Researching the Petun

Charles Garrad

More than a century of research has led to the present state of knowledge of the Petun occupation of the Petun Country, in the former Collingwood, Nottawasaga, and Mulmur townships. Many individuals, with different skills and interests, have contributed to the study of the Petun between ca. AD 1580 and 1650. This paper outlines the history of investigation of the Petun, describing the work of the more notable contributors.

Introduction

The area of Ontario between the Nottawasaga River and the Blue Mountains, south of Nottawasaga Bay, part of Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, has been occupied intermittently since the Ice Age. It was occupied historically by the several Iroquoian tribes that were collectively nicknamed "Petun" by the French.[1] The Petun were present for only about 70 years (ca. AD 1580–1650) but left abundant evidence of their presence, their role in the fur trade and of the destructive diseases of the period. Because of the absence of large-scale archaeology, not one Petun house, let alone a village, has been completely excavated; yet the Petun Country has been described as archaeologically the best documented in Ontario (Bursey 1997: 85).

Archaeological surveys, assessments, and excavations reflecting varying degrees of competence, scholarship, and interest have been conducted in Petun Country since David Boyle's first survey of Nottawasaga Township in 1887. Modern, frequently local, researchers compiled the individual contributions of earlier workers into a cohesive record and then undertook research to fill in the gaps in knowledge. Principally, J. Allan Blair and I devised a program in which we collected, reconciled, and coordinated earlier work. We followed this with field surveys and limited excavations. Subsequently, many colleagues contributed a great deal of volunteer and professional assistance. The results include the confirmation of the placement and boundaries of the Petun Country, and the location, examination, identification, and interpretation of at least the principal archaeological sites there. This was done with as little damage to the resource as possible and in co-operation with Petun descendants.

The story of how we arrived at our current understanding of Petun history involves documenting the contributions of many individuals. It is presented here mostly in chronological order, while acknowledging thematic trends. Owing to the long-lasting nature of the work of certain researchers, the story at times jumps ahead or returns to the work of earlier researchers. This history also indicates in the footnotes the current locations of many of the notes and collections discussed. Although these locations are given in the footnotes, rather than in the main text, they should by no means be overlooked. Within the text, sites are referred to using their assigned names. Borden designations may be found in Table 1.

Land Surveyors and First Settlers (1830–1895)

The former Petun Country in Ontario substantially coincides with the boundaries of the former Nottawasaga Township (since 1994 part of Clearwater Township), extending partly into Mulmur Township to the south and Collingwood Township (since 1998 part of the Town of the Blue Mountains) to the northwest, respectively, in Simcoe, Dufferin, and Grey counties (Figure 1).

These townships were opened for settlement by European migrants in the 1830s and 1840s,

Table 1. *Petun archaeological sites discussed in the text.*

Site Name	Borden Designation	Settlement Type	Sizea	Jesuit Name or Mission	Petun Name	GBP[a]
Arnold	BbHa-3	camp	small			2-3a
Baker	BcHb-13	other				
Beecroft	BcHb-6	camps				2-3a
Bell	BcHb-11	camp				3a
Best	BbHb-1	camp				2-3a
Best	BbHb-4	camp				3a
Bill McConnell	BcHb-47	village	2 ha.	St. Bartholomew (2) ?		3
Bowman	BcHa-6	village	3 ha.			
Buckingham	BcHb-24	other				
Carmichael	BcHa-15	camp				
Currie	BcHb-18	camp				2-3a
Currie	BcHb-34	camp				1-2
Currie-Brack	BcHa-13	camp				2
Connor-Rolling	BcHb-3	village	1.2 ha.	St. Andrew		2-3a
Day	BbHa-8	camp				
Duggan	BcHa-11	camp	small			2
Edmunds	BcHa-43	camp				2-3a
Glebe	BcHb-1	village	1.33 ha.	St. Thomas		2-3a
Graham-Ferguson	BcHb-7	village	.8 ha.	St. James		2-3a
Grose	BcHa-9	camp	small			
Hamilton-Lougheed	BbHa-10	village	4.8 ha.	St Peter & St. Paul	Ehwae	2-3a
Haney-Cook	BcHb-27	villages			Ekarenniondi (1)	2-3a
Haney-Cook Lower	BcHb-27	village	.4 ha.		"	2-3a
Haney-Cook Upper	BcHb-27	village	.6 ha.		"	2-3a
Howie	BbHa-3	village	4.8 ha.			1-2
Jardine	BcHb-15	camp				3
Joyce	BcHb-2	camp	small			2-3a
Kelly-Campbell	BcHb-10	village	4.8 ha.	St. John	Etharita	3a-3b
Kennedy Pit	BbHa-18	village				
Lane	BbHb-2	camp				3a
Latimer	BbHa-12	village	.8 ha.			2
Long	BcHb-9	other				3b
MacMurchy	BcHb-26	village	2-8 ha.			1-2
McAllister	BcHb-25	village	1.2 ha.			1-3a
McBeth	BcHa-4	other				
McEwen (Lower)	BcHb-17	village	1.2 ha.			1
McEwen (Upper)	BcHb-17	village		St. James & St. Philip		3a-3b
McLean	BcHb-12	other				
McQueen	BcHa-14	camp				1
McQueen-McConnell	BcHb-31	village	1.7 ha.			1
Melville	BbHa-7	village	4.8 ha.			2
Paddison-Bellwood	BcHa-3	village				
Peacock	BcHa-5	village	.9 ha.			1-2
Perry	BbHa-4	camp				1-2
Plater-Fleming	BdHb-2	village	1.25 ha	St. Simon & St. Jude		3a-3b
Plater-Martin	BdHb-1	village	3.4 ha	St. Matthew	Ekarenniondi (2)	3a-3b
Pretty River	BcHb-22	village	4.2 ha	St. Bartholomew (1)		2-3a
Rock Bottom	BcHb-20	village	2.6 ha			2
Sidey-Mackay	BbHa-6	village	2.2 ha			1
Weatherall	BbHa-17	camp				1-2
White	BcHa-1	village	1.2 ha.			
White-Coyle	BcHa-2	village	.8 ha.			1-2
Young-McQueen	BcHb-19	village	1.2 ha.			1-2

[a]Glass Bead Period

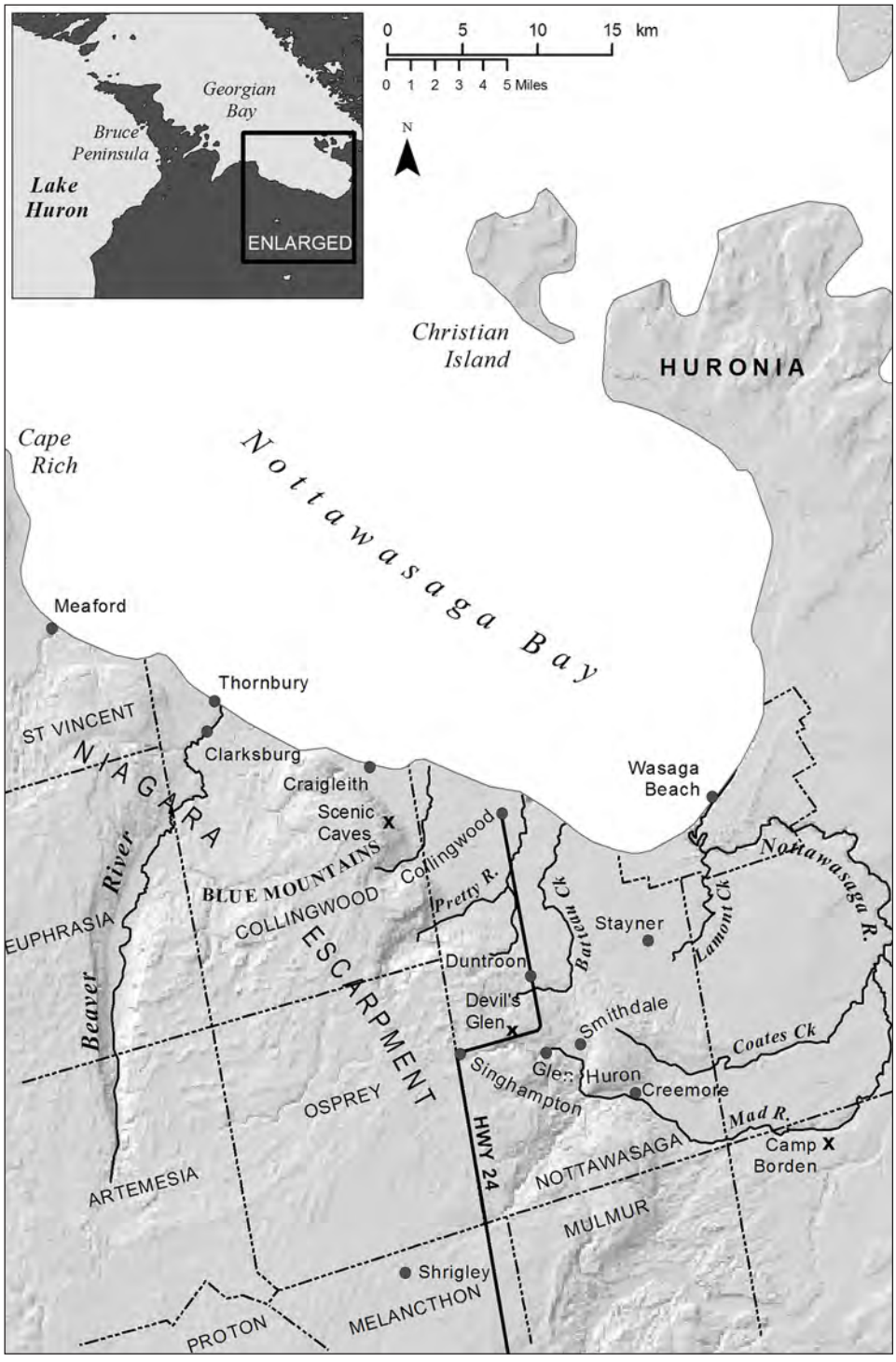

Figure 1. *Southern Georgian Bay region of Ontario showing the Petun Country with twentieth-century places, former township (municipal lower-tier) boundaries and natural features named in the text (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources 2001, 2010; NRCAN 2002).*

but the incoming settlers, concerned with matters of immediate survival such as land clearing, planting, and building, took little notice of the remains of earlier peoples that they found. The exceptions were the ossuaries or bone pits, because these often contained useful iron axes, and brass and copper kettles. These were sought and dug out, as they were in Huronia (Noble 1972:15), usually within the first decade or two of settlement. It is said that cartloads of iron axes, traded to the Petun Indians by the French two hundred years previously, were taken from the Petun Country to the blacksmith Povey, in Barrie, who specialized in making ploughshares from them (Blair personal communication 1961-1979; Jardine 1981:19). The first settlers presumed the bone pits were the result of wars.

Although the first land surveyors and settlers recorded few archaeological sites, they described the landscape before widespread European settlement. Some of their interpretations of landforms may have been fanciful, but they provide details of the locations of traditional use areas as well as the probable first record of at least one important archaeological site.

Thomas Kelly and Charles Rankin

On October 17, 1818, the land comprising the former Petun Country was surrendered to the British Crown under Provisional Agreement No. 18 by the Ojibwa bands then in possession of it (Canada 1891:1:47; Shaw 1932). Except for ongoing Ojibwa hunting and gathering expeditions, the land lay dormant until 1832, when Thomas Kelly began the survey of the proposed townships of Java, Merlin, and Sunnidale. In Merlin, he recorded two beaver meadows and an old fort and, more imaginatively, thought he had discovered two extinct volcanoes in the sedimentary rocks of the Niagara Escarpment. He did not mention any evidence of earlier occupations by Native Indian peoples (Kelly 1832).

In 1833, Charles Rankin was sent to complete the survey because there were problems with Kelly's work. Merlin and Java were too small to be separate townships and were combined into one township, Nottawasaga. According to Blair, Rankin may have had a part in choosing the Indian name (Nottawasaga Municipal Council 1934). He noted an old Indian clearing on either side of the Pretty River near the Nottawasaga Bay shore. This covered approximately the same area that would become the mill reserve and village of Hurontario Mills, today in the east end of the Town of Collingwood (Nottawasaga Municipal Council 1934:95-96; 1967:83-84; 1987; Rankin 1833a, 1833b).

Rankin's awareness of First Nations people was no doubt heightened when his crew rowed out of Penetanguishene Harbour to begin the survey of Nottawasaga. They were accompanied by "a fleet of birchbark canoes containing part of the Ottawa Nation of Indians who, having received their annual presents, were returning to their hunting and planting grounds." The party camped the first night on Christian Island, where Rankin entered in his diary of the survey what is probably the first recorded description of the ruins of Fort Ste. Marie II.

Rankin also surveyed the townships of Alta and "Zorra" (Zero). In Alta he recorded an abandoned sugar camp and a small Indian clearing on Indian Brook (Rankin 1833a, 1833b, 1833c), which today is a commercial camp ground. Rankin continued to Euphrasia in 1836, and to Artemesia and Osprey in 1850. He noted many beaver meadows, beaver dams, and deer licks. Rankin's survey notes serve as the origin of many current place names. The river he incidentally recorded as "pretty" became the Pretty River. The river he thought had a mouth that could harbour batteaux is today's Batteau Creek and Batteau River.

(Sir) Sandford Fleming

None of Sandford Fleming's principal biographers (e.g., Burpee 1915; Cole 1990; Creet 1989; Green 1993; MacLean 1969; Regehr 1999; Shortreed 1978; Unitt et al. 1968; Webb 1993) mention his intellectual interest in archaeology and Native remains in Ontario or his association with the Petun Country as the result of his railway work.

Fleming was a founding member and secretary of the Canadian Institute when it received a copy of Ephraim G. Squier's work *Aboriginal Monuments*

of the State of New York (Squier 1850). Fleming realized that by comparison to the state of knowledge in New York, Ontario was a *terra incognita* (Fleming 1852:4; Killan 1983:84). Yet, here, too, as farms were cleared and railways built, the reports of Indian remains were becoming more frequent. At a Conversazione meeting of the Institute on May 10, 1852, the chairman, Captain Lefroy, remarked that,

> Every year the plough is obliterating the last traces of our predecessors on this soil. Every year the axe lays low some invaluable witness to the ages which have elapsed since populous villages of another race were scattered far and wide through our now lifeless forests. We are fast forgetting that the bygone ages even of the new world were filled with living men…I allude to these subjects here, because they offer an immediate field for the exertions of the Institute [Fleming 1899:13-14].

Fleming responded to the challenge by sponsoring and circulating a questionnaire dated June 12, 1852, asking people to record the whereabouts of Indian remains known to them. The emphasis on "intrenchments, mounds and earthworks" in the 13-question circular (Fleming 1852:5) is evidence that Squier was the source of both Fleming's inspiration and his terminology. By December, there was a report of "favourable results" to the questionnaire, including not only information but also artifacts. Consequently, the first attempt to record, systematically, archaeological remains in Ontario also led to the beginning of a museum (Boyle 1893:1, 1908:12; Cole 1990:15-16; Killan 1983:84; Wallace 1949:127,136,157,191-192). Unfortunately, neither of these initiatives was pursued, and both lapsed until David Boyle joined the Institute 32 years later. By 1886, the responses to Fleming's questionnaire and most of the artifacts had been lost (Boyle 1893:1; Killan 1983:84). For this reason, we do not know if the respondents described Petun sites or artifacts.

In 1854, Fleming became the *de facto* owner of an archaeological site in Petun Country when he purchased, in his father's name, a farm property on the Georgian Bay shore at Craigleith. It was to provide materials for the railway he was building from Barrie to the Hen and Chickens Harbour, the future Collingwood. It is not known to what extent he investigated the site before planting it in apple trees or whether he responded to his own circular and sent artifacts to the Canadian Institute museum.

In conversations with me, the late Edward H. Thomas indicated that Fleming had stated that if he had not been an engineer, he would have been an archaeologist. I have been unable to find any reference to support this claim; indeed, at the time Sir Daniel Wilson, Chair of English and History at University College, Toronto was the only archaeologist in Ontario (Killan 1998)[2]. It is interesting, however, that the first person to have a learned appreciative awareness of the archaeological heritage of Petun Country *may* have been Sir Sandford Fleming.

The Moberlys and the MacMurchys

In 1834, Post-Captain John Moberly, R.N., retired commander of the Royal Navy establishment at Penetanguishene, learned that he would receive a crown grant of 200 acres of land in one of two townships where surveys were being completed. These new townships were provisionally named Alta (from its allegedly highest elevation) and Zero (from its supposed frosts). He petitioned that the names of the townships be changed to those of admirals Lord Cuthbert Collingwood and Earl Jervis St. Vincent, both "distinguished naval commanders."[3] The names were accordingly changed the same year (Belden 1880:5; Garrad 1978a:13, 2003a:11; Hartman 1920:37; Marsh 1931:38; Shannon 1979:20-21). When Captain Moberly received his crown grant in the Township of Collingwood in 1837, he could not have suspected that his land included the remains of a large Petun village (c. 1580–1616) as well as evidence of early post-glacial people in the form of a 10,000-year-old fluted point (Garrad 1967a, 1971, 2003a).

Archibald MacMurchy, his brother Malcolm, his three sons, and a son-in-law, all from Argyleshire, Scotland, settled in King Township

in 1840. In 1843, they moved to take up several adjacent lots on the Nottawasaga/Collingwood Town Line, creating a community that became known as the MacMurchy Settlement. In 1852, Malcolm MacMurchy purchased Captain Moberly's crown grant. One or more of Moberly's sons, some of whom became surveyors, must have stayed in touch with the MacMurchys, because, at some point, Petun artifacts found by the MacMurchys when clearing and farming the land were taken to the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC), the agency to which surveyors reported. They were donated in the name of Malcolm MacMurchy. Before Confederation, the GSC had been called the Geological and Natural History Survey of the Province of Canada, with a mandate to collect Indian artifacts. The artifacts were formally catalogued in 1895. In 1927 the GSC collection became the National Museum of Canada (Fyfe 1999:967; Garrad 1975; Williams 1999:378-379). The donations from the MacMurchy site were the first from the Petun area.[4] An illustration of one of the pieces of pottery was published by the museum (Smith 1923:150-151 Figure 9).

Early Professional Interests: Archaeologists and Historians in Petun Country (1886–1926)

As open farmland increasingly replaced forest, the remains of village sites became more apparent. As was the case for archaeological sites elsewhere in Ontario, Petun sites and artifacts became the subject of formal academic interest. A number of the earliest archaeologists to work in Ontario played a part in recording the location of sites in the Petun Country, and they initiated an ongoing process of artifact collection. Sometimes, academic interest lay mainly in the recording of sites and collection of artifacts. At other times, researchers hoped to identify sites recorded in the Jesuit Relations. These efforts led to occasional rancorous debate, but from this discussion evolved both the process of examining the criteria for site identification and the effort to search for, record, excavate, and understand archaeological remains. Figure 2 shows the current state of knowledge about the location of villages and their names.

David Boyle and the Canadian Institute

> Archaeology in Ontario owes much to David Boyle, and no future work can fail to take cognizance of his records [McIlwraith 1949:7].

Blacksmith, school-teacher, and bookseller, David Boyle joined the Canadian Institute in 1884. He was elected curator of the institute's museum, which contained the remains of the artifact collection resulting from Fleming's 1852 circular. Boyle donated his own collection and updated Fleming's 1852 circular. In April 1885, Boyle mailed out 1,000 copies of the new version as part of a plan to undertake field work, to further develop the museum, and to solicit government financial support. This initiative was successful, and he received many responses. In 1887, the Canadian Institute received a grant through the Department of Education to support David Boyle as Ontario's first paid archaeologist and museum curator. Boyle started the Annual Archaeological Report of Ontario (AARO) series to record his work and to acknowledge the people who donated artifacts and provided information to the museum. This excellent series survived his death in 1911, but ceased in 1928 (Garrad 1987; Killan 1983:84,89,91-100; Wallace 1949:154,176).

In June 1887, David Boyle and James Bain, possibly accompanied by other Canadian Institute members, visited Nottawasaga Township and spent four days inventorying sites, excavating, and collecting artifacts for the museum (Boyle 1886:4-5, 1888:12; Garrad 1986a; Killan 1983:102). Boyle had also visited the previous year (Boyle 1888:12), presumably to collect donations offered in response to his 1885 circular, and perhaps to conduct limited excavations. The Normal School Accession Catalogue, compiled retroactively after the Canadian Institute collection was moved into the Normal School in 1897, gives the names of donors in 1885 (A. and G. Lougheed, W. and D. Melville, and J. Smith) and in 1886 (E. Nelson). These artifacts

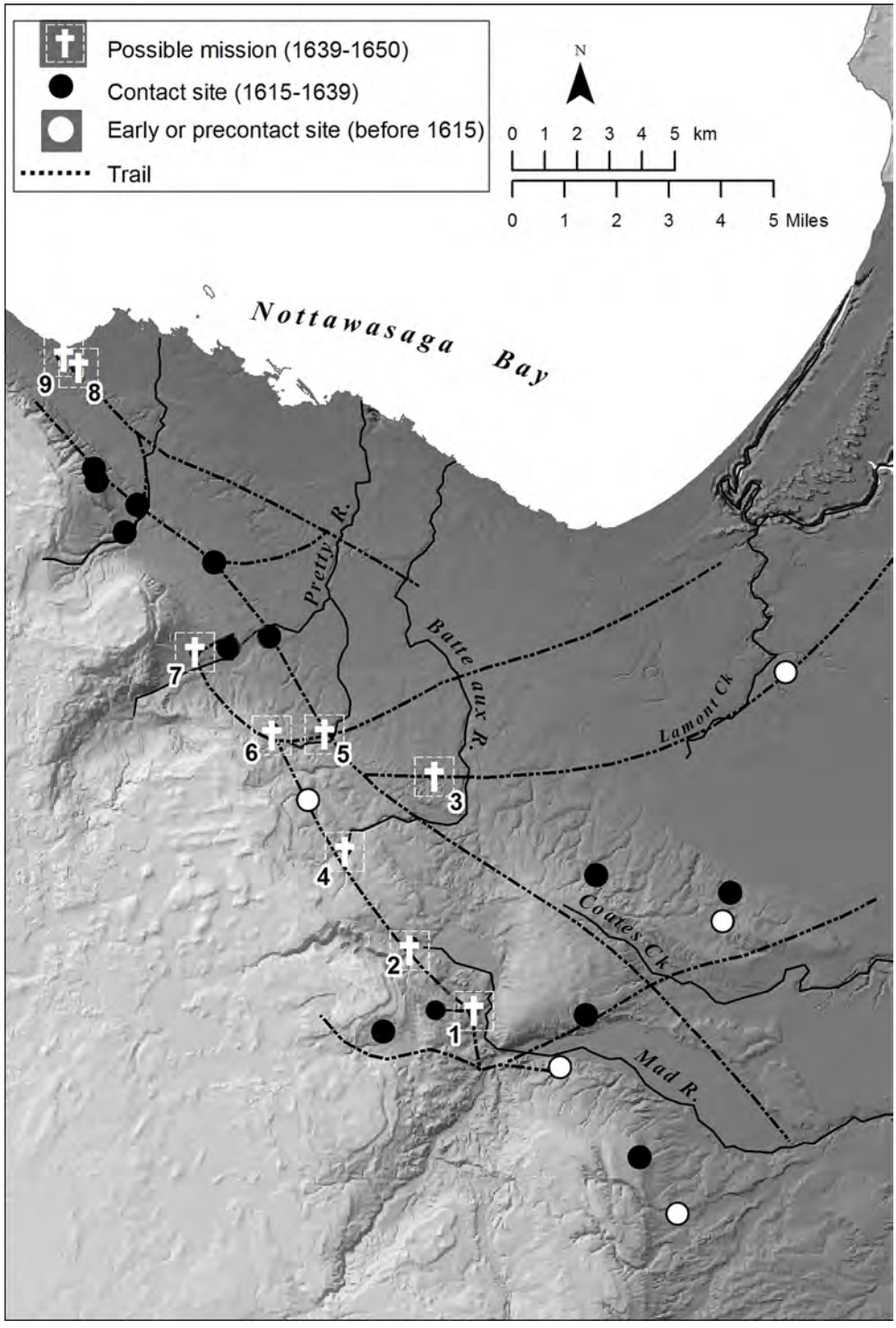

Figure 2. *Location of Petun sites mentioned in the text: 1—St. Pierre and St. Paul (Ehwae); 2—St. André; 3—St. Thomas; 4—St. Jacques; 5—St. Jean (Etharita); 6—St. Jacques and St. Phillippe; 7—St. Barthelemy; 8—St. Matthieu (Ekarenniondi); 9—St. Simon and St. Jude. Adjusted from Garrad and Heidenreich (1978:Figure 1).*

apparently came from the village sites now known as Hamilton-Lougheed and Melville.

After four days in the Nottawasaga Township part of the Petun Country in 1887, Boyle wrote:

> Apart from historic knowledge there is abundant evidence that this was at one time a populous Indian section. On many of the principal elevations are found the old pit-graves or ossuaries so characteristic of our Indian sepulture, and the higher lands contiguous to the streams afford ample proof of former encampments and village sites. The people of the Tobacco Nation who occupied this portion of the country appear to have devoted themselves in a large measure to manufacturing clay pots, pipes, bone implements and beads for trading purposes with other tribes less ingenious, or more nomadic, who would willingly exchange the result of the chase for coveted articles of utility or ornament [Boyle 1888:12].

Boyle listed the sites he visited in 1887 and the people who gave him artifacts. Robert Lougheed, owner of the farm on which the Hamilton-Lougheed site lay was mentioned several times, once as the donor of "a great many relics" (Boyle 1888: especially 12-13,17; Killan 1983:102).

Boyle astutely observed the criteria for the location of Petun village sites (higher lands, contiguous to streams); he described the items manufactured by the industrious Petun; and he even suggested the basis for a commercial relationship with the nomadic Algonquian peoples. He further proposed, "It frequently happens that the number and arrangement of ash-heaps in a field enable us to form a fair estimate not only as to the number of 'lodges' that composed a village, but as to the number of 'fires' or families in each lodge." He gave as an example a field on the farm of Robert Lougheed, Nottawasaga, where "the extent of a village is thus plainly discernable and indicates the former existence on the site of about fifty lodges, each affording shelter to from three to seven families" (Boyle 1888:17). This estimate remarkably coincides with the 1639 Jesuit eyewitness report "of 45 or 50 cabins" (Thwaites 1896-1901:20:47) at the village of Ehwae, identified as the Hamilton-Lougheed site (Garrad 1975).

In June 1889, Boyle returned to Nottawasaga Township for a third expedition, after which he published the results of all his work there, interspersed with various digressions concerning Petun burial, forest-clearing, agricultural, manufacturing, and other practices (Boyle 1889a:4-15; Boyle 1889b; Killan 1983:118-120). He located to his satisfaction "ten village or town sites, twenty-one ossuaries, one fortified place, and three potteries." He observed that these remains lay diagonally across the township, conforming with the topography, and that they continued into Collingwood township, which he did not enter. Among the sites and donors mentioned, "the famous Lougheed farm" was slightly edged out by the Melville site at Creemore in terms of space devoted to its description. He recognized that the Petun were "Ouendots or Wyandots" and mused on what might have been their future had they not "totally disappeared." In this and in a few other interpretations he may be challenged. His "fortified place" was in fact an old beaver dam (Garrad 1981:31-32; Hunter 1886-1940a, Wintemberg 1923).[5]

Boyle did not return to Nottawasaga to conduct fieldwork after 1889, but artifacts continued to flow to Toronto, encouraged by acknowledgment of the donors in the AAROs. The Melvilles at Creemore, the Lougheeds at Smithdale, and the Connors at Glen Huron staunchly supported Boyle and continued to send artifacts to the museum. At least two Nottawasaga residents, Angus Buie of near Duntroon and Alice Webster of Websterville, compiled complete sets of AAROs by their continuing support of Boyle; the museum; and Boyle's successor, Rowland Orr.

In 1897, the Ontario government took control of the Canadian Institute museum collection and moved it to the Ontario Provincial Museum in the Toronto Normal School building. Boyle remained curator of the archaeological section and moved with the collection (Killan 1983:175). At its new location, he set up the display cases

and compiled a catalogue in which the first Petun artifacts, glass trade beads from the Lougheed farm, appeared as item 14 (Boyle 1889b:47-101). Eight years later, in a revised version, the first artifact listed was a stone pipe from the same farm (Boyle 1897:1).

Boyle "had no technical training in archaeology; indeed, such was not available at the period" (McIlwraith 1949:6). His reports have been described as "not too scientific" (Currelly 1956:295). Some of his ossuary identifications turned out to be "natural hollows" (Jenness 1928:8) or hollows left by fallen trees, and his "excavation technique left a great deal to be desired," but he "was the first…to record and to publish a systematic record of his...findings," not only in Ontario generally but in the Petun Country specifically (Killan 1983:102-103,109). His public relations skills developed into a talent for persuading people to send him artifacts and information. Particularly his fellow Scots, who formed the majority of settlers in Nottawasaga Township, enjoyed his "intense personality and penchant for spirited discussion" (Killan 1983:77,104,109). As a learned, literate, and worldly man, he counselled and advised across many a settler's table and formed long-lasting friendships. Boyle's work resulted in the first archaeological survey and map of Petun Country, limited though it was to Nottawasaga Township (Boyle 1889a:4-15; Killan 1983:102,118-20). It also attracted the attention of the Toronto media and the commendation of the established American historian Francis Parkman (1889).

Boyle's legacy was not limited to his acquisition of knowledge for his records and of artifacts for the museum. He provided a foundation for future archaeological work and a model for others to continue. He inspired two younger associates, Andrew F. Hunter and William J. Wintemberg, to continue his interest and work. He was also an inspiration for local people, who, as individuals and through the Huron Institute, later assumed the tasks of responsibly recording, collecting, and conserving Petun heritage. Another legacy of David Boyle's work in Nottawasaga Township is a tradition of goodwill and hospitality towards visiting researchers.

While none of the responses to Boyle's circular of 1885 survive, and by 1884 "a great portion" of the Canadian Institute's museum collections had disappeared (Killan 1983:84, 88), most of the artifacts gathered by Boyle in Petun Country and those sent to him in response to his circular and later appeals reside today in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM).

As well as being active as curator of the Canadian Institute, as provincial archaeologist, and as superintendent of the Provincial Archaeological Museum, Boyle served as the first secretary of the Ontario Historical Society (OHS), from 1898 to 1907 (Killan 1983:160). There he fraternized with a number of people who developed an interest in Petun research, including Andrew F. Hunter, James H. Coyne, Maurice Gaviller of Collingwood, Reuben Gold Thwaites of Wisconsin, and the Rev. Father Arthur E. Jones. In 1906, the Huron Institute in Collingwood hosted the annual meeting of the OHS. Attendees included David Boyle, Major George W. Bruce, Deputy Minister of Agriculture Charles C. James (1906), G.K. Mills (1907), Frances A. Redmond (1909), Alice Webster, and David Williams. The event included a trip to Christian Island and was reported in the local Collingwood press (*Enterprise-Messenger* 1906; Hunter 1897a, 1897b). It was Boyle's last known trip to Petun Country.

On Boyle's death in 1911 (James 1911:23-24), David Williams of Collingwood, who was at the time the president of the OHS and the secretary of the Huron Institute, said, "the name of Dr. Boyle is revered and beloved" (Williams 1911:20-21).

Andrew Frederick Hunter

Andrew Frederick Hunter's father and uncle were sometime postmasters, the former at Phelpston and the latter at Clarksburg, near the western edge of Petun Country. It was at Phelpston, in his high school years, that Andrew found his first Indian artifacts and met Samuel Haney. Since 1868, Haney had owned a farm on the Blue Mountain in Petun Country where artifacts had been found. Hunter enrolled at the University of Toronto in 1884 at the age of 21. While there, he met (Sir) Daniel Wilson, David Boyle, and other leading scholars who influenced his budding

interest in Ontario archaeology. His summer employment in 1886 and 1887 was in his uncle Walter's post and insurance office at Clarksburg (Hunter 1957).

Some of the local people Hunter met in Clarksburg told him of artifacts and sites on their farms. He recorded these details in notebooks (Hunter 1886-1940a, 1886-1940b). He met the Ojibwa Indian Peter York, who at the time lived in nearby Thornbury, and Hunter formally interviewed York three times in 1886, recording the subjects they discussed. York spoke of his people's traditions concerning ossuaries and other Indian remains in the Blue Mountain area, which he believed were defeated Mohawk, and also of the "fort" on Christian Island (Ste. Marie II). Hunter was considerably influenced by Peter York; Christian Island and Ste. Marie II served as the subject of Hunter's first research trip and his first published article in *The Indian* newspaper (Hunter 1886). He wrote but did not publish a paper "The Country of the Tionnontates," and continued collecting artifacts and information at his own expense. In 1888, Hunter joined the Canadian Institute and remained a member throughout his life (Hunter 1957:18).

Hunter was the second person to compile detailed records of archaeological sites and collections in Petun Country, and he was the first to do so in the Beaver Valley (Hunter 1886-1940a, 1886-1940b). Fortunately, he approached Petun Country from his base in Clarksburg in the north (Figure 1). This was the opposite direction from that of Boyle, so Hunter recorded the sites in Collingwood Township that Boyle had not reached. Incorporating Boyle's work, by 1889 Hunter had listed 32 possible village sites and 41 ossuaries, and he even proposed which sites were historic ("Post-French") (Hunter 1886-1940a:43; 1889:44). In his Grey County notebook, he listed the large Plater-Martin village site at Craigleith and the Haney-Cook site at the Scenic Caves (Hunter 1886-1940b). As noted by his sister Martha Hunter,

> Owing chiefly to his efforts, the Simcoe Pioneer and Historical Society was eventually founded. When he became editor and owner of the Barrie Examiner, Andrew used his newspaper to promote many causes. He joined a number of academic organizations, and in 1892 he joined the Executive Committee of The Ontario Historical Society [Hunter 1957].

Because of Hunter's many activities, Reuben Gold Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin viewed him as the leading authority on the Petun. At the time, Thwaites was compiling Jesuit documents and related information for a proposed extensive publication series. Hunter contributed 22 endnotes to the 73 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, mostly about the Huron, but 4 were specific to the Petun (Thwaites 1896-1901:5:279fn18; 20:307-308fn6; 23:326 fn8; 35:29fn25). In the first of these he described Petun Country as follows:

> *Tobacco Nation* (Khionontaterrhonons; also called, by the French, Nation du Petun).—The territory of this tribe coincided closely with the present township of Nottawasaga, Simcoe County, their villages having been situated on rising spurs along the eastern side of the Blue Mountains. This country is now covered by well-cultivated farms. Remains of the aborigines are abundant there, as many as thirty-two village sites and forty ossuaries having been found at various times [Hunter 1897a:279fn18].

Hunter's caveat "closely" is justified.

Hunter also contributed a short piece entitled "Archaeological Research in the Huron Country," which included a brief mention of Boyle's visits to Petun Country (Hunter 1897b). To Hunter's probable chagrin, another contributor to the series not only contradicted some of Hunter's opinions on the location of certain historic Huron village sites, but was given more space, thanks, credibility, and even a photograph (Thwaites 1896-1901:34:facing 249). This was the Rev. Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., F.R.S.C.,

Archivist at St. Mary's College, Montreal. Hunter thought his work was belittled, and his "first enthusiasm flagged" (Hunter 1957). He consoled himself by working, recording, assimilating, and writing with heightened commitment and care towards his masterwork, *A History of Simcoe County* (Hunter 1909).

Annually from 1901 to 1905, Hunter visited the Petun Country to update his records. He was the first to identify as "old beaver dams" (Hunter 1886-1940a) Boyle's "fortified place," which Father Jones had accepted in 1902 as "Old Indian Earthworks," (Jones 1903:132, 1909:243).

From his various publications and unpublished notebooks (Hunter 1886-1940a, 1886-1940b), it seems likely that Hunter recorded 11 sites and find spots in and around Petun Country during his summers at Clarksburg. He learned of 5 of these from Samuel Haney, who moved from Phelpston to his farm on the Blue Mountain. The other six, Hunter recorded while employed by the GSC. He followed up on 31 of David Boyle's sites published in the AAROs. He did not necessarily visit all these sites, nor did he carefully check the actual locations he was told about. As a result, some duplication inflated the number of estimated sites, particularly ossuaries. Hunter was probably the first to propose that the sites near Clarksburg and in the Beaver Valley were pre-contact Odawa, and that the sequence of the nine Petun villages on the Jesuit 1639 list corresponded to their geographic sequence on the ground, south to north. He was also the first to speculate on the historic identifications of some of these villages. That he wrote "it is doubtful whether any of the nine villages were outside of Nottawasaga township," when he knew about Samuel Haney's farm in Collingwood township, suggests that he had concluded the Haney occupation was pre-Jesuit (Hunter 1909; Garrad 1999a).

Hunter first visited Samuel Haney's farm on the Blue Mountain in 1887. His final visits occurred in 1904 and 1905, when he was researcher for the GSC, and before Haney sold and moved in 1906. In between, Hunter was unemployed, researching and compiling *A History of Simcoe County* (Hunter 1909). Yet in 1901, 1902, and twice in 1903, he returned to Haney's farm and took time to record Haney's reminiscences about the area.

Early in the twentieth century, a controversy arose over the location of the principal village of the Deer Nation, Ekarenniondi. In 1898, Hunter held the opinion that the location of the village and the rock it was named for "cannot be determined" (Thwaites 1896-1901:20:308fn6). However, in 1902, on realizing there were the remains of a substantial Indian village site and also rocks on the Haney farm (today's "Scenic Caves"), he concluded that Ekarenniondi, the Petun village by the rock, was on the Haney farm. Hunter's two visits to Samuel Haney's farm in June 1903 were likely to confirm this conclusion.

His intellectual rival, Father Arthur E. Jones, had announced that the rock Ekarenniondi lay in the Pretty River Valley, more than five miles away (Jones 1903). Hunter found Jones' proposal, the process by which it was achieved, and above all its author, unacceptable, and was probably concerned that Father Jones was now turning his attention to the Blue Mountain country, where Hunter's opinions had not been challenged. Hunter was to describe other research by Jones in 1902 as "Utterly without proof or probability… It looks learned, but it is a bag of wind" (Killan 1983:194). From 1903, the disagreement between Hunter and Jones, which had begun in 1888 as a difference of opinion about the location of St. Ignace II in Huronia, became a series of clashes, usually in print, which only ended with the death of Father Jones 20 years later. Thwaites' discreet comment on the dispute was, "Antiquarians differ as to the site" (Thwaites 1896-1901:33:273fn7).

Perhaps fortunately, Hunter became distracted by employment and writing until 1908. In 1909, Hunter and Jones both published books concerning the history of Simcoe County. After this, isolated by deafness, Jones dedicated himself to the cause of the Canadian Martyrs (Devine 1918) and withdrew from the fray. When Hunter (1912) published a scathing criticism of Jones' book, Jones did not respond. The last shot was Hunter's.

Although Hunter developed an antagonism towards his former friend and mentor David Boyle, Hunter succeeded Boyle as the secretary of the OHS, working in the same building as the Ontario Provincial Museum from 1913 until he became ill. In February 1931, Hunter suffered a debilitating stroke, and he died in 1940 (Hunter 1957:31,37; Killan 1983:160). Perhaps his last major contribution was to propose the route by which the Petun and Neutrals communicated (Hunter 1927).[6]

Rev. Father Arthur Edward Jones S.J.

As the archivist of the Society of Jesus at St. Mary's College, Montreal, Father Jones had access to original Jesuit manuscripts and maps, some unpublished. His gift for languages enabled him to attempt translations, sometimes for the first time, of Huron, Latin, and French documents and names. He was a substantial and scholarly contributor to the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, author of various historical works, and editor of the *Canadian Messenger* from 1893 to 1900 (Jones 1909:viii). His book *'8endake Ehen' or Old Huronia*, published in 1909, was 15 years in the writing and incorporated 30 years of study and fieldwork, including two research field trips to the Petun Country. More than 500 pages long, 52 of which were devoted to the Petun, the publication earned him an honorary LL.D. degree from the University of Toronto. To his supporters he was "a recognized authority, perhaps the greatest in America, on the Canadian missions between 1611 and 1800," and his book was "an exhaustive treatise, a book of reference rather than a history; but it tells the reader all that will ever be known on the work of the Jesuits among the Hurons" (Devine 1918). But concerning the Petun, Father Jones was more often wrong than right.

Among Father Jones' critics were those who knew the ground better and demanded factual archaeological evidence for Jones' archivally and linguistically-based theories. Jones has been described as an archaeologist (e.g., Williams 1950:1), but he himself made no such claim. His approach to the identification of a specific village site was to translate its name and seek a place with corresponding geography—a technique particularly irksome to the more archaeologically-minded Andrew F. Hunter, who insisted that "the philological method must be secondary to the archaeological" (Hunter 1912:78). The arguments between these two men were so entertaining that the *Collingwood Bulletin* serialized one of their disputes in 10 consecutive issues (Hunter 1908a, 1908b; Jones 1908). In his "Prefatory" to Jones' 1909 volume, Provincial Archivist Alexander Fraser addressed a placatory and consoling message to Hunter that may apply to many of us:

> The subject is not free of difficulties; opinions may well differ on some important points. Friendly criticism and earnest research on reasonable lines may yet elucidate problems now obscure, and are to be welcomed. In this connection the work of Mr. A.F. Hunter, M.A., merits careful consideration [Fraser 1909:vii].

After studying the Jesuit records and translating the Petun names of villages into English, Jones (1903:107-108, 1909:232-233) rendered Ekarenniondi as "where there is a point of rocks which projects or stands out," "Here the rocks stands (or juts) out," which he abbreviated to "The Standing Rock." He reasoned from this that the village with the same name, which he believed the Jesuits named St. Mathias, must be near "some monumental rock: a rock of exceptional formation, something out of the common." He believed that the location of the rock would lead to finding not only the nearby village of St. Mathias but also the more distant village of Etharita (St. John). It lay "about twelve miles from St. Mathias in a southerly, or more likely in a south-westerly direction" (Jones 1903:112, 1909:235).

Father Jones twice published the story of his 1902 expedition to the Petun Country to search for the rock Ekarenniondi (Jones 1903:106-117,131-136; 1909:214-248). In August 1902, the exploration party of five set out westerly from Stayner to search for a monumental or prominent

rock. Turning south at Duntroon, they made their first stop the Anderson farm, to see what Boyle had thought was an Indian earthwork (Boyle 1889a:11-12). Their uncritical acceptance of Boyle's determination (Jones 1903:132, 1909:243) indicates they failed to seek the opinion of the hospitable Mr. Anderson, owner of the property, who was probably puzzled at such interest in old beaver dams (Garrad 1981:31-32; Hunter 1886-1940a; Wintemberg 1923). Passing through an area with a number of archaeological sites that they either ignored or didn't know of, the party proceeded to Singhampton. Here they were directed north on the County Line to "rocks and caves." The road dead-ended near the brink of the southern cliff face of the Pretty River Valley. The scene below them

> was bare of vegetation: no moss, no fern... but masses of stone...Across these rocks lay prone, in every direction, whole trunks of trees bleached by alternate rain and sunshine...Stark from the field of shapeless ruins and on the steep slope of the hill, detached from all around, rose a rectangular mass of rock of monumental proportions…it alone stood erect where all else had yielded to the shock...when the very earth had rocked and quaked…It was, in fine ekarenniondi, or the Standing Rock of the Petuns…[Jones 1903:135-136, 1909:247-248].

Father Jones was incorrect on every count. He thought that he was at Devil's Glen, but he had passed that feature miles back. The rock and vicinity he described so picturesquely were neither igneous nor the products of earthquakes. Instead, they were formed by erosion of sedimentary deposits. The starkness was due to a forest fire from which the vegetation was only then beginning to recover. Although Jones himself wrote that "many such bold prominences were likely to be found along this eastern fringe of the Blue Hills" (Jones 1903:132, 1909:243), he did not look for any other similar rocks in the vicinity. Above all, he did not find the remains of a nearby village that could be Ekarenniondi. Nor did the site of the rock meet any of the criteria that can be reasonably deduced from Father Brébeuf's 1636 description of it in the Jesuit records (Thwaites 1896-1901:10:145-147; Garrad 1998a). Ten years later, Andrew Hunter was still pointing out the flaw of the missing village (Hunter 1912:80).

In August 1903, Father Jones returned to the area, this time to search for the village of Etharita, which he believed was four leagues (twelve miles) from the rock Ekarenniondi, "in all probability not due south but in a southwesterly direction" (Jones 1909:230,249). His party spent several days travelling through Artemesia, Osprey, Proton, and Melancthon townships, enquiring about Indian remains without any positive result. Appeals from the pulpits of St. Patrick's Church at Proton and the "chapel" at Dundalk drew no information from the bewildered congregations. The newspaper publicity that continued his campaign after he left was similarly unfruitful (*Economist* 1903). He saw a "low embankment at Shrigley" of indeterminate origin (Jones 1909:254-255) and heard stories of artifacts being found, which he could not confirm.

In two research expeditions Jones failed to find even a single artifact, let alone a village site. He returned to Montreal to write about his "ineffectual" search. He titled his report "The Site of Etharita, or St. Jean, as yet Undiscovered," and included it in *'8endake Ehen' or Old Huronia* (Jones 1909:249-261). He did not comment on the fact that in the interim Fred Birch (1904a, 1904b) and John Lawrence (1908a, 1908b) had published an alternative and excellent candidate for Ekarenniondi, both the rock and village. In 1909, Jones repeated all his 1902 proposals unchanged, including the idea that the Petuns had lived in the Bruce Peninsula and on the Lake Huron shore. He then confused his own earlier construction of the route of Father Nöel Chabanel to the Nottawasaga River with a new, and even less likely, proposal that he had previously rejected (Garrad 1998b; Jones 1903:113,115; 1909:214-261).

Of Father Jones' research technique in Petun Country, Andrew F. Hunter, in his review of *'8endake Ehen' or Old Huronia*, observed that:

> In dealing with the Petun village sites, those of St. Mathias and St. Jean occupy most of the space. Father Jones's method of search for St. Mathias is so typical of the whole work that we may linger on it in passing. He first seeks a meaning for Ekarenniondi, the Indian name of the place, giving 'Standing Rock' as its English equivalent. Then he finds in Nottawasaga an outstanding splinter of limestone rock and thereupon claims that the 'identification' is complete! He does not enquire whether or not an actual village site, with remains, is anywhere near the spot … The result of [Jones'] search for St. Jean is contained in the heading "As yet Undiscovered", although he devotes thirteen pages of the text to it [Hunter 1912:80].

Father Jones failed to find Petun villages in 1902 and 1903 because he started from the wrong rock (Garrad 1999b). He rejected the evidence from Boyle's surveys and Hunter's fieldwork, both of whom had found village sites. He ignored Hunter's published conclusion that the Jesuit period Petun villages were probably all in Nottawasaga township (Thwaites 1896-1901:20:307fn6). He avoided the offer of help and advice from the knowledgeable local Fred Birch. Jones relied more on his interpretation of documentary evidence, which progressively led him away from reality. Even before beginning his search for the Petun Country, he rationalized that it lay west, instead of east, of the Blue Mountains, and that the village of Etharita was in Osprey township (Jones 1903:111-112,114)

Jones' mistaken belief that he had found both the rock and later the village Ekarenniondi was accepted as fact as far away as France (Fouqueray 1930:297fn1). Even more misleading was his proposal that before 1639 the Petun lived on, and south of, the Bruce Peninsula (cf., Figure 1). This arose from his uncritical acceptance of the inaccurate secondary-source Du Creux map, together with his belief that he could derive reliable and specific geographic information from Petun names. To sustain the proposal, Jones ignored the more reliable available primary-source maps and argued for impossibly long journeys for Champlain and the missionaries. He stretched beyond credibility a translation of the name Tionnontate, invented a war with the Hurons to make the Petun move west from Nottawasaga to the Bruce Peninsula, and another war with the Mascoutens to make them move back again. He overlooked the inconsistencies in his own proposed chronology, and he dismissed the archaeological evidence for the location of Petun Country produced by Boyle and Hunter as circumscribed "within too narrow limits the region occupied by that nation" (Jones 1903:109, 1909:219-220,227-229).

Father Jones persisted in the belief that the Petun lived in the Bruce Peninsula and on the Lake Huron shore despite the testimony and maps recorded by people who had actually visited them. He believed, incorrectly, that St. Mathias was the name of a Petun village rather than a mission territory headquartered in the village of St. Matthew. He proposed that the third mission in Petun Country in 1649 was entrusted to Father Noël Chabanel rather than being the refugee Mission of La Conception from Ossossané under Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot. He claimed that the Nottawasaga River was "unfordable" even though it was regularly crossed in all seasons and he himself proposed that the Iroquois crossed it twice in one day, the second time in the dark, in winter, while herding captives and carrying loot. Father Jones' translations of the names Ehwae, Ekarenniondi, Etharita, and Khionontateronons are all now challenged, as are some of his Huron place names (Jones 1903:107-109 & fn; Steckley 1996:9, 10). None of the locations deduced by Jones for six Petun villages (Jones 1909:225-240, 265) are correct.

Father Jones described his book as "a book of reference, rather than a history" (Jones 1909:xi), and it is as a reference that it is most useful. Despite Jones' caveat, his authority and status as archivist at the Jesuit college of St. Mary caused later Jesuit writers to espouse and repeat his speculations as facts and reject consideration of alternatives (e.g., Campbell 1910:363, 370-372; Larivière 1957:202fn1; Talbot 1961:500 note to

page 155). Many historians, ignoring the contrary opinions and evidence of Birch, Blair, Hunter, Lawrence, Williams, and others, did the same. Percy J. Robinson (1941) commented "It seems a pity that two of Father Jones' most serious mistakes have been perpetuated by recent writers."

Even though nearly every proposal Jones made about the Petun has been proven wrong, he provoked other researchers, especially those more familiar with Petun Country, to ask the same questions, re-examine the same evidence, and come to more feasible conclusions. The establishment of the Huron Institute (see below) was in part an organized response to Jones' work. In observing the errors, contradictions, and other points of contention in Jones' 1909 *'8endake Ehen' or Old Huronia*, Andrew F. Hunter concluded, "one regrets that so extensive a work is not more serviceable" (Hunter 1912:81). Paradoxically, we find that Father Jones' errors and contradictions comprise his greatest contribution; they have kept historians, archaeologists, cartographers, and linguists busy confirming or revising his work.

William J. Wintemberg

William John Wintemberg had an early interest in Indian remains, which led him to Boyle and the Ontario Archaeological Museum. Here he gained his first experience (McIlwraith 1949) and published research articles, some mentioning Petun artifacts (Wintemberg 1905, 1906). In 1911, he moved to Ottawa and became the staff archaeologist at the Victoria Memorial Museum (later National Museum of Canada). Although mainly self-taught, "his prolific and model publications established the foundation for much of the prehistory of eastern Canada, in particular, concerning the prehistoric Iroquoian farmers of Ontario" (Wright 1999:2524). A review of the first 50 years of archaeology in Canada in 1932 concluded that "the most active worker has been W.J. Wintemberg, who has excavated no less than six large village sites since 1913, and published a score of papers in various journals" (Jenness 1932:74). One of these village sites was Sidey-Mackay in Petun Country. Wintemberg also spent a summer conducting an archaeological survey of Petun Country and beyond.

In July 1923, Wintemberg took up residence in the Sovereign Hotel, Creemore, and from there began his survey. For two months he travelled widely. He was well received in the area, recording sites and artifact collections, taking photographs, and confirming and correcting Boyle's and Hunter's records. He spent a week in Collingwood recording the Huron Institute collection (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1923; Wintemberg 1923). Wintemberg made his way as far as Cape Rich, now part of the Meaford Tank Range, visiting, recording, and collecting artifacts and records for the museum in Ottawa. The only opposition he encountered was in attempting to see the collection of Albert Williams on the Williams farm in St. Vincent Township (Wintemberg 1923).[7]

What motivated the museum in Ottawa to send Wintemberg to Nottawasaga Township in 1923 for an uncharacteristically extensive and expensive stay? It is true that the Petun were poorly represented in the museum's collections; there were only the Moberly donations of 1895 from the MacMurchy farm and a collection purchased from the Rev. J.M. Goodwillie in 1908, known only to have come from the Craigleith area. This paucity was emphasized by the museum's own publication *An Album of Prehistoric Art*, in which only 5 of the 10 Petun artifacts illustrated were held by the museum (Smith 1923). What happened to induce the sudden but short-lived liberality of the museum's purse-strings in 1923? What prompted the effort to contact members of the public and appear to be doing something massive and important? A federal government archaeologist to whom I posed this question denied the probability of association, but I suspect it is no coincidence that all this was going on less than a year after British archaeologist Howard Carter, in far-off Egypt, had discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun. This event caused a revitalized interest in archaeological heritage in many countries, if only for a short time.

During his 1923 survey, Wintemberg concluded that the most promising archaeological sites to excavate in Petun Country would be MacMurchy and Melville, but when he returned in 1926

neither was available. Janet MacMurchy was interested, and donated material, but the site's location was in crop (Jenness 1928:8). According to Melville family lore, they did not want their artifacts removed because finding artifacts relieved the tedium of ploughing. They did, however, direct Wintemberg across the Mad River valley to their relatives the Sideys. According to Wintemberg's posthumous report, it was Alice Webster, a local enthusiast of archaeology, who arranged for him to dig on the Sidey farm (Wintemberg 1946:154). Wintemberg hired Milton Melville as excavation crew foreman, his qualification for the $3-per-day stipend (Melville 1968) being that, as the grave digger in the Creemore Union Cemetery, he had both digging experience and his own equipment.

In addition to Melville, the crew consisted of several high school boys, including David Nicol and Herbert G. Webster. The dig lasted from June 18 to September 24, 1926 (Jenness 1928:7-8), and was the longest and largest archaeological excavation conducted to that date in Petun Country. The Creemore community followed Wintemberg's progress with interest, and the *Creemore Star* ran a commentary, even recording the arrival and departure of the archaeologist's visiting wife and child during a very hot summer. Mrs. Wintemberg and daughter resided the two weeks as guests of the Sidey family. Editor C. Bert Smith commended "Messrs. Sidey and Mackay... for their public spirit in permitting the museum authorities to excavate on their property." He interviewed Wintemberg, and in later years reminisced about the dig and the meeting. "This learned man [was]...an authority" (Smith 1926a, 1926b, 1926c, 1926d, 1926e, 1959, 1962). Until recently there were still local people who remembered the summer of 1926, including Art Gowan, Herbert G. Webster, C. Bert Smith (1959), and Jenny (Nichol) Sidey. Jenny Sidey also remembered cornhills near the site (personal communication 1969). Webster was a school boy at the time, but, nevertheless, Wintemberg consulted and cited Herbert and his father (Wintemberg 1946:155,180).

During the excavations, Milton Melville found a piece of European brass that he described as somehow different from the brass he found on his own farm (Melville 1968). He wondered if it had been deposited from somewhere else, possibly brought in with manure. For this reason, Wintemberg was cautious in accepting the brass as evidence of European contact for the site.

Wintemberg's work at the Sidey-Mackay site proved the value of prior experience because he was able to make comparisons with earlier sites he had excavated and with other collections. Pottery resembling that of St. Lawrence Iroquoians suggested to him that the Sidey-Mackay people were related more closely to people formerly inhabiting regions to the east than to the west (Wintemberg 1946:181-182). Thanks to the assistance he received from the United States National Museum at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington (USNM), where the bones he excavated were analyzed, he was able to observe that, at Sidey-Mackay, there were more beaver than deer bones. The number of stone end scrapers "probably used in dressing hides" led him to suggest that the beavers were processed in the village (Wintemberg 1946:167). This, together with the piece of European metal that was found, led to the proposal that these people were processing beaver for the European fur trade (Garrad 1981).

Wintemberg included references to Petun material in "Foreign Aboriginal artifacts from post-European Iroquoian sites in Ontario," and "Distinguishing characteristics of Algonkian and Iroquoian cultures" (Wintemberg 1926, 1931) among other papers.

The huge volume of material that Wintemberg shipped to Ottawa from his 1926 work on the Sidey-Mackay site included "two thousand three hundred sixty fragments of rims appertained to 1,997 pots," elsewhere described as "about 2,000 pots" (Wintemberg 1946:159,180). The Anthropology Division's unheated storage building was filled. In 1927 more than "49 cases of archaeological specimens" containing 4,000 artifacts awaited unpacking and the construction of new storage cabinets. "Only those specimens that are least perishable and least often required" were given space (Jenness 1928:5,11).

Many of the pottery rimsherds and indeed "the majority of the materials reported by Wintemberg" from Sidey-Mackay, and also from other sites that Wintemberg excavated, were apparently

dispersed to other museums although in 1974 no record of these transactions could be found (Garrad 1978b). Wintemberg's field records remained (Wright 1981:53), but they only partly compensate for the fact that the surviving remnant of the collection is no longer representative of the site (Garrad 1978c).

The unprecedented attraction that the Petun Country held in 1923 for the National Museum was as short-lived as it was sudden. It had faded entirely by 1926. While he worked at the Sidey-Mackay site, Wintemberg lived in a tent, able to only visit the comparative luxury of the Sovereign Hotel, where he had stayed in 1923. Wintemberg was more than three months at Creemore in 1926, not only excavating the Sidey-Mackay site, but also visiting, testing, and photographing other nearby sites. Webster (1976) remembered 40 packing cases of artifacts ready to be shipped to Ottawa in July 1926, before the work was halfway through. The National Museum's report on all this work, less than a page and half long (Jenness 1928:7-8), is a noticeable contrast to the lengthy reports given to Wintemberg's previous excavations. Even some of his analysis had to be done in the United States (Wintemberg 1946:154 fn1; United States National Museum 1877-1975).

Wintemberg was unable to fulfill his commitment that all the material he excavated would be deposited in the National Museum and that "a report of the culture of the site will be prepared and published" (*Creemore Star* 1926). After Wintemberg's death, in 1941, the draft of his unfinished report was found among his effects by Dr. Douglas Leechman, who arranged for its publication in *American Antiquity* twenty years after the dig (Wintemberg 1946). Its principal deficiency is the lack of maps showing where excavations occurred on the site.

Local Perspectives: Farmers and Townspeople Weigh In on the Evidence (1903–1949)

Early interest in Petun Country was by no means unique to academics and professional archaeologists. Publications about the pre-European occupation of the area quickly aroused the curiosity of residents of Nottawasaga and Collingwood, among them both farmers and townspeople. Although they did not have formal training in archaeology or linguistics, these people did have an understanding of the region that could only be gained by living there year-round. They knew where sites were found, and, equally important, they knew where sites were not likely to be found. They published, and they organized local exhibitions, a society, and field trips. Local newspapers ran stories on excavations, exhibits, and even talks presented locally. Jones' ideas about the locations of Ekarenniondi and Etharita may be considered a source of inspiration. For a number of reasons, local people found his proposed locations so problematic that they sought alternative and better candidate locations for the villages and the Standing Rock.

Fred Birch

Fred Birch was a farmer who published only one archaeological article in his life, but it atests to the value of a farmer's perspective and familiarity with the land and the dictates of agriculture.

On reading Father Jones' proposal that a rock in the Pretty River valley represented the rock Ekarenniondi, and his consequent belief that the village of Etharita (St. John) would be found in Osprey township (Jones 1903:114, 134-136), Birch reacted as a farmer. He rejected Jones' proposal on the grounds that the growing season in the area was too short for native staples such as corn, pumpkins, sunflowers, and tobacco (Birch 1903-1912). He had learned, 25 years earlier, of a village site near today's Scenic Caves. Associated with rocks and caves, it lay more than five miles north of Jones' rock. As an amateur scholar, he sought the opinions of the people of Osprey on the matter and, in 1903, travelled to the village site and nearby rocks to satisfy himself that he had the better candidate (Birch 1904a, 1904b).

Correspondence, now at the ROM (Birch 1903-1912), reveals Birch to have been a frustrated intellectual, uncertain about approaching people outside his sphere, hampered somewhat by his circumstances as a farmer with a large family unsympathetic to his interest in

Indian remains. Although he modestly described himself as "an uneducated farmer," he was literate, with a good turn of phrase. As a music and voice teacher, he was socially active, and he was a choirmaster to several churches. He had read and wanted to obtain copies of the *Jesuit Relations*. He enthused over the Provincial Museum. By coincidence, it was housed in the Normal School building in Toronto where his daughter Rhoda trained as a teacher. It was while visiting her that Birch got to know the museum and met David Boyle. From that time, Birch started receiving the AAROs. In return, on several occasions, he donated Indian artifacts from the Beaver Valley to the museum.

Birch (1903-1912) first wrote to Boyle to say he disagreed with Jones' (1903) proposals concerning the rock Ekarenniondi. At the same time, knowing of the Plater-Martin village site at Craigleith, Birch reasoned that "it must have been to that Indian town at Craigleith that the 'women and children and many aged men' fled over the ice, from 'Ossossane'." This reasoning shows that Birch was familiar with an aspect of the dispersal of the Huron in 1649. He wrote again, in 1903, to inform Boyle that, on his advice, Birch had corresponded with Jones in June. Jones replied in July, indicating that he would be back in the area in August, but meanwhile Birch "was to bear in mind that St. Jean was the most southerly of all the Petun villages and that the Standing Rock was not in the heart of the Tobacco country, but near the eastern frontier."

Father Jones did return in August 1903 but avoided Birch. On October 14, 1903, Birch wrote again to Boyle following an expedition to the caves and a village site on the Haney farm, enclosing drawings of a lizard effigy pipe he acquired there. He also agreed, evidently in response to an earlier suggestion by Boyle, to write an article to refute Father Jones' ideas. Boyle agreed to revise and correct it, and so Birch gave his immediate attention to this commitment. In December, Birch complained that in editing his manuscript Boyle "had used the scissors unmercifully" (Birch 1903-1912).

Birch's article was published in the AARO under the title "The Standing Rock," and again in the *Collingwood Bulletin* under the title "Says Father Jones Is Wrong" (Birch 1904a, 1904b). His new status as a published authority encouraged him to write to Andrew Hunter. In his first letter to Hunter in 1904, Birch revealed his feelings about Father Jones: "I had the supreme impudence to write to Father Jones," and he wondered if Jones' avoidance of him was because "he must have come to the conclusion that I am right." In another 1904 letter Birch commented on the Hunter vs. Jones dispute as follows: "I had to laugh at the way you settled the infallible Father Jones." They were still rehashing negative opinions of Father Jones in 1912. That year, after returning to the village site on the Cook farm, Birch sent Hunter drawings of artifacts in Jim Cook's collection as well as of artifacts from the site.

Wintemberg began a correspondence with Birch in 1919. In a reply to Wintemberg, dated February 12 that year, Birch enclosed drawings of some the Birch collection artifacts by Hannah Birch. By this time, Fred was blind, retired, widowed, and living in Meaford. Wintemberg saw the Birch and Cook collections when he visited during his survey in 1923, just before Birch died. Wintemberg was the first to realize that there were archaeological artifacts on both the Haney farm and the adjoining Cook farm (Wintemberg 1923).[8]

Birch's identification of the Ekarenniondi Standing Rock at the Scenic Caves was so obviously right that Jones' notion that it was in the Pretty River valley was soon forgotten. Birch's (1904a, 1904b) article remains the ultimate published authority on the subject. Blair (personal communication 1961-79), Bourrie (1944:4), Hunter (1912:80), Lawrence (1908a, 1908b, 1909, 1916), Wintemberg (1923), and I all agreed with him. Although Birch identified the best candidate for Ekarenniondi rock and village sites, he did not find a village named St. Mathias because, Father Jones' opinion to the contrary, there was no such village. St. Mathias was the name of a *mission territory* headquartered in the village of St. Matthew, one of two villages that had moved, by Jesuit times, from Birch's location at the Scenic

Caves, to the ridge above Craigleith (Garrad 1997a, 1999b).

Jones' (1903) article in the AARO changed Birch's life. It helped him realize his latent interest, transformed his hearsay knowledge into scientific enquiry, and inspired him to write letters and author contributions to the AARO. His work was long remembered in the Beaver Valley (Alderdice 1965).[9]

The Huron Institute, David Williams, George W. Bruce, John Lawrence, Maurice Gaviller, and James Morris

The Collingwood Mechanics' Institute and Library Association was founded in 1856. In 1896, the library function was assumed by the Town of Collingwood as a Free Library. In 1899, application was made to the Carnegie Corporation for a grant to build a Carnegie Library building; a grant was received in 1903. The building was erected on land donated by local citizens Thomas Long and John J. Long, and the library opened in 1904 (Sandell 1985).

Interest in their Petun predecessors was high among the early settlers in the Petun Country. By the early 1900s, there were families with sufficient time, interest, and literacy to remember David Boyle's 1885 circular, to collect information on local Indian sites and remains for the Ontario Archaeological Museum, and to receive the AAROs. Local newspapers reported Indian finds as public news and asked for reports of Indian remains (*Creemore Star* 1890a). The *Flesherton Advance* even boasted an archaeological editor (*Creemore Star* 1890a, 1890b, 1893). Knowledge of local archaeological remains was widespread, as was awareness that the original pioneers were passing away. After several years of talk about starting a historical society, on April 14, 1904, the *Collingwood Bulletin* announced that "the time is now ripe." The Huron Institute was founded that month, a constitution was adopted the month after, and by the third month the Huron Institute was fully active as "An Educational Association Formed with a Large Membership" and a programme that was to include monthly meetings, exhibitions, and field research (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1904a, 1904b, 1904c; *Enterprise-Messenger* 1904a; *Collingwood Saturday News* 1908). Although the institute was founded in 1904, its crest bears the date 1903, perhaps explained by the desire to counter Jones' proposal, in 1903, that the Petun had lived in Bruce County and Osprey Township (Jones 1903:106-116,131-136). This idea created interest bordering on consternation in the Collingwood area.

David Williams, editor and owner of the *Collingwood Bulletin*, was a principal instigator of the Huron Institute's founding. Although "the discovery of Indian relics, the location of Indian villages, battle-grounds and burial places" was only one of the institute's five founding objectives, it was perhaps the principal interest of Williams. He hoped the group would collect Indian artifacts and establish a museum. The Huron Institute found a home in the new Collingwood library building, where, in November 1904, a "Loan Exhibition" was held and 21 people exhibited Indian artifacts. Not all the owners reclaimed their exhibits afterwards and so the Huron Institute found itself in possession of artifacts and began a museum by default (*Enterprise-Messenger* 1904b). Serious research, collecting, writing, and lecture programs followed. Details of donations to the Huron Institute Museum were published as news (e.g., *Collingwood Bulletin* 1908a; *Enterprise-Messenger* 1905; Morris 1908, 1909). The institute affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society (OHS), and annual reports of their activities were included in the OHS's annual report beginning in 1905. Williams, the secretary, was elected a councillor of the OHS for 1905–1906 and remained on council and committees for years to come, serving twice as president (1910–1912 and 1935–1936) (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1944; Ontario Historical Society 1906:3, 4, 36, 55-56, 1911:20-21).

The continuing research of Father Jones in the area remained of great interest to institute members. Sometime president of the institute and warden of Simcoe County Major (later Lt.-Colonel) George W. Bruce responded with his own opinions in a lecture in 1906 (Bruce 1907:37-38; Ontario Historical Society 1906:56). The zeal of the Huron Institute in collecting

Indian artifacts was commended by the OHS (1907:20). Artifact donations and institute activities received much local publicity, not only in the newspaper owned by Williams but also in its rivals. Articles and talks by Birch (1904b), Hugh Hammond (1905), and John Lawrence (1908a, 1908b) were reported as news. The lingering concern over Jones' interpretations led to formal expeditions to sites in the Pretty River valley and to Jones' Standing Rock in 1907. That year, John Lawrence separately researched the Plater-Martin village site at Craigleith (Ontario Historical Society 1907:3).

When Francis and Alice Webster of Websterville, west of Creemore, became members in January 1906, the Institute gained access to the family's unsurpassed knowledge of the Indian remains in the Creemore district (Hargrave 1983:20, 1984:148). On Victoria Day 1908, John Lawrence, James Morris, and Maurice Gaviller of the Institute's exploration committee availed themselves of the Webster family's knowledge, hospitality, and "team and conveyance" to visit a number of archaeological sites near the Webster home. Their explorations were recorded publicly and widely (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1908a; *Creemore Star* 1908a, 1908b; Lawrence et al. 1909; *Collingwood Saturday News* 1908). From the published accounts, the sites visited in 1908 may be recognized today as the Melville and Latimer villages, the Duff/Perry camp, and the Rhodes site. The Sidey-Mackay village was among the nearby sites recorded but not visited at the time (*Creemore Star* 1908a, 1908b; Hargrave 1983:20-21; Ontario Historical Society 1907:20).

The institute's first publication, Volume 1 of *Huron Institute Papers and Records* in 1909, included a map of archaeological remains in Petun Country (Lawrence et al.1909). The same year, curator James Morris (1909) reported that the institute held 913 "Indian relics of this county." This careful phrasing was probably because not all items in the collection were of local origin; some came from Christian Island.

The interest that livestock breeder John Lawrence took in field research may have been another result of ongoing doubts about Jones' work. Lawrence, always interested in the Petun, had exhibited Indian artifacts at the loan exhibition of 1904. His first paper, reprinted several times, addressed the issue of Ekarenniondi (Lawrence 1908a, 1908b, 1909, 1916). As president of the institute in 1908, he, with fellow members of the exploration committee Gaviller and Morris, curator of the institute collection, methodically explored all known archaeological sites from Banda north to Craigleith, locating villages and obtaining relics. One of these relics was a "Jesuit Ring" from the Kelly-Campbell site on the Kelly farm near Duntroon (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1908b).

This committee lapsed when both Lawrence and Morris left Collingwood—Lawrence for California in 1911, dying there in 1931 (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1931; *Daily Times-Advocate* 1931), and Morris for Toronto, where he was transferred by the Bank of Montreal in 1912, dying there in 1939 (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1939). The days of field research sponsored by the Huron Institute had ended. In 1911, the OHS lauded the contributions and work of Lawrence, Gaviller, and Morris for the Huron Institute (Ontario Historical Society 1911:15-22, 29; 1912:100-101). With time, Williams was left increasingly without support. Formal research and regular public lectures by the Huron Institute were suspended during the Great War and were never consistent thereafter. In 1914 and 1939, Williams produced publications in the Huron Institute's *Papers and Records* series. The final volume was a a general catalogue of the museum holdings, which unfortunately did not include the Indian artifacts.

The museum continued to receive donations of artifacts. In 1920, William A. Smith donated his collection of Indian artifacts from the Glebe and McLean sites on the Glebe and McLean farms after his cousin, Jay Blair, prevailed on him to do so (Ontario Historical Society 1921:40). The institute's collection proved useful to at least one professional archaeologist: Wintemberg studied it during his 1923 survey (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1923; Wintemberg 1923). After this, interest diminished. According to Marsh (Collingwood & District Historical Society 1996:6), there was little security and there were no regular opening hours. And the basement

room in the Carnegie library sometimes flooded. In 1931, the Huron Institute once again hosted the annual meeting of the OHS, but on this occasion none of the papers presented were specific to the Petun (Ontario Historical Society 1931). The last known donation of Indian artifacts to the institute at its Carnegie Library location was by Miss A.R. Williams of Clarksburg on July 31, 1957.

The Petun archaeological artifacts gathered by the Huron Institute, which survived years of neglect and a calamitous fire, are now curated in the Collingwood Museum. The name of the Huron Institute is no longer associated with the collection, but it survives at many reputable libraries in the three volumes of *Huron Institute Papers and Records* published in 1909 (Volume 1), 1914 (Volume 2), and 1939 (Volume 3). A brief history of the institute was compiled (Garrad 1999c) before its centennial anniversary was celebrated in Collingwood in 2004. At some point the Huron Institute became affiliated with The Royal Society of Canada. The name still appeared on the Society's List of Affiliated Societies in 1932 (Royal Society of Canada 1932:xvi).

Figure 3. *Alice Webster (née Hollingworth). Photo courtesy of her granddaughter, Helen Blackburn.*

The Webster Family

Alice Hollingworth (Figure 3) had corresponded with David Boyle even before she met and married Francis (Frank) Ernest Webster and moved to Websterville, near Creemore, in 1902. As Mrs. F.E. Webster, she continued corresponding with Boyle, received the AAROs, collected artifacts, and researched and wrote about local history and Indian remains (e.g., Webster 1907, 1934). The Websters joined the Huron Institute in January 1906, and Alice Webster attended the joint meeting that year of the Huron Institute and OHS. On Victoria Day, 1908, they entertained and assisted the Huron Institute's Exploration Committee on their tour of the southern Petun Country.

The Institute benefitted greatly from the Webster family's presence in the south part of the Petun Country—as did our archaeological knowledge of the Petun. Long before coming to Creemore in February 1902 to lecture for the Women's Institutes, Alice Hollingworth had visited the ruins of Ste. Marie I and nearby Indian villages, learned about Indian artifacts and archaeology, and discovered Indian artifacts in Muskoka. According to her son, Herbert, Alice brought to Websterville her expertise in botany, geology, other natural sciences, dairying, history, archaeology, writing, traveling. As president of the local Farmers' Institute, Francis (Frank) E. Webster knew all the local farmers, and Alice soon learned and recorded who was finding "Indian tools, pottery and ash while ploughing fields." Francis E. Webster built a house for his bride, and it is said that she named it "Etharita" for the prominent Petun village destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649. One of the local archaeological sites that Frank Webster mentioned to his visiting Huron Institute colleagues in 1908 was Sidey-Mackay. Following his survey in 1923, William J. Wintemberg from the National Museum of Canada returned in 1926 to excavate the site, and he credited the Webster family with assisting with logistics and providing information. The Websters' son, Herbert, participated in the work

(Hargrave 1983:6, 21-23; Wintemberg 1946:154, 155, 180).

Alice Webster transmitted her collection of Indian artifacts to her son Herbert, her complete collection of AAROs to her daughter Alice, and her intellectual interests to them both. Herbert catalogued the artifacts and added those he himself collected and excavated from sites near Creemore. He married the daughter from the Dickinson farm, where the Clark brothers collected in 1918 (see below). Alice Webster's granddaughter Helen assisted Conrad Heidenreich in 1973 during his examination of the Indian cornhills surviving on a property near Creemore (see below; Heidenreich 1974) and continues to write and publish on local history. Helen and Herbert both participated in the archaeological excavations on the Kelly-Campbell site in 1974, sponsored by the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS) during my presidency. Helen, her mother, Alice Emmett, and her uncle Herbert Webster, provided much information for the Blair-Garrad survey (Webster 1976).

Arthur J. Clark and Walter Clark

Although not residents of Petun Country, Arthur James Clark and Walter Clark shared interests with such people as the Websters and with members of the Huron Institute. They travelled around Ontario recording archaeological sites and artifacts. Fergus Grose, former reeve of Creemore, remembered the Clark brothers camping on his father's farm in 1912 while they collected, and perhaps excavated, on the Grose and Melville farms. In 1917 and 1918, they returned, collecting more material from these properties as well as the nearby Dickinson farm. The brothers kept good notes, records, and illustrations of selected artifacts.[10] It seems that it was Walter Clark who made the collections and Arthur J. Clark who kept the catalogue and made the excellent drawings.

Joseph N. Bourrie

Collingwood Postmaster and resident Joseph Bourrie was fascinated by the Jesuit history in the Blue Mountain area and became convinced that everyone should learn the story. As Chair of the Collingwood Board of Trade, in 1944 he published a short history of the Petun with recommendations for a proposed "Huronia Sky Line Drive" to various archaeological sites. In 1947, he undertook an experiment to prove that a village site near the Standing Rock at the Scenic Caves west of Collingwood was the one known to the Jesuits as Ekarenniondi. Citing a supposed Jesuit statement that fires at the Petun village of Ekarenniondi could be seen at Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, Bourrie, acting in conjunction with the Huronia Historic Sites Association and observed by Wilfrid Jury of the University of Western Ontario, lit a fire near the Standing Rock and flashed a light. The flashing light was visible to watchers at Wasaga Beach and at a Huron village site Bourrie thought was St. Michel, but neither the fire nor the light could be seen at Ste. Marie. A Toronto newspaper report titled "Tests Fail to Solve Mystery of Site of Ekarenniondi, Enigma of Huron Indian" was copied in Collingwood as "Historians Seek to Define Location of Indian Village Site." Bourrie followed up in 1948 with "Village of Departed Souls Has Important Role Amidst Indian Legends of District," and in 1949 with "The Petun Country." Much of the route of his proposed Skyline Drive was washed out by Hurricane Hazel in October 1954. Bourrie did not live to see the village site near the Scenic Caves dated to the time of Champlain (that is, pre-Jesuit), and the Jesuit village of Ekarenniondi identified at Craigleith. Joe Bourrie popularized the name "The Petun Country," and demonstrated that within the Petun Country are remains of considerable interest (Bourrie 1944, 1947a, 1947b, 1948, 1949).

Petun Research: The Birth and Development of a Sustained Research Program (1932–Today)

While many individuals, both academic and avocational, showed an interest in the history and archaeology of Petun Country, their interests generally proved to be short-lived or specific to a certain site or region. They aimed, for example, to identify particular villages or mission sites.

Beginning with the work of J. Allan (Jay) Blair, continuing with our collaborative investigations and culminating with my own studies, the focus of Petun studies shifted. We aimed to assemble and integrate the work of previous researchers and to put forward a plausible hypothesis for the sequence of villages in Petun Country.

This collaboration began 1961, but Blair's work started much earlier. Blair initially worked with interested individuals from the Collingwood area, including the Thomases, and with a team from the University of Toronto. These investigations were relatively short compared to our later collaborative programme. To this, Blair contributed his vast local knowledge of the area, its sites, and its residents, and his previous work. I had access to the libraries, the universities, the students, the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS), and contacts in London and Toronto. This combination of scientific research and local and practical knowledge proved effective.

J. Allan Blair: His Background and Early Work

John Allan Alexander Angus Blair (Figure 4), always known as Jay, died in 1979 just short of his ninetieth birthday. He was well known in the Duntroon area and is remembered today for his eclectic interests and his extensive historical and archaeological writings (Garrad 1982a:103-106). Jay Blair's interests continued a family tradition established by two uncles, Donald Blair and Angus Buie. Uncle Donald wrote about local history (*Collingwood Bulletin* 1908c, Blair 1934). Uncle Angus found Indian artifacts on his own and neighbouring[11] farms near Duntroon. His name appeared as a donor in the first Canadian Institute museum catalogue. From Angus, Jay Blair inherited a library of AAROs and an artifact collection, as well as an intellectual interest in the archaeology of Petun Country.[12]

Jay's natural honesty and intellectual curiosity led him to read, research, write, collect, dig, study, publish, try to understand, and where necessary try "to set the record straight." It was his study, interpretation, and publication of his findings that established Jay as a scholarly archaeologist and not just a relic collector. In late life he said, "the archaeological work was the most satisfying, because I was always anxious to find out where the different Indian villages were, and as much about the Indians as I could." He also was editor of, and contributor to, the local township histories published in 1934 and 1967, an active member and sometime president of the Collingwood Writers' Club, and chief historian and archaeologist of the Blue Mountain Historical and Archaeological Society (Garrad 1982a).

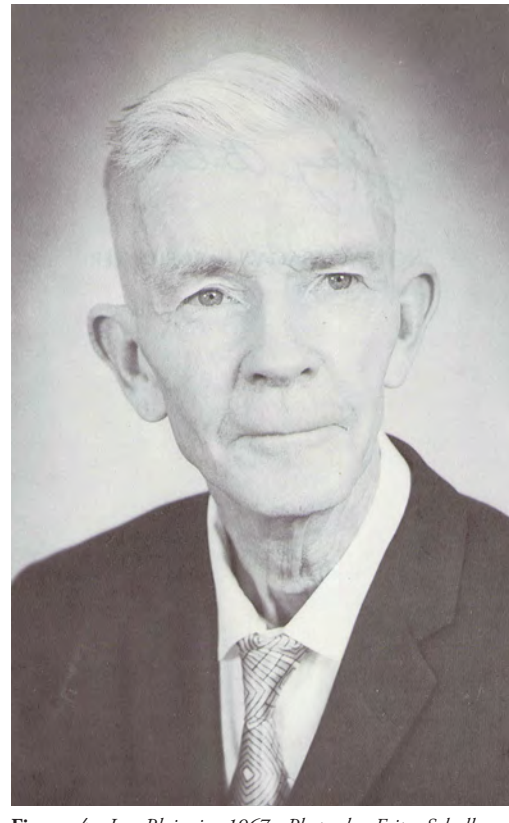

Figure 4. *Jay Blair in 1967. Photo by Fritz Schuller of Collingwood.*

Jay's interest in the Indians began as a boy when he and a companion each found a carved stone effigy of a wolf's head on the Kelly farm (Kelly-Campbell site). From the skill and artistry of the work Jay knew its maker "was no savage." This insight provoked a life-long interest in Indians in general, but particularly in those people who formerly resided in his home township of Nottawasaga. He took to heart David Boyle's dicta that "the whole of this neighbourhood should be examined carefully, as

soon as possible" and "there is yet much to be recorded and considerable material to be collected" (Boyle 1889a:10, 15). In the course of his 1923 survey, Wintemberg sought out Jay as the local authority.[13] The two men did not meet, but recognition by Canada's senior archaeologist, followed by the death of Jay's mentor, Angus Buie, led Jay to consider himself responsible for preserving the knowledge and artifacts he had inherited.

His early investigations may be considered survey and monitoring of sites, in the course of which he discovered significant artifacts. For example, in 1932, he found a small copper medal on the Campbell farm (Kelly-Campbell site). It was embossed on opposite sides with the faces of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, the two founders of the Society of Jesus. Jay concluded that the medal had been the personal property of the Jesuit Father Charles Garnier, who was killed during the Iroquois attack on Etharita in December 1649. This confirmed for him the identification of the site where it was found as Etharita. On another site he found an iron knife unique in Petun Country for the slogan engraved on it: "Le Craindre De Meurir Est pire que La Mort" ("The Fear of Death is Worse than Death"). This was not a typical trade knife but probably the personal property of one of Champlain's men who visited the area in 1616 (Garrad 1969a, 2003b:8-11).

In 1950, Jay visited Father Thomas J. Lally at the Martyrs' Shrine, Midland, to show him the medal and seek his opinion. Here, he was introduced to Wilfrid Jury, who, with his wife, Elsie, operated the Summer School of Indian Archaeology nearby. In 1951, Jay's friend Edward H. Thomas and his wife, Mary Susan, attended the summer school. In July 1952, Jay did the same. Jay shared with the Jurys a farm background, and they remained lifelong friends. Wilfrid Jury endowed Jay with the nickname "Laird of Duntroon."

Until this time Jay had never excavated, but when graves were unexpectedly exposed in a gravel pit north of Duntroon in September 1952, he applied his new skills, and his friend Mary Thomas reported on the finds in the local paper (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1952a). He recorded the bones and reburied them elsewhere. This incident demonstrated the value of having local specialists available who are able to respond quickly to such emergencies. Two small clay pots were found, one badly damaged, the other substantially complete. Jay made drawings of the complete pot and took them to Jozo Weider at Blue Mountain Pottery. Commercial copies of the pot were made, with matching cream and sugar jugs, and the new product line launched in 1953 (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1953a). Sales were disappointing. In 1964, the unsold stock of pots was placed in the Collingwood Museum for sale. The entire remaining stock of the pot was purchased to become part of the furnishings of the restored buildings at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. There they proved popular as small and convenient "souvenirs" and soon all disappeared.[14]

Accepting that archaeology is a multi-stage process that ends with publication, but having no other outlet, Jay sent a report on his 1952 work to three local newspapers (Blair 1952), all of which published it on the same day, September 18, 1952. To Jay's surprise, his report was picked up by other newspapers. Reporters from the print media and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation called to interview him. Senior members of the Ontario archaeological community contacted him. Kenneth E. Kidd of the ROM called to ask for details of the Petun sites that Jay knew of, for the museum's files. Norman D. Clarke came from Barrie, and Frank Ridley, from Toronto. Later, Ridley included a photograph of the pot Jay had excavated in one of his own articles (Ridley 1957). Jay found himself accepted internationally as the leading authority on Indian remains in Petun Country. A letter simply addressed to "The Archaeologist, Duntroon, Ontario" was efficiently delivered to him by the Campbell sisters, operators of the Duntroon Post Office.

Beginning in 1952, Blair collaborated with Edward H. Thomas on several projects, including excavations at the MacMurchy site (Garrad 2003a), described in further detail below. In 1954 and 1955, Blair and Thomas combined resources to search for Father Garnier's chapel on

the Kelly-Campbell site, which, they hoped, would conclusively identify the site as Etharita. Various local intellectuals, doctors, and clergymen flocked to help. One of these was Dr. W.R. Franks, a scientist working with Canada's space programme who was associated with the Royal Canadian Air Force at Camp Borden. He arranged for a photo-reconnaissance airplane to fly over and photograph the site. The dig did locate evidence of a structure. Thomas believed it to be Garnier's chapel (Thomas 1954a, 1959a, 1959b), while Jay thought it was a longhouse. Work by Scarborough College, University of Toronto, in 1974 and 1975, found another similar structure, which is certainly a longhouse, thus supporting Jay's interpretation.

In 1957, Blair and Thomas again co-operated to explore the Paddison-Bellwood site, near Stayner, locally supposed to be the site of the Jesuit St. Thomas. They demonstrated that, being a Lalonde period site, it was too early to be of the Jesuit period (Thomas 1957a).

Edward H. and Mary Susan Thomas

Edward Harold Thomas and Mary Susan Thomas were teachers from Toronto, intellectuals, poets, and writers who spent their summers in Collingwood, especially after retirement. They met Jay Blair after he had published articles in 1949 commemorating the anniversary of the Iroquois attack on Etharita 300 years earlier (Blair 1949a, 1949b). The Thomases published two books of their poetry and researched and wrote prolifically for local newspapers on local subjects, especially history and archaeology.[15]

In 1952, Mildred MacMurchy contacted Edward Thomas after reading one of his articles and invited him to see the Indian artifacts her family had found on their farm. This was the same farm from which one of Captain Moberly's sons had taken artifacts to Ottawa about a century before. Thomas accepted the invitation and together with Jay Blair and Craigleith resident Gilbert C. Patterson, a professor of history at the University of Toronto, made a test excavation on the site on September 13, 1952. Finding the site rich and only minimally disturbed, they ceased work and sought greater resources from Dr. Thomas F. McIlwraith, chair of the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto. Thomas wrote an account for the local newspaper, which gave it front page coverage (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1952b), possibly because the editor was Jack MacMurchy, a relative of Mildred's. Another article followed in October, after a meeting on the site of a number of Ontario's more eminent archaeologists, whom the Thomases invited and entertained. All advocated formal excavations (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1952c; Garrad 2003a:13; Thomas 1952). Patterson took the problem back to colleagues at the University of Toronto. The university's department of anthropology agreed to excavate on the site the following year. The resulting report (Bell 1953a) mentions the three local men who made the excavation possible, but does not acknowledge their responsible decision to turn their explorations over to the university. Their skilfully conducted test excavation was disappointingly dismissed as the work of "collectors." In fact, the trio had given the artifacts they recovered to the site's owners, Mildred and Murdoch MacMurchy, and these artifacts were freely available for examination, as were Edward H. Thomas' drawings of them.[16]

In 1954 and 1955, Thomas, Blair, and other local supporters conducted archaeological research on the Kelly-Campbell site (Thomas 1959a, 1959b). In 1957, they both explored the Paddison-Bellwood site, near Stayner (Thomas 1957a). When the Cook farm segment of the Haney-Cook site was sold and the estate auctioned, Thomas persuaded Mrs. Robert (Cook) Adams to withdraw from the sale the family's artifact collection, which had been seen by Hunter, Birch, and William J. Wintemberg, and to instead donate it to the ROM.[17] In 1952, Thomas explored a midden deposit on the Plater-Martin site at Craigleith.

Thomas kept detailed notes, maps, and drawings of his activities, and he published locally and in the archaeological press (Thomas 1952, 1954a, 1954b, 1955, 1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1957c, 1957d, 1957e, 1958a, 1958b, 1958c, 1958d, 1959a, 1959b). His unique and reasoned suggestion that the rock Ekarenniondi was the

Hen Rock in Collingwood harbour gained no support. As with Father Jones' candidate rock, it did not meet the essential identification criteria.

In 1950, Edward and Mary Thomas founded the Collingwood Writers' Club. In 1955, in a regular "Museum Corner" series in the *Enterprise-Bulletin* newspaper, the club promoted the removal of the Huron Institute's museum from its unsatisfactory basement room in the Carnegie Library to its own building. The first member to write in the series was Jay Blair (1956). Edward H. Thomas was the principal contributor. The impetus for a new museum was sustained for 52 issues but died when it became apparent that the municipality had little interest in the museum and even less interest in creating a new building for it. Thomas also wrote other articles for newspapers in Collingwood and Barrie (e.g., Thomas 1954a, 1954b, 1955, 1956, 1957b, 1957c, 1957d, 1957e, 1958a, 1958b, 1958c, 1958d). Edward H. Thomas died in 1963, his wife Mary Susan Thomas died in 1966, and the Collingwood Writers' Club closed in 1972 (Garrad 1982a:72-73).[18]

W. Douglas Bell and the MacMurchy Site

Dr. Gilbert C. Patterson's request to the University of Toronto for help to excavate the MacMurchy site resulted in the appointment of Assistant Professor J. Norman Emerson as director of the project. He appointed students W. Douglas Bell and A. Stuart Nease as site directors. Following the excavations, Bell conducted the artifact analysis and wrote the report. The scope and significance to Ontario archaeology of this excavation matches Wintemberg's 1926 work at Sidey-Mackay (Bell 1953a, 1953b; Garrad 2003a). As at Sidey-Mackay 27 years earlier, the local community followed the progress of the university's work with interest, and articles about it appeared in the local newspaper (Bell 1953b; *Enterprise-Bulletin* 1953b, 1953c, 1953d, 1953e). With Bell's final report, the MacMurchy site became the second Petun archaeological site about which something substantial was known (Bell 1953a). The work was, however, confined to middens; no houses were found, and the limits and size of the site were not defined.

Bell was able to use a new technique not available to Wintemberg, or indeed to anyone, because it had only been published the year before. This was a means of establishing relative dates, chronology, and relationships of archaeological sites through percentages and types of pottery rimsherds (MacNeish 1952). Using this method, the university's work established that the MacMurchy village was built in Glass Bead Period 1(GBP1),[19] slightly later than its partial contemporary the Sidey-Mackay village, and remained occupied after Sidey-Mackay, until about 1616 AD[20].

While in the Petun Country in 1953, some of the university students were diverted from the MacMurchy site to salvage remains exposed by a township road grader underneath the side road near the Milne farm. These were curated at the University of Toronto, but it was not until 1998 that they were analysed (Gruspier 1998).

Jay Blair, 1952 and Later: Focussing the Research

From the 1950s on, Jay continued, quietly, almost incidentally, to accumulate records and artifacts. The Jesuit historians Fathers Florian Larivière and Francis X. Talbot both consulted this Presbyterian farmer in researching Father Charles Garnier (Larivière 1957) and Father Isaac Jogues (Talbot 1961, a revision of the 1935 original work). In 1951 at the Kelly-Campbell site, Blair showed Father Larivière the medal that Blair believed had been Father Garnier's, at the spot where he had found it, as evidence that it was the village of Etharita. This, of course, conflicted with Father Jones' opinion that Etharita was miles away. Father Larivière compromised by mentioning the medal and the site in a footnote but writing that it was now impossible to say exactly where the village of Etharita had been. He did acknowledge the help he received from Blair and Thomas (Larivière 1957:35,202), whereas Talbot continued to cite only Father Jones as an authority (Talbot 1961:500, note to p.155).

J. Allan Blair eventually turned from excavating to conducting a series of related experimental projects. The first of them was to plant Indian tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*), mostly on and near village sites, using seeds donated by the Tobacco

Experimental Research Station at Delhi, Ontario, to monitor their growth and progress. He successfully matured a plant, and it produced new seeds. He demonstrated the necessary conditions, which include close fencing to keep out small animals with a taste for young tobacco plants and attentive weeding to exclude faster-growing grasses and vegetation. No plantings in open fields survived, demonstrating that the Petuns could not have grown tobacco in open fields, unlike tobacco farmers today, who grow *Nicotiana tabacum* in open fields using custom-formulated fertilizers and insecticides (Garrad 1996a; Tait 1968:95, 96).

Another experiment demonstrated that a "bannerstone" (a stone with a hole drilled through the centre, with identical, balanced wings on either side) could have been used in spinning as a drop-spindle. The ladies of the Simcoe County Spinners at the Simcoe County Museum in 1975, bemused but co-operative, successfully demonstrated this use was possible. Jay's report on the experiment was published by the Ontario Archaeological Society (Blair 1977), of which Jay had been made an honorary life member in 1974. This was his last archaeological paper.

In 1963, the Collingwood Carnegie Library was torched (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1963). A local businessman, Jozo Weider, generously provided temporary new premises for the museum collection, which had been salvaged from the ruins of the fire. In 1965, the collection was moved into the former Collingwood railway station. Concerned for the artifacts, Blair volunteered to set up the archaeological display. No sooner had he done so than more artifacts were found in the Collingwood Town Hall and in a local school. From January to March 1966, Blair worked in the minimally heated building to incorporate these artifacts into a new display, only to learn, as he was finishing up, that the government was sending a professional museologist to complete the task. Blair spent April and May 1966 assisting her, and on May 26 was a guest of the Provincial Minister of Tourism at the formal opening of the new Collingwood Museum. A supposedly theft-proof display case was provided by another museum. In August 1968, a number of significant artifacts, among them the Kelly Jesuit ring, were stolen from this display case (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1968a). Jay Blair was interviewed about the incident for the local newspaper (Blair 1968).[21]

Jay Blair was honoured with a Canada Medal in 1967 by the Township of Nottawasaga and by a plaque at the museum in 1971. Today, the plaque, associated photos, some artifacts he donated, and his list titled "Archaeological Sites Known to Me" remain testimony of Jay Blair's association with the Collingwood Museum.

Blair played a major role in local archaeological work until his death in 1979 (Garrad 1982a). Until at least 1971, Jay Blair led these excavations, playing host to a growing number of archaeological students and researchers from Toronto, Hamilton, and London. In his eighties he was content to visit excavations, work, observe, interpret, and encourage. He often conducted learned visitors to the spot where he had found the Jesuit medal, where Father Florian Larivière apparently wanted to erect a memorial to Father Garnier.[22]

How did Jay Blair, with only a grade-seven, one-room-school education in Duntroon, become a highly regarded authority, to the extent that intellectuals gathered around him and his friend Dr. Donald H. McKay proposed seeking an honorary doctorate for him? Jay Blair was brought up in the Scottish Presbyterian tradition of self-help. He read and taught himself all his life, so that in reality he was better educated than many university graduates. But, like Fred Birch, he knew and lived with the land, and he proved again that practical experience was often more effective than academic theory.

Charles Garrad

During the 1950s, before I met Blair, I had learned of, and located, the large archaeological site (Plater-Martin) on the old Martin farm at Craigleith. References to it published by the Huron Institute (Lawrence et al. 1909) and a conversation with retired local farmer Charles Campbell, led me to it.

Although it began in the 1950s, my work took direction and shape after I met Jay Blair in 1961, through David Williams' niece Ruth Gibbons.

Jay Blair responded to the letter I sent to the *Enterprise-Bulletin*, which Ruth Gibbons had referred him to. Our correspondence quickly established that our mutual passion to learn more about the history of the Collingwood area focused on the Petun Indians and on the previous work done towards understanding them. A mentor–student relationship developed. It is difficult to separate my earlier work from that of my mentor, because it was undertaken collaboratively. Even after Jay Blair's death in 1979, my work has been a continuation of the pattern and philosophy that evolved in the 17 years of our joint work.

Blair and I saw that, despite the extensive surveys by Boyle, Hunter, and Wintemberg, and the work of various local researchers, there was still no consensus on where the Petun Country began and ended. The number of recorded villages and other sites was far too numerous to be probable, even if the 10 villages Champlain reported in 1616 (Biggar 1922-1936:3:95-96), the 9 the Jesuits named in 1639 (Thwaites 1896-1901:20:43), and the later 5 villages for which there is evidence were all different villages. Nearly all the previous work in the area had been devoted to finding Jesuit mission sites, and it was generally believed that all large villages were *ipso facto* Jesuit missions. Most references to the Petun by outside researchers were speculations on their origins based on minimal evidence. We could only agree with David Johnson of the University of Toronto when he cited William Noble of McMaster University in writing "that the origin and definition of the Petun is complicated and multifaceted" (Johnson 1980:86; Noble 1974:17). We embarked on a programme to methodically visit every archaeological site recorded in the Petun Country literature, and every farmhouse in the Collingwood area if necessary, to find more sites and to understand those of which we were aware.

The Blair/Garrad Survey, 1961–1973

In 1961, Jay Blair and I began a program of archaeological exploration of the Petun area that we now term the Blair/Garrad Survey. For the next 13 years we sought out, visited, and examined the area's farms, collections, archaeological sites, and museums. When necessary, we contacted and interviewed present and former residents of Petun Country. The death of colleagues Gilbert C. Patterson in 1962 and Edward H. Thomas in 1963 underscored the need to record Blair's voluminous knowledge. Between 1964 and the present, our work produced more than three hundred articles and reports.

With the exception of test excavations at the Plater-Fleming site[23] in 1962 and 1963, this phase of our research was entirely devoted to the accumulation of records. We decided to check every known reference in the literature about the Petun and their archaeology, compile a master record of archaeological sites in the Petun area, and accumulate every scrap of knowledge about the Petun Country's Native remains. Since most finds were made many years ago, particularly during the pioneer land clearances, our approach required us to examine all previous work and records by all earlier researchers and writers. This mainly fell to me, while Blair took on the confirmation of sites on the ground, where he was in his element.

Fortunately, the archaeological wealth of the Petun Country had been documented by several notable people, while primary source maps and writings contemporary with the Petun also existed. Moreover, a number of avocational and academic researchers were currently working on related subjects. They became invaluable in later years, when the results of the survey needed to be interpreted.

The methodical field survey phase of the work began in 1961 and continued yearly until 1974. Every known ground reference that could be physically checked was checked and either confirmed or revised. The collections in all the museums and universities, as well as those held privately that could be reached, were examined and recorded. Many private interviews occurred, much genealogical research was conducted to locate forgotten ancestors who had found or remembered artifacts, and a number of surprised former local sons were diligently traced to distant parts and asked for their childhood memories.

A problem that arose from the practice of

designating Petun archaeological sites by the names of their owners was that of duplicate names. No fewer than eleven sites in the Petun Country could be named Currie. After examining various schemes for designating sites and meeting with Carl Borden at the University of British Columbia, in 1967, I adopted Borden's system (Borden 1952, Garrad 1967b, 1967c). As we collected information, we became concerned about how to preserve it. This was also a concern for Norman Emerson of the University of Toronto, with whom we later collaborated.

To research, record, and plot all this information took considerable work. In compiling records of previous researchers, we found that there were some mistaken duplications. Despite all the efforts by Bell, Birch, Boyle, Hunter, Jones, Lawrence, Wintemberg, and others, some sites remained unrecorded. Previous archaeological surveys had not involved repeated returns to sites during different seasons to ascertain their limits and date of occupation. To rectify this was our self-appointed task. We resolved to call on every farm and farmhouse in Nottawasaga and east Collingwood townships if necessary. Only in one instance were we refused access to a farm, there being at the time an infection among the farm animals.

When we had recorded more than enough villages to account for the number of sites appearing in the historic records, one of our next priorities became the separation of the 10 villages known to Champlain in 1616 from the 9 villages on the Jesuit 1639 list. Based on the lack of European trade goods at some sites, it became apparent that there was an earlier period of Petun occupation in the area; some villages, such as Sidey-Mackay were already abandoned when Champlain arrived.

By 1973, a major concern had become what to do with all the information we had gathered. Fortunately, by this time I had become known in the Ontario archaeological community, and in 1974, I served as president of the OAS. Dr. J. Norman Emerson, chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, had befriended me some years before as a credible private scholar. Even though I had no other connection with the university, Emerson sponsored the application for a Canada Council grant to help us develop the results of the Blair/Garrad Survey into an interpreted master record of the Petun area. As this would take about a year, full-time, it was necessary for me to cease paid employment. The application was successful, and the Blair/Garrad Survey metamorphosed into Project the Petun 1974. The Canada Council grant that partly funded this research was the only one ever received for Petun studies.

Project the Petun 1974

The task of writing up our 13 years of joint research and Jay Blair's previous work, and of writing a synthesis of a century of previous research, took more than the budgeted year. On completion, the manuscript of "Project the Petun 1974" was bound in two volumes (Garrad 1975) and delivered to the Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa. A second copy was delivered to the Ontario Ministry of Culture in Toronto (*Creemore Star* 1975; *Enterprise-Bulletin* 1975), which had meanwhile come into being as the result of the *Ontario Heritage Act, 1974*, and a third to the research library at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons.

The project documented our investigation of 239 possible archaeological sites, and the positive identification of 18 villages, 18 campsites, 23 small camps, 21 ossuaries, 10 other areas, and 98 smaller features. The remaining unresolved reports of sites were shown to be generally duplicate and inaccurate references, or beyond explanation. We still had too many remains to be just those of the Petun. We learned that the area we thought of as Petun had been occupied by other peoples long before, and also since. The Petuns were in the Collingwood area only about 70 years out of the thousands of years between the end of the last Ice Age and the modern era. But they had left so much behind that it tended to obscure the evidence of other people and other ages.

The Project the Petun 1974 was intended to record absolutely everything we knew, or thought we knew, about the Petun, and we were satisfied

that we had created an accessible public record. But we were troubled that it also revealed how little we knew about the Petun in spite of all our work. Some sites were little understood and were not sufficiently represented, if at all, in any accessible collection. Some contradictions in the records and literature were still not entirely resolved. The work reflected the limitations of our intellectual and knowledge resources.

Instead of the work being finished, however, it was clear that a new program of problem-oriented archaeological research, with even greater discipline and system in technique and record keeping than before, was needed to close the knowledge gaps revealed by Project the Petun 1974. While archaeologists conducted surveys in other parts of the province (e.g., O'Brien 1976, Ramsden 1977a), our work was unique for several reasons. We investigated the entirety of the Petun Country, rather than just a subsection, which allowed us to propose a plausible sequence of village movements. We were able to visit every farm and check every known reference to an archaeological site. Finally, my involvement and especially that of Jay meant that decades of previous research could be integrated into the final product. The project attracted volunteers, including senior students who went on to write theses and dissertations relating to the Petun, and who continue to assist the work.

I was the second person in Ontario to receive a license under the *Ontario Heritage Act, 1974*, and the annual reports I have filed since then with the appropriate ministry form an on-going record of the history of research and evolution of understanding in the Petun Country over more than three decades.

The Aftermath: A Programme of Excavation and Monitoring

The next 10 years, to 1982, were devoted to an ambitious program of excavations aimed at increasing samples and continually monitoring sites. Some of the excavations lasted several weeks and were repeated seasonally for several years. Between 1974 and 1982, this new program resulted in excavations on 11 sites under my licence (Table 2, Figure 5). During this time Bill Fox discovered two new sites: Indian Brook (in 1978) and Bill McConnell (in 1993).

We also looked beyond the Petun area into the adjacent Beaver valley, a task continued by Michael and Christine Kirby (Garrad 1985a, 1986b, 1989; Kirby 1985, 1987, 1988).Work by others, with my assistance, has occurred at Hamilton-Lougheed, the Duntroon Town Hall (Garrad 1985b), the Glebe, the Pretty River, the Rock Bottom, the MacMurchy, and the Plater-Martin sites.

The Haney-Cook site was re-investigated because the artifacts recovered during our early work did not conform to the interpretation of Birch, Blair, Hunter, Wintemberg, and others that the site was of the Jesuit period (1639–1650 AD), but instead suggested the site was of the earlier Champlain period (ca. 1616). Before rejecting their interpretation, we tested every part of the site for contemporaneity. We found that there were two contemporary palisaded areas or villages on the site, both of the Champlain period, which were successors to two earlier villages further south (McAllister and MacMurchy) and predecessors to two later villages to the north at Craigleith (Plater-Martin and Plater-Fleming). It was these last two sites that were occupied during the Jesuit period. Thus, the village named Ekarenniondi had kept the name when it moved from near the rock Ekarenniondi, at the Scenic Caves, to the ridge south of Craigleith, where it was known to the later Jesuits. This was not inappropriate, for even at Craigleith the village was still the nearest occupied village to the rock at the Scenic Caves.

Sidey-Mackay: Resolution of a Longstanding Problem

Our programme of test excavations and monitoring also allowed us to resolve a longstanding enigma related to the Sidey-Mackay site.

When in 1952 Richard S. MacNeish introduced a new technique for relative dating of village sites through the use of pottery rimsherds (MacNeish 1952), the need for a representative sample from each site became imperative. The total number of rimsherds remaining from the Sidey-Mackay site in the National Museum of Canada collection was only 278 of the original 2,360 (MacNeish 1952:1,

Table 2. *Sites investigated by Garrad between 1974 and 1982, listed from south to north.*

Site Name	Borden Designation	Years Investigated
Sidey-Mackay	BbHa-6	1977
Melville	BbHa-7	1978, 1984
Connor-Rolling	BcHb-3	1980
Graham-Ferguson	BcHb-7	1975,1976
Kelly-Campbell	BcHb-10	1974,1975
McEwen	BcHb-17	1979
Young-McQueen	BcHb-19	1975
McQueen-McConnell	BcHb-31	1978,1993,1995–2000
McAllister	BcHb-25	1978–1982
Haney-Cook (Lower + Upper)	BcHb-27	1975–1978,1982
Plater-Martin	BdHb-1	1975,1976

Figure 5. *Charles Garrad in the field at the McQueen-McConnell site in 1996.*

29-31), or 227 vessels of 1,945 (Wright 1981:53). When the MacNeish technique was applied to the remnant Sidey-Mackay collection at Ottawa, the results were puzzling, not least of all to MacNeish himself. They led him to propose a Petun origin from the opposite direction than had Wintemberg (Garrad 1978c:16) and to suggest that Petun pottery types and percentages were indistinguishable from those of the Huron (MacNeish 1952:29, 31-32, 87). There was even doubt that Sidey-Mackay was a Petun site, as it did not "relate to the rest of the sites identified as historic Petun" (Emerson 1968:59; Ross 1976:55-56).

A number of scholars proposed ingenious scenarios to make Sidey-Mackay fit a logical local sequence of sites (e.g., Emerson 1956:25-40,

1961:193, 1968:38-59; Noble 1974:17; Ramsden 1977b:185-191, 220-225, 273-279; Ross 1976:55-58, 60, 83, 99, 102-105; Wright 1966:150, 156). Eventually it became clear to me that the cause of the difficulty was that the remnant rimsherd collection at the National Museum of Canada was not representative of the original Sidey-Mackay collection and that any research conducted on that collection was, therefore, inherently flawed (Garrad 1978b, 1978c:16). To obtain a collection that was representative, particularly of rimsherds, and to determine if European metal items were present on the site, we undertook further excavations in 1977.

Our suspicions were confirmed when the percentage of the Sidey Notched type of pottery on the site was found to be 44 percent, instead of the 24 percent used by MacNeish (1952:30) and others (Garrad 1978b:25, 1978c). The controversy that existed since 1926 concerning whether European metal truly belonged on the site was also resolved. The skilled crew, using better recovery techniques than Wintemberg's crew, located seventeenth-century European brass, copper, and iron (Garrad 1978d). New evidence demonstrated extensive involvement by the Sidey-Mackay people in the early fur trade, before the recorded AD 1616 arrival of Europeans into the area, during a period termed protohistoric, too early for Champlain or the Jesuits. The new artifact sample demonstrated that the long-held belief that the Sidey-Mackay people had migrated from the Humber River valley was incorrect.

Wintemberg's proposal that the Sidey-Mackay site had an eastern ancestry, based on the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian-like pottery, lingered until subsequent scholarship demonstrated that it resulted from extensive trade with the Huron Rock Nation. Some members of this nation may have originated in the St. Lawrence Valley (Trigger et al. 1980; Warrick 2008). More recently, it has been proposed that some of the shell beads found on the site in 1926 (Wintemberg 1946) and 1977 (Garrad 1978d) were made in France (Turgeon 2001). This is further evidence for the involvement of the Sidey-Mackay people in the fur trade and of contact with Europeans, even if indirectly.

Ancestors and Descendants: The Petun and the Wyandot

When we rediscovered the Plater-Fleming site at Craigleith, which had been concealed by orchards and forgotten for at least a century, several unusually modified black bear mandibles, which we dubbed bear jaw tools, were among the excavated items. Neither we nor any of our colleagues had seen anything like them before. I appealed to the North American archaeological community for any information (Garrad 1969b) and heard from Ronald Mason of Lawrence University in Wisconsin, where one such tool was then known. Mason's investigation of this specimen's location led to the discovery and excavation, during 1969–1973, of the Rock Island II site on an island in the Door County archipelago of Wisconsin. Here, the post-dispersal refugee Petun occupation was identified. No fewer than 25 bear-jaw tools were found associated with pottery that would be reasonably at home in the Petun Country of Ontario (Mason 1981:396-404; 1986:163-166, 181-184). When another such tool was found at St. Ignace in northern Michigan (Smith 1985) another station in the Petun-Odawa post-dispersal route was identified. These finds brought into sharp focus the idea that the archaeology of the Petun Country is but a component in the continuing history of the Wyandot people.

As knowledge increased, so did our need to understand more of both earlier (pre-1616) and later (post-1650) Petun history, to the present. I developed an ever-widening range of contacts with other scholars and researchers in southern Ontario, Quebec, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, and Oklahoma. As awareness developed of the Petun-Wyandot migration route from Ontario, there was the exciting possibility of it leading us to the modern descendants of these people. By the late 1960s, we had identified the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma as the principal surviving descendants of the Petun.

We realized that the Petun had not become extinct, but continued to exist under their own name, Wyandot, rather than the French nickname, which brought a new dimension of concern to my and Jay Blair's work. Our work

had begun as a hobby arising from a shared interest. To our satisfaction we had discharged our responsibilities to Canada and the Canadian people for recording knowledge. We now had to consider our responsibility to the Wyandot descendants of the people who had lived in the villages of the Petun Country and were buried there. Our knowledge was acquired at huge personal cost in time, money, and other resources, to say nothing of lost employment and prospects—but on whose behalf?

To contact the descendants of the Petun seemed the ethical thing to do—regardless of the outcome. If oral traditions or documents had survived, our knowledge might benefit. It took little discussion to agree that the descendants had the right to know about their abandoned ancestral remains in Ontario and to be reassured that these remains were being monitored and interpreted by responsible, local people. Perhaps, above all, they should know that their graves and ossuaries were being safeguarded and respected. Our letter of enquiry to "Indian Agent, Miami, Oklahoma" brought a response in February 1973 from the Secretary–Treasurer of the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, Juanita McQuistion. Thus began a long and happy relationship, which continues to this day (Garrad 1999d, 1999e).

We gladly undertook to inform the tribal members of what we had learned about their ancestors, and to involve the Wyandot peoples in our investigation of their history in Ontario and attempts to protect their ancestral graves in Petun Country. We became concerned that the tribe understood that what we were doing was motivated only by our concern to learn the truth. We accepted that all future work be done with the permission of the tribal descendants.

In July 1975, Chief Leonard N. Cotter invited me to address the annual council of the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma at Wyandotte later that year. I asked for both permission and support from the tribe for what we were doing in their ancestral Petun Country, which was readily given. While at Wyandotte, I was sent to meet an Elder Matron on the question of the Canadian ancestry of the Wyandot. Cecilia (Cecile) Boone Wallace, Shundiahwah of the Big Turtle clan, not only knew that her grandmother had been born in Canada (on the former Anderdon Wyandot Reserve south of Windsor) but also remembered the only previous Canadian researcher to visit the Wyandots in Oklahoma, Marius Barbeau, in 1911 and 1912 (Nowry 1995). Shundiahwah adopted me at a feast and transmitted to me the name Tauromee, the property of the Big Turtle Clan. I returned to Oklahoma the next year to visit my adopted mother (Garrad 1999d, 1999e), and I visited a third time, in 1979, as invited speaker at the opening of the Wyandotte Cultural Center. By this time, Shundiahwah had joined her ancestors.

On September 12, 1978, I received a formal certificate, signed by Chief Mont Cotter and Second Chief Philip Peacock, that I am an "Honorary Member of the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma."

Later, I made contact with two other groups of Petun-Wyandot descendants, namely, the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Wyandot Nation of Anderdon in the Detroit Valley, on both sides of the river. From that time, my archaeological work has been done with the permission of, and in partnership with, Wyandot descendants. One result is that information about Petun archaeology created by the Petun Research Institute is available online through the courtesy of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and the University of Kansas (<www.wyandot.org\petun>).

A quarter of a century after our first contact with the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, tribal members and descendants from Oklahoma and Kansas visited the Petun Country. Twice in 1999, events were held in Huronia, with side-trips to Petun Country (Garrad 2003c). On the second such gathering, Chief Janith English of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas adopted John Steckley, my wife Ella, and me. A number of Wyandot visitors have returned to the homeland since (Figure 6).

The Petun Research Institute and John L. Steckley

A community college lecture series I gave starting in 1974 led to a number of interested people volunteering to excavate during the summer and wash and sort artifacts during the winter. From

Figure 6. *Public archaeology excavation on the McConnell portion of the McQueen-McConnell site during the year 2000. Shown are: Janith English, Principal Chief, Wyandot Nation of Kansas (third from right), and her son Darren English, Cultural Coordinator, Wyandot Nation of Kansas (second from right); Ted Warrow, Chief, Wyandot Nation of Anderdon (centre, with drum); Sue Anderson, representing the Chippewas of Rama (second from left); Dr George Weider, chairman of Blue Mountain Resorts Ltd (far left); and Charles and Ella Garrad (back row, fourth and fifth from left).*

1975, we informally called ourselves the Petun Studies Group. From 1974 to 1982, the most prominent in the group were were Ella Kruse (Garrad); Christine and Michael Kirby; and Norma Knowlton, to whom Petun research is forever indebted. Other active members include Heide Lenzner; Stewart R. Leslie; Paul Mitchell; Janice Macdonald (now Hamalainen); Jim Shropshire; Janet Turner; and the team of Aileen "Mickey" Coles, John and Brent Robertson, and Derek Spencer. All were members of the OAS. Their writings on aspects of the work were either independently published or included in Garrad's reports (e.g., Coles et al. 1974; Kirby 1977; Knowlton 1977). Other members of the OAS participated through the society's Passport to the Past program. Members of the general public participated through the Public Excavation Experiences provided by the Petun Research Institute until the year 2000.

Annually from 1993 to 2000, Ella and I and, since 1995, the Petun Research Institute Inc. offered a public excavation course on the McConnell segment of the McQueen-McConnell site. This culminated in the year 2000 with the participation of Chief Janith English, her son, Tribal Cultural Coordinator Darren English, from the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and Chief Ted Warrow, of the Wyandot Nation of Anderdon, visited by Sue Anderson of the Chippewas of Rama.

Since 2000, the program of site monitoring, interpretational research, writing, and local public relations work has continued, assisted by a new colleague, Lynne Bowman of Banda.

In 1995, a suitable building was acquired in Collingwood to be an artifact repository and research facility for the Petun research area. The Petun Studies Group was incorporated as the Petun Research Institute and registered as a charity, with Ella Garrad as president, Charles Garrad as director and secretary, and John L. Steckley as director.

John's unique contribution to understanding the Petun through their language cannot be

overstated. His ability to translate names in the Petun language particularly enabled the reconstruction of events at Craigleith in 1650 (Garrad & Steckley 2007; Steckley 1996, 1998a, 1998b). His extensive writings form a major contribution to understanding Native history generally and that of the Petun particularly.

Petun Research in the Context of Ontario Archaeology (1965–Today)

The development of archaeology in Ontario in the second half of the twentieth century paralleled that in other parts of the world. Over time, archaeologists became less interested in developing cultural chronologies, focusing instead on political, economic, and social questions. With this change came the florescence of new sub-disciplines in archaeology. Increasingly, archaeologists focused on the study of specific materials, applying this specialization to examination of sites of different ages and in different parts of the province. Thus, many Ontario archaeologists have played a part in the examination of Petun artifacts, including lithics, glass beads, cuprous metals, faunal remains, and floral remains. At the same time, avocational archaeologists and interested non-professionals continued to make a contribution to Petun studies. As was the case for Jay Blair, these people often had unique insights into Petun history based on local knowledge.

The Blue Mountain Historical and Archaeological Society

The Blue Mountain Historical and Archaeological Society came into being as the result of a number of Toronto intellectuals purchasing properties in the Blue Mountain area, where they met with an interest in local heritage. Those who enquired about the history of their new properties sooner or later met Dr. Donald H. McKay, Jack MacMurchy, and Jay Blair.

The first meeting of the society was held on October 13, 1968. Collingwood doctor Donald H. McKay was elected president, Toronto doctor W.G. Bigelow vice-president, and Jay Allan Blair chief historian and archaeologist. The first directors were Alex Jacobs, John Rykert, Paul Phelan, F.A. Meridith, and Dr. James A. Key, all from Toronto. Jack T. MacMurchy of Collingwood was appointed archivist. As editor of the *Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin*, MacMurchy provided publicity and news coverage. In announcing the organizing of the society he commented "Collingwood has not had an official historical society for many years, but this lack has now been corrected." At the first meeting, founding president Dr. McKay presented a "Résumé of the History of the Collingwood Area." He summarized by concluding, "I don't suppose that there is an area in Canada that is so rich in historical lore" (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1968b).

Vice-President Dr. Wilfred G. Bigelow devised appropriate calendars of events, which soon included lectures and meetings in members' private homes, active explorations and field-trips with onsite lectures, and historical research into members' own properties. Soon there were 23 members. The 1969 season began with a field trip to the site of the Petun village of Etharita, with a lecture by Jay Blair titled "The Iroquois Massacre at Etharita." In 1970, there was a trip to the Collingwood Museum, with a lecture on "Collingwood's Formative Years."

The highlight of 1971 was a canoe trip on June 6 down the Nottawasaga River with lectures at points of interest (*Enterprise-Bulletin* 1971), followed by dinner at Dr. Ray Heimbecker's Brooklet Farm. This turned into a birthday party for Jay Blair, who turned 82 on that day (Garrad 1982a:68). In 1972, the Simcoe County Historical Association proposed a joint meeting with the highly regarded Society, and the purchase of the Rock Bottom archaeological site to preserve it was considered, but not done. The site was subsequently purchased and preserved by the Osler Brook Golf and Country Club.

The society's most active year was probably 1973. Members visited Ste. Marie I, the Collingwood Lighthouse, Osler Castle, William Ross' Mill site, the Niagara Escarpment, and the Collingwood shipyards.

Carol and John Rykert hosted a number of scholars from the ROM, with which they

associated following their purchase of the MacMurchy site and farm in 1966. Dr. Walter Kenyon, archaeologist, Dr. Walter Tovell, geologist, and Dr. Peter Swann, director and oriental specialist, all came to the Blue Mountains and lectured the members of the society. Dr. Tovell led a hike in 1974 from the Rykert (formerly MacMurchy) farm to points on the Niagara Escarpment. After this event, it was considered that every accessible place of importance had now been visited, and the Society began to lose momentum. In the late 1970s, McKay made a series of videos on local historical subjects for the local cable channel, but formal gatherings ceased. The deaths of Jay Blair in 1979, John Rykert in 1981, and Donald McKay in 1984, were crippling blows. The society had run its course.

James W. Shropshire

When Jim Shropshire moved to Creemore in 1965, he soon learned of the wealth of Petun history and archaeology close to the village. He explored and recorded sites, interviewed local people, and contacted others further afield, including me. In 1974, he assisted in the OAS Kelly-Campbell excavations under my direction. He borrowed some of the crew to help at his own excavations at the White site, closer to Creemore. In addition to finding much native material, he recovered a piece of seventeenth-century European metal scrap, thus placing the site in the protohistoric period. Shropshire explored other local sites, kept notes, and published reports on his work, as well as contributing to ours (Shropshire n.d., 1968a, 1968b, 1970, 1999, 2000). He worked for the Collingwood Museum, and a model he made of a Petun longhouse is still displayed there. Jim also employed his model-making skills to construct a model of the part of Craigleith Heritage Ridge with the Plater-Martin and Plater-Fleming village sites, which is now on display in the Craigleith Heritage Depot. Following the salvage rescue of the Buckingham ossuary, exposed by road work in 1977, Jim demonstrated that a cluster of seemingly unconnected "chunky" shell beads had been part of a necklace.

Conrad E. Heidenreich, Lynda Davidge, Bill Ross, Caroline Walker

The Department of Geography at York University, Toronto, contributed several scholars to the research led and inspired by Dr. Conrad E. Heidenreich. In 1971, Lynda Davidge became the first of many students to undertake course or thesis research in the Petun Country. Davidge (1971) determined the criteria by which the Petun Indians selected the sites for their villages.

In 1973, Heidenreich personally investigated, in detail, what we believed to be the last remaining field of ancient Indian cornhills. The early pioneers of southern Nottawasaga Township encountered continuous fields of Indian cornhills along the moraine north of Creemore, which became named the Cornhill Moraine. In 1923, William J. Wintemberg recorded, and in 1926 he photographed, several areas of Indian cornhills, still undisturbed, west of Creemore. The hills were then about one foot high. The nearby Webster family had known about the cornhills since the 1860s. Both Herbert G. Webster and his niece Helen Emmett Blackburn showed them to J. Allan Blair and Conrad Heidenreich. In 1967, they were still visible, but perhaps reduced to half their original height, when the news came that a house was to be built on the property. After the house was built the new owners advised they intended to plough the field to grow horse fodder. They agreed to allow a study to be made of the cornhills before they were destroyed. For two weeks in 1973, Dr. Heidenreich camped in the field recording and measuring each of the mounds, testing and analyzing the soils. Among his conclusions was that the Indians made about 2,000 corn hills per acre, each producing some 12 ounces of corn, for an overall production per acre, allowing for pests, of some 20 to 27 bushels of corn. Dr. Heidenreich's presentation on the subject at the 1974 symposium of the OAS, the publication of his research (Heidenreich 1974), and our entreaties to save the cornhills, did not prevent the new owners from proceeding to destroy them.

During the 1970s Heidenreich and I wrote the chapter entitled "Khionontateronon (Petun)" for Volume 15 of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* (Garrad and

Heidenreich 1978). (A factual error is that the Haney-Cook site is shown on the accompanying map as the village of St. Mathias, rather than the Plater-Martin site as St. Matthew.) Elisabeth Tooker wrote the companion paper "Wyandot." I was able to assist her with the most recent information about the Wyandot on my return from Oklahoma in 1975 (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978; Tooker 1978).

In 1976, William A. Ross became the third researcher from York University to visit the Petun Country for his thesis research. In addition to a much enlarged database, he was able to incorporate the results of the 1974 excavations at the Kelly-Campbell site, although at the time we still had not understood that the pottery data being used for Sidey-Mackay was misleading (Garrad 1978b; MacNeish 1952:30; Ross 1976:55-57), or that similar percentages of the Sidey-Notched pottery type, which seemed to link certain Huron and Petun sites, indicated only contemporaneity, or simply trade connections.

Ross' principal contributions were to include data on pottery vessel variables available from nine Petun sites and to suggest relationships among sites based on coefficients of similarity (Ross 1976:49). Accepting that a high percentage of the Sidey-Notched pottery type was diagnostic of the Petun, Ross puzzled over the high counts of Sidey-Notched sherds at such Huron sites as Deschambault, Sopher, and Graham-Rogers, and the apparently lower count at the Sidey-Mackay site, and concluded that there was "an unsolved problem" (Ross 1976:40-41,59). His conclusions supporting one or more Petun migrations north from the Toronto area (Ross 1976:vi) and Peter G. Ramsden's suggestion that precontact Petun movements could not be identified at all because "prehistoric development among the Huron has been characterized by fissionings, alliances and mergers" (1977b:296) represent notable markers in the evolution of the understanding of the Petun.

Another scholar from York University, now a doctoral student there, is Caroline M. Walker, who has contributed to the study of cuprous metals from Petun archaeological sites (Walker 2000, Walker et al. 1999).

William A. Fox

William A. Fox became captivated by the Petun research in 1971 when a graduate student at the University of Toronto, where he obtained his M.A. He continued to study aspects of the Petun, particularly lithics, while attending McMaster University, and subsequently. Bill brought his own university-level scientific research skills, academic learning, and love of lithic artifacts to the Petun Country. His first research manuscript documenting an artifact in Petun Country concerned a French gunflint on the Plater-Martin village site (Fox 1971a). Bill was the first to recognize that there were two occupations at the McEwen site, and two villages at the Haney-Cook site. He pointed out the significance of foreign cherts on Petun sites, noted the extent of the Odawa presence in Petun Country, and suggested that a byproduct of the Petun-Odawa alliance was imported exotica, such as Minnesota catlinite and sun-pipes (Fox 1971b, 1971c, 1971d, 1974, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c, 1980a, 1980b, 1984a, 1984b; Fox and Garrad 2004).

Thomas and Ian Kenyon

The father and son team of Thomas (Tim) and Ian Kenyon first came to the Petun Country during Tim's study of the iron axes the French had imported for the Petuns and their allies. At the time, Ian was still in high school. They returned during their later study of glass trade beads. On both occasions we worked together, visiting local sites, families, and their collections, and developing the information they later published. They devised chronologies for both iron axes and glass beads, which aid in the dating of Petun village sites (Kenyon & Kenyon 1983, 1987). Tim Kenyon, a professional artist with expert knowledge of postcontact artifacts, contributed to the Petun work by illustrating Petun clay pipes, a disturbed burial (Garrad 1970:7), and artifacts found during excavations at the McEwen site in 1979 (Garrad 1979). He also helped to date the postcontact artifacts recovered from the Duntroon Town Hall site in 1982, for which, regrettably, he is not credited in the resulting publication (Garrad 1982b, 1985b).

Ian Kenyon studied first at McMaster University and later at the University of Toronto. He became

a government of Ontario archaeologist, always researching and writing, greatly aided by the support and independent thinking of his father. The untimely deaths of Tim Kenyon in 1996 and Ian Kenyon the following year, so close to each other, were a double blow to southern Ontario archaeological research generally, and to our work in Petun Country.

Howard G. Savage and Students

The late and much revered Dr. Howard G. Savage would probably be surprised to find himself regarded as a Petun researcher, but his contribution is strong. He analyzed the faunal bone that Bell excavated at the MacMurchy site in 1953 (Savage 1966). He not only attended some of the archaeological digs in Petun Country directed by me in the 1970s and 1980s, but also brought car-loads of students from his faunal archae-osteology classes at the University of Toronto, inspiring and teaching them the arts of faunal analysis applied to Petun sites. Thanks to all these students, collectively, the faunal remains of some 20 Petun villages have been analyzed and reported, including an M.A. thesis entitled *Patterns of Faunal Exploitation by the Petun Indians* (Hamalainen 1981a). Students who contributed to Petun faunal research include Chris. J.-Andersen (Andersen 1980, 1987a, 1987b), Deborah Berg (1988), Janet Cooper (1978, 1979), Maria De Angelis-Pater (1995, 1996), Marc Dryer (1995), Patricia J. Ellis (1984), Peter Hamalainen (1974, 1981a, 1981b, 1983, 1984), Grant Hurlburt (1980), Joo-Ran Im (1983), M. Anne Katzenberg (1979), Genevieve Le Moine (1982), Rosemary Prevec (1979a, 1979b), Shelly Saunders (1976), Jennifer Shalinsky (1979), Alyce Sheahan (1980), and Harold Wodinsky (1979). Their combined work revealed that the primary interest of the Petun was beaver pelt processing.

Howard Savage served as president of the OAS in 1972, 1973, and 1976, and was a mentor to me. I was proud to succeed him in the post in 1974. Howard received, as did I, the society's highest award, the J. Norman Emerson Silver Medal for Outstanding Service to Ontario Archaeology.

Martha Latta, Jeff Bursey, Katherine Gruspier

Other University of Toronto scholars made contributions to Petun research. Dr. Martha Latta of Scarborough College held student field schools on the Kelly-Campbell site in 1974 and 1975 in conjunction with the OAS excavations (Latta 1975). Jeff Bursey analyzed lithic materials from the McQueen-McConnell site (Bursey 1994, 1997). Katherine Gruspier analyzed the osteological fragments gathered from the road surface of Side Road 21/22 in 1953, after disturbance by a Nottawasaga Township road grader (Gruspier 1998).

John H. McAndrews and Rodolphe Fecteau

Reconstructing the natural environment in which the Petun lived has been the special interest of Rodolphe (Rudi) D. Fecteau and his mentor John (Jock) H. McAndrews of the ROM. Both have analyzed corn cobs and kernels, bark, wood, seeds, and pollen recovered from Petun archaeological sites during our excavations. Together they analyzed floral material from the Plater-Martin site. McAndrews compiled reports on floral material from the Kelly-Campbell and Plater-Fleming sites, and Rudi compiled a series of reports on Petun floral remains (see reports cited in Fecteau 2004) and continues his research on the subject.

Philip Cooke and the Nottawasaga River Crossings

Philip Cooke provided the key to understanding where people crossed the Nottawasaga River in ancient days. Philip, born at Wasaga Beach, has known the river and the archaeological sites along it all his life. In 1974 and 1975, professional archaeologists conducting archaeological surveys along parts of the Nottawasaga River and Wasaga Beach, generally in connection with the development of Wasaga Beach Provincial Park, soon found it worth their while to wait for Philip to come home from school to show them where to look. In 1990, Philip acquired an archaeological licence and compiled his own archaeological survey report of part of the river, incorporating his unsurpassed knowledge of the area (Cooke 1990).

In 1992–1993, I led an all-season survey of the Nottawasaga River to determine where and when it could have been forded. Philip was an essential

part of the survey, and on September 6, 1992, he ably demonstrated that the river could be forded near the entry of Lamont Creek. He simply waded across and back, several times, to the surprise of all observers. Philip later confessed that he had been walking on the submerged dam of the former Bernee's Mill, and that the real crossing place was about a mile upstream, near the Old Portage Landing. Here, a number of Indian camps had been recorded. Graded pathways down the river banks on opposite sides, probably developed by loggers for their horses, are still visible (Garrad 1997b; Hunter 1907:27-29). During the winter, the river could be crossed on the ice where it froze near its outlet in Georgian Bay.

The Ontario Archaeological Society

In 1974, the OAS, of which I was then president, conducted excavations on the Kelly-Campbell site near Duntroon. In 1993 the society, of which I was then executive-director, held a formal archaeological field school on the McConnell segment of the McQueen-McConnell site (Garrad 1993). Excavations on this site in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2000, sponsored by me as the Petun Studies Group or Petun Research Institute, were attended by members of the OAS under its Passport to the Past program (Garrad 1995, 1996b, 1997c, 1998c, 1999f, 2000).

Other Research

Not all recent archaeological and related research in Petun Country has been conducted or sponsored by the Petun Research Institute, its predecessors, or others described above. When I found the Buckingham ossuary being disturbed by road work in October 1977, Roberta O'Brien assumed jurisdiction as provincial archaeologist for the Ontario government (Garrad 1977:201-214). Jim Shropshire, Conrad Heidenreich, and Robert Rost (1999) were involved with aspects of its analysis. Robert Rost's M.A. thesis includes a map illustrating the density and complexity of the reported archaeology in Petun Country.

Cultural Resource Management and Investigations of the Petun

In 1988 and 1989, the route of the proposed Collingwood bypass was surveyed by Ministry of Transportation staff archaeologists. This resulted in the discovery of two early period archaeological sites (Lennox 1996, 2000). Part of the Plater-Fleming site was examined by Museum of Indian Archaeology staff in 1988 (Pearce 1989). The extent and location of the Peacock site was determined by Northeastern Archaeological Associates in 1989 for the development of the Mad River Golf Club (McKillop 1989; McKillop & Garrad 1992); the course was then redesigned around the site to preserve it, and a plaque was erected. Archaeological Services Inc. assessed the Plater-Martin site in 1989 and the Rock Bottom site in 2000 (ASI 1990, 2000), for plans to preserve the Plater-Martin site as a park, and the Rock Bottom site as part of the Osler Brook Golf Club. The Club preserved both the village site and the ossuary on the property, marking the ossuary with a cairn. The Glebe site was examined in 1990 for the Ontario Heritage Foundation following the exposure of human remains (Mayer, Poulton & Associates Inc. 1992).

Independent Research

Many people who found, inherited, or excavated Indian artifacts chose to inform me, sometimes placing their collections in our care. In 1982 and 1983, for example, Jerry Prager, then of Creemore, collected on the Hamilton-Lougheed site. After contacting me, he placed all the material and documentation in the care of the Petun Research Institute. Jerry wrote a thoughtful and scholarly record of his personal discovery of local Petun archaeology and history and his research towards understanding the Petun, adroitly setting his story within the larger picture of international conquest and politics (Prager ca. 1992).

Academic Contributors

Following Lynda Davidge in 1971, many students completed theses and research projects contributing to Petun research. In turn, the Petun research has contributed to a number of Ph.D., M.Sc., and M.A. theses and other research projects. Those

who have not already been mentioned include: Glenn Kearsley, who studied Petun pinch-face effigy pipes as part of his M.A. Thesis (Kearsley 1997a, 1997b); Dr. Ronald G.V. Hancock, of the Department of Physics at the University of Toronto, who, with his students, applied nuclear physics to the testing of Petun glass beads and metal (Kwok 1998; Sempowski et al 2001; Walker et al 1999); Dr. Gary Warrick (1990), who incorporated site information from Project the Petun 1974 (Garrad 1975) into his Ph.D. thesis; Karen A. McGarry (1998), who researched our collections and sites for her M.A. thesis; Peter Hamalainen, who analyzed and studied faunal remains from the White, Plater-Fleming, and Plater-Martin sites, and, for his M.A. thesis, compiled the master summary and interpretation of faunal remains throughout Petun Country (Hamalainen 1974, 1981a, 1981b, 1983, 1984). More recently, Ph.D. level researchers Christophe Boucher from the University of Kansas, Megan McCullen from Michigan State University, and Nadia Charest from the University of Sheffield visited to exchange research. Boucher's thesis on the Wyandot Dispersal was completed in 2002, McCullen's thesis on the post-Dispersal Petun is in preparation, as is Charest's on glass trade beads.

The Niagara Escarpment Commission

We were dissappointed in our hope that the Niagara Escarpment Commission would be an instrument for preserving the heritage of Petun Country. There was resistance to interpreting the Commission's mandate "to protect unique ecological, and historical areas" as including archaeological remains (Bill 129, *An Act to provide for Planning and Development of the Niagara Escarpment and its Vicinity, 1973*). Eventually the Historical Planning and Research section of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation was called on to provide an inventory of archaeological sites on the Escarpment, an impossible task except in well-documented areas such as Petun Country. Peter J. Carruthers of the Ministry staff responded by compiling a document that predicted levels of potential archaeological sensitivity in areas of the Escarpment not as well known and documented as Petun Country. In this unique document Carruthers classed the entire Petun Country as "archaeologically sensitive," adding that "it cannot be stressed too strongly that the archaeological potential in Petun territory represents a rich cultural resource which must not be trifled with. A tremendous amount of research in the region remains to be done" (Carruthers 1976:57,77). I rose to this challenge to the limit of my ability and resources. The Niagara Escarpment Commission must speak for itself.

"Professor" W. A. Wilson

A unique and dubious legacy was left in the Petun area by "Professor" W.A. Wilson of the Travelling Pectoral Museum, Mineral Wells, Texas. Early in 1952 Wilson visited the Scenic Caves west of Collingwood (now Scenic Caves Nature Adventures) and there claimed to identify rock features, hitherto regarded as natural, as having been carved by Indians. He decreed that one rock was a "Council Chamber," others were signal posts, and speculated that on the flat land below the Caves were associated places for burials, war dances and worship. On learning of these claims, local researchers Dr. Ives and Walter Clemmence of Stayner, and Norman D. Clarke of Barrie, visited the Scenic Caves but were unable to confirm them. The supposed carvings in Fat Man's Misery appeared to be natural holes. The "professor" was contacted for confirmation, and he explained that the carvings "had been partly mutilated by other tribes" who hated the Hurons (Clarke 1953). Perhaps he knew something invisible to local researchers, but as his opinion cannot be rejected without further evidence, the "Mystery of the Scenic Caves" remains unresolved to this day, and one rock still bears the sign "Council Chamber," a testimony to the visitor from Texas in 1952.

The Combined Results

The research of many people has given us the general location and boundaries of the Petun Country, confirming findspots and yielding

information about the numbers and significance of villages, camp sites, and other remains. Early, casual efforts to record sites and acquire artifacts were succeeded by recent problem-specific research programs requiring selective excavation compatible with the greater goal of the preservation of archaeological sites. Some sites are still known only from surface collections, which provide adequate data for the immediate purpose. The limited excavations have usually focused on middens as the most productive source of temporally and culturally diagnostic artifacts. No Petun site, not even a house, has been completely excavated. Glimpses of Petun settlement patterns have sometimes been revealed incidentally.

Collectively, these researchers have relocated as many sites as possible in the records; added some new ones; registered them under the Borden site designation system; determined their functions (e.g., all-year village; seasonal campsite); and estimated village dimensions. They have developed criteria to distinguish the pre-Iroquoian, pre-Petun Ontario Iroquoian, and Petun Iroquoian sites. We have been able to determine the date, or period, in which each village and camp site was occupied by obtaining and analyzing culturally and temporally diagnostic artifacts recovered from them. Glass Bead Periods in Petun Country reflect at least four periods: before Champlain (GBP1 ca. 1580–1616); the time of Champlain (1616 in GBP2); the first (1639–1641 in GBP3a) and second (1646–1650 in GBP3b) Jesuit Mission of the Apostles; and other events (Kenyon and Kenyon 1983).

Some 12 villages with no precedent have been identified as representing the entry into Petun Country of a number of presumably unrelated or minimally related Neutral groups, commencing in the proto-historic/GBP1 and continuing to GBP2b. Some of these groups disappear, others amalgamate. By GBP3a two principal sequences are apparent, corresponding to the historically recorded Wolf and Deer tribes (Thwaites 1896-1901:33:143). The documented presence in various Petun villages, at various times, of Algonquins, of belligerent Iroquois, and of "Huron" refugees from Ossossane has been confirmed. We have also observed that Petun villages usually occur in associated pairs.

The statements made thirty years ago that "The Petun were not a tribe…There are no prehistoric Petun sites anywhere. The Petun are not the product of any consistent line of Iroquoian development. Their origins do not lie with any single prehistoric Iroquoian manifestation but in several" (Garrad 1980:105) are still true, although always capable of reevaluation. The survivors of various groups that entered Petun Country to participate in the fur trade eventually merged into what is now considered to be a confederacy of two tribes, the Wolf and Deer. The adoption of a refugee group from western Huronia, in 1649, initiated a third component, which became the Turtles. The three components, Wolf, Deer, and Turtle, survived for the next several centuries as phratries of the historic Wyandot Tribe.

Acknowledgements. I originally wrote this manuscript as a chapter for a book on the Petun-Wyandot before Bill Fox suggested it appear as a stand-alone article for *Ontario Archaeology*. One of the major goals of that chapter was to recognize the contribution of the many people who have added to the study of the Petun in the last century and a half. I have not been able to mention the names of everyone, but all who helped should know that their contributions are appreciated.

Changes were required to turn a book chapter into this journal article. I thank Alicia Hawkins for undertaking to adapt the text and references cited. Andrew Stewart drafted the maps with digital spatial data using ESRI ArcMap 8.3. Bill Fox and Michael Kirby helped me move this project forward to publication. I also thank Jamie Hunter and an anonymous reviewer for their comments on an earlier draft.

Endnotes

[1] Throughout this article I use the term "Petun" to refer to the Iroquoian people who lived in the former Nottawasaga and Collingwood Townships from the late sixteenth to mid seventeenth century. Several different spellings of the Huron name for them, Khionontateronon are recorded (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978: 396-397). After 1650, the Petun

and the Huron (Wendat) who migrated west-ward with them were known collectively as the Wyandot or Tionontati (Tooker 1978: 404-405). In this paper, I refer to these descendants as Wyandots.

[2] Sir Daniel Wilson was a university professor, with research interests much broader than Ontario archaeology.

[3] John Moberly may have served under these admirals.

[4] The first donations from the MacMurchy site reside today in the holdings of the Archaeological Survey of Canada, a division of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

[5] This beaver dam may still be seen in the Batteau River valley near Highway 124.

[6] Many of Hunter's artifacts from Petun Country today reside in the ROM, together with his handwritten notebooks (Hunter 1886-1940a, 1886-1940b).

[7] The Williams collection that Miss A.R. Williams of Clarksburg donated to the Huron Institute in 1957 may be all or part of the collection that Wintemberg had difficulty seeing in July 1923. This collection was probably from the former farm of Albert Williams at Cape Rich, and likely comes from the Williams site.

[8] Through the intercession of Edward H. Thomas, the Cook family collection from Cook segment of the Haney-Cook site was donated to the ROM in 1956.

[9] Birch several times donated artifacts to the Ontario Archaeological Museum in Toronto (Birch 1903-1912; Boyle 1904:18-19). His descendants donated some of his artifacts to the Grey County Museum at Owen Sound. His last collection, largely comprised of prehistoric artifacts from the Beaver Valley, with a few items from the Ekarenniondi Petun village site, remains intact and with his family descendants.

[10] The Clark brothers donated their collection of artifacts and notes to the National Museum of Canada in 1934, where they remain today (Garrad 1983). The records indicated that in 1918 the Clark brothers' collection included 17 artifacts from the Grose site, 27 from Melville, and 2 from the Dickinson farm.

[11] Some of Angus Buie's donations were from the White site, some ten miles from his farm (Boyle 1889a:98; Smith 1923:163).

[12] With respect to the artifacts he inherited, Jay Blair decided that the only responsible action was to place them in the care of the Ontario Provincial Museum. In 1925, he drove his Model T Ford to Toronto to personally place the family collection in the hands of Dr. R.B. Orr. Through Jay's intervention, the museum also received a donation of artifacts from Jay's cousin, W.A. Campbell of North Battleford (Garrad 1982a:39; Orr 1927:100-104, 118, 119, 1928:67, 79). Unfortunately, in the early 1960s, when Jay and I asked to see the 1925 donations, we learned that the ROM had discarded many of them. Jay persuaded another cousin, William A. Smith, to donate his artifact collection to the Huron Institute in Collingwood (Ontario Historical Society 1921:39-41).

[13] The handwritten note to Jay Blair that Wintemberg left at Blair's door was found among his treasured effects after his death and is now in my possession.

[14] The two original clay pots were taken by Wilfrid Jury for the museum at the University of Western Ontario in London and are today in the Museum of Ontario Archaeology, London, Ontario.

[15] Edward H. Thomas gathered many of his articles together into a collection he named "Petun Pictures," which he hoped would become a doctoral thesis. This hope was not fulfilled.

[16] This collection from the MacMurchy site still exists, partly with the MacMurchy family and partly in the Craigleith Heritage Depot. Thomas' documentation is with me.

[17] The Cook collection at the ROM was miscatalogued as originating from Nottawasaga Township instead of Collingwood Township. Blair and I were able to rectify this error in 1974.

[18] On Edward Thomas' death, his detailed drawings, notes, manuscripts, and maps of his archaeological work were given to me, and they have contributed toward the continuing research in Petun Country.

[19] While archaeologists in Ontario recognized as early as the 1950s that sites of different ages have different glass bead assemblages (Kenyon and Kenyon 1983: 60-61), the period system used here was not formally introduced until 1983 (Kenyon and Kenyon 1983).

[20] Some of the artifacts excavated in 1953 were returned to the MacMurchy family. Those remaining at the university are with the Department of Anthropology and have been the subject of research papers (Garrad 2003c; Ramsden 1966; Savage 1966; Wojtowicz 2003).

[21] Today the Huron Institute collections reside in the Collingwood Museum which is staffed full-time and is located in the building replicating the former Collingwood Canadian National Railway station building (Garrad 1999c).

[22] Jay Blair's collections are in several locations. Some are with the Collingwood Museum. After much agonizing about the future of the Jesuit medal, the engraved iron knife, and his other "special" artifacts, Jay reached the decision to donate them to the ROM. In the fall of 1978, Dr. Walter Kenyon, archaeologist and curator at the Museum, travelled personally to Jay Blair's home in Stayner to receive these items. The museum's only acknowledgment described Jay's donation of the unique seventeeth-century material as "pre-16th century pottery" (Storck 1980:21). I inherited his notes and the remaining artifacts.

[23] We learned of this previously forgotten site when we called at the farmhouse of Donald "Buster" Plater and Joyce Plater.

References Cited

Alderdice, M.
1965 Euphrasia Past and Present. *Meaford Express*, March 25, Meaford, Ontario.

Andersen, C.J.-
1980 Faunal Remains from the Kelly-Campbell (BcHb-10) Site, Nottawasaga Township, Simcoe County, Ontario. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
1987a The Case of the Tethered Turtle: A Pet Stinkpot Turtle from Petunia? *Arch Notes* 87(3):15-19.
1987b Zoological Reports for Ontario Archaeological Sites on File in the Archaeo-osteology Laboratory to October 1986, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

ASI (Archaeological Services Inc.)
1990 An Archaeological Resource Assessment of the Plater-Martin Site (BdHb-1) Collingwood Township, Grey County, Ontario. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.
2000 A Stage 3 Archaeological Resource Assessment of the Rock Bottom Site (BcHb-20) Osler Brook Golf Club, Part of Lot 38, Concession 11, Township of Collingwood, Regional Municipality of Simcoe, Ontario. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

Belden, H. & Co.
1880 *Illustrated Atlas of the County of Grey*. H. Belden & Co., Toronto.

Bell, W.D.
1953a The MacMurchy Site: A Petun Site in Grey County, Ontario. Ms. on file, University of Toronto, Toronto.
1953b The Indian Village Site on the MacMurchy Farm. *The Enterprise-Bulletin,* August 27. Collingwood, Ontario.

Berg, D.
1988 The Pretty River Site (BcHb-22) Faunal Analysis of 1987 Surface Collected Material. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Biggar, H.P. (editor)
1922-1936 *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. 6 vols. The Champlain Society, Toronto.

Birch, F.
1903-1912 Letters to D. Boyle and A.F. Hunter, Royal Ontario Museum, Department of Ethnology and Archives and Rare Books Section, Toronto.
1904a The Standing Rock. In *Annual Archaeological Report 1903*, edited by D. Boyle, pp. 98-101. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.
1904b Says Father Jones Is Wrong. *The Collingwood Bulletin*, April 14:4. Collingwood, Ontario.

Blair, D.
1934 Pioneer Life around Duntroon. Nottawasaga—the Outburst of the Iroquois. pp. 34-38, Nottawasaga Centennial Celebration, Duntroon, Ontario.

Blair, J.A.
1949a Three Hundredth Anniversary of Indian Massacre Recalls Dark Days in What Is Now Nottawasaga Township. *Creemore Star*, December 8. Creemore, Ontario.
1949b Historic Nottawasaga (in two parts). *Creemore Star*, December 1 and 8. Creemore, Ontario.
1952 Archaeological Find at Duntroon, near Site of Etharita Indian Village. *Enterprise-Bulletin*, September 18. Collingwood, Ontario.
1956 Golden Links in the Chain of Time. *Enterprise-Bulletin,* February 2. Collingwood, Ontario.
1968 Jesuit Ring Removed from Museum. *Enterprise-Bulletin*, August 29. Collingwood, Ontario.
1977 Banner Stones or Spinning Stones. *Arch Notes* 77(7):37-39.

Borden, C.E.
1952 A Uniform Site Designation Scheme for Canada. *Anthropology in British Columbia* 3:44-48.

Boucher, C.J.M.
2002 The Legacy of Iouskeha and Tawiscaron: The Western Wendat People to 1701. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Kansas.

Bourrie, J.N.
1944 The Petun Country, with Recommendations for a Proposed Huronia Sky Line Drive. Collingwood Board of Trade, October 6, Collingwood, Ontario. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1947a Tests Fail to Solve Mystery of Site of Ekarenniondi, Enigma of Huron Indian. *The Globe & Mail*, August 4, Toronto.
1947b Historians Seek to Define Location of Indian Village Site. *The Globe & Mail,* August 4, Toronto and *The Enterprise-Bulletin,* August 7, Collingwood, Ontario.
1948 Village of Departed Souls Has Important Role Amidst Indian Legends of District. *Daily Sun-Times*, November 13, Owen Sound, Ontario.
1949 The Petun Country. *The Stayner Sun,* October 27 and November 3, Stayner, Ontario.

Boyle, D.
1886 The Archaeological Outlook. *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Session 1885-1886 (Third Series)* 4:1-7.
1888 *Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1886-1887.* Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, 1867. Toronto.
1889a Archaeological Report. *Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1888-1889* pp. 4-15, Legislative Assembly, Toronto.
1889b The Tobacco Indians. Notice of Explorations in Nottawasaga Twp. *Globe* July 8. Toronto.
1893 Archaeological Report. Sixth (misprinted Fifth) Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1892-3. Legislative Assembly, Toronto.
1897 Catalogue of Specimens in the Ontario Archaeological Museum, Toronto. Department of Education, Toronto.
1904 Annual Archaeologial Report 1903. Lrgislative Assembly, Toronto.
1908 Review. In *Annual Archaeological Report 1907,* edited by D. Boyle, pp. 12-19. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

Bruce, G.W.
1907 The Petuns. *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 8:34-39.

Burpee, L.J.
1915 *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder*. Oxford University Press, London.

Bursey, J.A.
1994 Chipped Lithic Artifacts from the McQueen/McConnell Site. Ms. on file, The Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1997 Stone Artifacts from the McConnell-McQueen Site, a Protohistoric Petun Village. *Ontario Archaeology* 63:85-100.

Campbell, T.J.
1910 *Pioneer Priests of North America*. 2 vols. America Press, New York.

Canada
1891 *Indian Treaties and Surrenders, from 1680-1890*. 2 vols. Brown Chamberlin, Ottawa.

Carruthers, P.J.
1976 An Archaeological Transect through Ontario. Heritage Planning Recommendations for the Niagara Escarpment Planning Area. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

Clarke, N.D.
1953 Professor W.A. Wilson and the Scenic Caves. Accession #979-38 B6 R5A S3 SH5 Cover B18, Simcoe County Archives, Anten Mills, Ontario.

Cole, J.M.
1990 Sandford Fleming No Better Inheritance. *Occasional Paper* 11. Peterborough Historical Society, Peterborough.

Coles, A., B. Robertson, J. Robertson, and D. Spencer
1974 Preliminary Archaeological Report, The Young/McQueen BcHb-19 Site; Project The Petun 1974, Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Collingwood Bulletin
1904a Historical Society. April 14, Collingwood, Ontario.
1904b Huron Institute. April 28, Collingwood, Ontario.
1904c General Meeting of the Huron Institute. May 26. Collingwood, Ontario.
1904d The Huron Institute. June 23. Collingwood, Ontario.
1908a Further Valuable Additions to Museum. June 18. Collingwood, Ontario.
1908b When Nottawasaga Was Young. June 15. Collingwood, Ontario.
1908c An Old Resident and Early Days in

Nottawasaga—Indian Relics. September 3. Collingwood, Ontario.
1923 Doing Research Work. July 12. Collingwood, Ontario.
1931 Last Rites for John Lawrence. March 5. Collingwood, Ontario.

Collingwood and District Historical Society
1996 The Huron Institute—est. 1904. *The Collingwood Museum Historical Bulletin Series*, May 1996.

Collingwood Saturday News
1908 Many Sites of Indian Villages. Report of Recent Explorations in South Nottawasaga, June 20, Collingwood, Ontario.

Cooke, P.
1990 Archaeology Investigation Report—a Report of Archaeological Site Investigations along the Nottawasaga River, Simcoe County, Ontario, Canada 1974-1990. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Cooper, J.
1978 Faunal Analysis of the Graham-Ferguson (BcHb-7) Site, Simcoe County, Ontario. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
1979 Faunal Report on the Graham-Ferguson Site (BcHb-7) 1972 Excavation, with Summaries of the Findings during the 1975 and 1976 Excavations Incorporated into the 1972 Findings. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Creemore Star
1890a Editor J.B. Spurr request news of Indian artifact finds. June 10, Creemore, Ontario.
1890b Indian Relics June 12, Creemore, Ontario.
1893 A Cycle Trip. September 21. Creemore, Ontario.
1908a Exploration Trip. June 4. Creemore, Ontario.
1908b Many Sites of Indian Villages—Report of Recent Explorations in South Nottawasaga. July 2. Creemore, Ontario.
1926 Exploring Indian Village Site. June 24. Creemore, Ontario.
1975 Creemore Archaeological Importance Confirmed by south-Nottawasaga Study. April 30. Creemore, Ontario.

Creet, M.
1989 Fleming, Sir Sandford. In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 14, edited by R. Cook, F. Halpenny, and J. Hamelin, pp. 359-362. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Currelly, C.T.
1956 *I Brought the Ages Home.* Ryerson Press, Toronto.

Daily Times-Advocate
1931 John Lawrence Taken by Death. February 19, Escondido, California.

Davidge, L.D.
1971 Locational Criteria in the Selection of Village Sites by the Petun Indians 1609–1650. Ms. on file, Department of Geography, York University, Toronto.

De Angelis-Pater, M.
1995 Faunal Analysis on the Hamilton-Lougheed, Connor-Rolling and Kelly-Campbell Sites. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
1996 Faunal Analysis of the Latimer Site—BbHa-12. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Devine, E.J.
1918 The Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J. *Canadian Messenger*. March, 28(3):73-75, Montreal.

Dryer, M.
1995 Faunal Analysis of the Plater-Martin Site (BdHb-1) Area 2. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Economist
1903 Hunt for an Old Indian Village. September 17. Shelburne, Ontario.

Ellis, P.J.
1984 Faunal Analysis of Haney-Cook BcHb-27. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Emerson, J.N.
1956 *Understanding Iroquois Pottery in Ontario*. Ontario Archaeological Society, Toronto.
1961 Problems of Huron Origins. *Anthropologica* (New Series) 3(2):181-201.
1968 *Understanding Iroquois Pottery in Ontario: A Rethinking.* Ontario Archaeological Society, Toronto.

Enterprise-Bulletin
1939 Former Banker in Town is Dead, May 11. Collingwood, Ontario.
1944 Death Closes Long and Useful Life of David Williams, Ll.D. October 26. Collingwood, Ontario.
1952a Important Archaeological Discovery at Duntroon. Collingwood, Ontario.
1952b Excavation Work Extended to MacMurchy Settlement District. September 18, Collingwood, Ontario.

1952c In Search of Early Indian Relics. October 9. Collingwood, Ontario.
1953a Using Original Indian Designs in Pottery. June 18. Collingwood, Ontario.
1953b Excavation to Begin Next Week. July 30. Collingwood, Ontario.
1953c Excavation Started on Monday Here to Determine Petun Archaeology. August 6. Collingwood, Ontario.
1953d Workers on Scene of Digging for Indian Village near Collingwood. August 13. Collingwood, Ontario.
1953e Good Results Being Obtained at Petun Excavations on Blue Mt. August 20. Collingwood, Ontario.
1963 Public Library and Huron Institute Badly Damaged by Fire Today. April 11. Collingwood, Ontario.
1968a Jesuit Ring Removed from Museum. August 29. Collingwood, Ontario.
1968b Blue Mountain Historical and Archaeological Society Organized. October 17. Collingwood, Ontario.
1971 BMHAS Preparing for Canoe Trip, BMHAS at Marine Museum. June 9. Collingwood, Ontario.
1975 Massive Archaeological Work Is Now Completed. April 30. Collingwood, Ontario.

Enterprise-Messenger
1904a Huron Institute, April 28, May 26, June 23, November 10. Collingwood, Ontario.
1904b The Loan Exhibition, November 17, November 24; List of Articles Exhibited, December 29. Collingwood, Ontario.
1905 Further Donations to the Museum December 21. Collingwood, Ontario.
1906 Historical Society—the Annual Meeting Last Week. July 26. Collingwood, Ontario.

Fecteau, R.
2004 Preliminary Analysis of Carbonized Macro-Botanical Remains from Petun Sites in Grey and Simcoe County. *Ontario Archaeology* 77/78:160-170.

Fleming, S.
1852 Indian Remains. *Canadian Journal*, September 1852. The Canadian Institute, Toronto.
1899 The Early Days of the Canadian Institute. *Transactions of the Canadian Institute, December 1899*:1-24. Semi-Centennial Memorial Volume 1849-1899.

Fouqueray, P.H
1930 *Martyrs du Canada.* Pierre Téqui, Paris.

Fox, W.A.
1971a A French Gunflint from an Historic Petun Site. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1971b Preliminary Report on Contact Petun Triangular Projectile Points. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1971c Ontario Iroquoian Lithic Projectile Points—a Preliminary Study. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1971d McAllister-Arbuthnot Village Site (BcHb-25), Lithic Analysis, Fall Excavations 1971. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1974 Analysis of Petun Lithic Projectile Points in ROM. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1979a Lithic Tools from the Sidey-Mackay Site (BbHa-6). *Arch Notes* 79(2):6-11.
1979b Lithic Tools from the Melville Site (BbHa-7). *Kewa* 79(3):3-7.
1979c Lithic Tools from the Haney-Cook Site (BcHb-27). *Kewa* 79(9):2-8.
1980a Lithic Tools from the McEwen Site (BcHb-17). *Kewa* 80(4):2-13.
1980b Miskwo Sinnee Munnidominug. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 8:88-98.
1984a Lithic Tools from the Young-McQueen Site (BcHb-19). *Kewa* 84(2):2-7.
1984b Lithic Tools from the McEwen site (BcHb-17). In *Studies in South-Western Ontario Archaeology,* edited by W.A. Fox, pp. 45-48. Occasional Publication 1. London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society, London.

Fox, W.A., and C. Garrad
2004 Hurons in an Algonquian Land. *Ontario Archaeology* 77/78:121-134.

Fraser, A.
1909 Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives Prefatory. In *Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario,* pp. vii-viii. L.K. Cameron, Toronto.

Fyfe, W.S.
1999 Geological Survey of Canada. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, edited by J.H. Marsh, pp. 965-967. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto.

Garrad, C.

1967a A Fluted Point from Collingwood Township. *Ontario Archaeology* 10:29-33.

1967b Site Numbers Allocated in Accordance with the Borden Scheme to Indian Sites within Units BbHa, BbHb, BcHa, BcHb, BdHb, BdHc, Comprising Parts of Collingwood, Mulmur and Nottawasaga Townships, Ontario. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1967c The Borden Site Designation Scheme Applied to Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 10:64-71.

1969a Iron Trade Knives on Historic Petun Sites. *Ontario Archaeology* 13:3-15.

1969b Bear Jaw Tools from Petun Sites. *Ontario Archaeology* 13:54-60.

1970 A Petun Burial in Nottawasaga Township, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 15:3-15.

1971 Ontario Fluted Point Survey. *Ontario Archaeology* 16:3-18.

1975 Project THE PETUN 1974. Ms. on file, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.

1977 Report to the Minister of Culture and Recreation for 1977. Ms. on file, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.

1978a The MacMurchy BcHb-26 Site in 1977. *Arch Notes* 78(1):13-37.

1978b Ontario Prehistory and Rimsherd Percentages. *Arch Notes* 78(3):14-16.

1978c The Sidey-Mackay BbHa-6 Site in 1977. *Arch Notes* 78(2):14-27.

1978d Brass, Copper and Iron Artifacts at the Sidey-Mackay BbHa-6 Site. *Arch Notes* 78(1):39.

1979 Report to the Minister of Culture & Recreation for 1979 (Including Pioneer European artifact illustrations by Thomas Kenyon). Ms. on file, Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1980 Petun Pottery. In *Proceedings of the 1979 Iroquois Pottery Conference*, edited by C.F. Hayes, pp. 105-111, Research Record 13. Rochester Museum and Science Center, Rochester.

1981 The Petun as Seen in 1981 - A Georgian Bay Fur Trade Cooperative. *Arch Notes* 81(5):31-38.

1982a *Jay Blair Nottawasaga's Last Pioneer*. Boston Mills Press, Erin, Ontario.

1982b Report to the Minister of Citizenship and Culture for 1982. Ms on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1983 The Arthur J. Clark Collection from the Creemore Area. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1985a The Beaver Valley - Surveys and Sequences. Paper presented to Twelfth Annual Symposium of the Ontario Archaeological Society, London. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1985b The Duntroon Town Hall. *East Georgian Bay Historical Journal* 4:145-157.

1986a David Boyle's "Lost Year" - 1886. *Arch Notes* 86(2):19-21.

1986b One Hundred Years of Archaeology in the Beaver Valley. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1987 *The Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario 1887-1928 - A Research Guide.* Ontario Archaeological Society, Toronto.

1989 Euphrasia's Indian Past. *Euphrasia Glimpses Past and Present*, edited by M. Alderdice, R. Hindle and G. White, pp.7-12, Euphrasia Historical Society, Meaford, Ontario.

1993 Report to the Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation on the 1993 Archaeological Field Schools Operated by the Ontario Archaeological Society. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1995 Report 95-062 to the Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation on the 1995 Excavations on the McQueen-McConnell BcHb-31 Archaeological Site. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1996a Petun Tobacco Experiments. *Research Bulletin* 2, Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1996b Report to the Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation on the 1996 Excavations on the McQueen-McConnell BcHb-31 Archaeological Site under Licence 96-080. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1997a Apostle Names and Petun Villages. *Research Bulletin* 9. Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1997b Crossing the Nottawasaga. *Research Bulletin* 7. Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1997c Report to the Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation on the 1977 Excavations on the McQueen-McConnell

BcHb-31 Archaeological Site under Licence 97-022. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1998a Ekarenniondi and Oscotarach. Research Bulletin 20. *Research Bulletin* 20. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1998b Chabanel and Honare,enhak. *Research Bulletin* 22. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1998c Report to the Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation on the 1998 Excavations on the McQueen-McConnell BcHb-31 Archaeological Site under Licence 98-012. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

1999a Andrew F. Hunter and the Petun. *Research Bulletin* 25. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1999b Father Jones and the Petun. *Research Bulletin* 26. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1999c The Huron Institute and the Petun. *Research Bulletin* 27. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1999d Visiting the Wyandots in 1975. *Research Bulletin* 29. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1999e Visiting the Wyandots in 1976. *Research Bulletin* 30. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

1999f Report to the Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation on the 1999 Excavations on the McQueen-McConnell BcHb-31 Archaeological Site under Licence 99-003. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

2000 Report to the Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation on the 2000 Excavations on the McQueen-McConnell BcHb-31 Archaeological Site under Licence 2000-021. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

2003a The MacMurchy Site: Fifty Years On. *Arch Notes* 8(3):8-29.

2003b The Fear of Death—a Unique Inscribed Iron Knife from the Petun Country. *Arch Notes* 8(2):8-11.

2003c Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of the Dispersal of the Wyandots from Ontario, and Celebrating Their Return. *Research Bulletin* 36. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

Garrad, C., and C.E. Heidenreich

1978 Khionontateronon (Petun). In *Northeast,*edited by B.G. Trigger, pp. 394-397. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, W.C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Garrad, C., and J.L. Steckley

2007 Craigleith and the Birth of the Wyandot Tribe. *Research Bulletin* 17, revised. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

Green, L.

1993 *Chief Engineer: Life of a Nation Builder—Sandford Fleming.* Dundurn Press, Toronto.

Gruspier, K.

1998 Milne (BcHb-28). Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Hamalainen, P.

1974 Faunal Analysis of White Site, Nottawasaga Township, Simcoe County. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1981a Patterns of Faunal Exploitation by the Petun Indians. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Geography, York University, Toronto.

1981b Faunal Analysis of Twelve Petun Sites. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

1983 Statistical Testing of Surface Collected and Excavated Samples from the Plater-Martin Site. *Ontario Archaeology* 39:57-64.

1984 Bear Claw Artefacts from the Plater-Fleming Site. *Arch Notes* 84(3):41-42.

Hammond, H.

1905 The Early Indians of this Section. *Enterprise-Messenger* April 13. Collingwood, Ontario.

Hargrave, H.

1983 My Grandmother: The Teacher. Ms on file, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.

1984 Mrs. and Mrs. F.E. Webster. In *Let's Celebrate Nottawasaga's Sesquicentennial and Ontario's Bicentennial*, edited by A. Timmons, pp. 146-149. Historical Committee, Nottawasaga Sesquicentennial Celebration, Duntroon, Ontario.

Hartman, C.W.

1920 Early History of the Beaver Valley. *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 18:37-41.

Heidenreich, C.E.

1974 A Relict Indian Corn Field near Creemore. *Canadian Geographer* 18(4):379-394.

Hunter, A.F.

1886 Ahoendoe, the Last Refuge of the Hurons.

The Indian 1(19):1. November 14. Hagersville.

1886-1940a Archaeological Sites in Simcoe County, Notebooks, notes and records held by the Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

1886-1940b Archaeological Sites in Grey County, Notebooks, notes and records held by the Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

1889 French Relics from Village Sites of the Hurons. In *Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1888-1889*, edited by D. Boyle, pp. 42-46. Legislative Assembly, Toronto.

1897a Tobacco Nation. In *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by R.G. Thwaites, vol. 5, pp. 279. Burrows Brothers, Cleveland.

1897b Archaeological Research in the Huron Country. In *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by R.G. Thwaites, vol. 5, pp. 295-298. Burrows Brothers, Cleveland.

1907 *Huron Village Sites. Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education for the year 1906.* The Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

1908a Letter to the Editor. *The New Jesuit Shrine Bulletin*, January 30.

1908b Letter to the Editor. *The New Jesuit Shrine Bulletin*, May 7.

1909 *A History of Simcoe County*. 2 vols. County Council, Barrie, Ontario.

1912 [Review of] *'8ENDAKE EHEN' or Old Huronia*. by A.E. Jones *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 16: 77-81.

1927 The Trail of the Aborigines through Waterloo County. *Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society* 15:264-267.

Hunter, M.

1957 Big Brother: A Short Biographical Sketch of the Late Andrew F. Hunter. Privately published (arbitrarily paginated).

Hurlburt, G.

1980 Faunal Analysis, Plater-Martin Site (BdHb-1) Midden Five. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Im, J.-R.

1983 Faunal Analysis of the McAllister Site (BcHb-25). Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

James, C.C.

1906 The Downfall of the Huron Nation. *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions (Series 2), Section 2.* 12:311-346.

James, C.W.

1911 Secretary's Annual Report. *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1911:23-24.

Jardine, D.D.

1981 Early History of Duntroon Community. Let's Reminisce About Nottawasaga, pp. 13-23. With revisions and added Biographies by Charles Garrard [Garrad]. Municipal Council of Nottawasaga, Duntroon, Ontario.

Jenness, D.

1928 Division of Anthropology. In *Annual Report for 1926*, pp. 5-13 Bulletin 50. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1932 Fifty Years of Archaeology in Canada. In *Fifty Years Retrospect, Anniversary Volume 1882-1932,* pp. 71-76. Ryerson Press, Toronto.

Johnson, D.S.

1980 The McKenzie or Woodbridge Site (AkGv-2), and Its Place in the Late Ontario Iroquois Tradition. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 8:77-87.

Jones, A.E.

1903 Identification of St Ignace II, and of Ekarenniondi. *Annual Archaeological Report 1902,* edited by D. Boyle, pp. 92-136, Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

1903 Discovery of Ekarenniondi or the Standing Rock of the Petuns. *Annual Archaeological Report 1902*, pp. 106-116,131-136, Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

1908 The New Jesuit Shrine—Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S.J. replies to Mr. A.F. Hunter, M.A. [title varies] *Collingwood Bulletin*, February 13, 20, & 27, March 5, 12, 19, & 26, April 2, 9, & 16. Collingwood, Ontario.

1909 *'8ENDAKE EHEN' or Old Huronia*. Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario. L.K. Cameron, Toronto.

Katzenberg, M.A.

1979 An Analysis of a Sample of the Faunal Remains from the Kelly-Campbell Site, BcHb-10. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Kearsley, R.G.

1997a Pinched-Face Human Effigy Pipes: The Social Mechanisms that Conditioned Their Manufacture and Use in Seventeenth Century Iroquoia. Unpublished MA thesis, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

1997b Petun Pinched-Face Smoking Pipes. *Research Bulletin* 11. Petun Research Institute, Toronto.

Kelly,T.

1832 Field Book for Part of the Township of Merlin Surveyed in 1832 by Thos. Kelly,

Dept'y Surveyor Bound with Rankin 1833 as Book 553, Dept. Lands & Forests, Ontario Archives, Toronto.

Kenyon, I.T., and T. Kenyon
1983 Comments on 17th Century Glass Trade Beads from Ontario. In *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference,* edited by C.F. Hayes, pp. 59-74. Research Record 16. Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.
1987 The Iron Trade Axe in Ontario, ca. A.D. 1580–1650: Exploratory Data Analysis. *Kewa* 87(7):10-20.

Killan, G.
1983 *David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist*. Ontario Heritage Foundation, Toronto.
1998 Toward a Scientific Archaeology: Daniel Wilson, David Boyle and the Canadian Institute 1852-96. In *Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology*, edited by P.J. Smith, and D. Mitchell, pp. 16-24. Mercury Series 158. Canadian Museum of Civilization and Archaeological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.

Kirby, C.
1977 An Iron Point from the Haney-Cook (BcHb-27) Site. *Arch Notes* 77(7):16.

Kirby, M.W.
1985 Archaeological Field Survey of the Beaver Valley. Report to the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture for 1984. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.
1987 Field Manual: Prehistoric Archaeology of the Beaver Valley 1986. Report to the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture for 1986. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.
1988 Field Manual: Prehistoric Archaeology of the Beaver Valley 1987, Report to the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture for 1987. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

Knowlton, N.E.
1977 The House at Haney-Cook II. In Report to the Minister of Culture and Recreation for 1977, edited by C. Garrad, pp. 43-46. Ms. on file, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

Kwok, F.
1998 Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of Seventeenth Century Red Glass Beads. Unpublished undergraduate thesis, Department of Chemical Engineering, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Larivière, F.
1957 *La Vie ardente de Saint Charles Garnier*. Bellarmin, Montréal.

Latta, M.
1975 Report on Field-Work by Scarborough College at the Kelly-Campbell Site BcHb-10, September 4-6, 1975. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Scarborough, Ontario.

Lawrence, J.
1908a Where Is the Standing Rock of the Petuns? *Collingwood Bulletin*, February 13, Collingwood, Ontario.
1908b Where Is the Standing Rock of the Petuns? *The Saturday News*, February 29 and March 7. Collingwood, Ontario.
1909 Where Is the Standing Rock of the Petuns? *Huron Institute Papers and Records*, 1:60-70.
1916 Ekarenniondi. The Rock That Stands Out. *Twenty-Eighth Annual Archaeological Report 1916*, edited by R.B. Orr, pp. 40-48. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

Lawrence, J., M. Gaviller, and J. Morris
1909 Exploration of Petun Indian Village Sites. *Huron Institute Papers and Records* 1:11-18,42a.

LeMoine, G.
1982 Faunal Analysis of the McEwen and Connor-Rolling Sites. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Lennox, P.A.
1996 Small Sites Archaeology: Bigger Is Better? or Site Significance Is not Always a Function of Baseline Length. In *Home Is Where the Hearth Is, The Contribution of Small Sites to Our Understanding of Ontario's Past,* edited by J.-L. Pilon and R. Perkins, pp. 12-24. Ottawa Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society, Ottawa.
2000 The Rentner and McKean Sites: 10,000 Years of Settlement on the Shore of Lake Huron, Simcoe County, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 70:16-65.

MacLean, H.
1969 *Man of Steel: The Story of Sir Sandford Fleming.* Ryerson Press, Toronto.

MacNeish, R.S.
1952 *Iroquois Pottery Types: A Technique for the Study of Iroquois Prehistory.* Bulletin 124. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

Marsh, E.L.
1931 *A History of the County of Grey.* Fleming, Owen Sound, Ontario.

Mason, R.J.
1981 *Great Lakes Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
1986 *Rock Island, Historical Indian Archaeology in the Northern Lake Michigan Basin.* MCJA Special Paper 6. The Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.

Mayer, Poulton & Associates Inc.
1992 *The 1990 Archaeological Investigations of the Glebe Site (BcHb-1).* Ms. on file, The Ontario Heritage Trust, Toronto.

McGarry, K.A.
1998 The Relationship Between Cultural Crisis and Material Culture Creativity among the Ontario Iroquoians, ca. 1530–1650 A.D. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Anthropology, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

McIlwraith, T.F.
1949 Anthropology. In *Royal Canadian Institute Centennial Volume 1849-1949*, edited by W.S. Wallace, pp. 3-12. Royal Canadian Institute, Toronto.

McKillop, H.
1989 Peacock Archaeological Site (BcHa-5) Boundary Project Preliminary Report, October 26, 1989. Ms. on file, Northeastern Archaeological Associates, Port Hope, Ontario.

McKillop, H., and C. Garrad
1992 Lost in the Backwoods: The Search for the Peacock Village Site. *Arch Notes* 92(5):7-14.

Melville, M.
1968 Transcript of an interview with Charles Garrad, October 20, 1968. On file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Mills, G.K.
1907 The Nottawasaga River Route. *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 8:40-48.

Morris, J.
1908 Donations to the Museum. *Collingwood Bulletin*. April 23, June 18. Collingwood, Ontario.
1909 Report of Curator. *Huron Institute Papers and Records* 1:92-93.

NRCAN (Natural Resources Canada)
2002 Canadian National Topographic Database 3.1, 1:250,000 series, 41A and 31D map sheets. Natural Resources Canada, Centre for Topographic Information, Sherbrooke. Online access: www.geogratis.ca

Noble, W.
1972 One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Archaeology in the Canadian Provinces. *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* 4:1-78.
1974 The Jackes (Eglinton) Site: Another Facet of Southern Huron Development in the Toronto Region. *Ontario Archaeology* 22:3-22.

Nottawasaga Municipal Council
1934 The Outburst of the Iroquois. Nottawasaga Centennial Celebration, Duntroon, Ontario.
1967 Let's Reminisce About Nottawasaga. Revised and reissued with the Assistance of J. Allan Blair to Mark Canada's Centennial of Confederation. Duntroon, Ontario.
1987 Let's Reminisce About Nottawasaga. With Revisions and Added Biographies by Charles Garrard [Garrad]. Duntroon, Ontario.

Nowry, L.
1995 *Marius Barbeau: Man of Mana*. NC Press, Toronto.

O'Brien, R.
1976 *An Archaeological Survey of Methodist Point Park Reserve.* Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Ontario Historical Society
1906 *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1905 and 1906, Toronto.
1907 *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1907, Toronto.
1911 *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1911, Toronto.
1912 *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1912, Toronto.
1921 *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1921, Toronto.
1931 *The Annual Meeting.* The Ontario Historical Society, Toronto.

Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources
2001 Digital Elevation Model Version 1.1.0 Provincial Tiled Data Set. Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Peterborough. Online access: www.lio.mnr.gov.on.ca/
[2010] Ontario Base Map Data, scale 1:10,000. Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Peterborough, accessed 2010. Online access: www.geographynetwork.ca

Orr, R.B. (editor)
1927 *Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report 1924-1925*. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.
1928 *Thirty-Sixth Annual Archaeological Report*

1928 Including 1926-1927. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

Parkman, F.
1889 Letter concerning the work of D. Boyle. *Globe.* July 8. Toronto.

Pearce, R.J.
1989 Preliminary Assessment of Site BdHb-2 (Formerly Known as the Plater-Fleming Site), Collingwood Township, Grey County. *Arch Notes* 89(2):9-15.

Prager, J.
1992 The Petun in Transit: 1575-1650. From the Iroquoian Revenge Cycle to the Politics of the New World. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Prevec, R.
1979a The Sidey-Mackay Site (BbHa-6) Interim Faunal Report. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
1979b The Sidey-Mackay Site (BbHa-6) Final Faunal Report. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Ramsden, P.G.
1966 The Stone Tools of the MacMurchy Site, Ontario. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
1977a Trent Valley Iroquoian Research. *Arch Notes* 77(7):19-31.
1977b *A Refinement of Some Aspects of Huron Ceramic Analysis.* Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper 63. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Ottawa.

Rankin, C.
1833a Diary Completion of Survey of Nottawasaga Formerly Merlin and Java , C. Rankin, May –August 15. F 1018. Ontario Archives, Toronto.
1833b Field Notes No. 1 the Twp. of Nottawasaga by CR Book 553, Dept. Lands & Forests. F 1018. Ontario Archives, Toronto.
1833c Diary during the Survey of Alta and Part of Zora in the Home District Aug.16–Dec. 16th 1833. F 1018. Ontario Archives, Toronto.
1836 Township of Euphrasia Field Notes. F 1018. Surveyed in 1836. Ontario Archives, Toronto.

Redmond, F.A.
1909 Samuel de Champlain: Charles Garnier, the Martyr of Simcoe County. *Huron Institute Papers and Records* 1:71-79, 86-91.

Regehr, T.D.
1999 Fleming, Sir Sandford. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 ed., edited by J. Marsh, pp. 867-868. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto.

Ridley, F.
1957 Cultural Contacts of Iroquoian and Plains. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 27(1):33-37.

Robinson, P.J.
1941 Meanings and Derivation of Indian Site Names in Huronia. *The Orillia Packet and Times*. April 10. Orillia, Ontario.

Ross, W.A.
1976 The Petun: A Micromigration Pattern within the Late Ontario Iroquois. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Geography, York University, Toronto.

Rost, R.
1999 A Bioarchaeological Approach to Constructing the Buckingham Ossuary Site (BcHb-24) Mortuary Practices. Unpublished MA thesis, Anthropology Department, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

Royal Society of Canada
1932 *Fifty Years Retrospect, Anniversary Volume 1882–1932*. Ryerson Press, Toronto.

Sandell, M.
1985 *History of the Collingwood Public Library*. Collingwood Public Library, Collingwood, Ontario.

Saunders, S.
1976 List of Bones from the Young-McQueen BcHb-19 Site. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Savage, H.G.
1966 Summary of Bone Findings, MacMurchy Village Site. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Sempowski, M.L., A.W. Nohe, R.G.V. Hancock, J.F. Moreau, F. Kwok, S. Aufreiter, K. Karklins, J. Baart, C. Garrad, and I. Kenyon.
2001 Chemical Analysis of 17th-Century Red Glass Trade Beads from Northeastern North America and Amsterdam. *Archaeometry* 43(4):503-515.

Shalinsky, J.
1979 Faunal Analysis of the Young-McQueen Site BcHb-19. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Shannon, B. (editor)
1979 *An Illustrated History of Collingwood Township*. Township of Collingwood, Grey County.

Shaw, R.W.
1932 The Treaty Made with Indians for the Surrender of Lands in Collingwood Region, Oct. 17, 1818. *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 28:146-149.
Sheahan, A.
1980 Faunal Analysis of the Melville Site (BbHa-7) The Khionontatehronon (The Petun). Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
Shortreed, M. (editor)
1978 *Sandford Fleming: Pioneer Engineer.* Sandford Educational Press, Waterloo, Ontario.
Shropshire, J.W.
n.d. The White Site. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1968a The White Site. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1968n Amateur Archaeologists on the Trail of Champlain. *Stayner Sun*, October 24, Stayner, Ontario.
1970 A Burial at Wasaga Beach, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 15:16-19.
1999 A Question of Convenience: A Water System at Sainte-Marie. *Profile* 18(2):1-8.
2000 A Tale of Two Buildings. *Profile* 19(1):5-13.
Smith, B.A.
1985 The Use of Animals at the 17th Century Mission of St. Ignace. *The Michigan Archaeologist* 31(4):97-122.
Smith, C.B.
1926a Exploring Indian Village Site. *Creemore Star*. June 24, Creemore, Ontario.
1926b Excavations of Indian Village Site Remain Remunerative. *Creemore Star*. July 8, Creemore, Ontario.
1926c Social and Personal (Mrs. Wintemberg and little daughter from Ottawa are spending two weeks at the home of Mr. & Mrs. W. Sidey). *Creemore Star*. July 22, Creemore, Ontario.
1926d Conservatives Swelter in Heat at Stayner Convention. *Creemore Star*. August 12, Creemore, Ontario.
1926e Social and Personal (Mrs. Wintemberg and daughter returned to Ottawa). *Creemore Star*. August 19, Creemore, Ontario.
1959 Creemore's River-Bed Site Was Once Habitat of Indians. *Creemore Star*. October 1, Creemore, Ontario.
1962 About Contact with an Archaeologist. *Creemore Star*. October 25, Creemore, Ontario.
Smith, H.I.
1923 *An Album of Prehistoric Art*. Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa.
Squier, E.G.
1850 *Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York. Comprising the Results of Original Surveys and Explorations.* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 2. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
Steckley, J.
1996 Petun Language. *Research Bulletin* 1, Petun Research Institute, Toronto.
1998a Wendat Names in the Jesuit Relations. *Research Bulletin* 18, Petun Research Institute, Toronto.
1998b Wendat Names at Lorette 1762–1791. *Research Bulletin* 19, Petun Research Institute, Toronto.
Storck, P.L.
1980 Department of New World Archaeology. In *Royal Ontario Museum, 30th Annual Report, July 1979–June 1980:* 21.
Tait, L.
1968 *Tobacco in Canada.* Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers' Marketing Board, Tillsonburg, Ontario.
Talbot, F.X.
1961 *Saint among Savages: The Life of Isaac Jogues*. Image Books, Garden City, N.Y.
Thomas, E.H.
1952 Digging in the Rock Area—Ekarenniondi. *Enterprise-Bulletin*. October 9. Collingwood, Ontario.
1954a In Search of Etharita or St. Jean. *Enterprise-Bulletin*. December 17. Collingwood, Ontario.
1954b Dig Planned for August at Duntroon. *Enterprise-Bulletin*. July 1. Collingwood, Ontario.
1955 Seeking Site of Indian Village near Duntroon. *Creemore Star.* August 11. Creemore, Ontario.
1956 Tionnontates (Petun or Tobacco Indian) Tools, Collingwood Area, Ontario, Canada. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 26(1):43-47.
1957a Is This St. Thomas ? Petun Pictures 3a.1. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.
1957b Where Was the Neutral Trail? *Enterprise-Bulletin*. January 17. Collingwood, Ontario.
1957c Hurontario Street Reaches Collingwood. *Enterprise-Bulletin*. January 24. Collingwood, Ontario.
1957d It Could Happen Again. *Enterprise-Bulletin*. June 20. Collingwood, Ontario.

1957e When Beads Were Jewellery. *Enterprise-Bulletin.* Collingwood, Ontario.
1958a Copper Kettles. *Barrie Examiner.* January 15. Barrie, Ontario.
1958b The Petun Peace Pipe. *Enterprise-Bulletin.* April 24. Collingwood, Ontario.
1958c First Things in Collingwood. *Enterprise-Bulletin.* May 1. Collingwood, Ontario.
1958d Nottawasaga. *Barrie Examiner.* May 30. Barrie, Ontario.
1959a In Search of Etharita or St. Jean. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 29(2):93-97.
1959b In Search of Etharita or St. Jean. *Enterprise-Bulletin*. December 17. Collingwood, Ontario.

Thwaites, R.G. (editor)
1896-1901 *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. 73 vols. Burrows Brothers, Cleveland.

Tooker, E.
1978 Wyandot. In *Northeast*, edited by B.G. Trigger, pp. 398-406. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, W.C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Trigger, B.G., L. Yaffe, M. Dikšić, J.-L. Galinier, H. Marshall, and J.F. Pendergast
1980 Trace-Element Analysis of Iroquoian Pottery. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 4: 119-145.

Turgeon, L.
2001 French Beads in France and Northeastern North America during the Sixteenth Century. *Historical Archaeology* 35(4):58-82.

Unitt, D., A. Osler, and E. McCoy
1968 *Sir Sandford Fleming*. Clockhouse, Peterborough, Ontario.

United States National Museum (USNM)
1877-1975 Permanent Administrative Files; Record Unit 192, Box 392, file no. 113002. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington.

Walker, C.
2000 Petun Copper and Brass in the Context of Northeastern North America. Paper presented at the 27th Annual Symposium of the Ontario Archaeological Society, Midland, Ontario. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Walker, C., R.G.V. Hancock, S. Aufreiter, M.A. Latta, and C. Garrad
1999 Chronological Markers? Chemical Analysis of Copper-Based Trade Metal Artefacts from Petun Sites in Southern Ontario, Canada, In *Metals in Antiquity,* edited by S.M.M. Young, A.M. Pollard, P. Budd and R.A. Ixer, pp. 317-325. British Archaeological Reports International Series 792. Archaeopress, Oxford.

Wallace, W.S.
1949 A Sketch of the History of the Royal Canadian Institute 1849–1949. In *Royal Canadian Institute Centennial Volume*, edited by W.S. Wallace, pp. 123-167. Royal Canadian Institute, Toronto.

Warrick, G.A.
1990 A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 900–1650. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, McGill University, Montreal.
2008 *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 900–1650.* Cambridge University Press, New York.

Webb, M.
1993 *Sandford Fleming: Railway Builder.* Copp Clark Pitman, Mississauga, Ontario.

Webster, F.E. [Mrs.]
1907 Pioneer History. *The Creemore Star*. April 4. Creemore, Ontario.
1934 Pioneer History. In *Nottawasaga: "The Outburst of the Iroquois,"* edited by Nottawasaga Centenial Committee, pp. 42-44. Municipal Council of Nottawasaga Township, Duntroon.

Webster, H.G.
1976 Letter from Herbert G. Webster to Charles Garrad, November 25, 1976. Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Williams, D.
1911 President's Address. *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society* 1911:17-22.
1914 Some Pages from Collingwood's Story. *Huron Institute Papers and Records* 2:20-40.

Williams, R.
1999 Canadian Museum of Civilization. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 ed., edited by J. Marsh, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto.

Williams, W.R.
1950 Creemore District Indian Settlement Abandoned 300 Years Ago—Petun Indians were Driven South by Roving Iroquois. *Creemore Star.* July 27. Creemore, Ont.

Wintemberg, W.J.
1905 Are the Perforated Bone Needles Prehistoric? In *Annual Archaeological Report for Ontario,*

1904, edited by D. Boyle, pp. 39-42. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

1906 Bone and Horn Harpoon Heads of the Ontario Indians. *Annual Archaeological Report for Ontario,1905*, edited by D. Boyle, pp. 33-56. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Toronto.

1923 *Unpublished Field Survey Notes, Ontario.* Archaeological Survey of Canada Archives, Ottawa.

1926 Foreign Aboriginal Artifacts from post-European Iroquoian Sites in Ontario. *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions (Series 3)* 20:37-61.

1931 Distinguishing Characteristics of Algonkian and Iroquoian Cultures. In *Annual Report for 1929*, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 67:65-95.

1946 The Sidey-Mackay Village Site. *American Antiquity* 11(3):154-182.

Wodinsky, H.

1979 Faunal Analysis of the Plater-Martin Site (BdHb-1) Midden Five. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Wojtowicz, R.B.

2003 The University of Toronto MacMurchy BcHb-26 Ceramic Pipe Analysis. Ms. on file, Petun Research Institute, c/o Craigleith Heritage Depot, 113 Lakeshore Rd., Blue Mountains, Ontario.

Wright, J.V.

1966 *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition*. Bulletin 210. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1981 The Glen Site: An Historic Cheveux Relevés Campsite on Flowerpot Island, Georgian Bay, Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology* 35:45-59.

1999 Wintemberg, William John. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 ed., edited by J. Marsh, p. 2524. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto.

Les recherches du peuple pétun

Des recherches de plus d'un siècle ont apporté la connaissance actuelle de l'occupation Pétun-Wyandot dans la région du peuple pétun, actuels cantons de Collingwood, Nottawasaga et Mulmur. Plusieurs individus possédant une variété d'habiletés et d'intérêts ont contribué à la recherche des Pétuns, qui ont habité cette région dans les environs des années 1580 et 1650 après Jésus-Christ. Cet article souligne l'historique de recherche du peuple Pétun-Wyandot, mettant en évidence le travail des collaborateurs les plus remarquables.

Charles Garrad
103 Anndale Drive
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M2N 2X3
charles.garrad@sympatico.ca