend several more lifetimes doing more of the same in order to try and get a better grasp of the advent of these populations in this area. Recently I have also been documenting Euro-Canadian and post-contact First Nations settlement in the same region, and networking with historical societies and First Nations peoples in order to better understand this phase of occupation.

In either case, it is obvious that we must employ long-term, regional oriented strategies if we want to address situations of contact and interaction, and population movements in general. For most of us outside of the academic environment these days, this means being 'brutes for punishment', given the bleak funding prospects. In this researcher's case, however, the community museum has come to the rescue. I will provide an overview of research on the Sydenham to date, and how this ties in with the museum mandate.

Recent Archaeological Investigations by Nippissing University

Dr. David J. G. Slattery, Faculty of Arts & Science, Nippissing University

issing University

program. Central to this has been the survey and limited excavation of a major rock art site in the town of Burk's Falls, the survey of two additional sites (one a rock art site) near North Bay, and the development of a major joint project with the Ministry of Natural Resources to investigate the archaeological heritage of Restoule Provincial Park. This paper outlines some of the findings of this research and explores the development of archaeology from its infancy at the University. Critical feedback would be welcome concerning such topics as 'where do we go from here'.

During the past two years, Nippissing University has begun the development of its anthropology

Dr. David Smith, University of Toronto

Early Late Woodland Settlement Distribution in Southern Ontario

This paper summarizes recent research on site distributions of the Princess Point and Riviere au Vase cultures (AD 500-1000) in southern Ontario. This research demonstrates that, during this time period, settlement distribution was significantly different than during earlier Middle Woodland or later Early Ontario Iroquoian times in the same region. In addition, important

Natasha B. Snyder, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Buffalo

Comparisons of spatial distribution and architectural styles of rural 19th century one-room schoolhouses in western New York and southern Ontario

differences are noted between Princess Point and Riviere au Vase settlement systems.

Rural one-room schoolhouses were the physical expression of the public education movement that became increasingly universal in the early 19th century. In general, the rural one-room schoolhouse landscapes of western New York and southern Ontario were created in conjunction with increasing settlement of former frontier areas, and were related to a number of broad social and economic patterns including industrialization, urbanization, and nationalism. By the mid-19th century, the distribution of rural one-room schoolhouses on both sides of the US/Canadian border was remarkably even across the cultural landscape. This spatial distribution remained relatively stable until the mid-20th century, when increasingly larger school districts subsumed these small rural schools. While the spatial distribution of one-room schoolhouses was remarkably similar on both sides of the US/Canadian border, clear differences were exhibited in architectural styles of the rural one-room schoolhouses. In western New York, predominant architectural styles ranged from Greek Revival to vernacular Victorian, to increasingly stolid Modern styles. In southern Ontario, predominant architectural styles ranged form vernacular Victorian to Gothic Victorian to increasingly stolid Modern styles. These differences in rural schoolhouse architectural styles are interpreted as physical expressions of the individualized response of two distinct countries. Whereas the broad social and economic patterns of industrialization, urbanization and nationalism transcended the US/Canadian border, interpretations of these patterns remained highly contextualized and specific to each country.