

## Within and Without: The Enclaving of Native Communities in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ontario

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I am very pleased to be able to contribute to this volume celebrating Mike Spence's diverse array of research interests. Certainly Mike has been for me an inspiration in ways small and large. Most of our close work has arisen from Ontario archaeology, and it has always proven to be a joy to go out into the field with him (albeit a hazard to those wishing to avoid consumption of donuts and other unmentionables), or to co-author something with him. In both contexts Mike never failed to infect me with the enthusiasm he has for the work we were doing. Moreover, as a former Regional Archaeologist, many of those occasions we have had to work together arose from various permutations of what can be called applied archaeology: fieldwork and research in the service of those individuals and interests who found themselves entangled in burial discoveries and the various statutory and moral obligations that come along with those discoveries. Mike's sense of decency and concern for all involved, and for the ancestors encountered and the stories they can tell, represents the very best that an archaeologist can give of themselves, and is the epitome of "professional" service.

One of the larger influences Mike has had on me has come from his genuine enthusiasm for archaeology and research, for the people he works with, and critically for wanting to engage with a past populated by people, not just things. Especially in exploring the active agency and social processes of constructing and revising communal and personal identities, his ideas have directly found their way into my own work. As such, and despite many applied archaeology contexts I could have chosen to speak to, it is Michael's ideas and theoretical approaches to the people in the past that I wish to play with here,

since these so intrinsically have come to shape my own view of telling the past through archaeology.

Notably, Mike has explored the many expressions of identity – ethnicity – and the social processes that are active and more explicit among communities that are minorities in the area they inhabit (see especially Spence 1996, 2005). Some of this work has focussed on Mexico and within a distinct enclave within the ancient city of Teotihuacan. This neighbourhood, at about 200 AD, became the home to hundreds of Zapotec immigrants who had moved to the city from Oaxaca. For many successive generations this community existed as a part of the larger metropolis, yet maintained a distinct heritage and identity set apart from the larger city and, for that matter, from the constantly revising identity of the people back in the Oaxacan homeland.

Mike's work examines manifestations of this distinctive identity as reflected in material culture, architecture, osteology, mortuary practices and other rituals (Spence 2005: 176-177). These distinctions reflect complex social processes that negotiated expatriate logistics through the active reinforcement *and* revision of familiar and group identity, as well as the community's distinct social memory (see also Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Those processes are critical because the Zapotec community in Teotihuacan would have needed to construct a sense of identity that served their economic and social needs within the wider world of the more dominant population of the Teotihuacan state. Indeed, Spence (2005: 197-198) notes that a Zapotec diaspora existed throughout the wider region of central Mexico, and likely served a diverse economic trade controlled by members of this Zapotec community. But there was more than just economics involved,

and Spence (2005: 199-200) argues that Zapotecs sojourned across this network, as mobile family members whose social links and diaspora “citizenship” enculturated next generations into a community distinct from those beyond the enclave. Significantly, though, people within this enclaved Zapotec group emphasized various material expressions and ritual activities that were distinct from their ancestral homeland. These material signifiers of identity proved to be more conservative to change over time, and lacking evidence of the innovative changes that had been subsequently adopted back in the homeland (Spence 2005; see also Gibbs, this volume).

### **From Central Mexico to Southern Ontario**

For me, the most significant implications of these active social processes of identity reinforcement and revision Mike has mapped out is in the demonstration of the potential archaeology has to reach beyond normative description in order to understand and question human behaviour. That these processes of identity maintenance and revision – the hybridization of self – become so heightened within the setting of an enclave suggests that we should see similar expressions in other contexts. And this is certainly the case in archaeological manifestations of colonialism (e.g., Cusick 1998; Given 2004; Gosden 2005; Stein 2005), though obviously particulars can and will vary.

In my case I’ve been able to see many similarities with Michael’s work as I have explored the 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeology of southern Ontario Native communities, especially related to the active processes of identity maintained by the Indigenous in a world that was rapidly transforming into a place made up of and for the emerging British colonial state (Ferris 2009). But while Mike’s enclave in Mexico emerged as a strategy of livelihood and place tied to living in the economic and social orbit of a huge metropolis, the context of enclave I’ve been examining is one imposed onto the Indigenous residents of southern Ontario – in other words, I’m using enclave as a verb in this context.

There has been limited work done on the archaeology of these 19<sup>th</sup> century communities, however, with archaeological research for southern Ontario and the broader Northeast tending rather to focus on the initial century of interaction between European and Aboriginal nations. Moreover, this archaeological bias has tended to create a disconnect between earlier and later historic periods, since work on the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries has tended to emphasise the supposed impact of European made goods, economic sensibilities and values on those Indigenous groups (e.g., Trigger 1985; Turgeon 2004). The unspoken assumption here is that Indigenous archaeology in effect ends around 1650, as the result of the calamitous effects of European-induced change. But in looking past particular historic episodes and removing historically-derived expectations, archaeological patterns from southern Ontario suggest the effects of that initial interaction were rather less devastating and deep, and more incorporative and surficial, than conventionally supposed (Ferris 2006). Sure, populations relocated or were dispersed, epidemics impacted communities, and European-made goods were incorporated, but Indigenous livelihood and daily events appear to have played out within longer term patterns of continuous change consistent with those seen in the centuries prior to European arrival, and change was entirely consistent with Native-centric motivations and logic, not European-induced calamitous change.

In other words, we can think of the 17<sup>th</sup> and at least the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in southern Ontario and the Great Lakes more broadly more as the continuation of a Terminal Woodland period (Ferris and Spence 1995), rather than a period of colonialism, despite the presence of Europeans and their interests in the region. Of course I’m not trying to imply that the traumatic, dramatic events of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were simply shrugged off by the members of Indigenous communities who lived through them. This history was devastating to experience and became the memory markers for people framing their own sense of self and understanding of the world they lived in subsequently. But, as seen from the wider archaeological context of before and after, those

moments were no instant triggers to dependency, loss of identity or rapid unprecedented change.

But what happened next? Well by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it is the case that the qualitative nature of the European presence in the region changed markedly, as a formal colonialist enterprise began to emerge, one that more specifically challenged Indigenous lifeways. But when and how the colonialist landscape precluded continuation of Woodland patterns is actually quite variable by group and place. For example, this continuity of the Woodland, despite the drama of episodic historic events, is readily evident among Annishnabeg/Central Algonquin groups such as the Potawatomi, likely descendants from some of the communities tied to the Late and Terminal Woodland archaeological record found around the western end of Lake Erie and lower Lake Huron, as well as newer arrivals such as the Ojibwa. Indeed, for these people I have argued that traditional ways of life were maintained well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, over 200 years *after* Europeans began being part of the history for this region (e.g., Ferris 1989, 2006).

### The Ojibwa of Southwestern Ontario

In southwestern Ontario in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century there were 4-6 territorial communities of Ojibwa occupying distinct areas along major drainages and lakeshore (Figure 1). Within these communities, settlement-subsistence was remarkably consistent with earlier periods, characterized by a high mobility accommodating seasonal community coalescence and dispersal centered on periods of specific resource abundance. Residences were almost uniformly wigwams (Figure 2), with no evidence of the use of log cabins. Subsistence was entirely diversified, with the notable absence of a skin or fur trade.

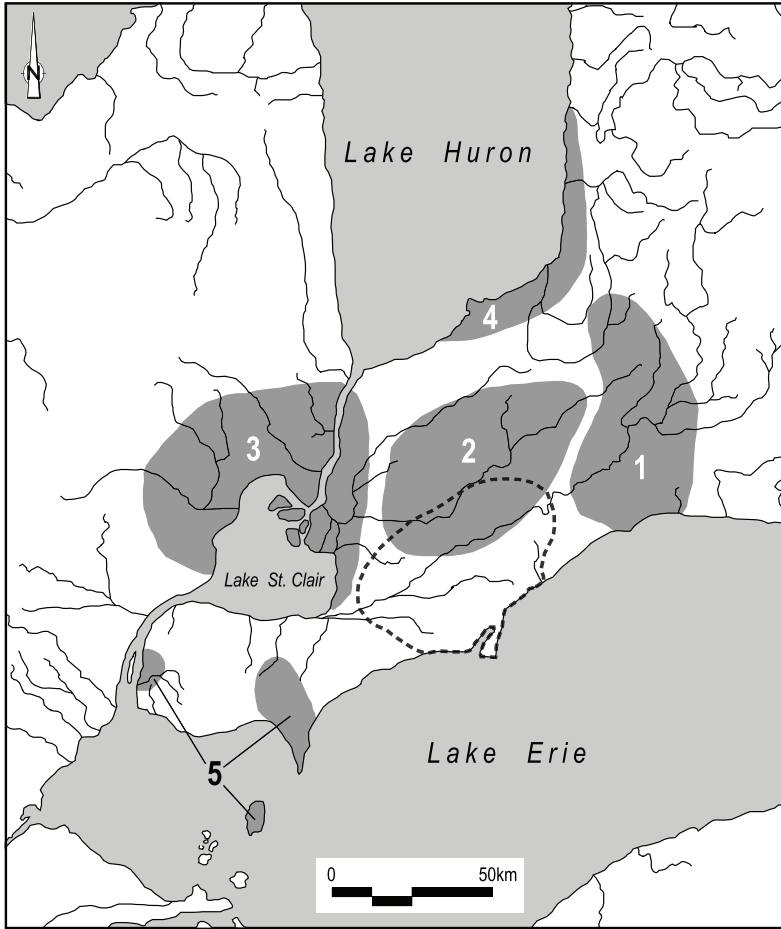
Despite the explicit intent of colonial authorities and missionaries, the Ojibwa actively resisted pressures to become sedentary and were clearly conservative to change beyond innovative revision, reluctant to abandon an historically constructed sense of self that came from the seasonal scheduling of livelihood and daily life played out within

and across their landscape of southern Ontario. For these Ojibwa communities, like similar groups elsewhere in the world, seasonal and subsistence mobility were as much dimensions of self-identity as language and belief systems (e.g. Ingold 2000; Rival 2004). Indeed, daily living was really identity experienced across, and read into, the landscape of mobility, and reinforced as distinct when compared with their more settled Native and non-Native neighbours of the time.

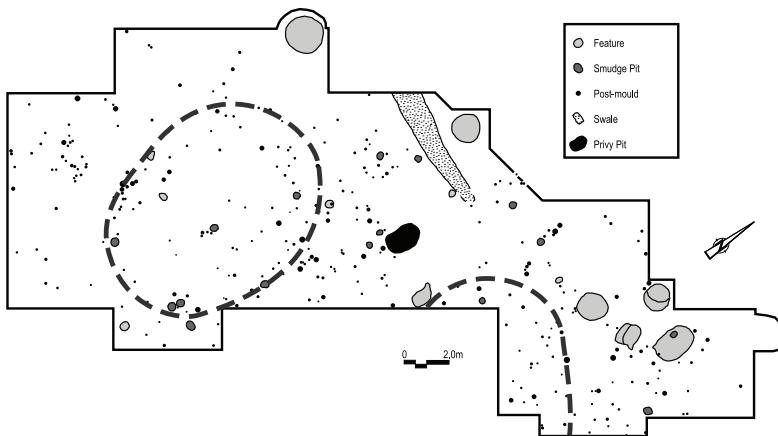
That the Ojibwa continued what was really a Woodland way of life well into the emergence of a British-imposed colonialism is significant. After all, the imposition of colonialism in the region was specifically focussed on shifting the interests of the state from the administration of a frontier and extractive economy to the administration of the needs of a colonial settlement (e.g., Coates 2004; Tobias 1983). This also led to the emergence of a corporate, catastrophic bureaucracy - encompassing actions of good intent, blatant self-interest, incompetence, indifference, racial bias, strategic disruption of sovereignty, neglect, and deceit - all arising from the apparatus and populace of the colonial power and imposed on Indigenous populations (Ferris 2006).

This rise of a catastrophic bureaucracy included a shift in attitude on the part of the colonial administration wherein their responsibility became less serving Aboriginal allies, and more managing an issue, one that was increasingly seen as marginal to the affairs of the colonial state. So the welfare and future of Native communities became not matters of Aboriginal sovereignty, but social detritus to be managed away. By the 1830s, and in concert with a re-organization of the Indian Department which ceased to be a branch of the military and became part of the public service (Allen 1975, 1993), the colonial government had embarked on an active policy of aiding "civilizing" efforts. Specific policies included gathering people together on reserves, encouraging the adoption of agriculture and cash crop economies, providing for educational and agricultural instruction, and supplying communities with houses, seed and farming equipment (Surtees 1994).

These policies came from the colonialist administration and were imposed without consultation.



**Figure 1.** Estimated south-western Ontario Ojibwa territorial communities around 1800. 1: Thames River (Muncey); 2: Bear Creek (Sydenham River); 3: Lake St. Clair/River; 4: Kettle Point/Ausable River; 5: Anderdon. Other Ojibwa communities (e.g., Black River/“Thumb” of Michigan) are not represented. Stippled area below the Bear Creek territory approximates territorial extent of this group prior to relocating to the Sydenham River.



**Figure 2.** Map of the Bellamy site, a ca. 1800 Ojibwa summer base camp excavated on the Sydenham River. The outlines encompass settlement patterns at the Bellamy site associated with wigwam structures (after Ferris 1989; Ferris et al. 1985).

Any interests of the State embedded in these policies, such as reserves being less “protection” than “moving out of the way” to allow for colonial settlement, were not acknowledged in the rhetoric of helping British-imagined Indigenous wards of the state (Allen 1993). Indeed, through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries neglect, fraud, embezzlement, self-serving agendas, administrative decision-making based on marginalisation, and the undermining of the Crown’s own policies were all commonplace, forcing communities to continually confront and negotiate this catastrophic bureaucracy and denied sovereignty within the emerging nation state of Canada (e.g. Coates 2004; Smith 1981).

Despite such a chronic dimension to daily life, what more directly impacted the Ojibwa was the dramatic rise in Euro-Canadian population through the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Ferris 1989; Wood 2000). This increase occurred within a single generation, and was accompanied by a massive expansion in cleared land, so that by 1861 extensive parts of southwestern Ontario were being farmed as the Victorian culture of the colonizer imposed “order” on the landscape, their population having grown from around 5000 or less at the start of the century, to over 130,000 by 1831 (Ferris 2006: Table 5.1). In effect, this change ensnared and enveloped the Ojibwa and other Indigenous communities onto reserves already established and set apart from the emerging Colonial society.

Though the Ojibwa actively resisted the adoption of sedentary life, traditional mobility was constrained by surrounding Euro-Canadian settlement and clearings (Rogers 1994). This most directly impacted seasonal mobility connected to hunting. Full territorial mobility slowly changed to become more seasonal forays away from fixed settlements at peak game harvest times of the year. As well, a greater focus on agriculture emerged post-1850. However community patterns were more varied than implied in observer-written accounts, with census records indicating that only a handful of Ojibwa families in southwestern Ontario prior the 1880s were practicing large-scale, surplus cash crop Euro-Canadian style farming (Ferris 1989). For most families subsistence strategies represented a distinct blend of new and

traditional, characterised by limited or garden plot horticulture focussed on non-cash crops (e.g., corn, beans) and limited livestock for largely home self-sufficiency, and augmented by the continued harvest of seasonally abundant game, fish and sugar. Indeed family subsistence and self-sufficiency based on a mix of farming and the harvest of seasonally abundant traditional resources remained the dominant form of livelihood for communities into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, at which time off-reserve cash labour began to create even further change (e.g. Hedley 1993; Nin.Da.Waab. Jig 1987).

Fixed settlements and Indian Department finances encouraged the adoption of log cabins and shanties by mid-century. But wigwams continued to be preferred by some, and many log cabin families still maintained a wigwam next to the log cabin, preferring to use that during warm summer months and on hunting trips (Canada 1858). Permanent dwellings, and the storage lofts their architecture provided, facilitated an increase in material possessions, and the appearance of commercial suppliers in nearby Euro-Canadian towns and villages meant that Ojibwa began to have access to and used the full suite of mass-produced material culture available at the time.

Overall, Ojibwa trends through the 19<sup>th</sup> century reflect nuanced adaptive change; responsive to the realities of radically altered and British-colonised landscapes, and the emergence of an enclaved life on reserves. But change proved consistent with and from *within* historically understood priorities about livelihood, social organisation and sense of self. Fixed settlement and log cabins were adopted, but on a hot summer’s eve the wigwam standing next to a family’s cabin was the favoured place to sleep. Mobility was curtailed due to the changing landscape, not abandoned. Material possessions expanded to incorporate goods comparable to those sitting in the hutches of nearby Euro-Canadian pioneer cabins, but these goods were worn and used in tandem with trade silver, beads, feathers and other style preferences arising from Ojibwa sensibilities, and plates and bowls rarely served up mutton and much more frequently dishes of fish or venison stew, and corn soup. Identity, continually challenged by catastrophic

bureaucracy and conversion of the landscape into real and tangible constraints that served to physically and ideologically enclave communities away from the colonialist empire, nonetheless persevered.

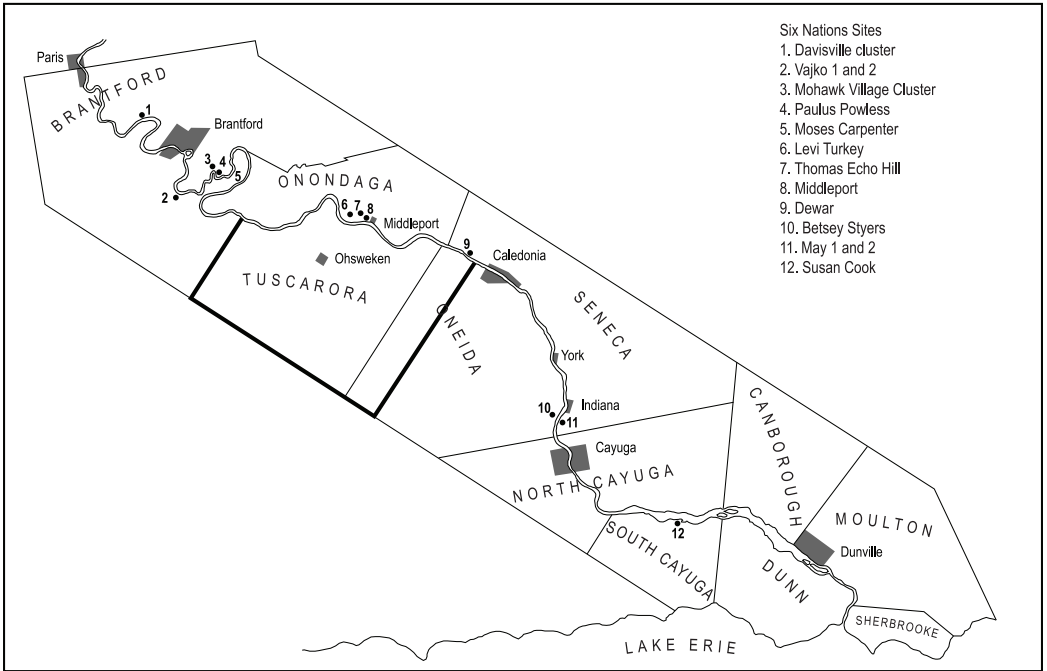
### **The Six Nations Iroquois in Southwestern Ontario**

During the same period, the Six Nations Iroquois were also grappling with emerging colonialism and being enclaved onto the lower Grand River (Johnston 1964; see Figure 3). Having moved there from New York State following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the Six Nations were already familiar with and skilled at negotiating British colonialism, as well as the impact of encroaching non-Native settlement. Indeed, the very origin of the Grand River settlement was an engagement in catastrophic bureaucracy. While the Iroquois saw the granting of land to re-settle as an obligation on the part of their foreign ally, the British, to assist them in securing territory as payment for their alliance and loss of homeland, colonial officials viewed the Iroquois at this time as a defeated and dispossessed people. For them, the shift of the Iroquois to wards of the state had been facilitated by transitory circumstances as a result of the immediate outcomes of the Revolutionary war. Objections by British administrators over the Iroquois' continued attempts to exercise autonomy once they were in southern Ontario were vociferously rejected by Six Nations leaders, ultimately becoming the struggle to maintain sovereignty that continues to this day (see Johnson 1994 and Weaver 1994a, 1994b).

Six Nations responses to being enclaved in the colonialist state of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were nuanced, complex, and varied between communities. For example, among the social elite that had emerged for at least the Mohawk in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century in New York, such as the Brants, Powlesses and others, settlement on the Grand was about presenting, both internally and externally, a familiar, recognizable face to Six Nations society. During the first few decades of their settlement in southwestern Ontario, Mohawk Village, located just

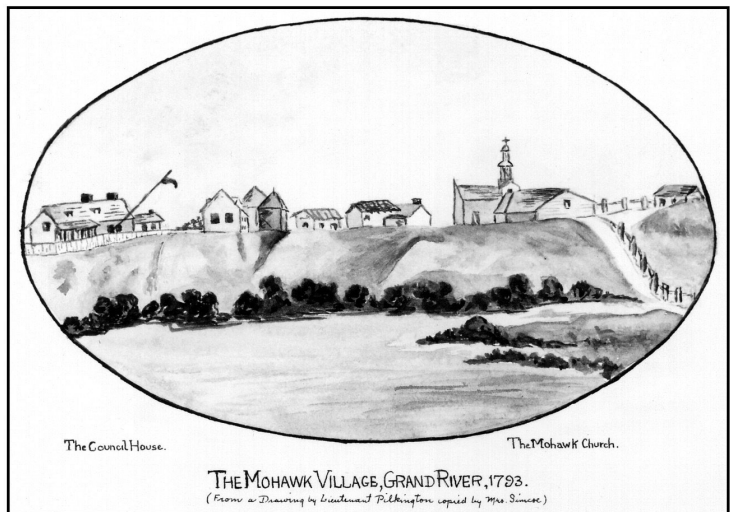
south of Brantford along the Grand River, was a loose cluster of log cabins, church, and the two storied frame home of Joseph Brant (Figure 4). Its prominence led many from the colonial administration to visit, all noting the hospitality and social conventions exhibited by Brant and others. Recorders were impressed with the use of the "handsomest china plates" and dinner customs "in proportion" to European expectations. But while European travellers were wined and dined to the standards of British high society, they also experienced the exotic flavour of Iroquois culture, encouraged to watch and partake in dances and assemblies of people in traditional garb (see accounts in Johnston 1964; Kenyon and Ferris 1984). In many ways, the European-styled hospitality and exhibits of Iroquois culture were an intentional display designed to illustrate to the emerging, broader colonialities the vibrancy of the Iroquois nations to be autonomous within and without the colonial world. Indeed, for people like Joseph Brant, this was about showing what could be achieved by combining the best of both worlds (e.g., Kelsay 1984; Taylor 2006). So this emphasis on self-selected elements of cultural expression from the world of the colonizer (narrowly defined by Brant and his contemporaries as the conventions of British "high" society), and from the historic and living world of the Iroquois, reflects the maintenance by Indigenous elites of polyphonic identities in order to negotiate the multiple, sometimes conflicting contexts of being indigenous and being in the colonial (Alcock 2005). But while the adoption of European "high society" customs and material culture may have reflected the emergence of an economic and class social strata, European assumptions that these also reflected the influence of Christian values and assimilation fail to account for the social complexities playing out in the fluid world of the early colonialist state in Canada. The importance of demonstrating allegiance and common value to one's allies, whether it was in formal speech and gift distributions by British authorities, or in the social customs and hospitality exhibited by Mohawk leaders, were important gestures; in the latter case to ensure that British elites interacted with Six Nations' elites in the manner to which British elites were accustomed.





**Figure 3.** A part of the Grand River settled by the Six Nations Iroquois in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The map depicts locations of principal river towns and townships (19<sup>th</sup> century). The solid line around Tuscarora and part of Oneida Townships indicates the location of the Six Nations consolidated reserve. A small portion north of the river, encompassing the area of the sites west of Middleport also is reserve lands.

**Figure 4.** Lady Elizabeth Simcoe's 1793 watercolour of the southerly core of Mohawk Village, looking north from the Grand River. The building on the left is thought to be Brant's home. Based on a sketch by Robert Pilkington. From the National Archives of Canada, C84448.



Post-1812 Mohawk Village and the wider Six Nations' settlement along the Grand had to contend with an ever increasing encroachment by non-Native settlement and the continual interference of a catastrophic bureaucracy on community affairs – a chronic dimension to life that continues unabated to this day. Fishing, hunting and sugar-

ing continued into the 1850s, but were constrained by settlement. As with the Ojibwa, the range in agricultural practices was significant, with many growing only for personal consumption or for limited surpluses to be used in trade. Corn was a staple, and continued to be the exclusive domain of women to tend, while the raising of wheat and

other non-traditional crops was a male pursuit, interestingly at the same time hunting was in decline (Ferris 2006; Johnston 1964; Kenyon and Kenyon 1986; Weaver 1994a).

By the conclusion of the War of 1812 the strategic importance of Mohawk Village within the enclave of the lower Grand declined, and the village reverted to a more rural setting. Nonetheless, the social construction of identity for these social elite families continued well into the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Archaeological data show that these families, including the Powless', lived in log cabins with cellars (Figure 5), plastered walls, lofts, and exhibited all the fineries of material life afforded upper class families of the time –refined ceramic and glass wares, expensive clothing, and a diet including mutton and pork. But alongside those remains were also continued evidence of historical identity, including beadwork, silver ornaments, venison and other wild game (Kenyon and Ferris 1984; Ferris 2006).

What the archaeological record reflects is continued innovation informing notions of value and self, but not undermining or replacing historically-based notions of identity. For example, innovative ceramic fashions continued to appear in the Powless household right up until the later house was abandoned. The last resident of the house, the widow Elizabeth, was the active agent stocking the chinacabinet and entertaining visitors and residents alike within the dining conventions of the broader colonial times. But it was also Elizabeth who would have been involved in the manufacture of Native beaded crafts and traditional clothing so evident in that cabin.

The ceramic assemblages from the two cabins in particular provide insight into the negotiation of colonialist conventions and internal identity. For example, a consistent variation seen through the Powless households is the difference between larger and smaller sized plates. Though not exclusively, smaller plates were used with afternoon teas, desserts, or single serving meals like breakfasts, while the larger plates were used for the main course of the principal dinner meal, associated with casseroles, roasted meats or as serving platters for a mix of foods (e.g., Macdonald 2002, 2004).

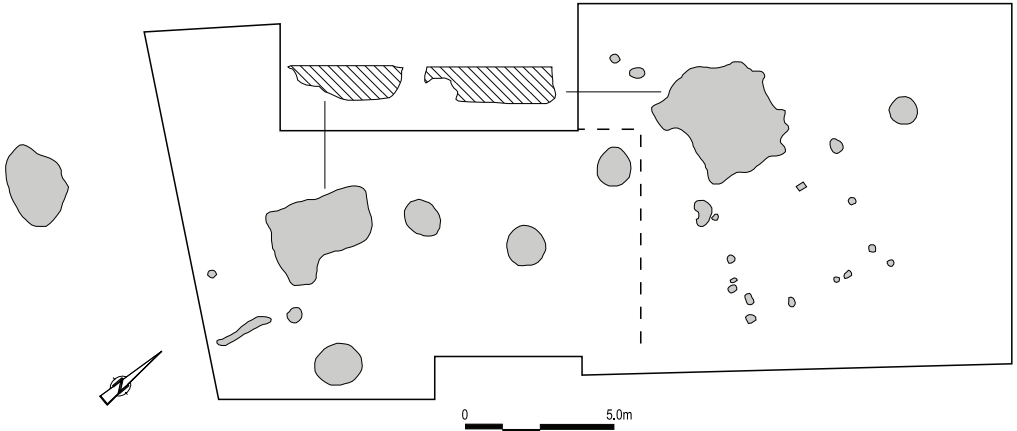
In the early assemblage larger plates represent most of the plates recovered, suggesting a single

predominant culinary need at the dinner table, likely based on a diet heavy on meat casseroles and stews, consistent with more Iroquois culinary preferences than that seen from Anglo-Canadian sites. However, in the later features the frequency of larger plates drops. This frequency is still higher than Anglo-Canadian trends, but suggests that the consumption of single portion meals increased in the later household or complemented larger plate use, so that meal presentation at the table had shifted (Figure 6A).

Of course, the household residents who made the decisions about meals, dining etiquette, and provisioning were not unaware of European dining conventions. So any variation will have arisen from the private “domus” (Hodder 1990, 1998; Hodder and Cessford 2004) of personal dietary choice and dining culture. That the differing use of plate forms may reflect a dimension of the boundary between personal and external presentations of self is suggested when considering the variation of expensive to inexpensive wares for these forms (Figure 6B). In the early assemblage, most large plates were inexpensive, while most smaller plates were not. In the later features, most large plates were expensive, while 100% of smaller plates were from expensive categories. The consistently higher percent for smaller plates, and their association with the social acts of offering teas to visitors and other British-inspired dining conventions, may reflect a conscious effort on the part of the Powless families to use a ceramic form not critical for personal consumption as a signifier of “colonial” sensibilities and awareness in the theatre of more formal meal settings. The differential value more expensive wares played in the theatre of public formal meal settings was likely less important during less formal family meal times, as evidenced in the less expensive frequencies of larger plates, which would have been disproportionately used more during private dining. Moreover, this distinction appears to be reinforced by looking at teas (saucers and cups), which also reflect an increase in the percentage of expensive wares over time.

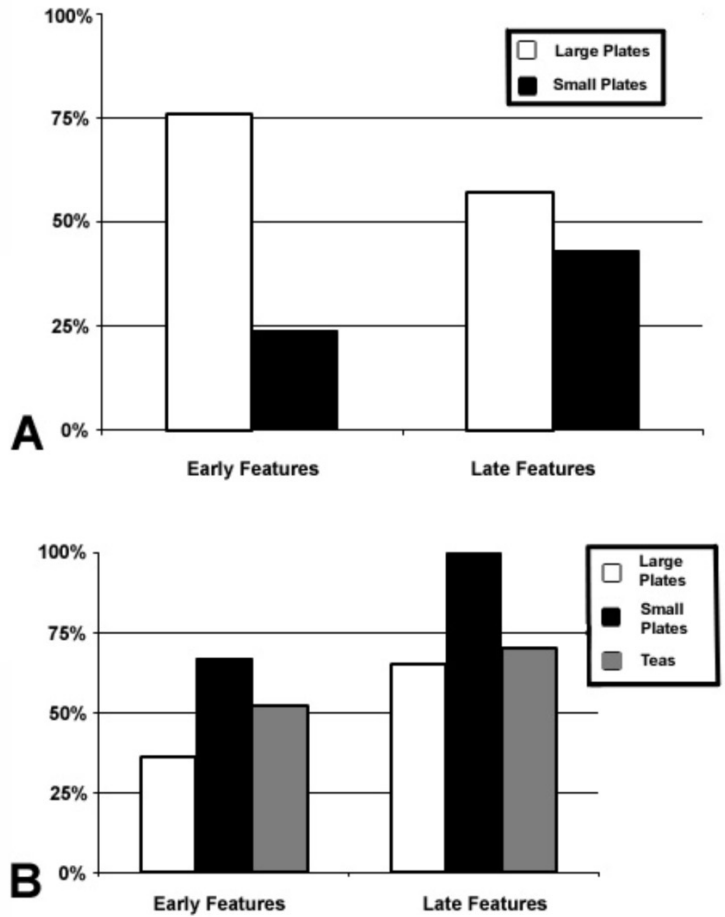
Overall, the Powless ceramic assemblages appear to reflect an active engagement with broader colonial notions of meal time behaviours in that when tea drinking and formal dining are adopted,





**Figure 5.** Settlement patterns revealed during excavations at Mohawk Village, Area A. Solid line depicts limits of shovel shinning. Cellar profiles depicted not to scale.

**Figure 6.** Ceramic frequencies from Mohawk Village, Area A (Powless households). A: Frequency of larger and smaller-sized plates in the early and late assemblages. B: Frequency of expensive wares (transfer-printed, porcelain, ironstone) by plate and teas in the early and late assemblages. See Ferris (2006) for detailed numbers.



so too are some of the social conventions around public display and presentation. In the early household, with its predominance of large, inexpensive plates, few but expensive small plates, and overall fair use of expensive wares, formal meal time was an opportunity to reflect self-selected conventions of importance around meal etiquette. These chosen conventions were then the gestures translated back in the public displays of meals and performance. Brant and his neighbours followed from the inception of Mohawk Village. Thus tea sets and smaller plates, as primary “tools” used more in public presentations of food sharing, were disproportionately purchased from expensive categories, with smaller plates under-represented in the assemblage and perhaps used solely for formal dining contexts.

In the later household there is a greater awareness of fashion and economic variation in ceramic use, and more incorporation of those distinctions, blurring the line between personal and public meal presentation. The trend is still consistent with the previous generation and that earlier understanding of public/private identities, since there continued to be use of expensive wares more frequently for vessel forms used in formal dining presentations and less concern for that privately, though the distinction was more muted.

While using much of the same material culture as surrounding Euro-Canadians, the internal meanings and signifiers for these items differed, suggesting less of an internalized acceptance of material value, and more an understanding of the social meanings tied to the use of these material items. Certainly Six Nations ceramic trends generally fail to emulate patterns seen at Euro-Canadian sites, either by distribution of expensive ceramics in assemblages across sites, or in terms of the relationship between expensive wares and plate to saucer ratios, which generates a significant correlation on Euro-Canadian sites reflecting increasingly formal dining conventions and multiple courses tied to increased household wealth (Ferris 2006; Kenyon and Kenyon 1986). So while the preponderance of mass produced goods on Six Nations Iroquois sites can be read as normative patterns for an assimilated people, a

consideration of the processes used in constructing identity and a recognition of the interplay of tradition and innovation in enclaved settings revises our understanding of the agency reflected in these households.

From this perspective the patterns documented can be understood as a material “collage” of meanings, with mass-produced ceramics, buttons for fashionable garments, and blacking bottles used for colouring European-styled boots recovered alongside silver ear bobs and brooches, wampum, and iron spikes from ceremonial war clubs – all invoking and being instilled with distinct contemporary *and* historically derived meanings. These meanings were also blended by families such as the Powless’ innovatively, to signify additional meanings and definitions of self. The Powless family, who’s social standing emerged during and following Brant, lived daily a past, present and hoped-for future of social distinction. In this way, material expressions of tradition such as the wampum and war club are tied up in the formal status of an elite Mohawk family, a status that continued past the decline of the village and into succeeding generations. Likewise, the expensive ceramics used for teas and formal dining would have demonstrated a sophisticated, urbane set of sensibilities and reflection of the Powless’ social position within the enclaved lower Grand and the emerging colonial world. Such everyday metaphors are the kinds of little, prosaic and continual self-referential gestures that both underscored and empowered identity as the consequences of being enclaved within but living outside the 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial world of Euro-Canadians.

## Discussion

The Indigenous communities of southern Ontario lived, continued through, and remain connected to the history of the changed world they found themselves in and marginalised from (Ferris 2009). The Ojibwa and Iroquois, in effect, had to negotiate a kind of “creeping colonialism” that incrementally converted these autonomous people, formally traveling free across the landscape to pursue and

act on their own political, economic and social motivations, into fixed enclaves of the European colonial state. This was a conversion never sanctioned or accepted by these Indigenous nations but which nonetheless presented real and daily experienced constraints and challenges to their autonomy and identity.

These communities continued to interact with the world beyond their enclave, but the heightened distinctions between worlds led to increased revisions of self and understandings of how these worlds interact. People adopted exaggerated signifiers taken from the external colonial world and offered them up to multiple audiences from both inside the enclave and outside, as reflected in things like the dress, dining customs and social etiquette practiced by families in Mohawk Village, or the adoption of fixed settlement and agriculture by the Ojibwa. But at the same time, symbols signifying enclave membership and a distinct heritage were manipulated and in some cases exaggerated to emphasise difference and resistance. This manipulation of symbols associated with heritage and tradition ranged from the use of material markers like beads and wampum; traditional dining customs, food preferences and aversions; continued seasonal hunting and, at least for the Ojibwa, continued use of wigwams. Indeed, consistent with another of Michael's featured categories that he sees as key to the construction of enclave identity (Spence 2006), signifiers were also manifest in the maintenance of historically-based ritual practices such as the Midé for the Ojibwa and White Dog Feast for the Iroquois (Angel 2002; Fenton 1978), and in gendered labour distinctions among the Iroquois with traditional crop farming (maize, sunflowers, etc.) continuing to be conducted by women.

In effect, dispositions previously operating beneath awareness were overtly recognised as distinct from the world beyond the enclave and were ascribed heightened meaning. In doing so they became self-selected manifestations of identity that reinforced connection to the past. Here, then, is the tangible expression of the enclaved Indigenous in a colonial context and seen archaeologically: innovation and tradition giving rise to complex identity maintenance for presentation outside and even inside the home. While this may manifest

external changes to material "culture" from earlier periods, the social processes reflected in these remains reflect an ongoing, historically informed understanding of self distinct from, but living in, the colonialist context that the 19<sup>th</sup> century imposed on the Indigenous peoples living in southern Ontario.

And in the end, isn't this alternative, Indigenous archaeological history of the last 500 years a far more compelling and inclusive perspective than the passive backdrop offered up in conventional narratives? By linking ancient and recent past we come to understand this past as being the processes of continuous change one can expect from active agents, knowledgeable of who they are, where they came from and how they articulate with the broader world around them – in other words living within their own structured worldview and knowledge of past, present, and future, and not one imposed by Colonial bureaucracies, or by archaeologists reading the past present.

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