

CAYUGA IROQUOIS HOUSEHOLDS AND GENDER RELATIONS DURING THE  
CONTACT PERIOD: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROGERS FARM SITE, 1660s - 1680s

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The impact of the European presence in Iroquoian lands began to be strongly felt during the seventeenth century. The spread of epidemics, the participation of Iroquoian groups in the fur trade and the emerging world capitalist market, and the conversion of Natives to Christianity were among the numerous ramifications of Iroquois-European interaction during this period of nascent globalization. The goal of the dissertation is to investigate the extent to which traditional household-level patterns of social structure and economic organization changed or endured in the face of European contact, as well as how these processes impacted Iroquois gender relations and roles. The research project involved archaeological investigations of the Rogers Farm site, a Cayuga Iroquois village near Savannah, New York, dating from the 1660s to the 1680s. By the time of the site's occupation, the Iroquois had already experienced close to a century of interaction with Europeans. In addition, the village was the site of the Jesuit mission of St. René.

The archaeological evidence recovered from Rogers Farm revealed both change and persistence in traditional household organization and domestic activities. Primary findings include: (1) a decrease in household size; (2) a decline in the importance of matrilineality and matrilocality in determining household membership; and (3) changes in household production and consumption of durable goods; but (4) continuity in household distribution of food resources. Although households contracted and were differently defined, they continued to operate cooperatively and carried out many of the same functions as prior to the Contact period.



Members of the community took part in exchange with Europeans and incorporated new objects into their inventory of material culture, but the local-level economy remained based on reciprocal obligations. Lastly, neither the men nor the women of Rogers Farm were able to escape the consequences of the encroaching European presence in their lands. Men and women exercised different patterns in the selective adoption of European goods and in maintaining traditional technologies and productive activities. Although they experienced the effects of European interaction differently in their daily lives, they continued to play complementary roles in the newly reorganized economic endeavors of the period.

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Because I can hear the orchestra starting to play me off (and maybe because I am out of synonyms for “thanks”), I must note that, despite the excellent assistance I have received from this network of very talented individuals, any errors or omissions in the text are purely my own doing.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### Introduction to the Study

The arrival of European explorers, traders, settlers, and missionaries on the Atlantic shores of North America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries set the stage for one of history's most dramatic cases of culture contact and initiated a process of globalization that continues into the present century. For the Five Nations Iroquois of New York State, as for every Native American group of the Northeast, the consequences of the European presence on the continent were inescapable. Although many aspects of traditional lifeways endured through the Contact period into contemporary times, and although the role of Native groups in the dynamics of cultural exchange with the European newcomers was active, selective, and punctuated with resistance (e.g., Bonvillain 1986; Bradley 1987; Jennings 1975; Nassaney 1989; Weinstein 1983, among others), the effects of interaction ultimately resulted in a number of undeniably radical changes in Native society. Patterns of exchange, religion, economics, technology, settlement location, and demography were all profoundly transformed.

The study reported herein attempts to understand, from an archaeological perspective, the ways in which and to what extent the broader processes of European contact operated within the context of the household, which was the cornerstone of Iroquoian social organization and the fundamental unit of economic production. A complementary line of inquiry is an investigation of the effects of contact on gender relations among the Iroquois<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I use the term "Iroquois" to refer to the people of the historically known League of the Iroquois and its constituent tribes—the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. Members of those nations refer to themselves as the Haudenosaunee. Other synonyms used herein include "Five Nations Iroquois," "League Iroquois," and "Iroquois Confederacy." The term "Iroquoian" is used collectively to describe the Five

The effects of European interaction as experienced at the household level of societal organization is a topic that has not received much explicit attention in the body of literature dealing with the Iroquoian groups during the Contact period<sup>2</sup>. While historical studies are numerous, these volumes typically emphasize themes such as demography and epidemiology, political and military affairs, the fur trade, ideology, or the activities of missionaries (e.g., Graymont 1981; Hamell 1987; Jennings 1975, 1984; Richter 1992; Tooker 1981; Trelease 1960; Trigger 1985). Similarly, archaeological investigations of Contact period Iroquoian groups tend to take broader scale<sup>3</sup> approaches, focusing on the selective incorporation of European goods into the material culture inventory or changes in the orientation of trade routes (e.g., Allen 1990; Bradley 1987; Chapdelaine 1996; Mandzy 1994; Moreau 1996, 1998). Given the nature of these research questions, the geographic scope of these works is correspondingly large, ranging from the regional to the intercontinental. Likewise, the levels of social integration that are the object of these works are also of a broad scale; most often they discuss the activities of society, tribe, nation—or all Native Americans as a group.

By reconstructing the organization of domestic activities, the archaeology of Contact period Iroquois households can address local issues that larger scale studies of the period may fail to see. For example, a handful of studies have explored the impact of European contact on the social relations that defined Iroquoian household membership (e.g., Engelbrecht 1985; Hayden 1977; Richards 1957, 1967; Smith 1970; Warrick 1996). By focusing on the internal,

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Nations Iroquois along with other, related groups of Northern Iroquoian language speakers, including historic groups such as the Huron, Neutral, Susquehannock, and Petun, among others.

<sup>2</sup> In this thesis, I define the Contact period as dating from approximately AD 1600-1700. I also refer to this time span as the early historic period. The late historic period roughly corresponds to the eighteenth century, extending from AD 1700 to the close of the American Revolution in 1779.

<sup>3</sup> In referring to scale in this thesis, I utilize a colloquial interpretation of the word “scale” rather than the geographer’s definition. That is, I refer to the region or nation as a broad - or large-scale area, and the community or household as a fine- or small-scale area.

rather than external, workings of Iroquois society, research at the household scale can help create a more comprehensive view of the period. This perspective can be expected to reveal information about the domestic economic and social processes involved in interaction with the European newcomers and shed light on daily life during this period of cultural flux.

Moreover, taking the household as the primary unit of analysis permits a consideration of the role of Iroquois women in the dynamics of European contact, as this was essentially their province (Brown 1970; Fenton 1978; Tooker 1984). Most ethnohistoric accounts written during the Contact period were by male travelers and priests who did not emphasize women's activities in their observations. In addition, since most existing studies of the Contact period stress such issues as politics, warfare, and trade—all activities carried out by Iroquois males—women's activities have generally been excluded *de facto* from close examination. While some historical overviews devote limited discussion to women's role in the fur trade in preparing peltry (e.g., Delâge 1993; Jennings 1975), a more detailed consideration of Iroquois women's involvement in the processes of European interaction is merited. Addressing the activities of women will enable an investigation into the ways in which Iroquois gender roles and domains may have undergone change during the Contact period.

This archaeological investigation will also help illuminate the rate of household change occurring throughout the Contact period in Iroquois territory. By the close of the eighteenth century, community structure and residential patterns had undergone a dramatic transition. Palisaded nucleated villages containing the distinctive multi-family longhouses of the Iroquois were replaced by widely dispersed, unfortified hamlets. These house sites, consisting of one- or two-nuclear family short longhouses or Euro-American style cabins, over time became more and more indistinguishable from the homesteads of European settlers in the area (Grumet 1995:347;

Jordan 2002; Richter 1992:260-261; Snow 1989). The transition is typically represented as a product of increasing acculturation with the newcomer European groups, without explicit attention to the mechanisms or the rate of household change taking place (Jordan 2002).

Research into the nature of seventeenth-century domestic organization will contribute to a finer assessment of the timing of these later shifts in domestic architecture, settlement structure, and residence patterns.

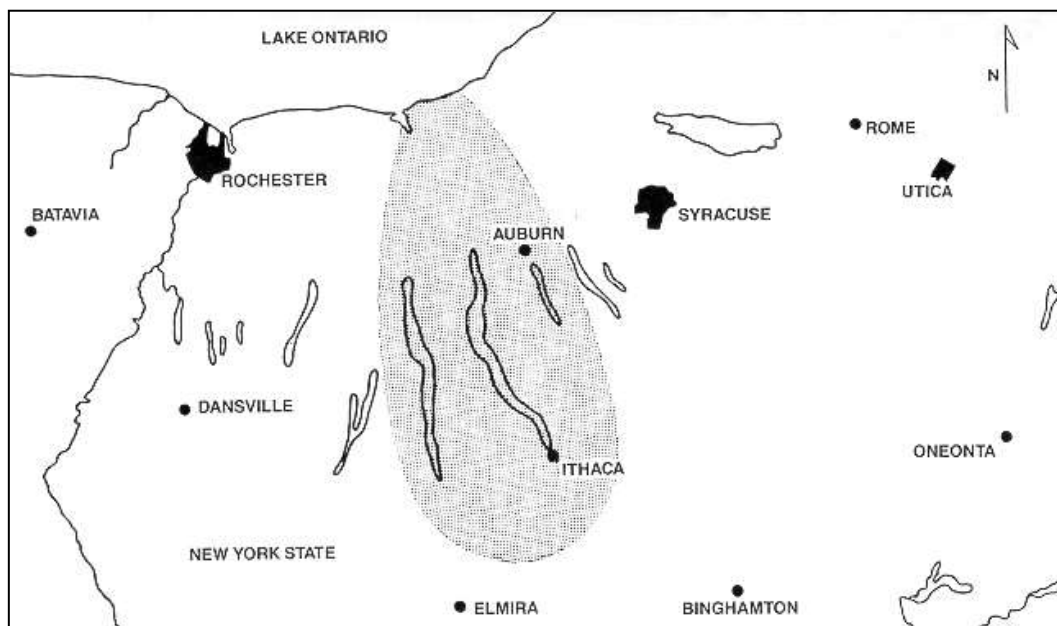
This project seeks to fill these gaps in knowledge by focusing on the households of the Cayuga Iroquois, a member tribe of the League of the Iroquois, at the close of the initial hundred years of interaction with Europeans. Archaeological investigations were undertaken at the Rogers Farm site, a Cayuga village dating from approximately the 1660s to 1680s in Savannah, New York.

The Rogers Farm site was seen as a promising venue for archaeological research into Contact period households because it dates to a period when the Cayuga had already experienced contact with Europeans for over 50 years. By the time of the site's occupation, the community had previously suffered the effects of European-born epidemics, had engaged in the escalating warfare between the League Iroquois and other neighboring tribes, and were increasingly abandoning Native technologies in favor of European trade goods. The ethnic profile of New York Iroquois communities was undergoing change as foreign captives of war and non-local refugee groups became incorporated into Five Nations villages (Trigger 1984). Furthermore, Rogers Farm is believed to have been the site of the mission of St. René (DeOrio 1978; Mandzy 1990). As the Cayuga community witnessed the arrival of Jesuit missionaries into Iroquois territory and hosted the priests in their village, the frequency and intensity of face-to-face interaction with Europeans increased. Investigations of the site were aimed at gathering

domestic-context archaeological data that would provide a bottom-up view of the historical events occurring during the period. Viewing the Contact period from this perspective should enable a fuller understanding of the consequences of interaction between European and Iroquois peoples during the period.

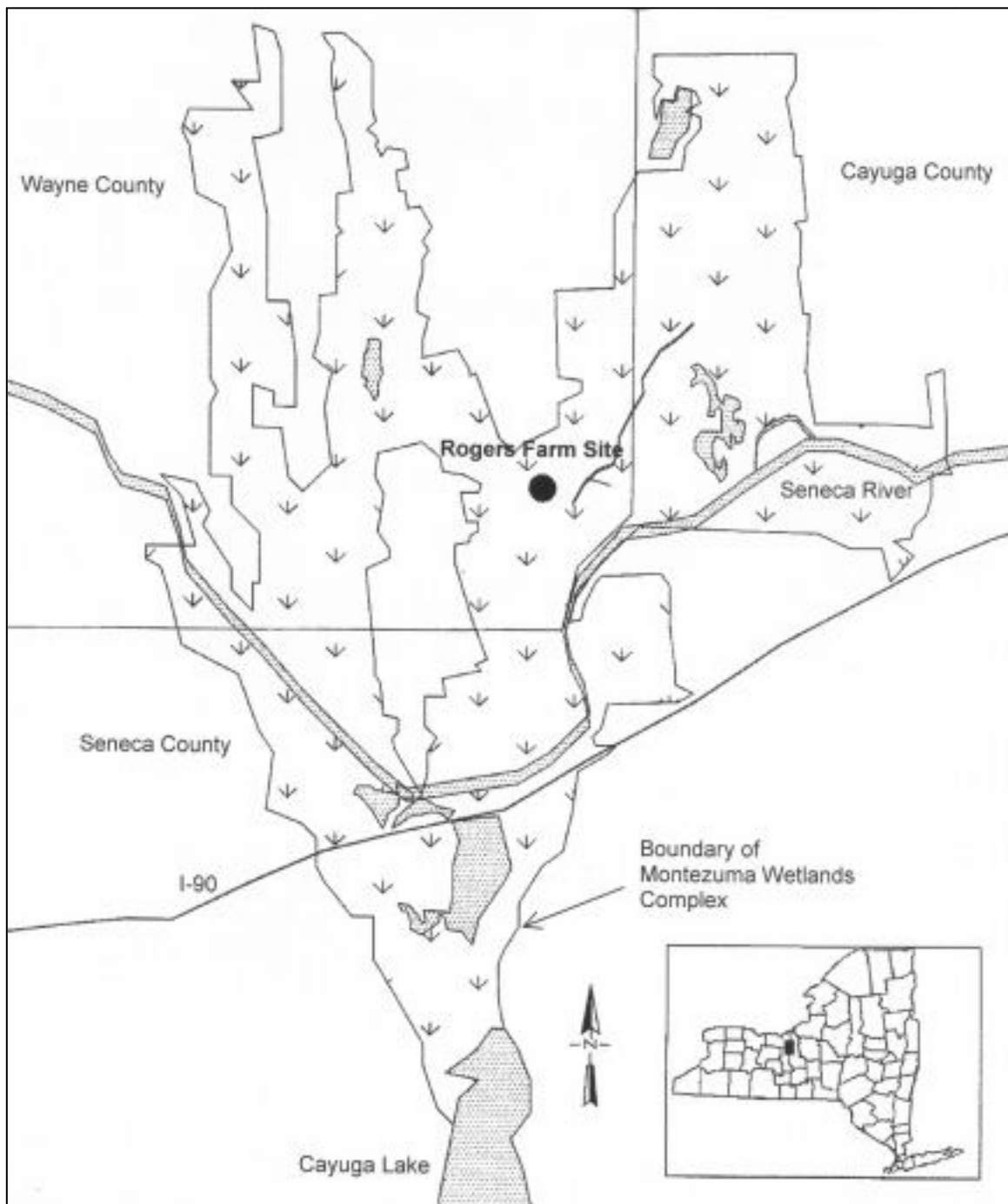
### **Rogers Farm Site: Setting and Previous Research**

The core of the traditional territory of the Cayuga Iroquois lay between Cayuga and Owasco lakes in central New York State. Their hunting fields likely included the lands around the lakes, extending northward to Lake Ontario and southward toward the Susquehanna River (White et al. 1978:500) (Figure 1). The Rogers Farm site is located in the northern reaches of this region, in Wayne County near present-day Savannah at the north end of Cayuga Lake, on lands currently owned by the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (NYSDEC) (Figure 2).



**Figure 1: Location of Cayuga Iroquois territory (Niemczycki 1984:18, Figure 7).**





**Figure 2: Location of the Rogers Farm site and the Montezuma Wetlands Complex.**

The area lies within the Ontario Lowlands physiographic province and is underlain by Silurian shales, salt, and gypsum. During the most recent glaciation episode, the area was covered by the Laurentide ice sheet, and the present topography is highly influenced by glacial forms. The landscape is distinguished by a great field of north-south trending drumlins stretching between Rochester and Syracuse. Known locally as “islands,” the thousands of drumlins in the belt lend a hilly aspect to the generally low relief of this portion of central New York (Cressey 1966; Van Diver 1985). Soils are mainly derived from glacial parent material, including former lake sediments or glacial till, and consist of gravelly and sandy loams with a high lime content (De Laubenfels 1966a). Winters are cold and snowy; summers, warm and dry. The growing season lasts approximately 160 days, with between 150 and 180 frost-free days annually (Carter 1966). These climatic and soil conditions combine to make the region moderately well suited for agriculture. Major vegetation patterns consist of a disturbed northern hardwood community, including Eastern hemlock, white pine, sugar maple, American beech, basswood, oaks, and yellow birch, among other northern hardwoods. Because the area was once almost completely cleared of its natural forest cover for farming activities, successional species such as red maple, American Elm, and poplar are often encountered (De Laubenfels 1966b; Kricher 1998).

The farmland on which the site is located (Military Tract, Lot 67) was purchased in 1997 by the NYSDEC and is currently under the stewardship of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Ducks Unlimited Inc., and the NYSDEC as part of the Montezuma Wetlands Complex (MWC). The MWC was established as the flagship project of the North American Waterfowl Management Plan and its borders include the Montezuma National Wildlife Refuge and the state-owned Northern Montezuma Wildlife Management Area. The area is contained within the

Oswego River watershed, extending north from Cayuga Lake and including the drainages of Black, Crusoe, and Butler creeks and the Clyde and Seneca rivers. The complex consists of approximately 50,000 acres of wetland habitats, grasslands, agricultural fields, wood lots, and open water. About 17,000 acres are under state and federal management to promote the protection and restoration of these lands (MWC Research Institute n.d.a, n.d.b) (see Figure 2).

Over 300 species of fish and wildlife are supported by the MWC's ecological settings. The area is situated within the Atlantic Flyway, with more than a million waterfowl, shorebirds, and songbirds passing through the complex annually. Along with designation as a Registered National Natural Landmark, the MWC has been recognized a Globally Important Bird Area by the National Audubon Society. Public recreational use of the lands today includes birding, hiking, canoeing, fishing, and hunting (MWC Research Institute n.d.b, n.d.c).

Early European travelers through the region noted its richness. A priest commented in the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites 1896 [JR]) on the comforts offered by the territory's natural resources to its residents, comparing it favorably to his homeland. The father adds that the propitious environment even contributed to the acceptance of Christianity among the Iroquois:

Our residence ... would be one of the most commodious and most agreeable dwelling-places in the world, without excepting even the levee of the River Loire, if its Inhabitants were as polished and as tractable.

It has advantages that are wanting in the rest of Canada; for, besides grapes, plums, and many other fruits, which it has in common with the fine Provinces of Europe, it has a number of others, which excel ours in beauty, fragrance, and taste....

The springs, which are as numerous as they are wonderful, are nearly all mineral. Our little Lake, which is only six or seven leagues in circumference, is almost entirely surrounded by salt springs. The water is used for salting and seasoning meat, and for making very good salt. It often forms of itself in fine crystals with which nature takes pleasure in surrounding these springs....

One must not be astonished at the fertility of this country, for it is everywhere watered by Lakes, Rivers, and Springs, which are found even on the highest mountains. But, if these waters make the earth fertile, they themselves are none the less fruitful in what pertains to them. The fish most commonly found in them are Eels and Salmon, which are caught there from the Spring to the end of Autumn.... The temperature of the atmosphere, which resembles that of France, added to those advantages supplied by the waters and the earth, greatly facilitates the conversion of the Savages.

We have reason to hope, therefore, that their capricious and peculiar disposition, of which we are about to speak, will be the only obstacle to their blessedness [*JR* 43:257-260].

Additionally, in a letter written during his 1671 tenure in Cayuga country, Fr. Pierre Raffeix described the ease of hunting of hunting in this area of abundance:

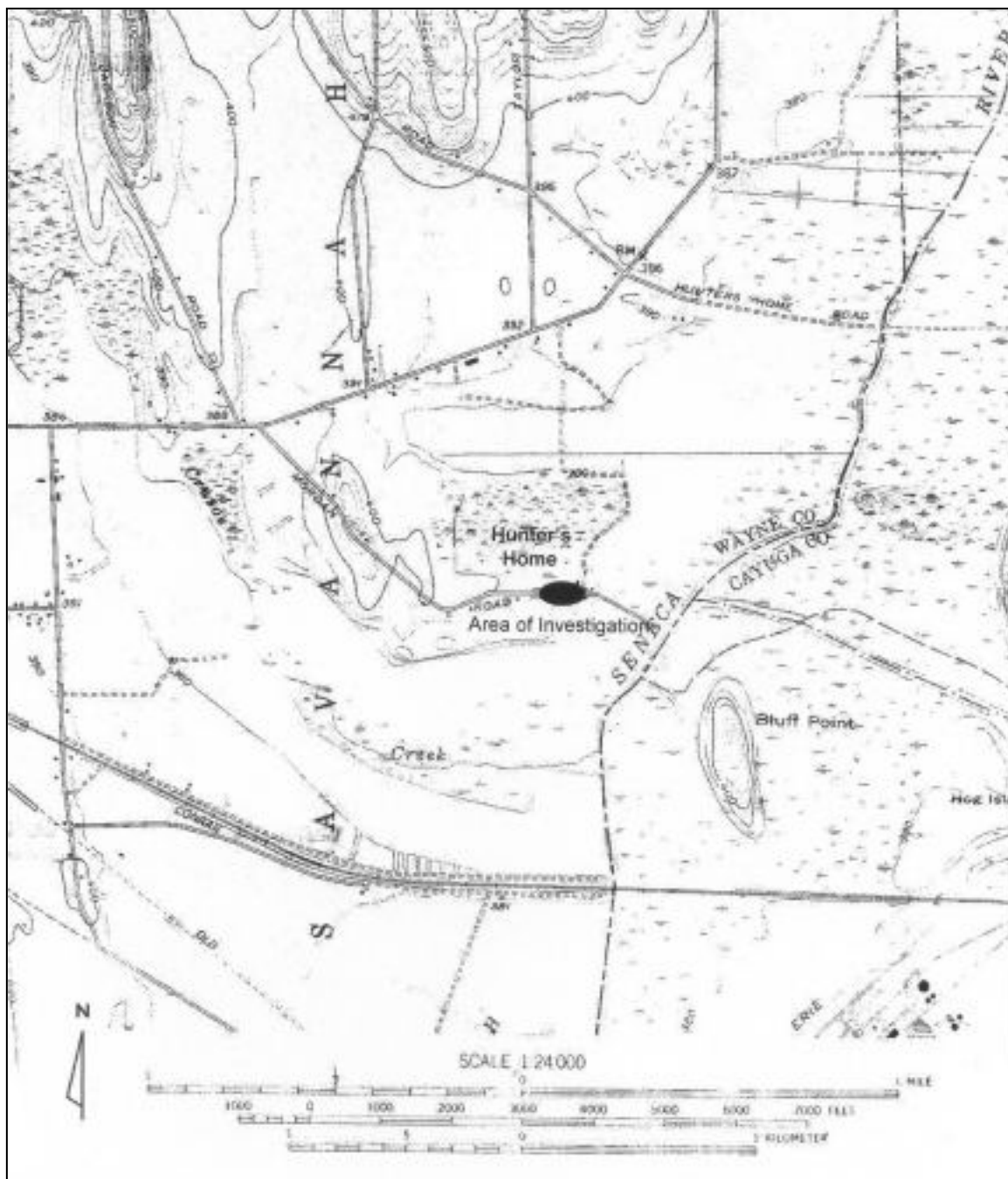
Goiogouen [Cayuga territory] is the fairest country that I have seen in America... It is a tract situated between two Lakes, and not exceeding four leagues in width, consisting of almost uninterrupted plains, the woods bordering which are extremely beautiful...

Around Goiogouen there are killed annually more than a thousand Deer. Fish—salmon, as well as eels and other kinds—are as plenty here as at Onnontague [Onondaga]. Four leagues from here I saw by the side of a river, within a very limited space, eight or ten extremely fine salt-Springs. Many snares are set there for catching pigeons, from seven to eight hundred being often taken at once... Swans and Bustards are very abundant there, during the entire Winter; and in Spring one sees nothing but continual clouds of all sorts of wild fowl.

The Ochouéguen [Oswego] River, which flows from this Lake, divides, in its upper waters, into several channels, bordered by prairies; and at intervals are very pleasant and somewhat deep inlets, which are preserves for game [*JR* 56:49-51].

The region is rich not only in its natural history but also in its cultural resources, as the fish and game attracted to the area's cattail marsh, wooded swamps, and natural salt sources supported Native American populations in the area for close to 10,000 years. Along with hosting the seventeenth-century Cayuga Iroquois village, the surrounding landscape is heavily scattered with prehistoric sites dating from the Archaic through Late Woodland periods (Ritchie 1969; Secor 1987; Snow 1980). The prehistoric archaeological resources of the area surrounding the site are further detailed in Chapter 3 of the dissertation.

Within this setting, the Rogers Farm site is located toward the end of Morgan Road on a small terrace to the west of the Seneca River and north of Crusoe Creek. The location is included on the USGS Montezuma 7.5' quadrangle (Figures 3 through 5). The site's immediate environs are known as Hunter's Home, which consists of a peninsular landform



**Figure 3: Map of the Hunter's Home area and location of the Rogers Farm site (adapted from the USGS Montezuma, NY, 7.5' Quadrangle, photorevised 1978).**



**Figure 4: View of the Rogers Farm site, facing east.**



**Figure 5: View of the Rogers Farm site, facing northwest.**



overlooking Montezuma Marsh (Figure 6). The boundaries of the marsh are defined by the 380-foot above sea level (asl) contour line, which corresponds to the former shoreline of Cayuga Lake. Originally formed toward the end of the Pleistocene epoch, approximately between 10,000 and 11,000 years ago, the lake bed in this area has since been largely filled with marl, peat, and muck in connection with drainage for agricultural improvements, extension of the New York Thruway, and construction of the Erie and Barge canals (Secor 1987:5). These artificial waterways were built through the project area in 1818 and 1918, respectively (Condon 1974). Hunter's Home received its name from a hunting and fishing camp once operated by Oliver ("Ob") Helmer, a local Civil War veteran. From 1870 to 1910, Mr. Helmer entertained sportsmen from the city at his resort along the marshlands (Secor n.d.:11).



**Figure 6: View of Montezuma Marsh looking east from the Rogers Farm site.**

Rogers Farm is generally believed to have been the village of Onontaré, one of the three principal sites of the Cayuga during the mid- to late seventeenth century. The other two villages were called Oiougouen (Goioguen) and Thiohero (Tiohero) (White et al. 1978:500). In 1656 the Jesuit priest Fr. René Ménard went into Cayuga territory and founded the short-lived mission of St. Joseph at the village of Oiougouen; he was expelled from the area two months after his arrival. At the request of the Cayuga, the Jesuits returned in 1668 and established three missions in the Cayuga towns (Figure 7). The following report of this encounter appeared in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1667-1668:

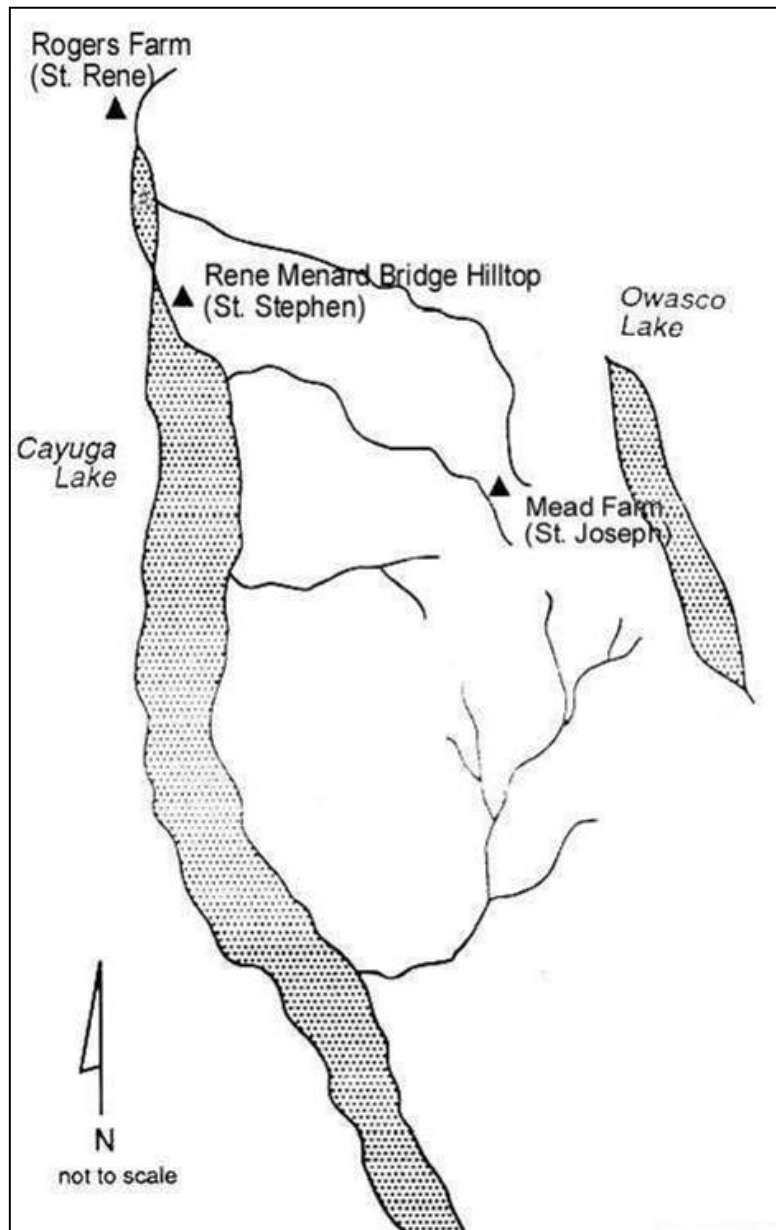
Father Estienne de Carheil and Father Pierre Millet, having gone up to the Iroquois, as we have said, are going to share their cares and their labors, one being assigned to Onnontaé [Onondaga], and the other to Oiougouen [Cayuga].

The latter is the fourth Iroquois Nation, distant thirty leagues or thereabout from that of Onnontaé, as one continues in a Southwesterly direction. This tribe is quite peaceable, for Iroquois; they have never, properly speaking, borne arms against the French; even if some have done so, it has been only owing to some alliance, and not by preconceived plan, and still less through agreement of the whole Nation. They are sufficiently susceptible to good impressions made upon them, as we found by experience when we instructed them, ten years ago; and the late Father Ménard, who was their Pastor, always highly praised their docility. He had built a Chapel in the middle of their Village, which they were very fond of frequenting. This last Summer, the Host with whom we used to live undertook the journey, with some of his fellow-countrymen, expressly to come and ask for some of our Fathers, to reestablish among them the Faith that we had planted there.

We satisfy their desires by granting them Father de Carheil, who is going to place this Church once more upon its feet; it is composed of some Iroquois and a goodly number of Hurons. [JR 51:257-259]

Father de Carheil later reported, “This Nation has only three Villages—Giougouen, to which we have given the name of Saint Joseph, Patron of the whole Mission; Kiohero, which we call Saint Estienne; and Onnontare, which is called the Village of Saint René” (JR 54:53). The primary mission was St. Joseph, while St. Steven and St. René were secondary chapels (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1990, 1992, 1994; Stewart 1970; White et al. 1978:500).





**Figure 7: Locations of seventeenth-century Jesuit missions among the Cayuga (adapted from Mandzy 1994:137, Figure 4).**

The *Jesuit Relation* of 1668-1669 includes further information about de Carheil's activities, as well as about the locations of the three villages:

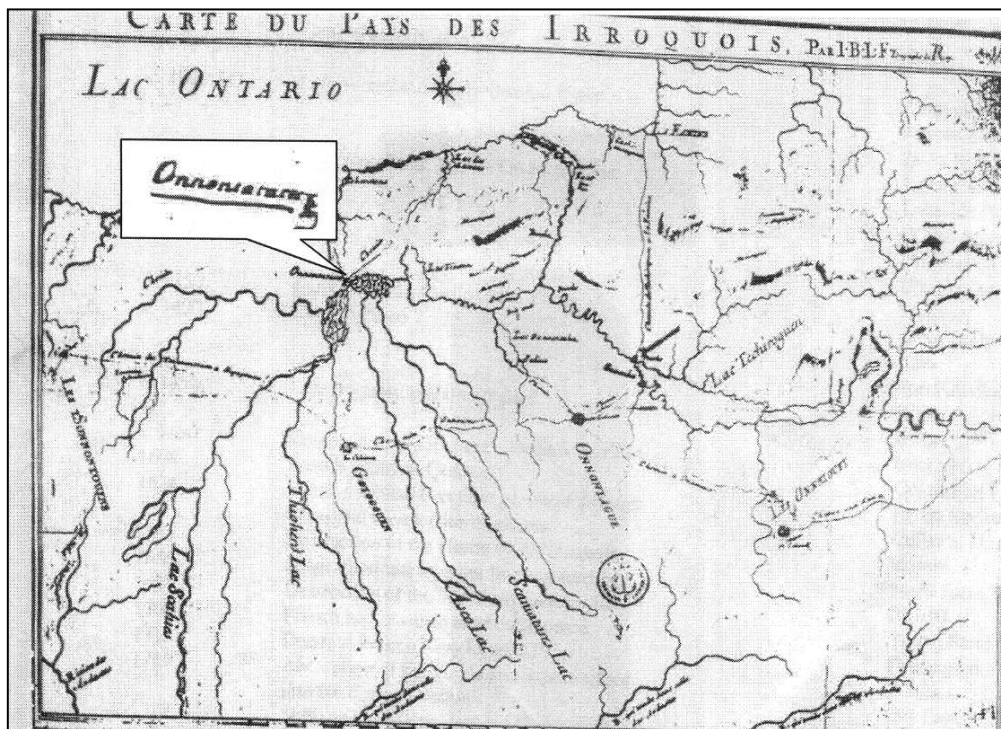
He writes [from Oiougouen] that, on Saint Catherine's day, he had evidence that that great Saint was working in Heaven, both for him and for those poor Barbarians: there came on that day a considerable number of persons, who asked to pray and to be instructed; he asserts, therefore, that he can call it the birthday of his Mission and of his Church. "That was also the day," he adds, "on which I asked this Saint, to whom I had formerly consecrated myself, that she would teach me to speak, as she herself had spoken of old to convince the minds of the idolatrous Philosophers. Since that time, the Chapel has been enlarged, and has never lacked persons who came to pray." [JR 52:174]

Besides the Village of Oiougouen, which is the Seat of his Mission, he has two others—one four leagues from there, and the other almost six leagues away. These last two are situated on a river which, coming from the direction of Andastogué [Susquehannock], flows down, at the distance of four leagues from Onnontagué, and empties into the Ontario. The great quantity of rushes in this river has given the name of Thiohero to the Village that is next to Oiougouen. The peoples that compose the bulk of these three great Villages are partly Oiougouens, partly Hurons, and partly Andastogué prisoners of war. It is in these places that the Father is exercising his zeal, and asking for companions in his Apostolic labors. [JR 52:179-180]

The locations of St. Joseph and St. Steven have been corroborated by the presence of artifact scatters dating to the mid- to late seventeenth century. The Mead Farm site, near Great Gully Brook on the eastern side of Cayuga Lake, appears to be the location of St. Joseph, while the mission of St. Steven was likely founded at the Rene Menard Bridge Hilltop site, located north of the lake and on the western side of the Seneca River (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1994:140) (see Figure 7). Confirming the location of St. René has been slightly more problematic. While a number of authors have proposed that Rogers Farm was the site of the chapel (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1990, 1992; Niemczycki 1984; Secor 1987), others placed it at other sites on the western side of the Seneca River, such as Fort Hill, Bluff Point, and Howland Island (see Mandzy 1990:18, note 2).

To resolve this issue, Mandzy (1990) analyzed historic materials from Rogers Farm, including Christianization rings, religious medals, crucifixes, a gun lock, knives, pipes, and glass

beads. He dated the site's occupation from approximately 1660/1665 to 1680/1685 and concluded that Rogers Farm is quite likely the location of the mission of St. René (Mandzy 1990:24). In addition, Jean-Baptiste Franquilein's *Carte du Pays des Irroquois* depicts a Cayuga settlement, labeled Onnontataces, in the location of Rogers Farm (Figure 8). The map is undated but is believed to have been drafted in 1684; it is possibly an expanded version of an existing map incorporating information provided by the Cayuga missionary Fr. Pierre Raffeix in 1671 (Mandzy 1994:138). Mandzy (1994:138) also holds that Rogers Farm is likely one of the three villages located within 2 to 3 miles from Cayuga Lake described by Wentworth Greenhalgh in 1677.

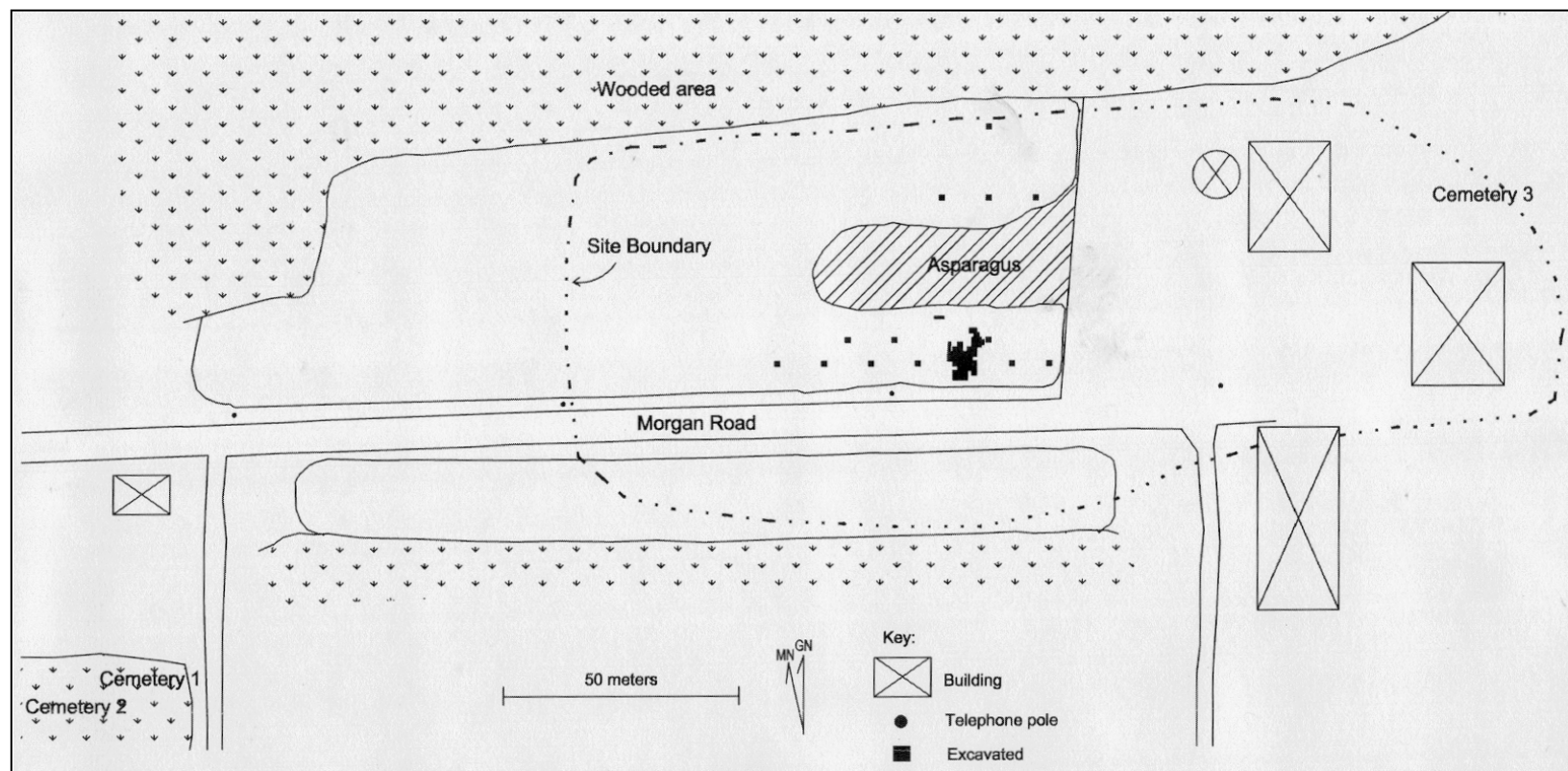


**Figure 8: Franquilein's *Carte du Pays des Irroquois* (adapted from Mandzy 1994:135, Figure 2).**

The Rogers Farm site consists of a village area and three outlying cemeteries (Figure 9). Although the main village area had not been the subject of systematic archaeological excavation prior to the investigations reported herein, it has been collected since the time of the site's identification in the 1880s (Mandzy 1990:19). On the basis of surface scatter of historic artifacts, the village area is small, about 1 acre in extent, and does not appear to have been palisaded. The site suffers from several sources of disturbance, beyond collecting activities. It has been plowed for a century and is cut through by Morgan Road. Additionally, the eastern portion of the site has been built over by more recent construction of several farm buildings and a gravel parking lot.

Of the three cemetery areas, two are located to the southwest of the main village area. Cemetery 1, the largest, was partially excavated by the Rochester Museum and Science Center (RMSC) in 1935 and was found to contain approximately 50 individuals interred in 35 graves (Mandzy 1992:140). Cemetery 2 was located about 50 yards west of the first. It was excavated by Harold Secor, a local avocational archaeologist, in the early 1980s and held the remains of six individuals (Mandzy 1992:140; Harold Secor, personal communication 1998). Historic burials have also been encountered from the location of a third cemetery, at the eastern end of the site; however, this area overlays an earlier burial ground and has been disturbed by development, confounding confirmation (Mandzy 1990:19; 1992:140).

Materials preserved from the 1935 excavation of Cemetery 1 are curated at the RMSC. Additionally, in 1983 the RMSC acquired artifacts and notes from Harold Secor's excavation of Cemetery 2, as well as an assemblage of remains he surface-collected from the main village area. However, an unknown amount of both historic and prehistoric materials from the site remains in the hands of local collectors.



**Figure 9: Rogers Farm site environs.**

These museum collections have been analyzed and published in several works by Adrian Mandzy (1990, 1992, 1994). Discussions of the historic occupation of the Rogers Farm site can be also be found in several other archaeological studies, including De Orio (1978), Grumet (1995), Niemczycki (1984), and Secor (1987, 2000, n.d.)<sup>4</sup>.

Within the RMSC collections, artifacts derived from the excavation of the burials include iron axes, scissors, knives, fishhooks, and other tools; kettles and kettle fragments; a copper/brass spoon; a fragment of window glass; a snuff box; a musket barrel and lock; Jesuit finger rings, crucifixes, and medallions; glass trade beads; native- and European-made pipes; wooden ladles; shell runtees; wampum; bear teeth and mandible; pottery fragments (possibly mixed from prehistoric deposits); and bone and antler combs. Items that have been collected from the surface of the village area included iron trade axes, a shell gorget, a turtle shell pendant, a copper/brass bell, copper/brass buttons, an iron jew's harp, a rat-tail knife, gun parts, copper/brass projectile points, a pottery pipestem, and an iron ring (Mandzy 1992:139-152).

## **Objectives and Layout of Chapters**

The primary goal of the dissertation is to investigate the ramifications of European contact on seventeenth-century Cayuga Iroquois household organization and gender relations. Specifically, I make use of archaeological remains from the Rogers Farm site to evaluate the degree to which household size, membership, and economic activities and their organization were transformed in the face of the historical events connected with the nascent globalization of the period. The strategy implemented to evaluate these changes in light of the overall

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<sup>4</sup> There is some discrepancy in the naming of the site in the literature. Some works (e.g., Grumet 1995; Mandzy, 1990, 1992, 1994) refer to both the village and cemetery areas as Rogers Farm. I use this convention herein, following Mandzy, who has been responsible for the bulk of published information about the site. Other authors (e.g., De Orio 1978; Niemczycki 1984) refer to the two areas as St. René. Secor (1987:56) separately designates the cemetery and village: the burial area is called Rogers Farm, and the village is noted as extending into the Hunter's Home site to the east. In a 2000 paper, he refers to the village by its Cayuga name, Onontaré.

seventeenth-century historic narrative includes comparison of archaeological information about the site's households, as well as evidence from contemporary settlements, with remains from prehistoric Iroquois settlements and ethnohistoric information on pre-contact domestic life. Utilizing a gendered perspective, I also consider how the community's men and women differentially experienced the effects of European interaction in their daily lives.

A second goal of the dissertation is to provide documentation of the prehistoric and historic cultural resources encountered during the excavations of the Rogers Farm site. Since the conclusion of the archaeological investigations reported here, the site has been slated for flooding in conjunction with NYSDEC wetlands rehabilitation efforts in the vicinity (David Odell, personal communication 2003). In general, the archaeological resources of central New York State have been less intensively explored than those of other parts of the state, especially coastal areas and major river valleys. Research into pre-Iroquoian occupations has been particularly neglected (Levine 2003). In addition to being settled by the historic Cayuga community of Onontaré, the Hunter's Home vicinity was extensively utilized by prehistoric groups, and the area has been an important locale for studying the transition between the Middle Woodland and Late Woodland periods (Gates-St. Pierre 2001; Ritchie 1969; Schulenberg 2002; Snow 1995a). The present study will contribute further data for use in investigating this and other issues relating to the pre-Iroquoian groups of the region.

Additionally, the Cayuga remain the tribe most poorly known archaeologically among the Five Nations Iroquois (Niemczycki 1991). The study reported herein is one of several recent research endeavors (e.g., Allen 1998, 2002; Michaud Stutzman 1998, 2002; Serventi 1998; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998) undertaken to increase the body of archaeological information addressing the development of the Cayuga Nation.

The dissertation is organized in the following manner. The theoretical context of the thesis is laid out in Chapter 2, including discussions of anthropological and archaeological approaches to the problems of culture contact, households, and gender roles. Chapter 3 presents the archaeological and historical background of the study. The prehistory of the region is outlined in conjunction with descriptions of previously identified prehistoric sites in the vicinity of Rogers Farm. The development of Iroquoian cultural patterns prior to the Contact period is introduced in order to create a foundation for assessing the extent to which the traditional organization of domestic activities may have been transformed or remained constant during the seventeenth century. The final portion of Chapter 3 is devoted to an overview of seventeenth-century historical processes affecting the Cayuga Iroquois. The historical narrative reveals a number of large-scale sources of change—in particular the spread of European-borne diseases, engagement in the fur trade, and a rise in intra-Iroquoian warfare—that had the potential to influence the organization of Native households and gender domains. These historical events, along with the theoretical approaches to social change discussed in Chapter 2, are utilized to build a model of seventeenth-century Cayuga household organization, which is presented in Chapter 4. The model consists of four primary hypotheses regarding the state of Cayuga households and gender relations as Native-European interaction became more regularized and frequent during the time that the Rogers Farm site was occupied. Specifically, it is predicted that the ramifications of contact included changes in household size, membership, and economic activities, but that household-level distribution of resources show continuity of traditional practices. This model served to guide the research strategy implemented at the Rogers Farm site, which is presented in Chapter 5. The Summer 2000 fieldwork program, results of excavations, and methods of artifact analysis are described within this chapter. Chapter 5 closes with an



overview of the archaeological remains relating to the prehistoric occupations of the site. In Chapter 6, the historic archaeological evidence from Rogers Farm is analyzed in light of comparative data from both contemporary and pre-contact Iroquoian sites. The analyses presented in this chapter are geared toward assessing the validity of the model of household change discussed in Chapter 4. Specifically, the historic structural remains, household- and village-level artifact assemblages, and Contact period gender domains are discussed. Lastly, Chapter 7 reviews the conclusions drawn in the study. Evaluations of the study's primary research hypotheses are offered, followed by a discussion of the Cayuga Nation's modern history and current state of affairs. Directions for future research are also suggested.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL CONTEXT**

The research conducted at the Rogers Farm site is grounded theoretically in three primary areas of anthropological study: cross-cultural interaction, household organization, and gender relations. The examination of culture contact has a long history of investigation in modern archaeology, dating back to the diffusionist studies of the 1930s. I focus here on research addressing the problem of European contact, a special case within this field of study that has generated its own extensive body of literature. I also introduce the application of recent theories of globalization, especially the work of Anthony Giddens, to the topic of Native-European interaction in the seventeenth century. The origins of archaeological research into household organization and gender relations are more recent. Household membership and gender are two fundamental elements of any individual's social identity. Both topics have emerged as important objects of study over the past several decades as part of an increasing trend in archaeological inquiry toward the internal workings of cultures in the past (see Brumfiel 1992).

In this chapter, an overview of previous archaeological approaches to these three areas of investigation is presented, and the specific theoretical orientations of the dissertation are provided. The theoretical discussions herein inform the model of seventeenth-century Cayuga Iroquois domestic organization, to be presented in Chapter 4, that guided the archaeological investigations of the Rogers Farm site.

#### **Studying European Contact**

The study of contact between Native and European groups in the early colonial New World is by no means an esoteric archaeological subject; it is very much a politically charged,

socially sensitive issue with close ties to the present (Nassaney 1989:79). As such, scholarship of the issue has elicited dissension, particularly in the past decade, resulting in revision and reinterpretation of the era. In this section, I summarize some of the main themes that have characterized the history of this field of study and that inform the present analysis.

Inquiry into Native-European relations during the Contact period has produced a sweeping amount of literature over the years. Beginning with the 1930s, this writing largely focused on the acculturative process. In its traditional definition, acculturation refers to the “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al. 1936:149). Ostensibly, acculturation pertains to a two-way cultural exchange between interacting societies, but in practice most studies of the process stressed the European side of the culture contact. Chiefly ignoring Native innovations or contributions, many early acculturation studies conferred on the European colonizers and conquerors all dynamic activity in the encounter. The result was inherently Western-biased descriptions of passive, powerless Native groups being absorbed into a dominating European culture (Alexander 1998a; Cusick 1998; Deagan 1998; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Rogers 1993; Wagner 1998).

This implied ethnocentrism is not wholly surprising given the socio-political context of these studies. Removal to reservations, paternalistic social policies aimed at suppressing indigenous culture, and other efforts to “civilize” Native Americans were commonplace across North America (see Chapter 7). In just one example, in order to foster assimilation into mainstream culture, up through the 1960s the governments of both the United States and Canada required Native children to be educated in English-only residential schools where their histories

were disregarded and their languages forbidden (Gillmor et al. 2001; Simard 1990; Wilson 1998).

Archaeological applications of the acculturation model utilized ratios of Native- and European-made artifacts at colonial-period sites as a simplistic measure of the assimilation of indigenous societies into the new dominant culture (e.g., Deetz 1963; Quimby 1966; Wray and Schoff 1953). Artifact assemblages with higher proportions of European-supplied goods were taken to indicate higher degrees of acculturation (Lightfoot 1995:206-207). This approach conveyed an implicit logic that by choosing European goods over their own traditional industries, Native Americans were abandoning their culture and ultimately succumbing to European superiority (Bradley 1987:166).

The literature of this period also shows an emphasis on creating typologies of contact situations. Linton (1940), for example, distinguished between directed and nondirected acculturative change, the former referring to cases where one interacting group possesses power over another, the latter concerning situations where the two interacting groups enjoy equal standing in the interchange. Similarly, a goal of the 1955 Seminars in Archaeology at Harvard University was to address the problem of archaeological research into culture contact (Willey et al. 1955). The participants in this forum devised a classification system of eight types of interaction, based on the amount of fusion that occurs between communicating societies under different circumstances, in order to “facilitate clear thinking about archaeological data and to permit the comparison of culture contact situations, which are in some respects similar, to see in what respects they are different” (Willey et al. 1955:25). As classic examples of culture-historical approaches to archaeology, these schemes serve mainly to organize archaeological data and offer little in explanatory power (Binford 1962, 1968; Taylor 1983).

The study of culture contact has also been framed in terms of Wallerstein's (1974) world-system theory, both in cases of European contact and in other archaeological settings. World-system models, also known as core-periphery models, describe the nature of relations between a more complex political entity and the societies in its hinterland. Within a world-system, exploitative and dominant core states grow in power at the expense of the periphery. The core extracts resources from, impedes the development of, and creates a condition of dependency within its peripheral regions. Archaeologists have found this to be an attractive framework for tracing interregional interaction throughout prehistory, largely because it is systematic and broad in its geographical scope, focuses on exchange, and helps to explain the geographic shifting and temporal cycling of political centers (Rowlands 1987; Kohl 1989). However, many researchers working outside the scope of European contact have been frustrated in operationalizing the model with archaeological data, often failing to find the unequal power relationships between core and periphery that are central in Wallerstein's theory (e.g., Kohl 1989; Muse 1991; Stein 1998).

Because Wallerstein initially developed the theory to depict economic relations in the context of the growing world capitalist market, his model has met with greater success when used to describe the mechanisms of Native-European interaction during the early colonial period (e.g., Ceci 1990; Delâge 1993; Wolf 1982). Nevertheless, much like in earlier acculturation studies, scholars who have utilized world-system models to investigate the Contact period tend to stress the Native groups' economic dependence on trade with Europeans and passive submission to Western European powers. Europeans are able to dominate indigenous groups due to the latter's inherent weaknesses as less complex, kinship-based societies. For example, Wolf (1982:170) characterizes the ultimate dispersal of the League of the Iroquois as a failure on the

part of its members, who were unable to overcome the kinship and ceremonial ties that prevented them from surviving the political and military challenges of the period. Furthermore, he describes the Iroquois confederacy as a “Native American parallel to the structure of the European trading companies, which also combined economic and political functions” (Wolf 1982:167), a statement that inaccurately implies a common rationale behind the institutions of the two parties and conveys a perspective on the period that is informed mainly by Western motives.

In another related study, Delâge’s (1993) treatment emphasizes economic dependency and the unequal nature of the exchange between the European newcomers and the Iroquois. In particular, European traders supplied the Iroquois and other Native American tribes with a complement of cheaply made goods such as woolen cloth, wampum, copper kettles, and hatchets at a great profit. In return for this array of objects, the Iroquois traded only one item—fur. Pursuit of this commodity was far more costly in terms of time and energy, bringing about inequality in the commerce between the two groups.

Although world-system applications are problematic in their ability to address Native agency in the encounter, they are important in comprehending the global impacts of European contact and the influence of the emergence of capitalism worldwide on local Native societies, particularly when viewing the outcome of the period from the standpoint of the present.

The coming of the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ landfall in the New World initiated a rethinking of the actions of Native Americans and Europeans during the period and led to new methodologies in its study. With the celebration came a deflation of the heroic myth of Columbus as the Great Discoverer within academia, as well as in the popular imagination, expressed in print (e.g., Sale 1991; Summerhill and Williams 2000) and in films such as the 1992

releases of Ridley Scott's *1492: Conquest of Paradise* and John Glen's *Christopher Columbus*. The rethinking of the legacy of European colonization was also influenced by the political activities of Native American communities during the 20 years leading up to the Quincentenary, including surges in activism among indigenous rights associations, movements for federal recognition of the tribal status of previously unincorporated groups, and legal actions to reclaim traditional territories (Gillmor et al. 2001; Wilson 1998).

Portrayals of passive and subordinate Natives have been replaced in the literature of the past decade by studies that instead emphasize the resistance, selectivity, and creativity exercised by the indigenous groups involved in contact. A number of authors offered statements reflecting upon Native worldviews and how they framed responses to the European newcomers, balancing earlier works that had focused almost exclusively on European motivations (e.g., Axtell 1992; Hamell 1987; Helms 1992; Trigger 1986, 1991). Others focused on the contributions aboriginal peoples made in forming the young colonial societies (e.g., Calloway 1997; White 1991). New concepts such as ethnogenesis, transculturation, and creolization were offered as alternatives to acculturation, terms that refer to the complex, dynamic cultural transformations that take place within both parties during cross-cultural interaction and the new cultural forms that are continuously negotiated and renegotiated in the course of the encounter (Alexander 1998a; Deagan 1998). Recent studies, with their focus on agency, use of practice theory, and concern with gender and power relations, also reflect the influence of postprocessualism in the larger school of archaeological thought (Deagan 1998; Lightfoot et al. 1998).

As with most areas of archaeological research, such paradigm shifts have not meant the complete rejection of previous schools of thought. Rather, new approaches reflect the discard of problematic concepts but also the reworking and adaptation of earlier ideas. For example,

Linton's definitions of directed and nondirected interaction remain a useful distinction in describing stages of the colonization process (e.g., Alexander 1998a; Wagner 1998).

Classifying culture contact situations also continues to be a useful means of coping with and summarizing the vast diversity of associated phenomena. Alexander (1998a) derives a theory of culture contact that can be used to describe Native-European interaction in the current study. The model consists of a three-part classification system of contact situations and their archaeological correlates. Symmetrical exchange is described as interaction among groups within an interdependent network; differentials in power are minimal. Cultural entanglement is defined as a long-term process in which "interaction with an expanding territorial state gradually results in change of indigenous patterns of production exchange and social relations," (1998a:485), yet the larger and more powerful of the interacting parties do not exercise direct economic control over the hinterland. Native groups retain their political autonomy.

Entanglement may eventually lead to colonization. In this most asymmetrical form of culture contact, core states obtain absolute control of outlying societies. The discrepancy in political and military power between the colonizer and the colonized is extreme. Colonizing regimes, typically using coercive force, have the ability to extract resources and labor from the periphery, and the development of unequal trade relations creates economic dependency among the subject groups. The colonizing process may also serve to leach away the cultural differences between the two parties, although exertions of ethnic identity are often present among subordinate polities (Alexander 1998a:482-483).

The acculturative approach has also been reworked in a number of studies to include an appreciation of innovation, resistance, and cultural continuity on the Native side of the encounter. Rather than utilizing simple ratios of European- to Native-made artifacts as an index



of Westernization, such studies employ functional categories representing contexts of artifact use and meaning to examine the differential adoption of non-indigenous technologies (e.g., Bamforth 1993; Bradley 1987; Deagan 1983, 1995; Mandzy 1992, 1994; Rogers 1993; Rothschild 2003; Wagner 1998); this analytical approach is based on the influential ‘pattern recognition’ method developed by Stanley South (1977). In a related but novel tactic, Ramenofsky (1998) employs evolutionary theory to explain the selective incorporation of European commodities into Native material culture assemblages. Other analyses go beyond artifact assemblages, considering proxemic systems, the built environment, and spatial contexts as means of understanding the dynamics of contact (e.g., Deagan 1983, 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Rogers 1993).

These efforts are indeed an important and laudable corrective to the biases present in earlier literature. However, just as earlier acculturation studies and world-system approaches emphasize change among Native groups upon contact, many of these newer works place a good deal of stress on the conservation of traditional lifeways (e.g., Jordan 2002; Rogers 1993; Wagner 1998; see also Nassaney 1989). Stability, continuity, and conservatism are placed in a more positive light than cultural transformations that would indicate a yielding to the socio-economic pressures associated with the European arrival. Rogers (1993), for example, sets out to investigate the successes of the Arikara in dealing with the problems induced by interaction with Europeans. Success, defined by Rogers as “the ability of a society to maintain long-standing value systems in the face of a variety of social and economic pressures, or to incorporate change in such a way that the society sustains an internally consistent pattern of operation, without dependence on outside social or economic systems” (1993:75), is equated with high degrees of cultural persistence. Lack of change is viewed as a positive achievement, a sign of survival.

Likewise, neo-acculturation studies that document the incorporation of European products into Native material culture and alterations of indigenous industries tend to dismiss these shifts as superficial, a “veneer of technological change” (Wagner 1998:449) overlying traditional patterns of socio-political organization, ideology, and identity that remain largely intact from protohistoric times (e.g., Bamforth 1993; Bradley 1987; Rogers 1993; Wagner 1998).

While it is true that the rate of change of different cultural systems may vary during the course of encroaching colonization, one potential shortcoming of this perspective is revealed in the lessons taught by world-system theorists. Exchange with European traders was not an entirely innocuous act without consequences: it made Native groups participants in the developing world market economy, a process that set into motion a range of contingencies with strong potential to shape the fortunes of all involved. Although world-system approaches do not always handle local-level circumstances among Native groups and non-economic aspects of the interaction as sufficiently as the post-Quincentenary studies, what they do contribute to the discussion is an international perspective and a fuller understanding of how engagement in the nascent world economy ultimately resulted in profound societal transformations for the Native actors. Dietler’s 1998 study of interaction between societies in Early Iron Age Europe under the Greek and Etruscan states, in which he advocates the interpretation of local-level effects of cross-cultural contact within the context of the larger political economy, stands out as an example of an approach that integrates the local- and broad-level developments associated with culture contact.

Moreover, a guiding principle in all archaeological research is that material culture is meaningfully constituted, providing a central source of insight into cultural behavior. It is a particularly valuable means of understanding intersocietal contact. As Rothschild writes,

“Elements of the material world are significant monitors of connection, expressing interaction through exchange or other forms of acquisition. Understanding the mechanisms and meanings involved with the acquisition of objects and associated services is absolutely essential to any study of colonial encounters” (2003:13). It is thus problematic to discount the significance of the acceptance of new technologies and the abandoning of others among indigenous peoples.

As Nassaney (1989:78) points out, reconciling these two opposing processes of European contact—that indigenous cultural patterns and identities were substantially transformed yet at the same time left unchanged—poses a dilemma in Contact period research. As a means of achieving a more balanced understanding of the period, both change and persistence should be explored. Value judgements of actions at either end of the spectrum should be avoided. The period of cultural flux induced by European interaction reached every Native American society in North America. The massive loss of population to European-borne pathogens alone arguably had enormous impacts on the cultural stability and identity of surviving Native Americans (Dobyns 1991; Dunnell 1991). Responses to these and other associated pressures varied widely, from longer term stability to dissolution, and in some settings new hybrid societies formed out of multiple ethnic groups brought together by the circumstances of the period (e.g., Deagan 1983; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Although some groups maintained traditional lifeways for a good period of time after the European arrival (e.g., Jordan 2002; Wagner 1998), none remained totally static into the modern era, just as Euro-American lifeways today bear little resemblance to those of the seventeenth century, after all.

As an explanatory framework, globalization theory potentially presents a means of unifying these various emphases of recent research into culture contact during the early historic period. A current buzzword in the social sciences that first came into use in the early 1990s,

globalization refers to the socio-economic forces working to increasingly integrate societies, for good or for bad, on a worldwide scale. The complex set of processes at work in creating global linkages include trade and investment, technology and production, culture and language, democratization and declining state sovereignty, migration and the trafficking of women, and protest (Schaeffer 2003). Globalization may be seen as a successor theory to the world-system/modernization paradigm, but with some important differences. This is by no means a unified theory, and there is pointed disagreement as to whether globalization is even a real phenomenon (Giddens 2000; Schaeffer 2003). Although I run the risk of jumping on a theoretical bandwagon—and one that is just as influenced by its current *Zeitgeist* as its predecessors were—I argue here that globalization models, particularly the work of Giddens (1991, 2000), may be very useful in guiding archaeological studies of Native-European interaction.

The term is typically used in describing the hyper-communication of the modern world, with distant peoples linked by the Internet, transnational economic and political institutions, and mass media. However, globalization theories have everything to do with cross-culture contact, making them very relevant to the topic at hand. Moreover, the archaeology of Contact period sites arguably represents an inquiry into the earliest stages of globalization's trajectory. Although some works stress that globalization is a revolutionary phenomenon largely unique to the late twentieth century (e.g., Hardt and Negri 2000), other studies (e.g., Turner 1994; Wallerstein 1998) view globalization as part of the long process of the expansion of the modern world economy that was set into motion in the sixteenth century. Giddens (1991:14-16) holds that globalizing tendencies were present during early modernity (i.e., post-feudal Europe), but it

is not until the late twentieth century that globalization becomes a truly significant force, creating a “runaway world” of social change at unprecedented speed, scope, and profoundness.

Several aspects of Giddens’ (1991, 2000) discussion of globalization make it especially attractive for investigating the dynamics of contact and addressing Native strategies of response to European interaction in light of the preceding discussion of approaches to the topic. First of all, the model addresses the dynamic relationships between everyday life and behavior at the local level and large-scale patterns and influences. Secondly, agency and individual action are integrated into his approach.

To Giddens, globalization is a dialectical, uneven process involving “the interlacing of social events and social relations ‘at distance’ with local contextualities” (1991:22). The onset of modernity involves intrinsically universalizing processes which serve to foster globalization. Concepts of time and space become separated; practices of reckoning time that are connected to particular places are supplanted by universal calendrical and chronological systems. What Giddens (1991:16) calls “institutional reflexivity” is also a hallmark of modernity and globalization, referring to the constant revision of social activity and its organization in light of new knowledge about the world.

Most importantly, traditional institutions shape everyday life less and less as globalization progresses, and global, cosmopolitan institutions replace the local-level customs embedded within a particular cultural setting. Their importance in guiding behavior is superseded by new global traditions, individualization, and, in Ritzer’s work (2003), rationalization. The “protective framework of the small community and tradition” (Giddens 1991:33) breaks down, supplanted by larger, impersonal organizations. Stated in contemporary terms, it can be said that “tradition lapses, and life-style choice takes over” (Giddens 2000:65).

Furthermore, increased cross-cultural contacts alone contribute to the globalization process, as when individuals are more and more confronted with others whose beliefs and behaviors are different, the encounters create a need to reflect on one's own customs and to justify them to others, as well as to one's self (Giddens 2000:63). In this sense, the more frequent interaction between once-distant peoples and once-unknown cultures during the Contact period in itself was a force prompting the social transformations taking place among indigenous groups. When the European newcomers brought with them the institutions and behaviors of modernity to the New World, they instigated the progression of globalization that climaxes in the present century. Although in its infancy, the process would surely have begun its impact on the Native groups of the Americas.

As such, globalization is a process that threatens to dilute local cultural traditions, diminishing cultural heterogeneity and undermining individuals' sense of power, social identity, and notions of self (Giddens 1991, 2000). Ritzer (2003) judges this as a negative process in which what he describes as "something"—specific local cultural patterns that are meaningful—disappears into "nothing"—institutions that are the same the world over and devoid of meaningful content.

Giddens' spin is somewhat more positive. Individualization and freedom from tradition create new possibilities for cultural invention and a dynamic sense of adventure (Giddens 2000). At the same time, they generate new risks to confront. Giddens argues that the concept of risk, meaning the knowledge that something is less than 100 percent certain to happen, does not exist in the pre-modern world. In traditional societies, random probability is not seen as a cause behind the events that take place (Giddens 2000:40). In the seventeenth century, the European arrival introduced a new era of risk to Native American groups who experienced an

unprecedented period of cultural uncertainty. Today, much discussion revolves around the large-scale risks of globalization, including threats of environmental degradation and global warming, the “McDonaldization” of world cultures, and terrorism.

Whether viewed as a positive or negative attribute of globalization, de-traditionalization is not passively accepted; it is a process that provokes resistance. Unlike integration into the Borg collective, which can be considered a science fiction allegory of hyper-globalization, resistance is *not* futile. Agency and individual choice are key in influencing the content and tempo of social change associated with globalization (Giddens 1991, 2000).

Additionally, globalization refers to something more complicated than Westernization or American cultural hegemony. Although dominated by Western powers, the process is a two-way street that shapes daily life and traditional structures in the West in the same way it transforms non-Western societies (Giddens 2000). Although the consequences of globalization’s beginnings for Iroquois communities is the focus of this thesis, Native Americans were not alone in facing the impacts of the process’ nascency. Profound social, economic, and political transformations took place in the Old World as well, and Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries likewise confronted the effects of the newly forged trans-Atlantic connections.<sup>5</sup>

In the current study of the seventeenth-century occupation of the Rogers Farm site, I attempt to implement Giddens’ ideas in an archaeological setting. I evaluate the extent to which

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<sup>5</sup> The current heated debate in the United States concerning same-sex marriage may be seen as a contemporary example of the influence of globalization on the West, and also as a case of resistance to the disembedding of tradition that accompanies the process. Likewise, the Slow Food movement represents a rejection of the influence of global corporate restaurants on eating and culinary practices and celebrates the food traditions of earlier decades. On the other hand, recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions regarding the constitutionality of capital punishment for juveniles and people with mental retardation may reflect a partial acceptance of global institutions, with the majority ruling citing practices in other nations as an influence in the decision.

protohistoric lifeways endured throughout the period of study, as well as how they may have been transformed in the face of the broader processes connected to the development of the modern world economy and globalist cultural conventions. Following the neo-acculturation archaeological studies, as well as Giddens, I approach the Native peoples in the case study as active agents, decision makers determining their own responses to the interaction and not pawns passively succumbing to European dominance and the threats posed by emergent globalization. Methodologically, I explore how, within this historical context, the built environment and diversity and functional content of the artifact assemblage reflects the dynamics of innovation, resistance, and selectivity as seen in what may be considered an increasingly multi-ethnic community.

### **Households and Domestic Architecture**

A primary goal of this dissertation is to examine the ramification of European contact and the processes associated with the early stages of globalization on Iroquois household-level organization. The household is defined as a “task-related residential unit” (Hirth 1993a:21) that is a fundamental building block of the social and economic organization of a society. Compared to cultural anthropology and other social sciences which have long been interested in the household, particularly within pre- or non-capitalist societies, archaeology is a relative newcomer to this field of research (Tringham 1991). However, since the 1980s, household archaeology has emerged as a significant area of investigation within the larger discipline, generating a varied and prolific corpus of research.

Within the literature concerning household archaeology, there is a good deal of diversity in the over-arching theoretical tactics taken by individual authors, such as processual (e.g., Hirth 1993b; Tourtellot 1988), Marxist (e.g., Lawrence 1990; Nielsen 1995), or contextual (e.g.,



Donley-Reed 1990; Tringham 1991) archaeologies. However, in common to all household studies is a belief that the household is an important construct for understanding the broad-scale structures of a society, including issues such as economic organization, status differentiation, and gender relations (Hirth 1993a). In addition, they all diverge from the typical focus of the New Archaeology as put forth in Binford's programmatic statements (e.g., 1965, 1968) on the exploration of cultural change as driven by environmental, eco-utilitarian forces. Rather, archaeologists investigating household-level organization are compelled to turn their attention to the internal mechanisms of a society.

Above all, households are activity groups whose primary domestic functions involve production, coresidence, reproduction, distribution, and transmission, conceived of as intersecting spheres of activity. Variations in household form arise from differential mechanisms in fulfilling these functions, which in turn relate to particular social, economic, political, and environmental conditions (Wilk 1991; Wilk and Netting 1984; Wilk and Rathje 1982). The household is intermeshed with all aspects of society. The household is both an engine generating culture change and a reflection of higher level processes working within a society; it thus both mirrors and contributes to cultural development (Hendon 1996; Yanagisako 1979).

As such, by reconstructing the organization of domestic activities, the archaeology of Contact period Iroquois households can be expected to reveal information about the social and economic processes involved in interaction with the European newcomers. This is a perspective that has not often been utilized in investigations of seventeenth-century Iroquoia. Far more common are studies that implement larger scales of analysis, focusing on the tribe or region (e.g., Bradley 1987; Chapdelaine 1996; Mandzy 1994, among others). However, a number of authors have met with success in approaching indigenous household organization and economic

activities in the context of European colonization in other parts of the Americas (e.g., Alexander 1998b; Bamforth 1993; Deagan 1983; Haviser 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Troccoli 1991); the current study is intended to complement this emerging body of research.

Methodologically, the household is most readily visible at the meso- and microlevels of spatial aggregation. Archaeological investigations of the domestic realm typically attempt to reconstruct one or more of the three elements that make up a household: “(1) *social*: the demographic unit, including the number and relationships of the members; (2) *material*: the dwelling, activity areas, and possessions; and (3) *behavioral*: the activities it performs” (Wilk and Rathje 1982:618). The aim of the excavations conducted at the Rogers Farm site likewise was to recover evidence of these components. The archaeological data will be used to evaluate hypotheses of household-level change during the Contact period, which are presented in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

Generally the material element of the household is the most visible in the archaeological record and is used to interpolate the other two elements defined by Wilk and Rathje (1982). Among the Iroquois, the dwelling is represented archaeologically by the longhouse. Longhouses were large, oblong, bark-covered structures occupied by matrilineally related extended families (Figures 10 and 11). Matrilocal rules of postmarital residence were ideally followed. Within a longhouse, the living areas of nuclear family groups were defined by compartments along the long wall of a house, and hearths were placed along the centerline of the structure; the two nuclear families facing each other across the central aisle shared a hearth area. Areas dedicated to storage of the house’s foodstuffs and firewood were located at the short ends of the structure (Dodd 1984; Kapches 1979; 1990; Morgan 1901). Further details of longhouse construction and use are provided in Chapter 3.



**Figure 10: Reconstruction of longhouse exterior by Lewis Parker (Kalman 2001:6).**



**Figure 11: Reconstruction of longhouse interior by Roberta Wilson (Caskey et al. 2001).**

The possessions used by the Iroquois in domestic production and consumption that may be recovered include cooking pots and utensils for food preparation, weapons for hunting, fishhooks, and tools used for craftmaking, clearing fields, and building houses. The Iroquois also employed a wide array of items made out of perishable materials that would not survive archaeologically, such as wooden bowls, digging sticks, and stirring paddles; straps and ropes of cordage; and bark eating dishes (Fenton 1978:302-303). It should be noted that artifacts representing household activities may not always be recovered within a house; for example, they may be found in a midden or a place away from a structure such as a field.

Although household-related activities may also occur outside of a dwelling, within a longhouse activity areas are largely defined by architecture. In this study structural remains will be used to evaluate change in activity areas by examining shifts in traditional floor plans or the modularity of living spaces. As with most residential structures, directly defining interior activity areas within longhouses on the basis of domestic artifacts on floor surfaces is quite problematic owing to formation processes such as maintenance (cleaning), taphonomy, and abandonment (e.g., Moholy-Nagy 1990; Schiffer 1986). On the other hand, the archaeological investigation of Iroquoian residences is somewhat simplified by the fact that longhouses were occupied for spans of only about 20 years, reducing complexities caused by the repeated reuse of a structure. Although longhouses may have been expanded or shifted during the lifespan of a village (e.g., Fogt and Ramsden 1996), occupations represent relatively short periods of time, making them to a certain extent more easily interpretable than longer term structures.

Family and household are concepts that vary widely cross-culturally, which poses a host of problems in determining household membership, the social element of a household, in both archaeological and ethnographic settings. Among the many factors complicating the study of the

household are the developmental cycle of the family, non-coresidential groups that function as households, and households that do not consist of kinship-related groups. Additionally, researchers often caution that a dwelling does not necessarily equate with a household (Goody 1971; Hammel 1984; Horne 1982; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Yanagisako 1979). To address these issues, some authors, building on the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, have advocated instead the use of the construct of ‘house’ as an object of analysis. A ‘house’ consists of the corporate social unit living within a specific physical residence, regardless of the kin relations of the inhabitants (Gillespie 2000, 2004; Gillespie and Joyce 2000).

In the case of the Iroquois, however, delineation of the household is perhaps less complicated, as ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence closely ties the household to the longhouse. The matrilineal family groups that inhabited longhouses made up the fundamental socioeconomic units of Iroquoian society (Fenton 1978:309; Morgan 1901; Tooker 1984, 1991). A longhouse thus serves as both delineator of household membership and as a ‘house.’

Of particular relevance to the present study is research concerning the formation of large, extended-family households such as those sheltered within the Iroquoian longhouse. Extended households were a prevalent household type throughout prehistory, and their study takes on special concerns involving privacy, house construction, defense, storage, and social and spatial relations (Coupland and Banning 1996).

Several theories attribute the formation of big households as a result of needs for shared labor and economic risk. Wilk and Rathje (1982) hold that large households serve as a means to pool labor in order to accomplish a number of simultaneous productive tasks, especially when the availability of resources is strongly influenced by seasonality. Pasternak et al. (1976) propose that extended-family households are a response to incompatible activity requirements

that cannot be fulfilled by the mother or father of a nuclear family alone, a theory that appears to be more applicable to the case of Iroquoian groups. In particular, these authors cite circumstances in which women are heavily engaged in agricultural tasks and the creation of large households provides a means of child care; the benefits of cooperative labor override the social conflicts that are bound to arise in such large households (Pasternak et al. 1976). Likewise, Warrick (1996) argues that cost efficiency and the advantages of sharing in productive and child-rearing tasks may have contributed to the development of large Iroquoian households, noting that longhouses first appear archaeologically after the adoption of corn horticulture. Defense concerns have also been cited as reasons behind the formation of Iroquoian extended households (Engelbrecht 2003; Trigger 1978).

Other researchers (e.g., Hayden 1977; Hayden and Cannon 1982; see also Coupland and Banning 1996) have proposed that big households and corporate groups are formed under the direction of individual aggrandizers with control over key resources who compete to recruit household membership and thereby increase their wealth and status. Among the Iroquois, however, while the prestige of a household may have been augmented by enhanced social, political, and ceremonial duties of the male residents (e.g., the household where a village or tribal chief resided), there is little ethnohistoric or archaeological evidence that large households actually accumulated material wealth. Rather, reciprocity, generosity, and the redistribution of goods were the principal means to achieve status (Richter 1992; Trigger 1985). It can be argued that, more so than aggrandizers, matrilineages defined Iroquoian household membership and matrilocal rules of residence drew men to a particular dwelling. However, it has been questioned whether these patterns developed prior to European interaction or as a response to it, and whether the events of the Contact period served to undermine the practice or strengthen it.

Noting that matrilineal descent and matrilocality virtually universally co-occur, Peregrine (2001:38) summarizes the factors that have been found to contribute to the emergence of matrilocal residence: tribal-level societies expanding into and taking over new territories; frequent external warfare; newly introduced, significant long-distance trade relations; and stress placed by more powerful societies on another group's culture. Matrilocality is advantageous in any of these situations because it creates a "culturally stable core group through which children can be raised in a 'traditional' manner" (Peregrine 2001:38). The practice also permits men to be absent from the core group for extended time periods for the purpose of trade, military, or diplomatic expedition—such as occurred among the Iroquois both before and after European contact—and fosters fraternal associations among those men (Peregrine 2001:38-39). In a similar vein, Divale (1977:114-115) proposes that matrilocality also serves to socialize the men of the household to work and fight together.

Ember (1973) holds that by allowing sisters to live together matrilocal residence fosters harmonious relations within extended-family households. Matrilocality is also regularly affiliated with larger dwellings, as demonstrated by analyses of cross-cultural samples through which he deduced an index of matrilocality from the size of house living floor areas. In general, societies that practice patrilocal residence utilize houses less than 550-600 square feet in area, while matrilocal groups build houses greater than that size. Archaeological correlates of post-marital residence rules receive further attention in Chapter 4 of the dissertation, as recovering evidence of household membership at the seventeenth-century Cayuga village of Onontaré is a major goal of the research design.

It is generally agreed that matrilocal residence patterns among Iroquoian groups first developed during the Early Iroquoian period (ca. AD 900-1350). Reconstruction of these

patterns of social organization has been attempted with archaeological data by analyses of pottery motifs, skeletal remains, and the spatial organization within longhouses (Allen 1988; Engelbrecht 1974, 1985; Kapches 1990; Warrick 1984, 1996; Whallon 1968). Several researchers have contended that the matrilineal- and matrilocal-oriented households of the Iroquois developed in response to heavier reliance on horticulture during the same period since they accommodated the coordination of female farming groups (Brown 1970; Prezzano 1997; Trigger 1978, 1985). Trigger writes that, with women living year round in villages for agricultural and child-care responsibilities and men absent for long periods of time to hunt, fish, trade, and fight, it was “more efficient and less stressing to base the household upon a core of women who were closely related and used to cooperating with one another, rather than males, who were away much of the year” (1978:60). Hart (2001) stresses that practice of matrilocal residence and reliance on maize agriculture do not appear suddenly, but that they co-evolved over a period of time. More so than patrilocal or neolocal residence, matrilocality among Iroquoian groups promotes continuity in the set of skills and technologies associated with horticulture among the women farmers of a community thereby making groups more successful in agriculture and creating stronger strains of maize, in what can be described as a symbiotic relationship between people and their cultivars. On the other hand, Snow (1995a), in his argument supporting the migration hypothesis of Iroquoian origins (see Chapter 3), proposes that the development of matrilocal residence was connected to the expansion of southern groups into traditional Iroquoian territory.

The idea that cultural pressure from interaction with a dominant society encourages matrilocality was first proposed by Helms (1970) in her comparative study of contact situations among the Apache, Miskito, and Mbayá. It has been applied to the Iroquois by several



researchers who argue that the increases in extended absences of males due to the events of the Contact period affected residence patterns. Specifically, men left their home villages more frequently and for longer periods of time to carry out trade missions, military actions, and hunting and trapping trips. Trigger (1985:208) suggests that with men absent even more frequently, Iroquois women had even greater responsibility for everyday affairs, reinforcing previously existing matrilineal residence patterns. Rothenberg (1979) likewise argues that Seneca women's control over agricultural resources, and the power connected with this authority, was augmented by the absence of males. Conversely, based on readings of European accounts, Richards (1957, 1967) contends that matrilocal post-marital rules of residence were a product of the Contact period and not present earlier, brought about by the increased duration and frequency of the absence of Iroquois males from a village.

Other authors have argued that increased involvement in the fur trade and warfare during the seventeenth century augmented the economic importance and prestige of males at the expense of the clan matrons who had previously governed household matters and around whom longhouse residence was centered. As traders and warriors challenged hereditary chiefs, their authority and the matrilineal ties binding households eroded (Hayden 1977; Hayden and Cannon 1982; Smith 1970).

Another subset of the diverse approaches to the archaeology of the household that informs the current study are works that focus more explicitly on domestic architecture, the "container" of a household's members, possessions, and activities. Residential architecture provides a valuable source of information on the lifeways of its occupants (see Steadman 1996). Beyond providing basic physical shelter, houses fulfill a broad array of utilitarian and symbolic functions. As part of the built environment, they also interact with their occupants, conveying

cues that guide behavior (Rapoport 1982; Sanders 1990). Given the close daily association between people and their dwellings, domestic architecture is an important class of archaeological remains, especially for research into the households of a society.

Despite this potential, most archaeological studies of households focuses instead on assemblages of portable artifacts related to domestic activity (Kamp 1993; Steadman 1996). Additionally, despite some recent efforts (e.g., Amerlinck 2001; Kamp 1993; see also Moore 2004), archaeologists and anthropologists have yet to develop a coherent theory of architectural interpretation. However, works by Bourdieu and Rapoport have been influential in thinking about how people and the surroundings they create interact. An innovator in the field of environment-behavior studies, Rapoport (1982) proposes a “mutual interaction theory” which holds that the built environment is a product of shared cultural norms, created to serve the particular needs of that group; the built environment, in turn, interacts with its inhabitants, communicating mnemonic cues that direct “emotions, interpretations, behaviors, and transactions by setting up the appropriate situations and contexts” (Rapoport 1982:80). For Bourdieu (1973, 1977) this is a crucial element of the enculturation process; the house is literally the *habitus*. In archaeological settings, the built environment is an expression of the activities, behavior, and attitudes of its occupants.

Among Iroquoianists, the use of longhouse patterns as a profitable means of approaching a number of issues concerning Iroquoian social organization, political evolution, and demographic patterns has seen increasing popularity in the past two decades. The longhouse was a physical expression of Iroquoian social organization and the center of household production and consumption. As such, longhouses hold a great deal of meaning for the archaeologist. Some studies have examined the variability of longhouses within a single site as a way to perceive

differences in the social affiliation, functional specialization, longevity, or status of the households within, as well as to derive population estimates (e.g., Dodd 1984; Finlayson 1985; Kapches 1993; Knight 1989, 2002; Williams-Shuker 1997). Regional variations in longhouse patterns have also been examined, with differentiation in construction methods shown to be indicative of local identity (e.g., Kapches 1994; Snow 1997; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998).

Additionally, within big houses like the Iroquoian longhouse, privacy and the organization and control of interior space are especially pertinent issues that can be explored by a consideration of residential architecture. In particular, rules governing interpersonal boundaries and the use of space as reflected by the built environment are an aspect of culture, making up a further source of information on the lifeways of a group (Lawrence and Low 1990; Sanders 1990). Kapches (1990, 2002) has associated the regularized use of space seen within the classic Iroquoian longhouse structure with matrilineal control over household affairs, as well as with the need to reduce crowding and curtail conflict within these densely populated dwellings.

A number of other investigators have charted structural changes in the longhouse over time, linking them with the development of Iroquoian social structures and political systems (e.g., Dodd 1984; Kapches 1990; Snow 1989; Tuck 1978; Warrick 1984, 1996). However, in most cases these studies end at the Contact period and do not consider the continuation of the trajectory into historic times. Information on the residential architecture of the Five Nations Iroquois during the Contact period is particularly scanty. A closer examination of seventeenth-century domestic architecture is merited, both as a means to explore aspects of overall household-level processes and to reach a better understanding of the evolution of this distinct housing form.

## **Gender Archaeology**

The investigations of the Rogers Farm site will also permit research into the effects of European contact on traditional Iroquois gender roles, as well as the extent of women's involvement in the cultural and economic exchanges with the European newcomers. Like family and household, gender is a culturally defined construct that makes up an essential component of an individual's identity. Also like household archaeology, its study has relatively recently become an important concern in archaeological research. The rise of interest in gender by archaeologists was largely shaped by the work of sociocultural anthropologists in the 1960s and 1970s which recognized a great deal of cross-cultural diversity in gender systems that often parted dramatically from twentieth-century Western norms. Popular "second wave" feminism was a further influence (Wylie 1991:32).

In a seminal 1984 article, Conkey and Spector discussed the merits of the archaeological study of gender. They critiqued the implied but prevalent androcentrism of existing archaeological approaches, particularly within processual archaeology (see also Wylie 1991), and also presented possible means of recovering the gender systems of the past using archaeological evidence. The volume of research that has been stimulated by this initial call for an archaeology of gender ranges from identifying women and their activities in the archaeological record (e.g., Galloway 1997; Gero 1991; Spector 1998); to exposing women's innovations and impacts on cultural development (e.g., Watson and Kennedy 1991; Zihlman 1998); to investigating the complexities of power, status, and production from a gendered perspective (e.g., Sweeley 1999; Wright 1996). Statements regarding the sometimes overlooked contributions made by early female practitioners to the field of archaeology (e.g., Claassen 1994) and the current gender inequities in the profession (e.g., Harry et al. 2003; Zeder 1997) have also been produced. Although the literature most commonly emphasizes the lives of women in

prehistory, gender-oriented analyses that address masculine activities are becoming more common (e.g., Knapp 1998; Perelli 2002).

A number of researchers have also capitalized on archaeological evidence to investigate gender systems during the Contact and early historic periods. Concepts of gender within a society are sensitive to larger processes of change, and gender roles are another arena in which the manifold historical contingencies spurred by European interaction may be manifested, particularly those affecting women (Levy and Claassen 1992). Moreover, since contemporary documentation typically emphasizes the activities of Native men, archaeology offers a means of addressing the role of women in contact situations. For example, Lightfoot et al. (1998), Deagan (1983), and Troccoli (1991) through archaeological remains find expressions of social identity by Native women in colonial settings that would otherwise be essentially invisible.

The focus of this study on household organization complements a concurrent inquiry into the impact of European contact on Iroquois gender roles. In nearly all cultural contexts, “the ‘household scale of analysis’ is the vehicle with which we may possibly make the invisible women of prehistory and their production visible, since at this level—the minimal unit of social reproduction—their presence can be guaranteed” (Tringham 1991:101). There is some irony in the fact that feminist anthropology in part developed as a response to the women’s rights movement of the 1970s that sought to get women “out of the house”—and into the White House—yet archaeologists commonly look to the household to find women. Gender constructs and their concomitant tensions are generated within the family, and the household is therefore an excellent context for research into the gender systems of a society (Hastorf 1991; Steadman 1996; Tringham 1991; Yanagisako 1979). Conversely, Hendon (1996) advocates the study of gender relations as an integral part of approaching an understanding of the social groups that

form a culture's household units. A number of case studies have successfully approached gender at the household level in diverse settings, such as those by Hastorf (1991) in prehistoric Peru, Hendon (1996) among the Classic-period Maya, Donley-Reid (1990) in East Africa, Lightfoot et al. (1998) in historic California, Deagan (1983) in colonial St. Augustine, and Deagan again (2004) among the Taíno of post-contact Haiti.

An outline of pre-contact Iroquoian gender relations is supplied by ethnography, and an exploration of the effects of European interaction on these traditional roles will be undertaken in this thesis. Within Iroquois households and villages, women were the most “residentially stable” (Allen 1988:48) occupants, with men following a pattern of periodic absence from the village for trading and hunting excursions. The clearing was the realm of women; the forest was the domain of men (Brown 1970; Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971; Tooker 1984). Women thus were intimately linked to the domestic domain, although the work they conducted in this context was not universally devalued (as is often the case in Western cultures). Furthermore, since women performed the bulk of domestic production, they “owned” everything within a village and its immediate environs—that is, agricultural fields—except men's clothing, weapons, and tools (Carr 1884). Brown (1970) and Rothenberg (1979) interpret women's control over these resources as a source of power.

The spheres of men and women, in addition, were not mutually exclusive, and gender roles were complementary. Iroquois women often did take part in supra-household affairs, naming and advising chiefs and influencing the military forays that were undertaken by males. Men, on the other hand, contributed to household production by clearing the fields that women tended, by hunting for the meat that women prepared, and by building the longhouses that sheltered the matrilineages (Brown 1970; Prezzano 1997; Rothenberg 1979; Tooker 1984).

Since traditional male and female realms overlapped, it is likely that women were indeed active participants in the processes of European interaction.

Reconstructing past gender systems on the basis of archaeological remains can be a challenging endeavor. The “task -differentiation framework” is a widely implemented methodology first introduced by Conkey and Spector (1984). This approach involves “establishing meaningful correlations between the material and nonmaterial aspects of gender systems” (Conkey and Spector 1984:14), by first listing the various tasks performed by a group, identifying the social (i.e., gender, as well as age or kinship) and spatial dimensions associated with each activity, and lastly determining the physical materials linked to the activity patterns. Ethnohistory or ethnoarchaeology are significant sources of information for drawing connections between material culture and past gender systems, as well as for expanding concepts of the variability of gender across time and space (Conkey and Spector 1984).

Along with the tools used on a daily basis, other sources of archaeological data that are used to explore gender include imagery and iconography, skeletal remains, mortuary treatments, and the organization of space, including architecture, features, and activity areas (Crown 2002). In the present study, the primary means of considering Iroquois gender relations during the Contact period includes analyses of tools and space, since representational imagery is rare in Iroquois craftwork, and of the burials previously excavated at Rogers Farm, only one was identified by sex in the field notes from this endeavor (Mandzy 1992).

## CHAPTER 3

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter lays forth the archaeological and historical background of the study's setting. First, the prehistory of central New York is outlined, covering the period from approximately 11,000 years ago up until the end of Late Woodland times, approximately AD 1600, as a context for interpreting prehistoric archaeological remains recovered from the Rogers Farm site during field investigations, discussed in Chapter 5 of the dissertation. Pre-Contact period Iroquoian cultural patterns are also described to create a basis for evaluating the extent to which societal changes associated with European interaction occurred during the later historic Cayuga occupation of Rogers Farm. In the following section, the historical narrative of Iroquoia during the seventeenth century is recounted. Particular attention is paid to this period in order to provide a foundation for the research hypotheses that guided the archaeological investigations at Rogers Farm, to be presented in Chapter 4.

#### **Regional Prehistory**

In this section, I discuss the diverse prehistoric peoples who have been supported by the landscape encompassing the Rogers Farm site since the locale first opened to human settlement over 10,000 years ago. In describing the area's prehistory, I primarily rely on Ritchie's<sup>6</sup> classic culture history of central New York state (Table 1). Although in a recent article Hart and Brumbach (2003) make a strong statement regarding problems in his chronology and definitions

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<sup>6</sup> Ritchie's *The Archaeology New York State* was first published in 1965 and was based on Parker's previous work on New York chronology. The revised edition of the book appeared in 1969, with further refinements of the chronology published in Ritchie and Funk's *Aboriginal Settlement Patterns in the Northeast* (1973). In 1980 Harbor Hill Books reissued *The Archaeology of New York State*; this is the volume consulted for this thesis. I also rely upon Robert Funk's (1993) synthesis and updating of the prehistoric chronological sequence for New York State.



**Table 1: Cultural Sequence for Central New York (Based on Ritchie 1969:Figure 1 and Funk 1993:Figure 40)**

Period	Complex/Tradition/Culture	Phase	Approximate Dates
Paleoindian			9000 – 7500 BC
Early Archaic			7500 – 6000 BC
Middle Archaic			6000 – 3000 BC
Late Archaic	Laurentian	Brewerton	3200 – 1400 BC
	Lamoka	Lamoka	2700 – 1200 BC
Transitional		Frost Island	1500 – 1000 BC
Early Woodland		Meadowood	1000 – 500 BC
	Adena	Middlesex	500 – 250 BC
Middle Woodland		Squawkie Hill	250 BC – AD 100
	Point Peninsula	Canoe Point	AD 100 – 400
		Kipp Island	AD 400 – 900
		Hunter's Home	AD 850 – 1000
		Carpenter Brook	AD 950 – 1200
Late Woodland	Owasco	Canandaigua	AD 1200 – 1275
		Castle Creek	AD 1275 – 1350
		Oak Hill	AD 1350 – 1400
	Iroquois	Chance	AD 1400 – 1525
		Garoga	AD 1525 – 1600
		Contact/Early Historic	AD 1600 – 1700
Historic	Iroquois/Euro-American	Late Historic	AD 1700 – 1779
		Modern	AD 1779 – present

of archaeological taxa (and criticize the use of such culture-historical schemes to guide research in New York State), Ritchie's taxonomy is still the standard used by archaeologists working in the area, providing a common frame of reference for describing prehistoric developments across the state. However, I recognize that such archaeological taxa are subjectively defined, may not have much basis in reality, and should not be equated with ethnic groups; they serve instead to reduce variation and organize a large body of fragmentary information. While the accumulation of anomalies will undoubtedly lead to the overhaul of the system in the future, or even to a completely new method of narrating cultural development through prehistory, it is outside the reach of the present study to attempt to rewrite it within these pages.

The abundance of natural resources within the environs of Rogers Farm attracted generations of people into the area, making it a “persistent place” (*sensu* Rieth 2002) that fostered millennia of human usage. Nearly all stages of Ritchie’s prehistoric sequence are represented by the region’s archaeological record. Previously identified archaeological sites with diagnostic materials located within an approximate 3-mile radius of Rogers Farm are discussed within this section. Sites mentioned in the text are summarized in Table 2.

### **Paleoindian Period**

The Paleoindian period represents the earliest documented inhabitation of the Eastern Woodlands. The period began roughly 11,000 years ago in the northeastern United States and lasted until roughly 7500 BC. As the Laurentide ice sheet began its retreat around 13,000 years ago, tundra and open spruce forests dominated upper New York State. This Early Holocene landscape was relatively unproductive, and human population densities were correspondingly low. Paleoindian groups are characterized as highly mobile, generalized hunter-gatherers exploiting large game such as caribou, mastodon, elk, and deer across expansive hunting territories. Seasonally available plant foods contributed to the Paleoindian diet as well, although their sources could be quite localized and unpredictable (Petersen et al. 2000; Ritchie 1969; Snow 1980).

Across the Northeast as a whole, Paleoindian occupations exhibit a great degree of diversity in group size and site structure as a means of adapting to local ecological niches. While larger base camp sites, referred to by Dincauze (1993:51 in Curran 1999) as “marshalling areas” for gathering information on productive areas, are known in southern New England and the Maritimes, northeastern Paleoindian sites are typically described as small, ephemeral hunting or gathering encampments occupied on a short-term basis by small bands (Curran 1999:22).

**Table 2: Previously Identified Archaeological Sites in Vicinity of Rogers Farm Site**

<b>Site Name</b>	<b>Associated Site Number(s)</b>	<b>Period(s) Represented</b>
Gansz	Wpt 7-3	Paleoindian, Late Archaic, Transitional
Southwick	NYSM 2145, Cly 7-4	Early Archaic to Transitional
Crusoe Creek	NSYM 1251, Cly 3-4, UB 1656	Early Archaic to Contact
Parks	Cly 4-4	Late Archaic
Ross and DiSanto	Wpt 8-3	Late Archaic, Transitional
Secor "I"		Late Archaic
VanLeeuwen	UB 1685	Late Archaic
DiSanto	Cly 6-4	Transitional
Skutt	NYSM 2146, Cly 5-4	Transitional, Late Woodland
Rector Farm	Cly 8-4	Transitional, Middle Woodland
Carlton	UB 1817	Transitional
Marsh Site "A"	NYSM 6558, UB 1852	Transitional
Morgan Farm	Wpt 1-3, UB 1661	Late Archaic to Late Woodland
Marsh Site "C"	UB 1818	Transitional
Dhondt	Wpt 5-3, UB 1665	Transitional, Late Woodland
Marsh Site "E"	UB 1865	Transitional
Bluff Point	NYSM 1540, Wpt 10-3, UB 1667	Transitional to Late Woodland
Hickory Hill	NYSM 1541, UB 1831	Transitional to Late Woodland
Wurtz	NYSM 2506, Wpt 6-3	Middle Woodland
Hunter's Home	A: NYSM 1538, Wpt 3-3, UB 1659 B: NYSM 2504, Wpt 4-3	Transitional to Contact
Howland's Island	UB 1835	Middle to Late Woodland
Fort Hill	NYSM 2147, Cly 2-4, UB 1666	Middle to Late Woodland

Favored settings for Paleoindian sites include higher elevations along principal waterways. In New York state, about 30 percent of known occupations are situated along lakes (Ritchie 1969:7). The Potts site, for example, is a Paleoindian site in Oswego County that sits on a drumlin overlooking Sixmile Creek, a tributary of the Oswego River. At the time of the site's occupation the area would have been very marshlike (Ritchie 1969:7). The West Athens Hill site, the largest known Paleoindian site in the state, is interpreted as a combination quarry, workshop, and habitation locality sited on a rocky knoll 3 miles west of the Hudson River (Ritchie 1969:xv). As open forests became more closed during the later parts of the Paleoindian period, sites are more commonly located on "relatively high, commanding landforms" (Petersen et al. 2000:132) than along river and lake shores.

Paleoindian lithic industries are distinguished by finely made fluted projectile points of high-quality stone. Fluted points are broadly distributed across the Eastern Woodlands, and the raw material often came from remote sources, indicating mobility and long-distance connections among widely dispersed Paleoindian populations. In the Northeast, later Paleoindian points are no longer fluted and are referred to as ‘Plano’ or ‘parallel -flaked’ points. The Paleoindian toolkit also included implements like knives, scrapers, and drills (Petersen et al. 2000; Ritchie 1969:6; Snow 1980:124-125).

The archaeological visibility of the Paleoindian period in the project vicinity is low. A single Paleoindian fluted point was recovered at the Gansz site (Wpt 7-3), located about 2.25 miles south of the Rogers Farm site. Following the pattern of lakeshore settlement location, the site sits on a north-south–trending ridge just west of the Montezuma Marsh (Secor 1987:56) (Figure 12<sup>7</sup>).

### **Archaic Period**

Dating from approximately 7500 to 1000 BC, the Archaic period witnessed many cultural and environmental changes from Paleoindian times. During the Mid-Holocene epoch, which lasted from about 6500 to 2000 BC and is also known as the Hypsithermal, climate became increasingly warm and dry; the result of these climatic changes was a far greater degree of diversity in flora, fauna, and environmental zones than during the preceding period. The Late Holocene, the most recent geological epoch, began approximately 4,000 years ago and saw the establishment of modern sea levels, vegetation patterns, and climatic conditions (Fagan 1995:99).

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<sup>7</sup> Site locations shown in Figures 12 through 15 are approximate. Base maps for these figures were adapted from DeLorme (2002).

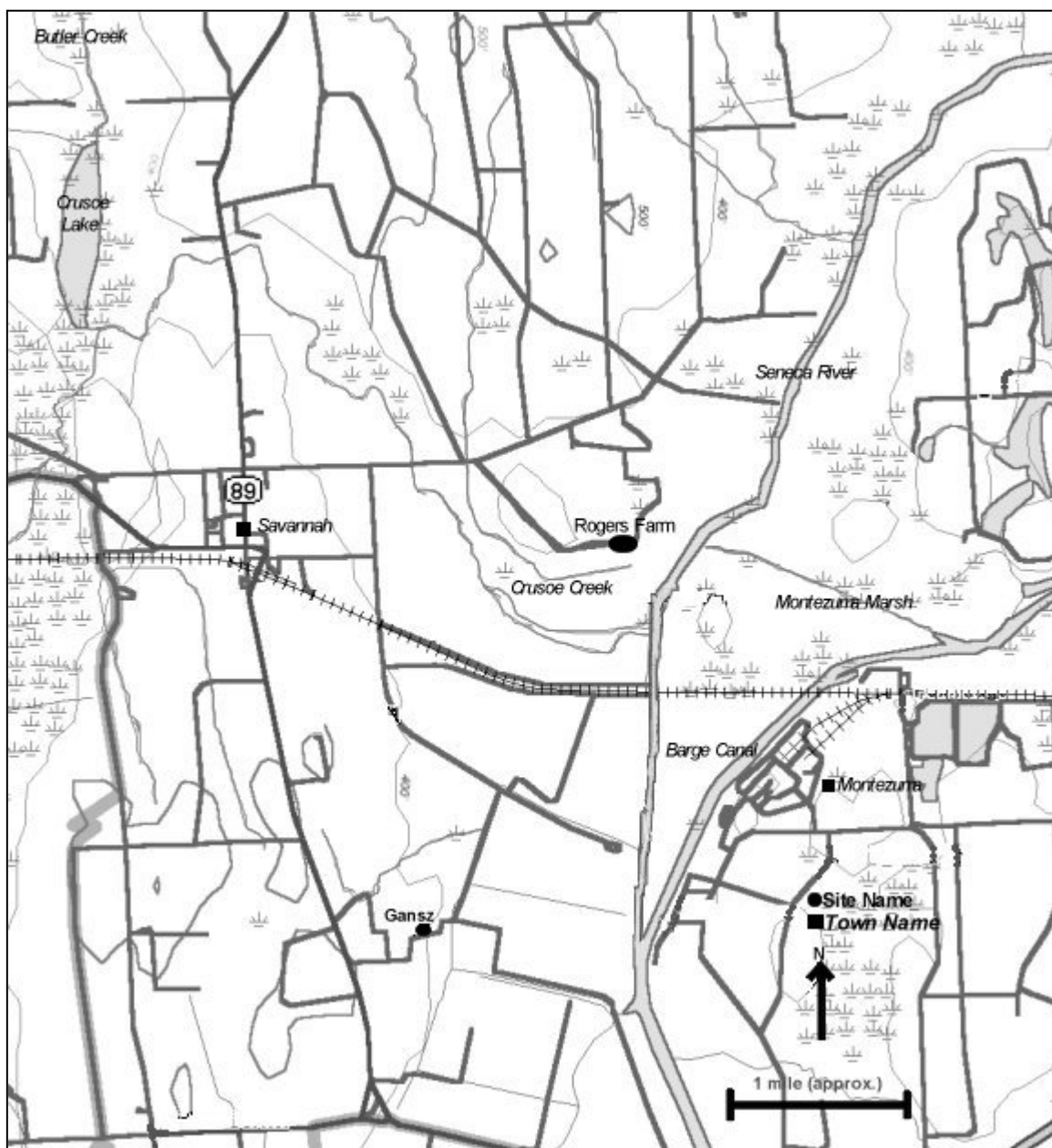


Figure 12: Paleoindian period sites in the project vicinity.

Throughout the Archaic period, the new ecological settings promoted a shift from emphasis on large game hunting and broad-spectrum foraging to subsistence strategies focused on smaller game and a narrower range of local terrestrial and riverine resources which were newly abundant. Population and sedentism increased while territories became more restricted. The standardization of material culture across broad areas seen during the Paleoindian period was replaced during the Archaic by the development of numerous local artifact traditions (Fagan 1995; Ritchie 1969).

The Archaic period is conventionally discussed in terms of Early, Middle, and Late subperiods, with the final years of the Archaic referred to as the Transitional or Terminal Archaic period. The Early Archaic dates from 7500 to 6000 BC. Small bands of family groups continued to forage in the area, but their focus on hunting decreased with a greater reliance on seasonal plant foods. The territories exploited by Early Archaic groups were more constricted and well defined than in Paleoindian times (Fagan 1995; Snow 1980). Due to the rarity of sites in the region, it has generally been assumed that New York State population remained quite low at this time; however, the initiation of new archaeological surveys may eventually yield further occupation during the early postglacial period (Levine 2003:146).

Bifurcated-base and Kirk corner-notched and stemmed projectile points are diagnostic of the period (Funk 1993; Ritchie 1969; Snow 1980). Chapman (1985:38-40) has suggested that the shift from a preference for fluted points indicates a change in hunting technology from the use of hand-held spears to the use of atlatls which were better suited for the shift to preference for smaller game. Additionally, bifurcated points are found in widespread locations through the Eastern Woodlands, suggesting the exchange of finished points across broad regions (Snow 1980).

Like most of central New York, Early Archaic occupations are scarce in the Savannah area. A bifurcate projectile point was recovered from the Southwick site (Wpt 6-4), located about 3.6 miles northwest of Rogers Farm, south of Crusoe Creek (Secor 1987). Its location near the margins of the Montezuma Marsh made it a favorable place for hunting and fishing. Secor (1987:55) also notes that Early Archaic remains were encountered among a large assemblage of archaeological materials of various ages at the Crusoe Creek site (Cly 3-4), located about 2.6 miles northwest of Rogers Farm. The site's location is at the only fording point across Crusoe Creek, and remains representing all periods from the Early Archaic through the Contact period have been found there (Secor 1987:22, 55-56) (Figure 13).

In describing the succeeding Middle Archaic period, which lasted from 6000 to 3000 BC, Brian Fagan (1995:374) writes, "the Middle Archaic spans an unspectacular period in prehistory, but was of crucial importance for setting the stage for the brilliant efflorescence of human cultures that was to follow throughout the Eastern Woodlands." As with the Early Archaic, Middle Archaic sites are very rare in New York state; no occupations have been identified in the vicinity of Rogers Farm, nor in all of central New York (Cross 1999; Secor 1987). However, a picture of the Eastern Woodlands during Middle Archaic times emerges from such well known sites as Neville in New Hampshire, Koster in Illinois, and Tennessee's Icehouse Bottom (Chapman 1985; Fagan 1995; Snow 1980). Settlement appears to have involved more permanent base camps and a system of central-based wandering within further restricted territories. Diet became more varied, and fishing became a more important subsistence strategy as waterways obtained their modern-day flow patterns. Exploitation of seasonally available resources was accomplished by the carefully timed scheduling of group movements (Snow 1980).

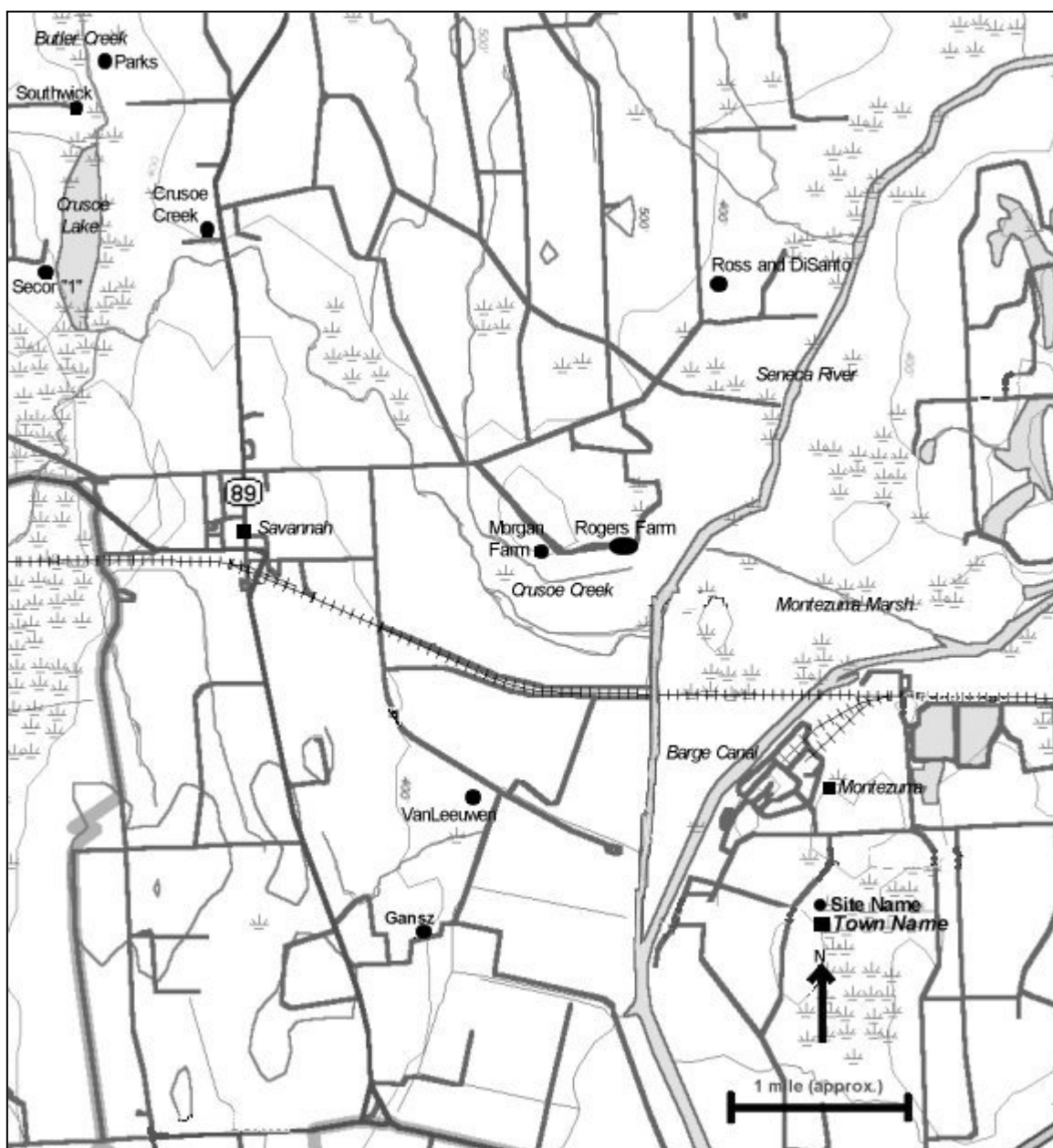


Figure 13: Archaic period sites in the project vicinity.



Stemmed projectile points were the dominant point style throughout the Eastern Woodlands during the Middle Archaic, with broad regional morphological similarities again indicating cultural communication across the area (Cross 1999). The suite of Middle Archaic tools expanded to include winged atlatl weights, netsinkers, semilunar knives, and woodworking implements such as celts, gouges, and axes (Snow 1980:183-184).

Unlike the preceding period, the Late Archaic—the time of “brilliant efflorescence” alluded to by Fagan—is well represented in central New York state. Archaeological remains of the Late Archaic, which dates from 3000 to 1000 BC, demonstrate swells in population, number of sites, and diversity of local traditions, while the territories exploited by these groups continue to contract. The social organization of Late Archaic groups consisted of small bands of kin-based groups, and evidence of status differentiation is minimal (Ritchie 1969). Greater population densities were permitted by the final disappearance of the Laurentide ice sheet around 4000 BC, which enriched the resource base of northern territories and attracted more permanent settlement (Fagan 1995:375-376).

The archaeological record of the Late Archaic period is complex; boundaries of identified cultures appear to have overlapped and changed over time, making it difficult to create regional chronological sequences (Levine 2004:174). Two Late Archaic complexes, the Lamoka and the Laurentian, are found within the vicinity of the Rogers Farm site. The Laurentian was a widespread variant of the Lake Forest Archaic, which was found in the swath of land between the Upper Great Lakes and the Maritime provinces dominated by conifers and northern hardwoods. Laurentian sites date from 3200 to 1400 BC and appear across southeast Ontario and southern Quebec, into northern New England and New York State (Fagan 1995; Ritchie 1969; Secor 1987; Snow 1980).

In the central New York area, the local manifestation of the Laurentian is referred to as the Brewerton phase. Brewerton projectile points are broad bladed and side notched. Typical artifacts also include groundstone implements such as gouges and adzes, slate points and knives, atlatl weights, and plummets. Barbed bone points and awls also appear, as well as some tools of native copper which indicate long-distance communication with the Old Copper culture of the Upper Great Lakes, another variant of the Lake Forest Archaic (Fagan 1995; Ritchie 1969; Snow 1980).

The Laurentian tradition is characterized by a high degree of flexibility in adaptations to local conditions. Subsistence focused on hunting deer and other mammals, waterfowl and other birds, and reptiles, supplemented by fishing and collecting of acorns and other seasonally available plant foods. Evidence of settlement suggests a central-based wandering system within well-defined territories. During fall and winter, groups dispersed into small short-term hunting and trapping camps in the uplands and during spring and summer gathered into larger semi-permanent base stations located in advantageous fishing locales (Fagan 1995; Ritchie 1969; Snow 1980).

Dating from 2700 to 1200 BC, Lamoka sites are more narrowly distributed than Laurentian; evidence of the complex is confined within the Finger Lakes region of upstate New York, from Genesee County to Oneida Lake. Lamoka is a variant of the Mast Forest Archaic. Boundaries of this tradition extend from southern New England south to the North Carolina piedmont, west through the Ohio River basin and into the Mississippi Valley in southern Illinois, north into southern Michigan, then east along the southern shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie. The areas defined by the Mast Forest and Lake Forest adaptations overlap in several

places, including the region of central New York where the Rogers Farm site is located (Fagan 1995; Snow 1980).

Like the Laurentian, Lamoka settlement patterns indicate a central-based wandering system and seasonal mobility. Occupations tend to be located along lakes, marshes, and medium to large streams. The Lamoka Lake site, located in Schuyler County, New York, consists of a large settlement notable for the early presence of house patterns, bark-lined storage pits, burials, and rather dramatic evidence of warfare. Along with such larger and more rare base camps, Lamoka sites include numerous small, temporary camps where the population scattered for much of the year (Ritchie 1969; Ritchie and Funk 1973). It has recently been pointed out that larger base camps like Lamoka Lake are exceptions to the rule of Late Archaic settlement patterns, and greater attention to them has served to obscure regional variation in settlement types and skew understanding of land use and the organization of labor during the period (Levine 2004; Versaggi et al. 2001). In particular, floodplain settings have been the focus of study for many decades, leading to a neglect of upland localities—which have been shown through the more recent initiation of archaeological research to have hosted Late Archaic procurement activities. This research has contributed to a fuller perspective of settlement patterns and subsistence strategies during the period (Levine 2003, 2004; Versaggi et al. 2001).

Lamoka technology demonstrates a greater reliance on fishing and plant foods such as acorn and hickory nut than Laurentian material culture. Distinctive Lamoka artifacts include a groundstone beveled adze—a heavy woodworking tool presumably used for building canoes—and narrow-bladed projectile points. The artifact assemblage also consists of an array of fishing equipment, hunting tools, and grinding implements to process vegetable foods. Materials tend to

be of local origin, showing a smaller degree of long-distance exchange than Laurentian remains (Ritchie 1969; Secor 1987; Snow 1980).

Both of these Late Archaic adaptations are found abundantly in the study area and in some places co-occur. The Parks site (Cly 4-4) is located approximately 3.7 miles northwest of the site, to the east of Butler Creek, a stream feeding into Crusoe Lake. The large quantity of Laurentian materials recovered suggest Parks may have been a habitation site. The Ross and DiSanto site (Wpt 8-3), located along the marshline about 1.4 miles northeast of Rogers Farm, may also have been a habitation site. A portion of the site yielded only Lamoka remains, while both Lamoka and Laurentian artifacts were found throughout the rest of the site area (Secor 1987:23, 56). A similar situation has been recently documented by Levine (2004) at the Clauson site, located to the southwest of Rogers Farm in the Town of Catharine, Schuyler County, near Cayuta Lake. At this site, two loci were investigated—one that yielded evidence of a Brewerton locality for tool sharpening and finishing, and one that consisted of a feature related to a Lamoka nut-processing station. Levine (2004:174-175) proposes that the Brewerton and Lamoka points at Clauson may be part of a single tool kit; the two components are often found together, and definitively determining which predates the other has not been accomplished.

Additionally, less dense concentrations of Late Archaic materials have been noted throughout the area. Artifact scatterings identified as Laurentian are found at the Gansz site (Wpt 7-3), at the VanLeeuwen site (UB 1685) about a half mile north of Gansz, and at another locality (Secor “1”) on the west side of Crusoe Lake. Additionally, Late Archaic remains were identified at the Crusoe Creek site (Cly 3-4) (Secor 1987:22, 55-56) (see Figure 13).

New cultural patterns were introduced in the region during the years bridging the end of the Archaic and the beginning of the Woodland period. This period is typically referred to as the

Transitional, dating from approximately 1500 to 1000 BC (Funk 1993; Ritchie 1969; Witthoft 1953); Snow (1980) calls this the Terminal Archaic period and dates it from 1700 to 700 BC. Either way, developments during the period show strong connections, by migration and by exchange, with peoples in southeastern Pennsylvania. The new adaptations are known as the Frost Island phase and are found along the Susquehanna River valley and its tributaries and north into the Finger Lakes region of central New York (Snow 1980:251).

Frost Island occupations demonstrate a continuation of Late Archaic hunting and gathering patterns and social organization but with a subsistence strategy and way of life strongly oriented toward riverine resources. Identified sites consist of short-term encampments commonly located along higher order streams and large lakes (Ritchie 1969; Secor 1987).

Material culture includes broad-bladed Susquehanna projectile points and other chipped-stone tools, made from both rhyolite of southeast Pennsylvania origin and local lithic materials, along with groundstone adz blades, and awls and barbed harpoons of bone. Later in the period, steatite and pottery vessels appear. Soapstone bowls were flat bottomed and oval to rectangular in shape, with lug handles. The steatite was quarried in Pennsylvania, and bowl fragments were often reworked into new artifact forms. Vinette 1 pottery, the first to appear in central New York, is found less frequently. These wares are described as moderately thick walled, coarsely grit tempered, and gray to black or buff in color; they were coil made, straight sided with conoidal bases and rounded lips, and cord or fabric roughened on the interior and exterior surfaces. Both types of vessels suggest a decreased degree of mobility. Their use also points to improvements in storage and cooking technology, allowing direct heating of pots as opposed to the stone-boiling method used previously for centuries (Ritchie 1969; Sassaman 1999; Secor 1987; Snow 1980). In particular, the distribution of steatite vessel sites across the Eastern

Woodlands correlates closely with large stands of mast-producing trees, and their durable boiling properties likely helped to minimize the high costs of mast processing incurred by mobile populations (Truncer 2004).

Modern drainage activities in the northern end of the Montezuma Marsh have revealed extensive evidence of Frost Island materials within the vicinity of Rogers Farm, with a number of small sites encountered just above and below the 380-foot contour line denoting the margin of the marshlands. Transitional period site locations are shown in Figure 14. These occupations appear to coincide with a drier climatic period, since many of the lower locations are today quite wet. The sites tend to consist of artifact scatters across areas of darkened soil, ash, and fire-cracked rock, possibly representing fire beds for drying or roasting fish and other foodstuffs. Very few pits and no postholes have been noted at these sites (Secor 1987:30-32).

### **Woodland Period**

Throughout the Eastern Woodlands, the Woodland period (ca. 1000 BC – AD 1600) is distinguished by the maturation of pottery industries, increasing sedentism and population, and the emergence of farming economies. The period also saw the development of Iroquoian cultures, to be discussed in further detail in the following section. Like the Archaic, the Woodland period is commonly divided into Early, Middle, and Late subperiods.

The Early Woodland period roughly includes the years from 1000 to 250 BC. Throughout the Northeast, artifact types show a marked degree of regional diversity (Fiedel 2001; Versaggi 1991). Within the setting of the Rogers Farm site, the Early Woodland period is locally represented by the Meadowood phase. Meadowood remains show some continuity with preceding Frost Island adaptations, as well as new developments. Site locations are similar,

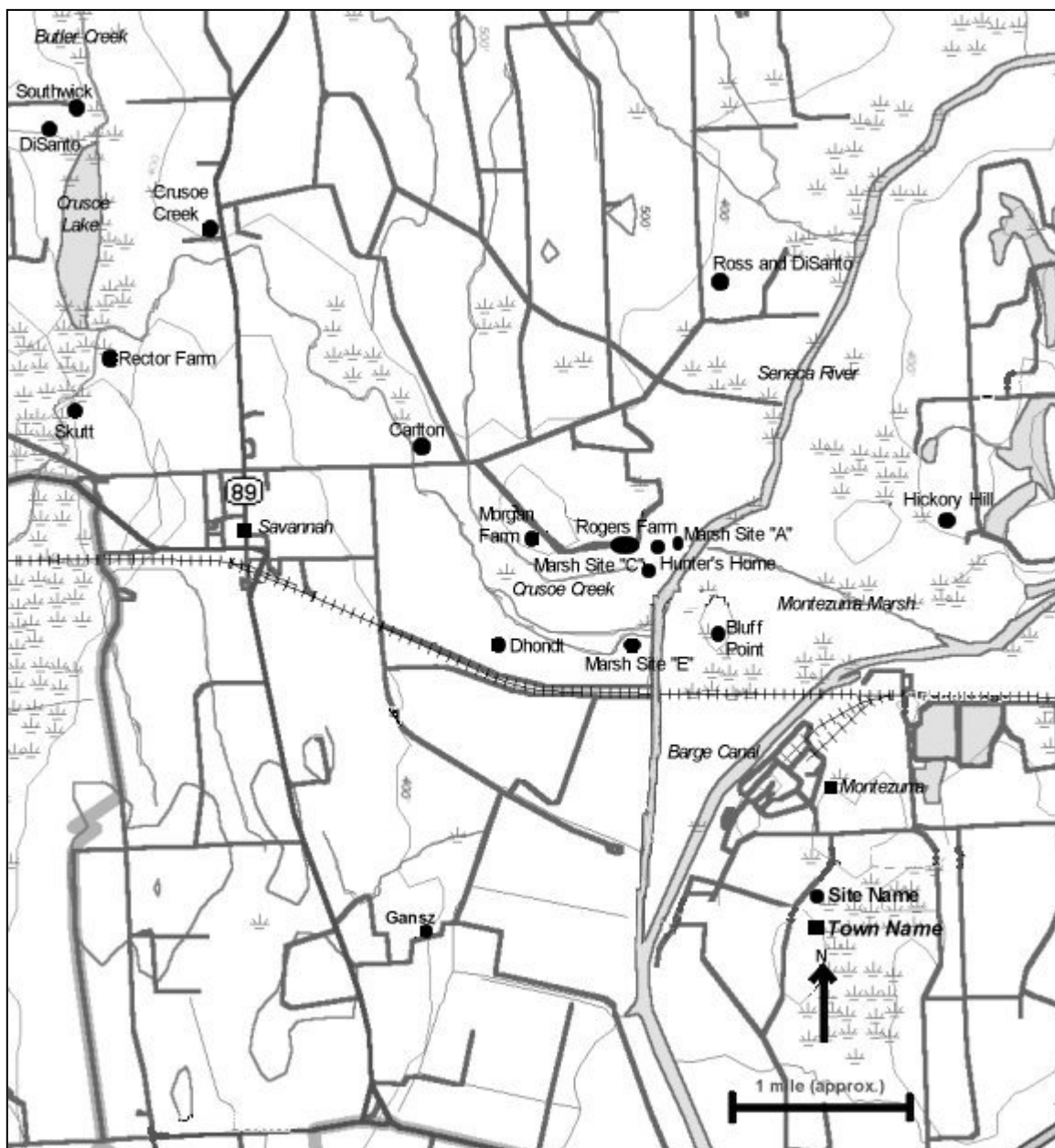


Figure 14: Transitional period sites in the project vicinity.

tending to be situated near large streams and small lakes, vicinities favorable for fishing and water transport. According to Secor (1987:42), evidence of Early Woodland occupations in the project vicinity is often found nearby or mixed with Frost Island sites (see Figure 14).

Meadowood occupations appear to have been more permanent, indicated by the frequent appearance of cemeteries (primarily containing cremated remains), storage pits, and house patterns. The use of Vinette 1 pottery becomes more fully established, and steatite bowls continue to appear, both also markers of greater sedentism. Long-distance trade intensifies, although contacts are oriented more toward the west than to the south as during Frost Island times (Ritchie 1969; Secor 1987; Snow 1980). At the same time, across the Eastern Woodlands there is a dearth in Early Woodland sites and projectile points compared to earlier and later periods, indicative of a decline in population. Fiedel (2001) speculates that an abrupt climate event producing cooler global temperatures, epidemics, and pressures from in-migrating populations may have been the stressors contributing to Early Woodland population loss.

As in the Late Archaic, subsistence relied on a combination of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Additionally, wild forms of *Chenopodium* (goosefoot), *Polygonum* (smartweeds, knotweeds), *Zizania* (wild rice), and other native grasses were harvested more intensively (Ritchie 1969; Snow 1980). These plants were wild progenitors of the earliest domesticated plant species in the Eastern Woodlands. All were weedy, aggressive colonizers of floodplain environments; human occupations in these areas created disturbed areas favorable for these campfollowers, resulting in unintentional gardens conveniently located near settlements. Simple steps such as weeding and selecting hardy plants that sprouted early led slowly to domesticated forms of these perennials (Smith 1992, 1995a, 1995b). Whether these steps toward domestication were related to stress has been debated. Smith (1995a, 1995b) argues that in an



objective sense the early domesticators were living in rich, stress-free environments with enough wild resources to permit experimentation with these indigenous plants. However, as these landscapes became more populated, groups may have perceived long-term risk and more actively pursued cultivation in order to minimize it. On the other hand, Rindos and Johanssen (1991) emphasize the unintentional nature of the domestication process, holding that the relationship between early domesticates and humans was symbiotic. Either way, the utilization of these species marks the incipient stages of domestication, a process that unfolded slowly over the course of a millennium, having very little influence on social organization and being only of minor dietary importance for the essentially hunting and gathering groups of the Early Woodland period. In New York, the use of domesticated crops does not appear until the later stages of the Woodland period (Kuhn and Funk 2000).

Meadowood points are relatively large, very thin, and finely crafted. They are side notched, and some feature expanded bases or serrated edges. Thin, leaf-shaped blades have also been recovered from both mortuary and habitation contexts. Pottery smoking pipes make their first appearance in Meadowood assemblages. Drilled slate gorgets are another distinctive artifact type. Other implements include antler flaking tools; bone tools; and stone knives, drills, hammerstones, anvils, abraders, and netsinkers (Ritchie 1969; Secor 1987).

Toward the end of the phase, the influence of the Adena mortuary complex (ca. 500 – 200 BC), which had its core territory in the upper Midwest, is seen. The term Adena describes not a unified culture, per se, but a widespread ceremonial system that linked a broad diversity of local groups in the northern Eastern Woodlands through extensive long-distance trade and elaborate burial practices. The resulting transplantation of Adena characteristics onto Meadowood adaptations is referred to as the Middlesex culture. Well-furnished burials are one

local expression of Adena practices during this phase. Mortuary treatments consisted of internment in small cemeteries, or single graves dug into natural knolls or mounds. Grave goods included points, cache blades, and luxury items, although pottery vessels were not present. Exotic materials obtained through participation in the Adena exchange network include Gulf Coast marine shell, copper from the Upper Great Lakes region, and lithic materials originating in Quebec, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The complex's influence is also found in artifacts such as Adena-style projectile points made of local cherts and tubular pottery pipes (Fagan 1995; Ritchie 1969; Snow 1980). Secor (1987:43) reports that an Adena point was found near the town of Wolcott, several miles from the Savannah area, during 1982 road grading work.

The Middle Woodland period lasted roughly from 250 BC to AD 950 in central New York. Adaptations in the area during the earlier centuries of the period are referred to as the Squawkie Hill phase (250 BC – AD 100) and the Canoe Point phase (AD 100 – 400) of the early Point Peninsula tradition. Point Peninsula sites have a wide range of distribution, covering southern Ontario to northern New England and extending westward to Manitoba and Minnesota. Throughout the period lifeways are quite similar to the preceding Early Woodland period; it is the introduction of new pottery types that largely differentiate the Middle Woodland phases defined by Ritchie (1969).

While in the Midwest, the Middle Woodland diet is distinguished by a marked increase in the use of native cultigens, Point Peninsula subsistence patterns remain very similar to those of the Early Woodland period, centered on fishing, hunting, and the use of plants such as wild rice. No concrete evidence of agriculture has been recovered. An increase in population is inferred, although it appears not to have spurred much change in the settlement system, which continued

to consist of small, semi-permanent base camps and seasonally occupied resource extraction sites (Kuhn and Funk 2000; Ritchie 1969; Ritchie and Funk 1973; Secor 1987).

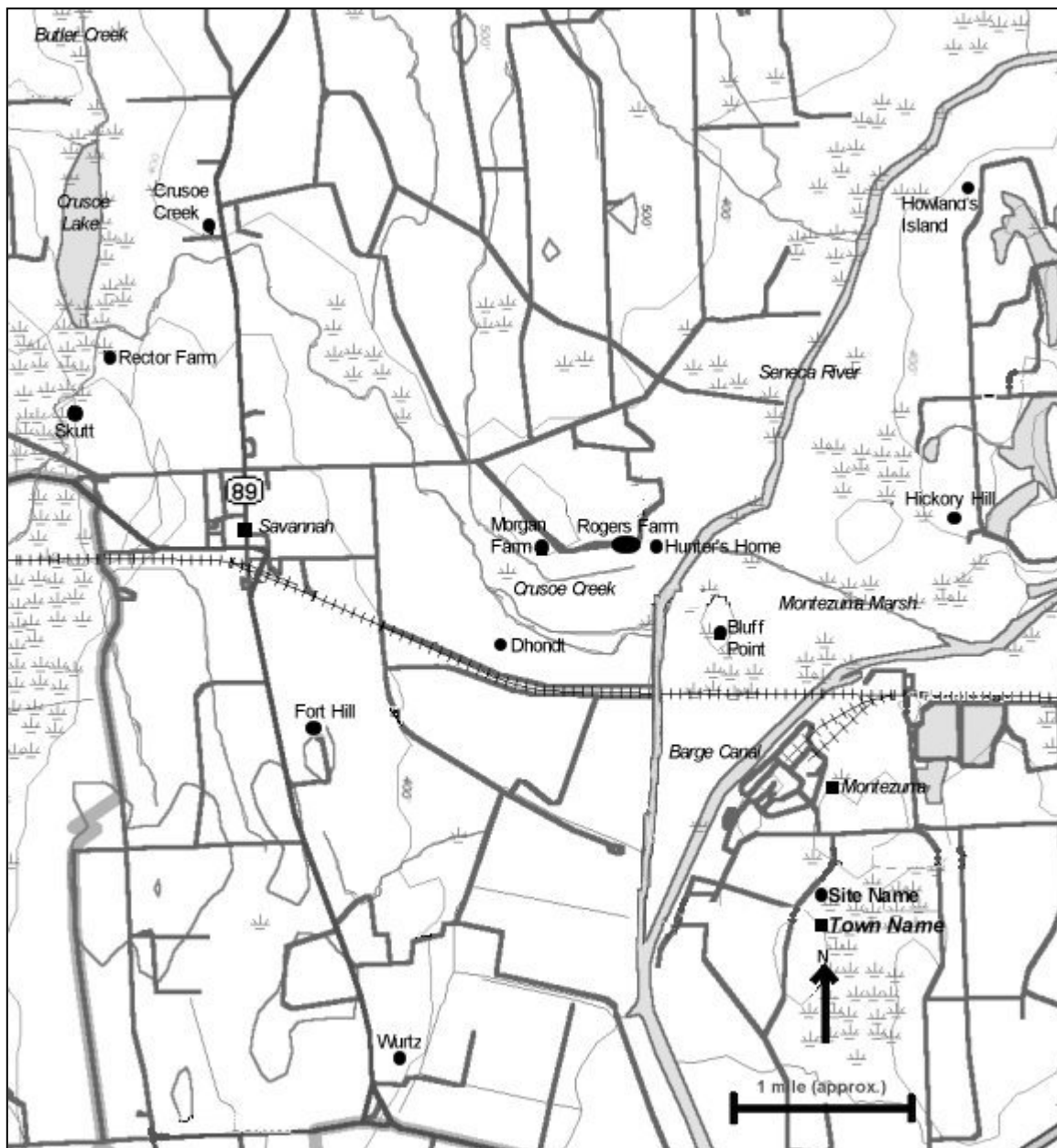
Pottery types belong to the Vinette 2 series, showing a greater uniformity in paste, vessel form, and decorative techniques. Various stamped motifs made up the most common surface treatments on these wares, while cord impressions and trailing were also used. Side-notched and stemmed projectile points made of local raw material were typical. Other chipped-stone artifacts include end- and sidescrapers, prismatic-flake and ovate knives, and expanded-base drills. Groundstone tools include hammerstones, anvils, adzes, and celts; bone and antler tools are present as well (Ritchie 1969:208, 212-213).

Point Peninsula remains reflect participation in the Hopewell Interaction Sphere. Much like Adena, although even more extensive, this was a wide-ranging ceremonial complex with its origins in the Midwest, characterized by long-distance trade networks and elaborate mortuary practices inserted into existing local traditions. The emergence of Hopewell exchange across the Eastern Woodlands has been explained by some researchers (e.g., Braun 1986; Braun and Plog 1982; Muller 1986) as a response to environmental risk and scheduling problems brought on by increased reliance on domesticated plants and population growth. Leaders were able to increase their personal prestige by managing these difficulties through formalized exchange and communication with other groups. However, while cultivation gained importance in the Midwest, it was not practiced in central New York or some other areas where Hopewellian complexes are present such as New England and the Southeast. Bense (1994) and Cobb and Nassaney (1995) have proposed theories explaining the appearance of Hopewell in the Southeast which may also apply to the New York case. They hold that a Big Man-type leadership emerged during the Middle Woodland. Leaders were able to control and manipulate access to exotic

goods, thereby temporarily elevating their lineages and meriting burial in lavish, visually prominent graves after death.

Several sites in the Rogers Farm vicinity contained Hopewell-related goods, including the Wurtz site (Wpt 6-3), 3.1 miles south of the site; the Rector Farm site (Cly 8-4), 2.9 miles to the west on Crusoe Creek; and the Bluff Point site (Wpt 10-3), on a drumlin just across the Seneca River from the site (Figure 15). The mounds that were at these sites have since been destroyed (Secor 1987:55-57).

Participation in the Hopewell complex declines after around AD 500. Ritchie (1969) defined these later stages of the Middle Woodland as the Kipp Island (ca. AD 400 – 900) and Hunter's Home (ca. AD 850 – 1000; named after the immediate vicinity of the Rogers Farm site) phases. Long-distance trade continues during the Kipp Island phase, with items such as shark teeth and pendants of Ohio banded slate coming into the region, but amounts of foreign goods decline greatly from their earlier Hopewellian heights. The scale of exchange is even further reduced toward the end of the Middle Woodland period. Diagnostic projectile point styles for Kipp Island include Jack's Reef corner-notched and Jack's Reef pentagonal. Large, triangular Levanna points occur less frequently but become common during the Hunter's Home phase (Snow 1980:275-276). Late Middle Woodland pottery types contrast with earlier Point Peninsula types. Later vessels are larger with more rounded bases, and lips are more rounded to slightly flattened, rather than pinched and outflaring. Cordmarking, seen infrequently earlier, replaces stamping as a decorative technique, and collars become more pronounced (Ritchie 1969:213; Snow 1980:315).



**Figure 15: Woodland period sites in the project vicinity.**

It was long assumed that early Point Peninsula subsistence and settlement patterns remained largely unchanged into Kipp Island times. Into the Hunter's Home phase, it was generally postulated that settlements became larger and more sedentary, population increased, social structure was more formally organized, and the adoption of maize and other domesticated plants occurred (Ritchie and Funk 1973:355-356). These trends culminated in the earlier centuries of the Late Woodland period (ca. AD 950 – 1600) with the appearance of proto-Iroquoian groups. Ritchie (1969) used the term Owasco to refer to the first portion of the Late Woodland period, dating from AD 1000 to 1300. In central New York, Owasco is subdivided by pottery types into the Carpenter Brook (AD 950 – 1200), Canandaigua (AD 1200 – 1275), and Castle Creek (AD 1275 – 1350) phases.

According to Ritchie and Funk (1973), Owasco traits include many adaptations typical of later Iroquoian societies: maize/beans/squash agriculture; large, semi-permanent villages located in upland settings; oblong, extended-family houses; matrilineal social organization and matrilocality; use of the bow and arrow; population growth and nucleation; and distinctive pottery types manufactured by modeling techniques. As such, Owasco has generally been accepted as the precursor to Iroquoian cultural developments in New York State and corresponds to the Early Iroquoian period (a further discussion of the question of Iroquoian origins is presented later in this chapter).

Several recent studies (e.g., Hart and Brumbach 2003; Hart et al. 2003; Gates-St. Pierre 2001; Schulenberg 2002), however, have problematized the Point Peninsula-to-Owasco transition and highlight a number of problems with the established scenario. Archaeological materials associated with the late Middle Woodland/early Late Woodland time frame have been

previously identified in several localities within close proximity to the Rogers Farm site, making the area an important source of information for exploring this issue in New York prehistory.

The Hunter's Home site, the type site for the phase, is at the east end of the terrace where Rogers Farm is located. In the late 1940s, Harold Secor and Arthur Seeley conducted the first excavations in the area and identified materials associated with both the early Owasco and Hunter's Home phases. In 1960 William Ritchie visited the site with a crew from the NYSM and opened a 268-square-foot trench into a nearby midden deposit. Below an 18-in-thick layer of recent, sterile wash, was an 8-in-thick stratum of sand which yielded early Owasco remains. This stratum overlay a darker sand layer, about 9 to 14 in thick, containing Hunter's Home pottery, as well as sherds that stylistically "represented intergrades with the stratigraphically superior Owasco varieties" (Ritchie 1969:258). Although several localities associated with the Hunter's Home occupation are numbered as discrete sites (see Table 2), materials from the time frame are found throughout the adjoining farmlands on the terrace, including the field where the Rogers Farm village excavations took place. Within the project vicinity, Point Peninsula and Owasco remains are also found about 1 mile southwest of Hunter's Home at the Dhondt site (Wpt 5-3) and about 1 mile to the southeast of Dhondt at the Fort Hill (NYSM 2147) site. The Bluff Point (Wpt 10-3), Howland's Island (UB 1835), and Hickory Hill (NYSM 1541) sites, located on drumlins across the Seneca River from the Rogers Farm site, also yielded similar artifacts (Secor 1987 55-57) (see Figure 15).

In a 2001 study, Gates-St. Pierre reanalyzed pottery from the Hunter's Home and Kipp Island (located 8 km to the south of Hunter's Home) sites in order to elucidate the shift from the Point Peninsula to the Owasco periods. He found gradual transitions in ceramic style, morphology, and technology between the two periods. He also called into question the validity

of Hunter's Home as an archaeological taxon, finding instead that pottery from sites attributed to the phase either show a gradual introduction of Owasco traits into Kipp Island components, or the retention of Kipp Island attributes within early Owasco occupations. The author also notes that no "pure" Hunter's Home components have been identified, and radiocarbon dates from sites assigned to the Hunter's Home phase significantly overlap with dates from Kipp Island and Owasco sites. Also relying on analysis of ceramics from this period, Schulenberg (2002) likewise found the co-existence of late Point Peninsula and early Owasco pottery between AD 650 and 1000, with no marked stylistic discontinuities or differences in diet between the phases. On the other hand, Snow (1995a), while also dismissing the Hunter's Home phase as untenable, identified strong dissimilarities between later Middle Woodland and early Owasco pottery types and argued that Owasco ceramics actually represent wares made by intrusive groups who migrated into the area from Pennsylvania.

The authenticity of Owasco as an archaeological construct has also been called into question. Recounting a list of evidence that undermines the phase's validity, Hart and Brumbach (2003) first note that pottery styles traditionally assigned to the Owasco tradition are often found at sites dating earlier than AD 950. These earlier dates have been confirmed by accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) dating of food residues on vessels from transitional Middle to Late Woodland sites (Schulenberg 2002). Clear evidence of villages (which Hart and Brumbach define as settlements with two or more houses) and longhouses does not appear until the thirteenth century AD.

Additionally, agricultural systems based on the trinity of corn, beans, and squash are not established until around AD 1300. Instead, late Middle Woodland/early Late Woodland subsistence appears to have involved cultivation of corn and squash, supplemented by wild rice



and certain sedges (Hart et al. 2003). While the earliest macrobotanical evidence of maize in New York dates to AD 950, from the Binghamton Mall site in the southeastern portion of the state, phytolith analysis and AMS dating of cooking residues on Kipp Island and Hunter's Home pots suggest that corn was consumed by the early seventh century AD. This is about the time that it appears in Ontario, where similar developments were taking place (Smith 1997). There is thus no clear association between the adoption of maize and settled village life.

The analysis also indicated that edible squashes first appear around AD 650 (Hart et al. 2003). Beans, however, are not introduced until much later, in the late thirteenth century AD (Hart and Scarry 1999). Beans are often considered the lynchpin in the maize/beans/squash complex for providing a diet complete in amino acids; however, Hart et al. (2003) note that wild rice serves the same (if not better) nutritional function when cooked together with corn, as it was by the late Middle Woodland period occupants of central New York.

Overall, these studies have demonstrated that the late Point Peninsula to Owasco transition as defined by Ritchie is extremely problematic. Gates-St. Pierre (2001) recommends extending the time frame of Kipp Island up to AD 1000 and eliminating the Hunter's Home phase from the culture-historical sequence. Hart and Brumbach (2003) state that another remedy would be to redefine Owasco as beginning around AD 600, disassociating the tradition with cultural patterns such as maize/beans/squash cultivation, longhouses, and villages that do not appear until later in the Late Woodland period. However, these authors instead urge entirely discarding the term Owasco, as well as subjectively defined archaeological taxa in general, as a means of moving away from the dangers inherent in culture-historical schemata. As stated earlier, correcting these problems is not within the scope of this dissertation; however, it is hoped

that the information gathered from the Rogers Farm site can be used to address these issues in future studies.

The closing centuries of the Late Woodland period up to European contact saw the maturation of Iroquoian societies from these precedents. During the Middle Iroquoian period, dating from approximately AD 1350 to 1400 (Ritchie's Oak Hill phase for central New York), maize/beans/squash horticulture was more firmly established, and population further increased. Villages became nucleated and palisaded, with warfare a common occurrence. The Late Iroquoian period dates from about AD 1400 to 1650 and is subdivided into the Chance (ca. AD 1400 – 1525) and Garoga (ca. AD 1525 – 1600) phases. During this time, villages were located in defensible locales, tribal entities crystallized, and the League of the Iroquois likely formed. These cultural patterns are described in further detail in the following section.

Two locations in the area surrounding Rogers Farm have produced evidence of prehistoric Iroquoian occupation (see Figure 15). The Dhondt site (Wpt 5-3) is located about 1 mile southwest of the site; materials recovered include Iroquoian pottery, typical small, triangular Madison projectile points, and fragments of clay pipes (Secor 1987:57). Some Iroquoian artifacts were also found at the Skutt site (Cly 5-4), about 3 miles northwest of Rogers Farm, but most of the remains were from earlier time periods (Secor 1987:55).

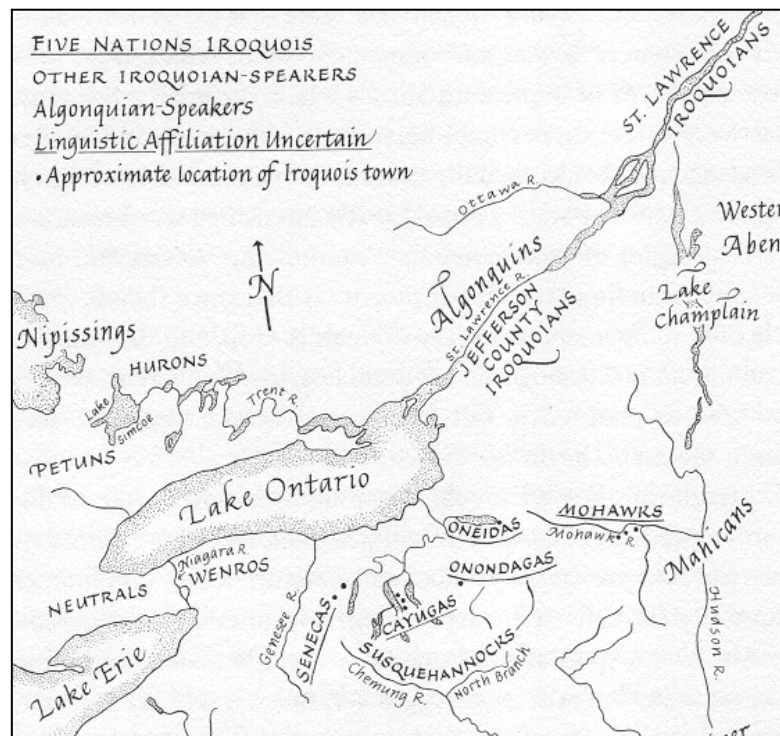
Prehistoric occupation of the Hunter's Home vicinity largely dropped off upon the development of classic Iroquois groups throughout central New York. While it is possible that local Iroquois groups continued to use the Hunter's Home area for hunting, there are no permanent settlements in the area and no artifactual remains from this time period have been identified there. However, the Cayuga Iroquois were later to establish a village at the Rogers

Farm site during the Contact period, occupying it from the 1660s to the 1680s (Mandzy 1990; Secor 1987).

### **Pre- and Protohistoric Iroquoian Groups**

Owing to a long history of ethnographic and archaeological research, as well as an abundance of ethnohistoric literature, a great deal of information about northern Iroquoian lifeways is available. Besides speaking related languages, the Iroquoians shared in common a number of cultural patterns that distinguished them from surrounding Algonquin groups, including maize horticulture, a high degree of social integration, distinctive pottery industries, and residence in extended-family longhouses within nucleated villages (Fenton 1978). These are presented within this section to create a baseline against which to assess the ways in which the historical processes of the seventeenth century impacted daily life at the Rogers Farm site.

The League of the Iroquois were among the historically documented groups of Northern Iroquoian speakers living in the Lower Great Lakes region of North America at the time of European contact (Figure 16). The League of the Iroquois consisted of five tribal entities—the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk—extending laterally across central New York State between the Genesee River and the Mohawk River valley. (A sixth nation, the Tuscarora, joined the confederation after 1722.) The homeland of the Huron was located between the southeastern shores of Georgian Bay and the west shore of Lake Simcoe in western Ontario. The Huron were also a confederacy of five nations. Other Iroquoian groups included the St. Lawrence Iroquoians along the north shore of the upper St. Lawrence River Valley, the Petun located near the Huron along the south shore of Nottawasaga Bay in western Ontario, the Neutral in southern Ontario, the Wenro in far western New York, the Erie along the southern shore of Lake Erie in southwest New York, and the Susquehannock in the middle Susquehanna River



**Figure 16: Mid-sixteenth century Iroquoia (adapted from Richter 1992:16, Map 2).**

region of central Pennsylvania. Prior to the European-borne epidemics of the seventeenth century, the population of Iroquoia totaled close to 100,000 souls (Bamann et al. 1992; Tuck 1978).

### **Origins Research**

Over 40 versions of the Iroquoian creation myth have been recorded (Snow 1994:4). The following contemporary rendering of the story is excerpted from the Haudenosaunee Home Page, the website of the Six Nations Reserve:

Our world began with the creation of the earth, which is seen as the horizontal plane that separates the world above from the world below. In the Sky-World lived a fellow named "The Sky Holder." Next to his lodge was the Great Tree of Light, for which he was the caretaker. . . . His wife . . . fell through a hole created when he uprooted that tree at her urging. She fell into the dark world below, a world of endless water. The water animals decided to save her because she had the

power to create life. The birds flew up and caught her in their inter-locked wings. They decided to place her on the back of a giant snapping turtle. The muskrat was the only animal that could dive deep enough to retrieve some mud from the bottom of the sea. The mud was placed on the back of the turtle and it began to grow. As she walked about in an ever-expanding circle, the mud grew into an island. . . . Seeds fell from her clothing and began to sprout in the fresh earth.

She then gave birth to a daughter who later had many suitors from the male beings who could transform themselves into human form. She selected the being who wore scalloped leggings and a large robe, said to be a turtle-being. He placed two arrows over her body at night, and she became pregnant. She had twins, but died giving birth to the second son, as he was born through her armpit. The Sky Woman buried her daughter and from her body grew the Three Sisters—Corn, Beans and Squash. From her heart grew the tobacco plant which we still use as a way to carry our thought to the Sky World. The deceased daughter became known as Earth-Mother.

The good-minded twin was named ‘He Grasps the Sky With Both Hands,’ and his evil -minded brother was named ‘Flint - The Mischievous One.’ The good-minded brother set about to create plants, animals and birds. In the sky he placed our Grandmother the Moon, our Elder Brother the Sun (Day Bringer), the Morning Star, and the Milky Way as the path to the Sky World. He created the cycles of day and night, of the changing seasons.

His evil-minded brother . . . created thistles, thorns, bats, monsters, and serpents, as well as rapids in the rivers, winter in the seasons, and other things that would make life on the new earth difficult for the people that were about to be created. The evil-minded brother fought his good-minded brother for dominance in the newly created world. They played lacrosse to a draw. This is why lacrosse is still played today, as it is a way to manifest the classic struggle of good over evil. They held a wrestling match but were of equal strength. However, the evil-minded one was finally defeated by being struck by a deer antler and banished from the earth. The Universe was divided into two spheres of power. The evil-minded one was sent underground, where he would rule over the serpents and powers of the deep. He would also have dominion over the night. The good-minded brother would be responsible for life on earth and have dominion over the day. Forever, the two brothers would be opposing powers of our universe. . . .

The good-minded brother taught the people the use of the plants and animals, ceremonies of thanksgiving, and to live in harmony and peace. We have come to refer to him as Sonkwaiatison, ‘the Creator.’ Before departing from the earth, he struck a deal with the people. We are to protect his gifts of Creation and be respectful of all living things, and were to simply be thankful for all that he has provided, as he has given us all that we need to live a happy life. In return for showing thanks, he would strive to keep the cycles of life continuing for the benefit of the people. [Sixnations.org n.d.b]

Archaeologists tell different stories when tracing Iroquoian origins. It is a topic that has long bedeviled Iroquoian specialists. At the core of the issue is the question of whether Northern Iroquoian cultures developed *in situ* or migrated into the region from elsewhere. The history of the debate has been outlined by Warrick (1995) and Trigger (1970).

Prior to the twentieth century, theories of Iroquoian origins were based on ethnohistoric accounts and oral traditions. These sources suggested that all Iroquoian groups originated in the

St. Lawrence Valley, spreading westward from this area into their historic territories. Beginning in the 1900s, various researchers held that the Iroquoians instead migrated from southern regions, an idea based largely on linguistic evidence linking northern Iroquoian languages with Cherokee. The southern migration hypothesis remained in favor until the 1940s, when it was replaced by arguments supporting *in situ* evolution. Especially influential was Richard MacNeish's publication of *Iroquois Pottery Types* in 1952. Using archaeological data and the direct historical approach, MacNeish traced ceramic typologies back in time and established continuity between the historically known Iroquoian groups of the seventeenth century and Middle Woodland cultures in the area (Trigger 1970; Warrick 1995).

The *in situ* hypothesis was widely accepted and has been further elaborated in a number of more recent studies. Like MacNeish, Gates-St. Pierre (2001) argues for a gradual, *in situ* development of Iroquoian groups out of late Middle Woodland predecessors, based on a type and attribute analysis of pottery. Using site chronologies and ceramic similarities, Niemczycki (1984) documents the consolidation of the Seneca and Cayuga tribes, and produces a model of tribal development with roots in the Middle Woodland period. Smith and Crawford (1995) likewise found Middle Woodland connections with the development of Iroquoian groups in southern Ontario. Chapdelaine (1993) charts discontinuous but slow cultural transformations across Iroquoia from AD 500 to 1300, using analyses of settlement pattern, pit densities, and faunal and botanical remains. Richardson and Swauger (1996) note that, while present throughout Algonquin territories, petroglyphs are completely absent in Iroquoia; they argue that Proto-Iroquoian groups were established in their homelands at least by the Early Woodland period, and possibly earlier.

In a controversial *American Antiquity* article, Dean Snow (1995a) reopened the origins debate, calling the *in situ* hypothesis a theoretical “straitjacket” (p. 75) dominating a half century of research. He recounts a number of anomalous observations that contradict the emergence of Owasco and later Iroquoian cultures out the Point Peninsula (in New York) and Princess Point (in Ontario) groups during the Middle Woodland. Namely, problematic issues include the historical linguistic evidence, the development of matrilocality and matrilineality, techniques of ceramic manufacture, and changes in site distribution. Snow proposes that Clemson’s Island groups in Pennsylvania, which both predate Owasco and exhibit a number of Owasco characteristics, are the ancestral Iroquoians. Clemson’s Island groups migrated north around AD 900, displacing local Middle Woodland populations (Snow 1995a).

Snow’s work has generated a good deal of reassessment of the origins issue, but the matter is by no means settled. Starna and Funk (1994) point out that before conclusions can be drawn, researchers will need to arrive at a clear idea of what “Iroquoian” means and use archaeological evidence to create firmer reconstructions of prehistoric sequences back in time. Additionally, an important assumption in origins research is the identification of ethnic groups through pottery types, yet this relationship is not always clear-cut (Allen and Prezzano 1995; Starna and Funk 1994). Most likely Iroquoian evolution involved a complicated process involving both local and non-local populations (Allen and Prezzano 1995; Sempowski et al. 1988).

Hart and Brumbach (2003), on the other hand, advise against further pursuance of the problem, stating that origins research is symptomatic of archaeology’s continued and misguided reliance on culture historical schemes, with their inherent conception of prehistoric development as a series of stepwise stages with definite beginnings and ends. In this view, the question of

Iroquoian origins is immaterial, a byproduct of what are likely false notions of the past.

However, given the importance of the issue to modern Iroquoian nations in establishing claims to territory, and to archaeological collections under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), it is difficult to deem the question entirely irrelevant (Warrick 1995).

### **Settlement Patterns and Longhouses**

Iroquoian settlements consisted of semi-permanent nucleated villages, typically sited in upland locales within easy distance of a fresh water source and navigable waterways. Naturally defensible landforms were preferred for settlement location, and villages were often further fortified by dense palisades. The estimated population range of Iroquoian village sites is wide, from small hamlets of about 50 individuals, up to much larger communities numbering around 1,000 people. Villages were periodically relocated, about every 8 to 20 years, when surrounding soils became exhausted, local sources of firewood were depleted, and the wooden posts of houses succumbed to rot and pests (Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971, 1978; Snow 1994; Tuck 1971). As such, the archaeological record of these villages represents a relatively brief period of time. In some areas, researchers have traced patterns of village movement over time (e.g., Niemczycki 1984; Tuck 1971; Wray and Schoff 1953).

Along with the major village settlements, special-purpose sites have been identified, including short-term farming hamlets and hunting and fishing stations. Iroquoian archaeology has emphasized excavation of the larger village sites, and these other components of the settlement pattern are more poorly known (Bamann et al. 1992).

Within a village were the extended-family longhouses of the community's residents. The longhouse was a manifestation of Iroquoian social organization and the locale of domestic



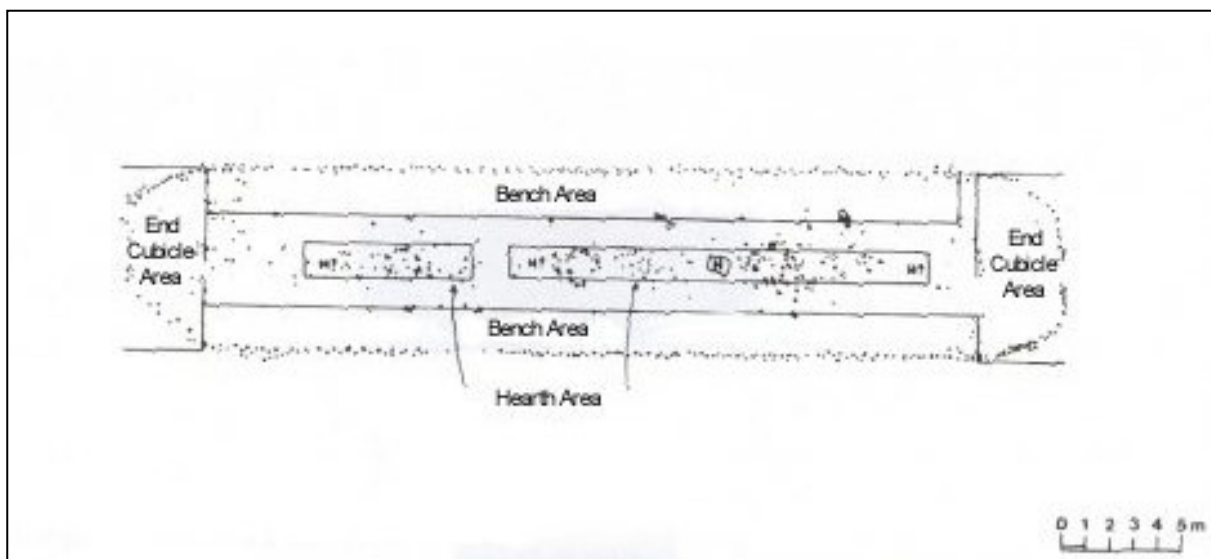
production and consumption. For the Iroquoians, longhouses took on many shades of meaning, from the quotidian to the symbolic. At the most mundane level, the longhouse hosted all manner of daily activities. It was a place to eat and sleep, a place for food processing and craft production, and a place to seek shelter from the elements. It provided space for storing personal belongings as well as the foodstuffs, seed, and firewood used by all of the residents within the dwelling. The longhouse was an important locus of social interaction, from informal exchanges among the members of the community to more formal ceremonial and civic gatherings (Kapches 1979, 1994).

The longhouse was also a symbol of national identity, serving as a metaphor for the political relationship of the Five Nations Iroquois of New York State. The geographic arrangement of the League Iroquois was likened to the layout of the rectangular houses: each tribe represented one of the longhouse's central hearths, and all were united as family members under a common roof. League members continue to refer to themselves as the Haudenosaunee, which translates as the "People of the Longhouse" (Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971:114; Kapches 1993, 1994; Morgan 1901).

Although there is a good deal of archaeological variability among the structures of a single site (Knight 1989, 2002; Williams-Shuker 1997), Iroquoian longhouses are characterized by a number of common structural features (Figure 17; see also Figures 10 and 11). Longhouses were rectangular or oblong structures with a domed, arbor-like roof, framed with saplings and covered with bark. House length varied widely, measuring from 15 to 100 m, although 30 m can be considered a more typical value; house width tended to be more constant, on average ranging from just under 6 to up to 7 m. Longhouses were windowless, and holes in the roof permitted smoke to escape (Dodd 1984; Morgan 1901; Snow 1997).

Doors were commonly located at the short ends of the house but on occasion are seen along the side walls, possibly serving as emergency fire exits. Traditionally they were hung with deer or bear skins or bark, but following European contact, doors attached with iron hinges were observed on several sites (Bogaert 1988). Some houses also featured a flat-roofed porch covering the end doorway. Typically, at at least one short end of the house were storage cubicles for communally owned agricultural goods. These were often only lightly framed and could then be reinforced to accommodate the expansion of a structure as the families inside grew (Dodd 1984; Heidenreich 1971; Kapches 1979, 1990; Morgan 1901; Snow 1997).

Hearths were placed along the medial axis of the structure. Nuclear families maintained separate residential spaces within the longhouse, their living spaces consisting of compartments located along the opposing sides of the house (Dodd 1984; Kapches 1979, 1990; Morgan 1901).



**Figure 17: Schematic drawing of typical longhouse (adapted from Kapches 1990:52, Figure 52).**

The living areas along the side walls of a house are often generally referred to as benches; however, Dean Snow (1997) revisited ethnohistoric accounts of longhouse interiors and found that they point to a more segmented use of space. Within each compartment was a sleeping berth raised 30 cm off the ground and a storage platform or cubicle that was 4 ft in height.

All compartments along a wall were of a fairly consistent depth; at 1.5 m they correspond with the *ten*, a Native unit of measurement likely based on body length (Kapches 1993). Facing compartments were generally of similar length, ranging from about 2 to 10 m, with an average of 6 m. Their ends were marked by larger, bilaterally paired, interior posts that most likely were structural uprights extending to the rafters (Kapches 1993). Larger compartments are at times found in the central portion of a house and may have been used by families with higher status or for indoor ceremonial gatherings (Kapches 2002:49).

Other features observed in the floor plans of excavated longhouses include small isolated postmolds used to erect temporary structures for cooking, drying, or other purposes, and pits dug into the floor for storage, refuse, or burials. Within the central corridor of a house, traces of communal and individual sweat lodges may also be found. The sweat baths were short-term constructions marked by 1- to 2-m-diameter rings of small postmolds placed in proximity to a hearth cluster (e.g., Dodd 1984; Finlayson 1985; Heidenreich 1971; MacDonald 1989).

Early European travelers in Iroquoia described longhouses as crowded, smoky, uncomfortable places to live (Dodd 1984; Warrick 1996). While these comments were undoubtedly influenced by Western bias, structurally and spatially there really was little accommodation for privacy within a longhouse. Domestic architecture is often divided into public and private zones, either physically or conceptually, with “back” areas of a house sheltering private activities like sleep, sexual intimacy, or food preparation (Sanders 1990:68).

In a longhouse, these activities would have taken place within spatially delineated locales, the facing compartments of the families sharing a hearth. However, any privacy these areas offered would be quickly and easily violated as they were within view of any person walking through the central corridor of the house. Given the redundant “railroad car” layout of the living spaces within a longhouse, such foot traffic would have been frequent and unavoidable. The openness of Iroquoian living compartments mirrors that of present-day Dayak longhouses in Borneo, where Helliwell (1992) argues that permeability within structures reinforces community relationships and serves as a means of social control.

Regional differences in longhouse construction methods have been observed in the archaeological record (Dodd 1984; Kapches 1993, 1994; Snow 1997; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998). The widths of Five Nations Iroquois longhouses, at about 6 m, tended to be narrower than Huron houses, which were 7 m wide on average. Compartments are not as readily recognizable on sites in Ontario as in New York State, but the Huron language does include a term for them (Kapches 1993). Partition walls separating adjacent compartments have also been noted on sites in New York State, and in Ontario, large interior support posts staggered between hearth areas are seen (Kapches 1993; Snow 1997). In addition, Ontario houses on occasion exhibit wall trenches that may have been used to place posts more deeply or to anchor the bark covering of the structure (Kapches 1994:263). Distinctive to Neutral longhouses is the presence of slash pits, linear and oval pits that are regular in plan and placement and that form the border of the bench line (Dodd 1984; Noble 2002). Lastly, the posts used as structural members of Mohawk houses tend to be more slender than in other areas, rarely measuring over 10 cm in diameter (Snow 1997).

Longhouses were multifunctional structures, hosting a number of activities in generalized areas rather than in specialized segmented spaces (see Kent 1990). While space is physically delineated within a longhouse, most areas served a number of purposes. Along the central corridor, cooking, eating, social intercourse, sleeping, craftmaking, sweat bathing, and ceremonial activities took place (Kapches 1979:25). Benches served as “seats by day and couches at night” (Morgan 1901:310). Storage space was provided by end cubicles, platforms within compartments, pits, and the rafters of a house (Dodd 1984; Kapches 1979; Morgan 1901). It also is possible that villages featured specialized longhouse structures that served as menstrual huts (Williams-Shuker 1997; see Galloway 1997) or for storage (Knight 2002; Williams-Shuker 1997). Most likely longhouses were used more intensively during the winter, with summer activities largely taking place outdoors (Kapches 1979:27).

In addition, small non-longhouse structures, called cabins, have been identified on some Iroquoian sites. The function of these buildings and whether their use was restricted by gender are unknown. Based on the range of materials present in the cabins, Kapches (1984:69) suggests that they were utilized as residences for visitors and non-Iroquoians; she also proposes that they may have been ceremonial structures (although not exclusively), perhaps used by a shaman for fasting events. Noble (2002:21) adds that cabins may also have been used as smoke houses for curing deer hides and meat.

### **Domestic Activities and Gender Roles**

The households sheltered in these structures formed the basic economic units of Iroquoian society and the cornerstone of the domestic economy. Traditionally, the families within a longhouse served as a corporate kinship group, sharing productive duties and economic risk as well as social obligations. By pooling labor, the extended families of the longhouse could

undertake a diversity of tasks, including agriculture, child rearing, trading, hunting, gathering, and warfare, that could not be accomplished by a nuclear family alone (Heidenreich 1971:114, 123; Kapches 1979:25; Warrick 1984).

Distribution of goods and labor relied on reciprocal relationships tied to the household. The division of labor was clearly based on gender and age and informally organized along kinship lines. Production was largely unspecialized. While men and women had well-defined productive duties, their spheres of activity often overlapped, and gender roles were complementary (Fenton 1978; Morgan 1901; Tooker 1991).

Iroquoian women were responsible for the bulk of food production. Work groups of related women led by an elder matron planted, cultivated, and harvested crops in a system of shifting horticulture. Plots were polycultural, with maize, beans, and squash—plants revered as the “Three Sisters” by the Iroquois—sown together in small, one-meter-square hillocks. Women also gathered berries, nuts, greens and other wild foods and harvested maple syrup when it ran. Food processing, cooking, storage, and distribution were all accomplished by the women of a village, who also collected the firewood that kept the longhouses’ hearths burning. Traditional household manufacturing activities of women included pottery making, sewing, woodworking, and making cordage out of wild fibers (Allen 1992, 2002; Beauchamp 1900; Brown 1970; Fenton 1978; Tooker 1984).

Among Iroquoian groups, the concept of ownership was based on need and use (Richter 1992; Tooker 1991). Women were responsible for the majority of domestic production, so they “owned” everything within a village and its surrounding horticultural fields, except men’s clothing, weapons, and tools (Carr 1884). Control over these resources has been interpreted as a source of power for Iroquois women (Brown 1970; Rothenberg 1979).

Men were largely not involved in farming, but they were in charge of clearing new fields for production and also tended small tobacco plots. Men's primary contribution to the diet was through hunting of deer, bear, and other small mammals, as well as fishing. It appears that hunting was a more important activity among the Five Nations Iroquois and that the Huron relied more heavily on fishing (Fenton 1978:298). Men were responsible for clearing fields and building longhouses as well. They also were engaged in a number of craft-making enterprises, manufacturing tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects. Expeditions for hunting, fishing, trading, warfare, and diplomacy were also undertaken by Iroquoian males (Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971; Tooker 1984).

There were few gendered spatial restrictions within villages and residences. Men and women had free access within a longhouse, and activity areas were not defined by gender. An exception may have been certain ceremonials held in longhouses from which women were excluded, yet women are reported to have observed from the ends of the structures (Spain 1992:74). It appears that men's ceremonial houses were not used by the Iroquoians (Snow 1994:39; Spain 1992:74); however, the extended journeys of males for hunting, trading, and warfare may have served as a type of men's club (Tooker 1984:120).

While there were few gendered spatial restrictions *within* a settlement and its longhouses, the productive duties of men and women created a gender-based division of space at the extra-village level, defined physically, symbolically, and seasonally. Women's activities centered them near the settlement, while men's tasks kept them at a distance for long periods of time. Thus, the clearing and its immediate environs were the domain of women, and the forest beyond was the domain of men. Women's affairs were more closely connected to the household and village, while men's roles emphasized supra-household matters. However, women did of course on

occasion leave the settlement; for example, women would accompany men on the trail, carrying their baggage (Allen 1992, 2002; Beauchamp 1900; Brown 1970; Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971).

The members of an Iroquoian household cooperatively carried out other functions beyond the production and consumption of food and goods. Social reproduction, warfare, and ceremonial events were rooted in the household and demonstrate the integration of the matrilineage of a longhouse with supra-household spheres of activity (see Yanagisako 1979:191). Child rearing and socialization began within the context of the household. Iroquoian children looked to their mother's brothers as role models and disciplinarians more than their fathers since divorce was frequent and men remained peripheral to the kin lines of a household. The longhouse was a locale for storytelling and the perpetuation of oral traditions. Feasts were also in part a household endeavor. While they would be hosted by a headman, their preparation depended on the women of his longhouse (Brown 1970; Morgan 1901).

### **Sociopolitical Organization**

The longhouse was also a material representation of Iroquois social organization. Each dwelling was occupied by a matrilineally related extended family. The matrilineage was the basic unit of Iroquoian society. Descent, rights of succession to chiefly offices, and inheritance were through the female line. The matrilineage within a longhouse functioned as a corporate kin group with shared economic risk, productive activities, and social and ceremonial obligations. Although there were occasional exceptions, matrilocal rules of post-marital residence were ideally followed (Brown 1970; Fenton 1978; Morgan 1901; Richter 1992; Richards 1957, 1967; Snow 1994). The preference for matrilocality and the causes behind the practice will be discussed further in the following chapter.



While matrilineages were localized within a village's longhouses, other elements of social structure crosscut Iroquoian society. Matrilineages within each village were associated with a moiety; moieties had reciprocal ceremonial obligations, such as condolence and mortuary rites. Regionally, villages were incorporated into tribal entities. An Iroquoian individual also was identified by clan affiliation. Clans were exogamous and served as an integrative mechanism across tribes. Membership was passed matrilineally, and households thus were composed of clan segments (Fenton 1978; Morgan 1901; Tooker 1991).

At the broadest level of Iroquoian political structure, the confederacy served to unify tribes or nations regionally. It is generally believed that confederations arose as a mechanism to reduce internecine warfare between tribes and came to take on many ceremonial functions (Kuhn and Sempowski 2001). Although member nations were allied defensively within the confederacy, they tended to follow their own interests in other matters (Heidenreich 1978:378).

Of the confederacies that organized in Iroquoia, the most information is available about those of the Iroquois, Huron, and Neutral. The League of the Iroquois is certainly the most famous of these, particularly for its involvement in the colonial history of the United States and its reputed influences on the Constitution (Tooker 1990).

The timing of the formation of the Iroquois confederacy has been a matter of some debate. A central issue is whether it took place prior to the arrival of Europeans into the area or after contact—in other words, whether the alliance formed independently of European influence or as a reaction to it (Kuhn and Sempowski 2001).

The Iroquois legend of the Peacemaker tells of the founding of the League and has been a source of evidence for determining its age. The Peacemaker (a.k.a. Hiawatha or Degawanidah) is a Huron man who visits the Iroquois during a period of great military strife among the five

tribes; he brings peace and introduces the conventions of the confederacy. This oral history is codified in wampum belts held by the Onondaga Nation. It is referred to by the Haudenosaunee as the Great Law, or *Gawyehnehshhegowah*. Recitation of the complete epic with all its details can last for days; here is a highly abbreviated version of the narrative:

A boy is born to the virgin daughter of a Huron woman. Ashamed and depressed, the grandmother tries to destroy the baby three times . . . until she is told in a dream that the boy is destined to bring forth a good message from the Creator. He grows rapidly and is honest, generous, and peaceful. . . . The Peacemaker leaves in a white stone canoe for the land of the Mohawks where he finds war, killing, destruction, and cannibalism. He announces that he is there to deliver a message from the Creator that war must cease. . . . The Mother of Nations takes in the weary Peacemaker and feeds him. He explains the principles of Peace, Righteousness, and Power and the concept of the longhouse as a metaphor for the Great Law. She accepts the message, and in doing so, women are given priority in the League as Clan Mothers. . . . Looking into the smoke hole of a house, the Peacemaker sees a man carrying a human body to the cooking fire. About to eat the flesh, the man appears into the pot but sees the face of the Peacemaker and is magically transformed. The Peacemaker teaches him to bury the body and eat deer meat instead. . . . The former cannibal, Ayenwatha, accepts the message of peace. . . . The Mohawk chiefs accept the message...

An evil and deadly wizard of the Onondaga with a twisted body and snakes for hair blocked the path to peace. Tododaho made it so that the chiefs could not gather, making the waterways tip over their canoes. . . . A witch . . . killed [Ayenwath's] daughters, casting Ayenwatha into a deep depression. . . . Using either twigs, bird quills, or shell beads, Ayenwatha makes strings of wampum that he hangs across a suspended wooden pole in an attempt to sooth himself. . . . He visits a Mohawk community and is given an honored seat as a chief. He teaches them to make a signal fire at the edge of the clearing to announce the arrival of a peaceful visitor, how to make wampum, and how to use the wampum strings to deliver messages. He leaves to continue his search for consolation. . . . The Peacemaker removes the pain and suffering of Ayenwatha [using the wampum]. . . . The Peacemaker decides that wampum will be used to carry that message. . . . The two messengers visit the various nations as well as [make] several visits with Tododaho.

The other nations accept the message. Tododaho still refuses. . . . With the combined power of all the assembled leaders who had accepted the message, the two messengers lead a procession, singing a magic song to soothe Tododaho. . . . With all of the other chiefs assembled, the Peacemaker promised to give Tododaho a central position in the Confederacy and to make Onondaga the capital for the Grand Council. He finally accepted the message and the messengers combed the snakes from his hair, straightened his body and dressed him properly. Tododaho became a man of peace. . . . The messengers established the chieftainships as the protectors of peace. They were given instruction about what it takes to be a good chief. They announced the roll call of chiefs by nation and clan. The protocols for selecting chiefs, operating the council, and the role of the Clan Mothers was described. . . . The League was completed. . . .

The Peacemaker established the symbols of the Great Law. The longhouse has five fireplaces but one family. Wampum will record the messages. The Tree of Peace was planted in the center of the circle of chiefs. An eagle was placed on top to watch out for enemies. The White Roots of Peace stretched out across the land. The weapons of war were buried under the Tree. A meal of beaver tail was shared. Five arrows were bound together. The council fire was kindled and the smoke pierced the sky. These are all symbols of power that comes from the unity of peace. . . . Laws for adoption, emigration, and rights of individuals and nations were established to allow

those who seek peace to join. . . . The message delivered and the Confederacy completed, the Peacemaker leaves but announces that in a future time of strife he will return. He also asked that his name not be used except in special cases. [Sixnations.org n.d.a]

Seventeenth-century documentation of this story as told by Iroquois informants gives some clues to its dating. According to Tooker (1978a:420), taken together these suggested dates have the league's founding sometime between AD 1400 and 1600. Archaeological evidence has also been used to arrive at a more precise time frame. Engelbrecht (1974) attempted to analyze pottery motifs with this goal but was mainly unsuccessful in his efforts. Kuhn and Sempowski (2001) conducted compositional analyses of pottery vessels and smoking pipes; their results suggest that the confederation included its five member tribes between AD 1590 and 1605. The synthesis of the league was very likely a gradual process, occurring over generations, with easternmost groups first allying themselves and western tribes joining later (Kuhn and Sempowski 2001:303).

Throughout Iroquoia, formal leadership was invested in the office of chief. Chiefly positions were appointed by clans; each clan owned names and titles that descended through the matrilineage. Males who were highly skilled in military affairs could also become war chiefs, but these titles were achieved through ability and not inherited through the family line. New chiefs were named by the head of a matriline and installed during the yearly Condolence ceremony. Local affairs were addressed in village and tribal councils; confederacy councils also met annually, with the central purpose of renewing amity among the member nations. Council meetings involved formal, highly ritualized procedures for seating arrangements, opening the proceedings, and speechmaking. Chiefs did not hold any type of coercive authority, but could rely only on their powers of persuasion. Any decisions made at council depended on the

consensus of all in attendance (Brandão 1997; Heidenreich 1978; Richter 1992; Snow 1994; Tooker 1984).

### **External Relations**

External relations of the Iroquoians were framed largely through trade and warfare. An extensive trade network across the Eastern Woodlands was in existence back to Late Archaic times. Interaction within this sphere would be described as symmetrical exchange by Alexander (1998a), with few differences in power among the participating parties. The purpose of exchange was not profit; rather, trade was a pathway to prestige and the maintenance of social ties. Following the principals of balanced reciprocity, gift-giving conferred status, and goods obtained in trading were accordingly redistributed to others. Politically, exchange was also a means of maintaining peaceful relationships with neighboring tribes. Simply put, if trading alliances were not instituted with rival groups, a state of war existed (Heidenreich 1978; Trigger 1985).

The extent of trade in Iroquoia prior to contact is not well understood. Non-local materials such as marine shell, exotic cherts, red slate, foreign pottery, and native copper appear at a relatively low frequency on prehistoric Iroquoian sites. There were some differences in the external orientation of the various Iroquoian groups. The Huron appeared to have closer trade ties with Algonquin groups in their vicinity than with other neighboring Iroquoian tribes, while Neutral interaction was oriented more toward southern regions. Huron agricultural products were often included in trade with the hunter-gatherer Algonquins (Heidenreich 1971, 1978). The Iroquois, on the other hand, were surrounded by groups with similar subsistence strategies, and staple goods were not often exchanged (Trigger 1985:261).

In terms of military interaction, Fenton (1978:315) has observed that “relations with neighboring tribes were from remote times a delicate blood feud tempered by fragile alliances.” War was motivated largely by the desire to avenge the death of an Iroquoian individual. Upon the death of a lineage member, female relatives could call for a war of mourning to replace the deceased; the extended families organized such raids and raised forces. Wars of mourning could be called by tribal council as well, and individuals at times went on the warpath to satisfy personal vendettas or to earn prestige and honor. Although the thick palisades that surrounded Iroquoian villages attest to the need for defense against large-scale sieges, the goal of combat was not always to sack entire settlements or gain territory. Warriors more often attacked isolated individuals or small work parties away from their home villages in order to obtain captives (Brandão 1997; Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1978; Trigger 1985).

Warfare took on many ritual aspects. Feasting and ceremonies marked both the departure and homecoming of war parties. Warriors and their prisoners were greeted at their return by a gathering of all the village’s residents. The captives were run through the gauntlet and chiefs decided whether they were to be adopted to replace a lost member of the tribe or tortured to their deaths. Those who were to be adopted took part in the Requickening ceremony. After the hostage was tested by physical ordeal, he or she was given the name of the deceased and formally incorporated into the matrilineage. This ritual symbolized the birth of the captive into the tribe and signaled the end of mourning within the longhouse (Brandão 1997; Fenton 1978; Richter 1992; Snow 1994). The taking of captives and adopting them into the community guaranteed the demoralization of the vanquished and drove home their defeat; it was also a means of precluding revenge (Brandão 1997:42).

Those who were to be put to death were elaborately tortured, at times for days, a practice also surrounded by ritual and protocol (Brandão 1997; Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1978; Richter 1992). Torture filled a number of purposes: it served to strike fear in the enemy, it provided for revenge and emotional release, and it propitiated the spirit world (Brandão 1997:42).

### **Ideology**

Ideology was also among the shared cultural institutions across Iroquoia. Iroquoian spirituality included a belief in ever-present spirit beings who permeated the cosmos as well as nearly every aspect of earthly existence. Shamans or medicine men were specialists in communicating with the supernatural world, and their expertise was often called upon for curing rituals and for dispensing advice. Also held in common were legends describing the construction of the cosmos, belief in an afterlife, and the notion that dreams represent the wishes of the soul. Feasts and dances were celebrated to mark the seasonal round, as well as other occasions such as mourning, warfare, and curing rites (Brandão 1997; Fenton 1978; Morgan 1901; Snow 1994; Tooker 1984). Feasts often involved the reciting of legends and folk tales. As Fenton (1978:319) writes, this was a tradition that “places an enormous premium on the ability to internalize long verbal streams; the myth-teller, the singer of the chant cycle, the ritualist, and the prophet were the heroes honored in this country.”

Upon death, an individual’s soul traveled to the west and gained entrance into the land of the dead of the sky world after facing a series of ordeals (Fenton 1978:319). Some regional differences in burial practices are noted. In New York State single burials are characteristic, and in Ontario multiple burials are more common. A distinctive Huron ceremony, and their most important, was the Feast of the Dead, which took place when a village was to relocate. The remains of those who had died during the village’s occupation were exhumed and the bones

cleaned. These were reburied in a single ossuary in the new village location. In both areas, the inclusion of grave goods with the dead becomes more common after European contact. Grave goods served to provision the deceased during the afterlife (Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971, 1978; Snow 1994; Trigger 1985).

A fundamental Iroquoian tenet was the importance of self-reliance and individual freedom. The desire to avoid imposing one's own will on another brought about restrictions of authority, both individual and institutional. The ability to persuade was thus valued over the ability to order. Personal pride, honor, and reciprocity were also considered significant principles, and a strong fear of public disgrace guided behavior (Brandão 1997:20-22; Trigger 1985).

The ideals of independence and autonomous responsibility were instilled in children from a young age by parents who were rarely over protective and were restrained in displays of affection. Children were never harshly scolded, and childhood was a time of education, play, and little economic responsibility (Shimony 1961; Wallace 1970).

Good luck and sound health were also matters of concern for the Iroquoians. The well-being of both individuals and society as a whole was assured by carrying out courses of action revealed in dreams and fulfilling ritual obligations. Failure to complete these duties to the spirit world could incur disaster, death, and disease (Fenton 1978:317-318). As will be seen in the following section, the belief system of the Iroquois was to clash with that of the seventeenth-century European arrivals, creating tension within Native American communities during the Contact period.

## **Seventeenth-Century Iroquoia**

Contact with Europeans and the early stages of globalization during the seventeenth century initiated a time of cultural flux for the Cayuga and all Iroquoian societies. The historical narrative of Iroquois lands during this period points to a range of events with the potential to impact traditional Native ways of life. In this section, an overview of seventeenth-century historical developments across Iroquoia is presented, with emphasis on those events affecting the Cayuga Iroquois. Perhaps the two most powerful forces of change introduced by the newcomers were pathogens and a desire for beaver peltry. Consideration of the historical contingencies stemming from these factors provided a foundation for formulating the dissertation's primary research hypotheses (presented in the following chapter), which created a context for the interpretation of the archaeological record created by the community of Onontaré.

European-introduced epidemics brought about widespread depopulation. Disease spread rapidly through the crowded longhouses, drastically reducing the populations of Native communities across Iroquoia. Particularly brutal smallpox outbreaks occurred between 1634 and 1640 and in 1662 (Brandão 1997; Snow and Lanphear 1988; Trigger 1985). In the winter of 1679, an outbreak of smallpox and fever afflicted the Onondaga, Oneida, and possibly other Iroquois tribes, and in 1681 Cayuga, Onondaga, and possibly Seneca settlements were stricken with a bloody flux. Another smallpox infection hit the Mohawk and possibly all of the Five Nations during the spring of 1690 (Brandão 1997:Table B.1).

By the 1640s, Huron numbers were reduced by half, to 12,000 people (Trigger 1985:234). The population of the Five Nations Iroquois was also halved, to an estimated total of 10,000. In 1670, the figure may have been as low as 8,600 (Richter 1992:59, 114). Among the Cayuga, population fell from 4,000 in 1630 to 2,000 in 1640. In 1680, there were 1,200 members of the nation, increasing to 1,280 by 1690 (Snow 1994:110).



Adding to the cycle of population decline were increasingly frequent episodes of violent conflict. Death was pervasive, and Iroquoian warriors more and more often organized raids to obtain foreign captives to replace family members lost to disease or to other wars by means of the Requickening Rite. The scale and tempo of this pre-contact practice increased enormously through the seventeenth century (Brandão 1997; Jennings 1975, 1984; Richter 1992; Snow 1994). After combing the *Jesuit Relations* for mentions of war captives, Brandão (1997:73, Table 6.1) estimates that a total of between 6,087 and 6,971 individuals were captured by League Iroquois warriors during the seventeenth century.

The Iroquois were also engaged in conflicts with European forces during the seventeenth century. In 1666, French forces burned Mohawk villages, ending a period of intermittent warfare. The peace established between the French and Iroquois endured until 1676, when hostilities were renewed. By 1687, relations had worsened to such an extent that Denonville was sent to destroy Seneca villages. The Iroquois sided with the English during King William's War of 1689-1697, and after the war's end, they continued to harass the French. Peace was once again established between the Iroquois and France in 1701 (Snow 1994; Tooker 1981).

By mid-century, the fur trade was well established in Iroquoia. The trade of beaver pelts with Europeans made the Iroquois participants in the emerging world market economy and brought about sweeping changes in the Native material culture inventory. European traders supplied Indian groups with a complement of items produced in North America and Europe specifically for the Native market, such as woolen cloth, wampum, copper kettles, and hatchets. The commodity sought in return for this array of objects was fur, to satisfy the European predilection for hats made of beaver felt (Delâge 1993; Jennings 1975; Richter 1992).

European goods were sought by Native American groups for their diverse utilitarian and ideological values. A number of previous studies have outlined patterns of adoption of European products on Iroquois sites during the Contact period (e.g., Bradley 1987; Mandzy 1992, 1994; De Orio 1978; Sempowski and Saunders 2001; Wray et al. 1987, 1991, among others). Via traditional trade routes, European artifacts had first found their way into the hands of inland Native groups like the Iroquoians well before direct contact occurred. Typically, earliest Contact period sites show a preference for European items with functional equivalents in indigenous artifact typologies. European artifacts were often treated as raw material: iron axes were chipped and scrap metal from copper kettles were reworked into projectile points, cutting edges, and awls. These items typically appear in small quantities, almost exclusively as grave goods (Bradley 1987:110). These were commodities of little monetary value to their European suppliers but were of great symbolic importance to their new owners. Glass and brass objects were analogous to indigenous artifacts of crystal and native copper, exotic materials charged with life-restoring powers (Hamell 1987). An increase in mortuary ceremonialism and graves furnished lavishly with goods is noted during the early Contact period, a response to the epidemics afflicting Iroquoian communities that made these new and rare European imports highly valuable (Trigger 1985:250).

Later in the century, artifacts that do not have Native equivalents became incorporated into the material culture inventory. Textiles, metal containers, and iron axes replace their Native-made counterparts, and after several generations Native manufacture of pottery and lithic tools for utilitarian items ceases. Dependence on European suppliers for the tools used in everyday affairs ensued (Bradley 1987; Mandzy 1992, 1994; Richter 1992). Reliance on European sources for durable goods was also a result of the loss of many expert Native artisans

who passed away during the epidemics before they were able to teach their skills to younger members of their communities (Trigger 1985:250).

Trading partnerships were reoriented toward newly established European trade posts but at the same time retained many of their traditional characteristics. The Iroquoians dictated the exchange in terms of their own economic norms, and trade was conducted following Native practices using Native languages. For the Iroquois, trade continued to have an important social dimension beyond its economic function, cementing alliances between the involved parties. The *Jesuit Relations* describe the elaborate ceremonies that took place to initiate trade each year with the French; both parties dressed in their finest and partook in speeches, feasts, and gift exchanges to solidify the relationship. Once a partnership was established, prices were fixed. However, outside of a formal alliance, the Iroquois indeed sought to maximize returns for their goods and efforts, and were aware of the relative values of the goods they bought and sold. For them, the animal hides so desired by the Europeans were a common commodity (Brandão 1997; Delâge, 1993; Richter 1992; Trigger 1985).

Iroquoian groups separately cemented trade alliances with the various European colonial powers. The Huron had closest ties with the French, while the League Iroquois, especially the Mohawk, primarily developed trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange, and later with the English. At times member tribes negotiated individual trade alliances with the French as well. By the year 1700, the Cayuga and Seneca sided more closely with French interests. The Iroquois became particularly adept at playing the European rivals off themselves (Brandão 1997; Delâge 1993; Richter 1992; Trigger 1985).

The fur trade was also a source of further violence and population loss. Although the evidence is somewhat ambivalent, the demand for pelts appears to have led to overhunting of

beaver populations and eventually localized extinction. While the Huron traded with neighboring Algonkians for fur supplies, in keeping with trade patterns of pre-contact times, the League Iroquois responded differently to the local shortage in the rodent. Overhunting of beaver eventually prompted Iroquois hunters to range further from their villages, leading to conflict over hunting territories (Brandão 1997; Jennings 1975, 1984; Richter 1992; Snow 1994; Trigger 1985).

Warriors of the Five Nations Iroquois invaded the villages of neighboring groups for rights to their hunting territories or to steal their stock of peltry. These raids were a new dimension to earlier patterns of warfare, which in the past had mainly targeted small parties of individuals away from the main settlement in order to capture hostages for mourning rites. Between 1600 and 1666, a minority of 33 percent of documented Iroquois raids against the Huron involved attacks against women out farming or men out fishing (Brandão 1997:324, note 49). However, mourning and revenge provided a greater impetus for warfare than economic motivations. Invasions aimed at stealing pelts were far outnumbered by those intended to obtain captives. Of battles described in the *Jesuit Relations*, only 9.6 percent involved theft of goods, while 55 percent involved the abduction of individuals (Brandão 1997:53). Overall, the increased frequency in warfare, as well as hunting expeditions, meant that men were absent from their home villages for even longer periods than during pre-contact times (*JR* 43:127, 264; Richards 1957, 1967; Trigger 1985).

The use of firearms beginning in the 1640s made the conflicts even more deadly, further accelerating demographic decline (Jennings 1975, 1984; Richter 1992; Snow 1994). The availability of guns differed across Iroquoia. Early in the seventeenth century, both the French and Dutch governments prohibited the sale of firearms to their indigenous trading partners.

However, beginning in 1639 the English made guns available to the Iroquois, prompting the Dutch merchants to do so as well to maintain their position as trading partners. The French followed suit and slowly began to supply the Huron (but only those who had been baptized) with guns; furthermore, their weaponry was of an inferior quality. By 1648, there were probably only around 120 guns in all of Huronia, while in Five Nations territory there were more than 500 (Trigger 1985:262). Brandão (1997:57) suggests that capturing firearms was another likely objective of military expeditions, possibly more so than seizing fur stocks.

The arrival of Catholic missionaries was another significant event influencing daily life in seventeenth-century Iroquoia. In 1615 the Récollet priest Joseph LeCaron was the first Catholic missionary to reach Iroquoia, overwintering with Champlain in a Huron village. Between 1623 and 1629, the year Quebec fell to the English, the Récollets were active in the region, evangelizing to the Huron and acting as middlemen in the fur trade. Jesuits first came to the area in 1626. When the French regained control of the colony in 1632, the Society of Jesus was the only order permitted to return to New France. As a condition of renewing their trade alliance with the French, the Huron were required to allow Jesuit priests to reside in their country. In 1639 the Christian mission of Ste. Marie was founded; Quebec, Trois Rivières, and Tadoussac also hosted Christian colonies (Stewart 1970; Trigger 1985:226-227).

The increasingly permanent presence of the priests coincided with some of the harshest years of the epidemics. Many Iroquoians viewed the Jesuits with heavy suspicion and rightly blamed them for the spread of disease and imminent threats to their culture. According to the *Jesuit Relations*, some Huron found a clear correlation between conversion and calamity: “They assert that their change of Religion has caused their change of fortune; and that their Baptism was at once followed by every possible misfortune” (*JR* 43:147). The onslaught of disease had

led to an upsurge in Native ceremonialism as shamans attempted to cure the ill and protect the community. While the shaman who was unable to restore the health of the ailing may have lost some degree of prestige, a French priest who failed to heal the sick was treated with outright hostility, his rites of prayer and baptism seen as sorcery (Richter 1992; Trigger 1985).

Others, however, found in Christianity new spiritual answers to the societal problems induced by European contact. Conversion also meant material benefits from the priests and trading rights (Richter 1992; Trigger 1985). The priests found ceremonial exchanges a “favorable opportunity for explaining our mysteries” (*JR* 43:286). Moreover, the loss of a community’s elders, repositories of traditional religious knowledge, during the epidemics made Iroquoian groups “less able at a theological level to resist the attacks of the Jesuits” (Trigger 1985:250).

Converts often found themselves persecuted by their non-Christian brethren. They were subject to verbal abuse, physical assault, and denied traditional rights and titles. They were strongly encouraged by the Jesuits to abandon traditional practices perceived as inimical to Christianity, such as belief in dreams, divorce, curing rituals, and indulgence in feasts (Bonvillain 1986; Richter 1992; Trigger 1985).

As a result, traditionalist and Christian factions emerged within Iroquoian communities. Since matters of conflict within a village were settled by consensus, resolving such dissension was a difficult matter. The development of factions, along with a comparative lack of firepower, weakened the Huron in the face of increasing Five Nations raids. In 1647 the Huron were dispersed from their villages. By 1649 Huronia was largely emptied (Heidenreich 1978; Richter 1992; Trigger 1985). As Simard (1990:335) puts it, the Huron had been made expatriates in their own land.

Some refugees headed to Huron settlements further to the west, and some headed east to the Christian Huron colony of Lorette, near Quebec. Others were absorbed by the Neutral, Erie, and Ottawa, and a large number was adopted by the League Iroquois, further adding to the numbers of foreign captives and adoptees (Heidenreich 1978; Morissonneau 1978; Trigger 1985). The influx of prisoners helped to make up for local population losses, to the point that more foreigners than natives seemed to be living in the land. Seven different nations were represented in Onondaga settlements and up to eleven were reported among the Seneca (*JR* 43:127).

Among the Five Nations Iroquois, the appearance of the Catholic missionaries was a consequence of military conflicts and the large-scale adoption of foreign captives, as Jesuits came to Iroquois villages in part to minister to the many Huron adoptees who were Christian converts (*JR* 54:256; Richter 1992:108; Stewart 1970:43).

Jesuit missionaries first made their way into Iroquois territory later in time than among the Huron. Jesuit-Iroquois relations in the seventeenth century were quite unstable and generally defined on Iroquois terms. In 1656 the first Jesuit mission to the League Iroquois, Ste. Marie, was established in Onondaga territory. From this chapel, Frs. René Ménard and Pierre Chaumonot went into Cayuga lands (Metz 1995; Stewart 1970). Ménard and his partner reported a cool greeting by the Cayuga upon their arrival because of “the aversion to the Faith and to our persons that the Hurons had excited in the minds of the natives of the country, by leading them to believe that we carried disease and misfortune into every region we entered” (*JR* 43:159).

While Chaumonot went on to Seneca territory, Ménard remained and founded the mission of St. Joseph. He was turned away within two months (*JR* 43:264). In 1658 the French

priests were ousted from all Five Nations territory. During the 1660s war between the Susquehannock and the League Iroquois raged. As a response, in 1664 the Cayuga requested the return of the Jesuits, since the priests' presence was seen as a source of strength against the Susquehannock. Fr. Ménard having passed away, Frs. De Carheil and Millet went into Cayuga territory, and in 1668 St. Joseph was re-established and permanent chapels were founded at St. Steven and St. René (Rogers Farm; see Chapter 1) (*JR* 51:257; Metz 1995; Richter 1992; Stewart 1970; White et al. 1978). Specific groups reported in contemporary accounts to be living among the Cayuga include Huron, Susquehannock, and Neutral (*JR* 51:257, 52:179, 56:52).

De Carheil received a somewhat warmer reception than Ménard's of 10 years earlier. He reported a growing attendance at chapel, admiration for his bravery in the face of threatened Susquehannock attacks, and attending a feast in his honor:

When he [de Carheil] first arrived, there were few people who could come and receive instruction, most of them being engaged in either fishing or hunting; but the report of the army from Andastogué [Susquehannock] brought them together very soon, and gave the Father an opportunity to preach the Gospel to a great multitude.

The rumor that was spread abroad, that the enemy, to the number of three hundred men, were coming to lay siege to Oiougouen, turned out to be false; but it was of much service to the Mission father in enabling him to show the Iroquois that he loved them, and to gain credit for himself by the contempt for death that he exhibited in remaining every night with those who were doing sentry duty. Those were disabused who had thought that, in the general flight of all the people, he had been afraid, like the rest. Even the warriors, the Captains, and the Elders testified to him in a public feast the esteem that they bore him.

The Father knew how to profit by this opportunity, going from Cabin to Cabin and saying: "know, my brethren, that people like us do not fear death. Why should they fear it? They believe in God; they honor, love, and obey him; and they are assured of eternal happiness in Heaven after their death. It is You, my brethren, who have to fear death; for, up to the present time, you have neither known nor loved God. You have not obeyed him; he will punish you eternally, if you die without believing in him, without loving him, without observing his Commandments, and without being baptized." Then, being invited by a Child to enter a Cabin where there were about twenty warriors, he addressed them as follows: "I am delighted, my brethren, to see myself in the same danger with you. Be assured that I do not fear death, and that I would prefer to lose my life rather than see you die without having been baptized." And he added that, on the next day—the day of the fight, as was expected—he would be seen going fearlessly among the wounded, in order to baptize those who should have prepared themselves therefor by a firm belief in our religious faith, and by a genuine sorrow for their faults.



Those warlike spirits showed that they heard this harangue with pleasure; and, although there was a panic of terror, as is usual with the Savages, it did not fail to have its entire effect to the advantage of the Faith, as if the enemy had actually been at their doors. Thus a wise Missionary neglects no opportunity, and knows how to take his time to make souls which cost, and which are worth, the blood of a Man-God, earn the life everlasting.

This Church is already beginning to increase: it counts, among its Believers, not only children and women, but also warriors, two of whom are among the most influential—one by reason of the name of the Village of Oiougouen, which he bears as an honor; and the other on account of his riches and his bravery. Prayer is not held in contempt in Oiougouen, as it is in some other places. If some have declared themselves against it, they are in very small numbers; nevertheless, no haste is shown in giving Baptism to these tribes, as it is desired to prove their constancy, for fear of making Apostates instead of true Believers.

The Father used at first in his instructions only the Huron language, which the Iroquois all understand, when it is well spoken. He has since composed a discourse on Baptism in the Oiougouen language, using in its composition only simple roots and the study of the Iroquois tongue that he had made during his journey; for he felt assured by experience that if, by means of roots and the various speeches he heard, he could collect a number of words sufficient to express the different actions, he would know the language. [JR 52:173-179]

Life among the Cayuga did not always go so smoothly for De Carheil, however, as his efforts to bring Christianity to his new flock often clashed with their traditional religious practices:

But alas! these fine beginnings have since been unhappily thwarted, all Hell offering its opposition to them. Superstitions have taken a new life there, and the Father has become conscious that in an infidel and barbarous country, a Missionary must always carry his soul in his hands, the Father, having gone to Tiohero, was invited to an eat-all feast, for the recovery of a sick woman—whom he was going to visit, with the intention of baptizing her, after having given her instruction. He was told, when it was seen that he did not eat all that had been served to him, that it was necessary to eat everything, in order to cure the patient. The Father answered them: “I do not see, my brethren, that I can cure her by doing myself an injury in eating too much; and by a remedy which the master of our lives forbids, and which is liable to make two sick persons instead of one—the first continuing to be sick, and the one who eats too much becoming so.” All were surprised at this answer; the sick woman, above all, approved of what had just been said, and declared that since that course was not proper, she was resolved to use that kind of superstitious remedies no more—or their dances, that served only to split a sick person’s head. After that, she did not allow anything in which the Father thought there was any harm; and being conducted, after her Baptism, from Tiohero to Oiougouen, she made confession of whatever sins she might have committed since she had received the grace of Baptism. Finally she died, full of profound consolation at learning that she would be happy after her death; but her death, added to the report that had just been spread abroad, that Baptism made people die, confirmed still more that falsehood—which the Evil One has persuaded these peoples to believe, in order to prevent their being saved.

Since that time the Father has written us that he has been often repulsed, and even driven from the Cabins, where he was going to visit the sick. [JR 52:182-186]

In 1671, de Carheil fell ill and traveled to Montreal to recuperate. Fr. Pierre Raffeix temporarily took over responsibility of the Cayuga missions. He recorded the following impressions of the community, again observing its multiethnic character, as well as the conflicts between Christian neophytes and traditionalists that made his missionary goals difficult:

I find the inhabitants of Goyogouen more tractable and less haughty than the Onnontagué [Onondaga] and Onneiout [Oneida], and if God had humbled them as he has the Anniez [Mohawk], I believe the Faith could be planted here more easily than in any of the other Iroquois Nations. There are estimated to be more than three hundred warriors here, and a prodigious number of little children.

As for things spiritual, and the interests of the Mission, I hardly know what to say. Since God removed hence, some time ago, Father Ménard, when he was beginning his labors here with such excellent results; and, nearly a year ago, Father de Carrheil—after he had learned the language perfectly, and implanted in these barbarians' hearts a disposition most favorable for their salvation—I do not think that the hour of their conversion has yet arrived.

To remove from our Catechumens and Neophytes the aversion to Christianity that some slaves from the neutral Nation and some renegade Hurons had given them, I introduced Church singing among them, adapting thereto various Prayers, and some Hymns in their tongue on the principal mysteries of our faith.

On the first day of the year we offered these Songs of praise as a new-year's gift to our Lord; and have since continued them with good results, and to the great gratification of our Savages.

I am occupied most of the day in visiting the sick, instructing them, and taking care that they do not die without Baptism. God did not permit me to succeed with the first one whom I visited on my arrival, who died soon after. I went to see him several times, and was even beginning to give him some instruction, but his mother could not endure it. One day when I remained with the sick man longer than she wished me to, she took a stick to drive me out, and her daughter a large stone, which she threw at me—without hitting me, however. I ceased not to watch for opportunity to effect my object—accosting that wretched mother on various occasions, and conjuring her to take pity on her son, but finding her ever inflexible. Thus that poor Young man died without Baptism—at least, an actual one. It seems as if God's curse were upon that cabin, Father de Carrheil having been still more unworthily treated there than I, and for a similar cause.

Some time after this affliction, which was a very bitter one to me, God was pleased to console me by the conversion of a Young prisoner of war, between twenty and twenty-two years of age. I have never found a Savage of greater docility. He had just had half of one hand cut off, and his nails pulled out; a crowd of people surrounded him on all sides, vying with one another in making him sing; he was suffered to take breath from time to time, and these occasions I used for instructing him. Amid all this disturbance, he seemed to have presence of mind only for grasping the truths of Christianity, which I taught him. Finally he gave me such satisfaction that I baptized him, thereby affording him so great joy that he thanked me publicly by singing of the kindness that I had just shown him.

I count thirty, children and adults together, to whom God has granted the same grace since Father de Carrheil's departure. I hope that company of little Innocents, who are everywhere swelling the Church triumphant, Will at length constrain God, by the prayers that they offer him to that end, to hasten the time of these barbarians' conversion, which, does not yet appear to be very near. For

the idea that a whole nation can be converted at once, or the expectation that Christians can be made by hundreds or thousands in this country, is a delusion. Canada is not a land of flowers; to find and pluck an occasional one, it is necessary to walk a long distance through briars and thorns. [JR 56:51-54]

The Cayuga mission program was short-lived. In 1682 the Iroquois defeated the Susquehannock, relations with the French had deteriorated, and the Jesuit missionaries were once again expelled from Native territory (Metz 1995; Richter 1992; Stewart 1970).

As had occurred among the Huron, traditionalist and Christian factions developed within Five Nations Iroquois communities. The situation was likely exacerbated by the presence of non-Iroquois residents, many of whom were previously baptized. The sects that emerged within the Iroquois communities were often also politically aligned, with converts favoring the French. By the mid-1670s, the new English government at Albany began to foster relations with the Five Nations, laying the foundations of the Covenant Chain and creating an anglophile faction as well. Since these thorny intra-village conflicts could only be resolved by consensus, a primary means of dealing with the religious and political divisions was by relocating. Some converts left the area completely, moving to mission villages north of Lake Ontario and becoming known as the *Iroquois du Nord* (Jennings 1984; Richter 1992).

To conclude, interaction between Europeans and the Iroquois during the seventeenth century can be described in Alexander's (1998a) terms as a situation of cultural entanglement. At this point in time, the European regimes had not become true colonizers of Iroquoia. Rather, interaction was a touch-and-go process in which Native groups maintained their political autonomy. Although the expanding European powers did not have absolute control over the fortunes of Iroquoian territory, the historical narrative of Iroquois lands during Contact period points to a wide range of events with the potential to impact traditional Native ways of life.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **A MODEL OF 17TH-CENTURY HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION, CONSUMPTION, AND PRODUCTION**

The archaeological investigation of the Rogers Farm site was geared toward assessing the ways in which Contact period Iroquois households conformed to or deviated from the classic model of domestic organization presented in Chapter 3. By the seventeenth century, the impact of European presence in Iroquoian lands began to be strongly felt. The initial century of interaction with Europeans set off a complex chain of events, also described in the previous chapter, that had the potential to impact the organization and activities of Iroquois households. The goal of this thesis is to investigate the extent of the effects of these processes on household-level patterns of social structure and economic organization and on the formulation of gender relations.

Arriving at an understanding of the condition of Cayuga Iroquois households during the Contact period will be accomplished by the testing of several hypothetical scenarios. The series of research hypotheses outlined below relate the broad-scale historical events associated with European contact and emerging globalization during the seventeenth century to the household level of Iroquoian social organization, within the theoretical contexts discussed in Chapter 2. These hypotheses predict elements of traditional social organization that may have changed or endured in the seventeenth century and were utilized to guide the archaeological research conducted at the Rogers Farm site.

Specifically, it is anticipated that evidence of households at the Rogers Farm site will show (1) a decrease in household size; (2) a decline in the importance of matrilineality and matrilocality in determining household membership; and (3) changes in household production

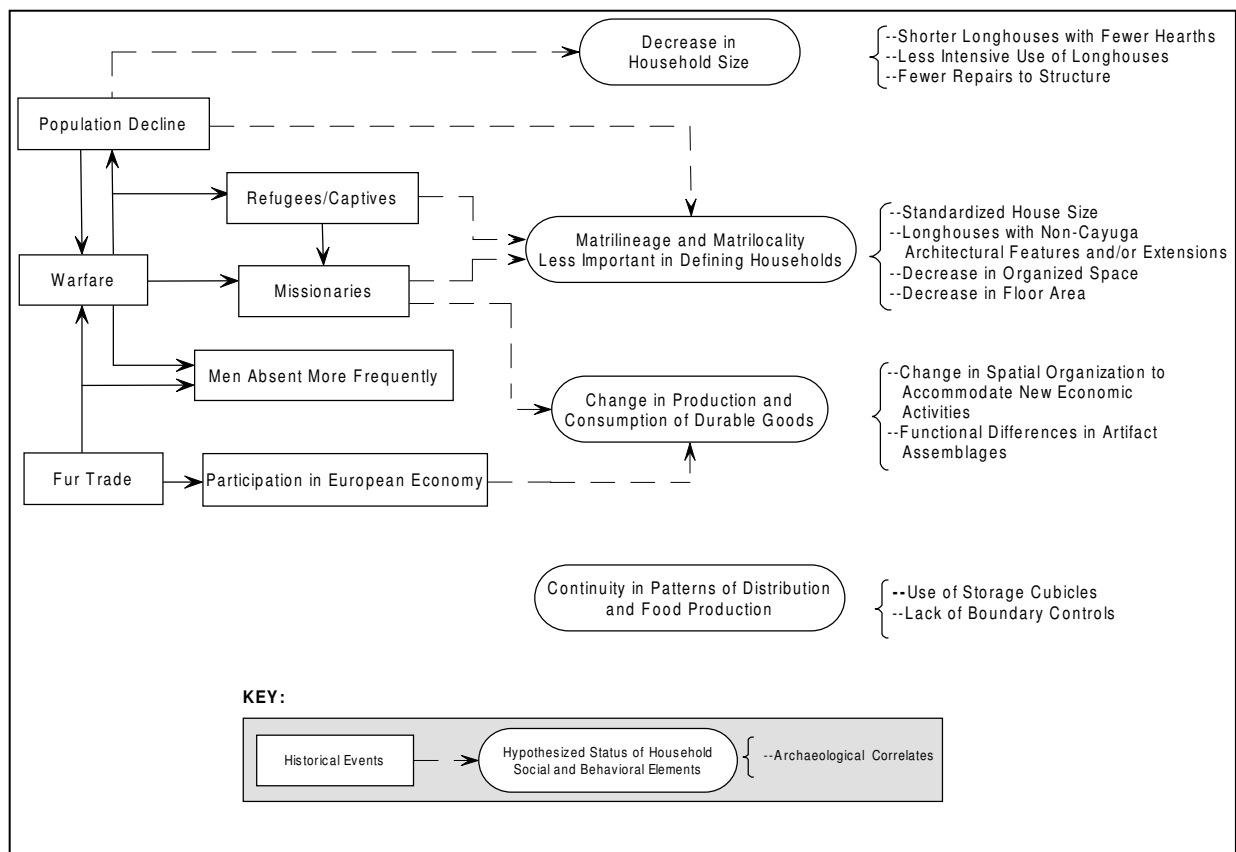
and consumption of durable goods; but (4) continuity in household distribution of resources. These hypotheses will be evaluated using archaeological data recovered from Rogers Farm, including artifact assemblages, architectural remains, and the spatial organization of activities. The model of household change proposed here is represented graphically in Figure 18 and described in the following sections.

### **Household Size**

Given the sheer demographic decline throughout Iroquoia, it is predicted that *households will be smaller in size than in previous periods*. During the seventeenth century, the combined forces of disease and warfare reduced Cayuga populations by more than half. Although the intake of foreign refugees and adoptees helped to make up for the population loss, the net result was a severe population drain that thinned out the membership of the village's households.

Dodd (1984) documents a positive correlation between longhouse length and number of hearths; shorter houses have fewer hearths and therefore fewer residents. It is thus expected that the structures excavated at Rogers Farm will be shorter than earlier longhouses, with correspondingly fewer hearths. Longhouses at Rogers Farm should follow the pattern in decreased house size observed at other contemporary Contact period Iroquois sites, such as at the Mohawk site of Caughnawaga (Grassman 1969; Grumet 1995:366; Snow 1995b), the Seneca Ganondagan/Boughton Hill site (Dean 1984 in Lewis-Lorentz 1990), and the Weston site in Onondaga territory (Sohrweide 2001), as well as on historic sites in Ontario, such as Ball (Knight 1989) and Le Caron (Johnston and Jackson 1980).

The houses of the reduced surviving populations should also show less intensity of use, which would be indicated by lower densities of interior postmolds and a decrease in the



**Figure 18: Model of Cayuga household change during the seventeenth century.**

frequency of features. Additionally, population decline may have resulted in a shortage of labor, which would have been further compounded by the increased amount of time that males, who built longhouses, spent away from the village during the Contact period for trading, military, and diplomatic missions (Richards 1957, 1967; Trigger 1985). The use of shorter longhouses also would have helped reduce the amount of labor needed for construction and maintenance. A decrease in the frequency of repair episodes would be reflected by a reduction in wall post densities.

## Household Membership

The second research hypothesis that will be tested is that during the Contact period, *the matrilineage and matrilocal residence rules become less important in defining household membership*. As discussed in Chapter 2, the impact of European contact on the social structure of Iroquoian groups has received a fair amount of attention. Some researchers have argued that matrilocal post-marital rules of residence existed prehistorically but were more strongly developed during the Contact period due to the rise in the absence of males from Iroquois villages (e.g., Trigger 1978, 1985). Richards (1957, 1967) suggests that matrilocality did not become a common Iroquoian institution until after the Contact period, owing to the increase in women's decision-making responsibilities. Others have claimed that involvement in the fur trade and warfare strengthened the economic importance and prestige of males at the expense of the clan matrons who had previously governed household matters, weakening the importance of matrilineal attachments and matrilocality in determining household membership (e.g., Hayden 1977; Hayden and Cannon 1982; Smith 1970).

It is held here that matrilocal residence developed prior to contact, and it is expected that the archaeological evidence from the Rogers Farm site will likewise show a decline in the role of matrilineality and matrilocality in structuring household membership but for a different set of reasons than those proposed by Hayden (1977), Hayden and Cannon (1982), and Smith (1970). Specifically, these factors include population decline, the large-scale adoption of refugees and war captives, and factionalism caused by the spread of Christianity and shifting allegiances with French and English powers.

As the seventeenth-century cycle of death was fueled by epidemics and wars of revenge and mourning, increasing numbers of foreigners, either refugees or prisoners of war, were

incorporated into Iroquois settlements. In 1677, it was reported that only one-third of the population of Caughnawaga was native Mohawk (Brandão 1997:78). In 1657, Fr. Chaumonot reported that the village of Gandougaraé in Seneca territory, which he called Saint Michel, was inhabited mainly by Huron (Abler and Tooker 1978; *JR* 44:20). He observed that these Huron refugees maintained their own customs among their Seneca landlords:

The country of Sonnontouan [the Seneca], which is much more fertile and more populous than the other Iroquois Provinces, contains two large villages and a number of small ones, besides the Huron Village called Saint Michel, whose inhabitants sought refuge there to escape the general destruction of their Nation. They retain their own customs and peculiar usages, and live apart from the Iroquois, satisfied to be united with them in good feeling and friendship. [*JR* 44:20]

The presence of non-Cayuga individuals at the Rogers Farm site is suggested by previous archaeological excavations and ethnohistoric evidence. The 1930s excavations of the site's outlying cemeteries encountered a grave containing the remains of eight individuals, which has been interpreted as a Huron ossuary (Mandzy 1990, 1992). Additionally, French priests writing from Five Nations villages at the time that Rogers Farm was occupied frequently comment on the activities of Huron and other captives among the Iroquois in the *Jesuit Relations*. In the report of his two-month stay among the Cayuga in 1656, Fr. René Ménard notes the presence of Huron individuals in the territory (*JR* 43:159-160); later communiqués by Frs. Estienne de Carheil and Pierre Raffeix also mention Neutral and Susquehannock residents, along with the Huron, in Cayuga villages (*JR* 51:257, 52:179, 56:51).

The Requickenening Rite undergone by foreigners incorporated into Five Nations villages symbolized the social death of the hostage and his or her rebirth into the matrilineage, replacing a deceased member of a family. In practice, the assimilation of adoptees into Iroquois society appears not to have been fully accomplished. Many captives acted in accordance with Iroquois conventions in order to gain acceptance in the community, going along with their new roles only



to avoid maltreatment; at the same time, their former identities remained intact (Richter 1992:71-73). In contemporary accounts of the Jesuits, non-local residents were readily identified by the priests. Additionally, while some passages relate foreign groups maintaining their traditions peacefully among the Iroquois (e.g., *JR* 44:167), the *Jesuit Relations* also often mention the cruelties captives received at the hands of their abductors and the miseries they endured. Foreign residents are referred to as slaves, the Iroquois as their masters. The treatment they received depended on the conditions of their surrender, their status in their home country, and, to a certain extent, their gender:

The Iroquois have three classes of captives. The first are those who, having willingly submitted to the yoke of the conquerors and elected to remain among them, have become heads of families after the deaths of the Masters, or have married. Although they lead a tolerably easy life, they are looked upon as slaves, and have no voice, either active or passive, in the public Councils. The second class are those who have fallen into slavery after having been the richest and the most esteemed in their own villages, and who receive no other reward from their Masters, in exchange for their ceaseless labor and sweat, than food and shelter. But the fate of the third class is much more deplorable; it consists chiefly of young women or girls, who, because they have not found a husband among the Iroquois, are constantly exposed to the danger of losing their honor or their lives through the brutal lechery or cruelty of the Master or Mistresses. Every moment is one of dread for them; their rest is never free from anxiety and danger; the only punishment for even their slightest faults is death; and their most harmless and most holy actions may be considered as faults. [*JR* 43:293-294]

The following passage is from the same volume:

A Huron captive named Therese—who before her slavery had belonged to a good family, and had held the rank of Princess—manifested still greater courage. An indisposition prevented her from fulfilling a command of her Master, namely, to go and bring some meat from a distance of a day's journey. She awaited from hour to hour the death-blow with which the furious Barbarian had threatened her, and which she was so sure to receive that every one already looked upon her as dead. Such was her courage, and her confidence in our mysteries, that after confessing herself with all the sentiments of a truly Christian Soul, she went at once full of joy to her tyrant, and begged him to hasten the death that he had intended for her, because he could not render her a better service. The Barbarian, as well as all those who were present, was surprised at such boldness; and from that moment he felt more shame for his evil design than desire to carry it out. So great is the ascendancy that Christian magnanimity has over minds. [*JR* 43:299-300]

Clearly, the language of these passages and their biases must be read with caution, coming from the quills of literate, privileged clergymen whose own experiences were largely

informed by life in the highly hierarchical Roman Catholic church and the feudal society of Baroque-age France (see also Galloway 1991). Richter (1992:69) suggests that the “slaves” were captives who were handled more brutally because they actively resisted incorporation into Iroquois society. Additionally, because men could be at distance from their villages for up to a year or even longer, Iroquois women would have had a greater share of the responsibility for acculturating and overseeing the newer members of the community (Trigger 1978). While the degree of control that the Iroquois exerted over the non-natives among them is not entirely clear, it is more certain that the adoptees were not fully integrated into every aspect of Iroquois society.

The arrival of war captives and refugees made up for local population losses, but the presence of so many foreigners undermined the solidarity of the Iroquois host lineages (Engelbrecht 1987; Richter 1992). Tension within Iroquois communities such as Onontaré likely contributed to the stress of developing religious and political factionalism, particularly since many of the Huron adoptees were Christian (e.g., *JR* 54:256). Factions resulted in intra-household dissension, dividing the matrilineages within a longhouse. European observers recorded a number of instances of religious conflict taking place within Iroquoian longhouses. Fr. Lalemant in 1642 corresponded at length about the treatment received by Huron converts from other members of their households and villages. Of the struggles experienced by the head of one Huron Christian family he wrote:

[He] saw himself about to be abandoned by his wife and children, in consequence of the persecutions of his mother-in-law, who could not bear to have him in her house when she found that he was a Christian: “No,” he said, “I never would have thought that anything in the world could separate me from my wife. We have lived together for fifteen or sixteen years. The five children that we have had seemed so many bonds that would render our marriage indissoluble. After she and I had received holy Baptism, we promised GOD that we would never separate. Now she has abandoned the Faith, or at least, to please her mother, she no longer has the courage to profess it. She still loves me, and I also love her; and nevertheless her mother compels her to leave me, if I do not abandon the Faith. Such, a separation is painful to me, but I am resolved to endure it rather than ever separate myself from God.”

This good Christian has a son twelve or thirteen years of age, who has imitated his father's courage. Everything that could be done was tried, to make him desist from the Faith. They endeavored to corrupt him by kindness, by threats, and by such rigorous measures as were within their power. At last, when he saw himself tormented by his grandmother, who allowed him no rest by night or by day, hoping to prevail upon him to give up the Christian practices as his mother had done, the child said to this Hellish Mege: "Know that they may burn me alive—here are my arms, my feet, and my body, all ready to suffer it; but never will I abandon the Faith." [JR 23:126-127]

Lalemant also wrote that traditionalist Hurons suspected their Christian counterparts of sorcery and "wished to expel all the Christians from the Village; and even the nearest relatives of the latter told them they must go and dwell elsewhere; or abandon the Faith, if they had any desire to live" (JR 23:134). In response to these threats, one Estienne Totihri, noted as a particularly fervent convert from a prominent family, reportedly stated:

I will go quite cheerfully if the Fathers who teach us give up the care of this Village; but it will be only to follow them wherever they may go. I am more attached to them than to my Country and to all my relatives, because they bring us the promise of eternal happiness. I fear not death, since GOD has enlightened my mind, and has shown me things more important than this bodily life, against which alone any design can be harbored. Let them kill my mother, my wife, my children, and my brothers; after them, the blow that is to give me happiness will fall on me! My Soul is not attached to my body—a single instant can separate them; but Faith shall never be ravished from me. [JR 23:136-135]

Within Iroquois communities, the primary means of resolving this discord would be relocation. While some Christian converts left the area completely, the Iroquois remaining in their settlements would need other strategies to deal with the growing disunity. One possible strategy to decrease intra-household dissent would be a loosening of matrilineal/matrilocal residence rules. A more flexible pattern of household definition would allow individuals to join households with common views and religious practices. In a more practical vein, this would also allow for the conservation of resources within longhouses underpopulated after the spread of European-born diseases and rampant warfare. The new flexibility in residence patterns concurs with Giddens' (2000) contention that as globalization takes place, individuals may move away

from traditional institutions that structure behavior, electing to replace them with universalizing practices.

Contemporary documents suggest that such household reorganization was taking place. In her 1967 study, Richards presented 24 passages from European documents dating from the years 1600 to 1650 that describe household organization among the Huron and Iroquois. Of these, she interprets only three as likely indicating matrilocal residence. Richards takes this as evidence that matrilocality was not present among Iroquoian groups prehistorically and only became standard practice after the Contact period. In a later article, Trigger (1978), holding that matrilocality was a long-standing Iroquoian institution prior to the European arrival, disputes Richards' conclusions and takes issue with her use of the data. He finds that most of the cases she presents are ambiguous and subject to the biases of the European observers that made them unable to comprehend Iroquoian social organization adequately. Nevertheless, Trigger does concur that several of Richards' passages do point to residence patterns that are not matrilocal in nature. Four cases (*JR* 13:199, 13:215-223, 17:165, 23:227) refer to avunculocal residence within chiefly households, a practice postulated to have been an exception to the general rule of matrilocality. Two cases (*JR* 21:287, 23:135-137) describe patrilocal households. Trigger (1978) states that these incidences of non-matrilocal residence may be examples of *ad hoc* living arrangements following the severe smallpox outbreaks of the 1630s.

Other accounts hint at residential flexibility in the wake of epidemics that left longhouses partially empty. The following passage is from a Jesuit report of activities at the Huron colony of Nostre-Dame de Foy:

A Young woman, upon going to hunt with her husband, sent word to her mother that she advised her to remove, during her absence, to the cabin of one of her relatives, in order to save the wood that she would otherwise burn for herself alone, and to give it in charity to any poor sick people who might need it. The mother followed her daughter's advice. [*JR* 50:254-255]

Additionally, the author of an entry from the 1656-1657 *Relation* wrote that:

Their marriages make only the bed common to the husband and wife; each one lives, during the day, with his own relatives. The wife goes to her husband at night, returning early next morning to the home of her mother or of her nearest relative, and the husband does not enter his wife's cabin until she has had some children by him. [*JR* 43:265]

Several implications may be drawn from these statements. First, it seems clear that preference continued to be placed on kinship-based residence. Within that bound, however, one may construe an increase in residential flexibility necessitated by the circumstances of the times. In one possible interpretation of the statement that a woman lived in the “home of her mother or of her nearest relative” from the second passage, a woman would live in the longhouse of her mother, following traditional matrilineal/matrilocal residence rules, but if the mother was deceased—a strong likelihood given the rampant epidemics and warfare of the times—she would reside in the home of other kin.

Ethnohistoric documents offer further evidence of the effect of Christian conversion on traditional residence rules. Converts could be expelled from a traditionalist household, its members' wishes overriding traditional residence rules (e.g., *JR* 23:127, 135). Longhouses filled entirely with Christian converts were observed among the Iroquoians. In the same 1656-1657 missive quoted above, the author writes of a female Erie neophyte living in an Iroquois village entering “the house with the Catechumens; she participated in the little charities that we practice there, and still more in our Instructions” (*JR* 43:305). After a show of friendship by a non-Christian that had been initiated by a dream, a Huron neophyte responded to the woman, “I have come to return thy presents; thou knowest well that ours is a Christian cabin; this friendship that thou wishest to contract with us has no other author than the Devil, who has commanded it to thee in a dream; and we would sin, were we to obey him in this” (*JR* 23:125). Also referring to religion-based residence, Fr. Lalemant wrote that “the Head of a Christian Cabin one day

reproved his sister, who was still a Catechumen, with a little too much zeal” (*JR* 23:110). Mass was at times celebrated in Christian longhouses that served as makeshift chapels (e.g., *JR* 23:135). Additionally, writing from Onondaga in 1670, Fr. Pierre Millet noted that occupancy could be along religious, ethnic, and gender lines at the same time:

We have one Cabin, among others, wholly Christian, and occupied exclusively by Huron women, who had formerly come to settle in this country when our Fathers were dwelling here; these may be called the sad remains of the treason and cruelty of our Iroquois. They have always kept themselves, amid all disorders of this country, in a regular life and innocence that charm our Barbarians; and God—who watches, without ceasing, over those who serve him with fidelity—in order to crown, even in this life, the virtue of these good Christian women, so protected them against the attacks of contagious maladies that, at the time when these were making unusual ravages in the neighborhood of their Cabins, they never did the women any injury. [*JR* 54:258]

Furthermore, early accounts by Pierre Esprit Radisson suggest that Iroquois males may have preferred captive women as brides. Such marriages were likely a means of avoiding or lessening the traditional obligations of an Iroquois male to his new wife’s household, providing another indication of the influence of the increasing numbers of non-local people in undermining previously existing institutions governing household organization (Trigger 1978).

Approaching an understanding of the types of kinship relations structuring Iroquoian communities with archaeological evidence has been accomplished in the past with ceramic analysis (e.g., Allen 1988; Engelbrecht 1974; Whallon 1968). This will not be possible at Rogers Farm, as pottery was no longer manufactured at the village, having been replaced by the use of brass or copper kettles (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1990, 1992, 1994). A number of researchers (e.g., Divale 1977; Ember 1973; Kent 1990; Morgan 1881) have previously demonstrated links between housing form and social organization. Here, domestic architectural remains will be the chief source of information used to test the hypothesis that the matrilineage and matrilocality were no longer primary determinants of household membership.

In a 1973 study, Melvin Ember proposed that the living floor areas of domestic structures can be used as an archaeological indicator of post-marital residence patterns. Ember's hypothesis starts from Murdock's (1949) earlier findings that co-wives tend to live together in the same house in societies where sororal polygyny is practiced (i.e., where sisters are co-wives), whereas when sororal polygyny is not practiced, co-wives tend to live in separate structures. Murdock proposed that this is because sisters are socialized to live together peacefully as adults from spending their childhoods under the roof of their father's house. Ember holds that if this is true, sisters are even more likely to live together if they are married to different men; thus, the houses of groups practicing matrilineal residence rules should be larger than those of patrilineal societies. A key idea behind Ember's reasoning is that the minimization of intra-household conflict is an important factor in a group's residence rules. Divale (1977:114-115) further suggests that matrilineal societies also favor married sisters living within the same house (thus resulting in larger dwellings) because, as a consequence, brothers-in-law will live together as well, which helps to socialize the men of the household to work and fight together—a process of particular importance when local male exogamy is in practice and many men are largely newcomers to the community.

To test this hypothesized relationship between matrilineal residence and larger house size, Ember (1973) conducted a cross-cultural study comparing the average living floor areas (defined as the area of a dwelling minus any specialized storage or cooking areas) of the houses of matrilineal and patrilineal groups. A significant difference between the two systems of residence rules was identified. Specifically, he found that residential structures occupied by matrilineally based households have living floor areas above 51.1 to 55.7 m<sup>2</sup>, while those occupied by patrilineal households tend to be below this figure. Ember's findings were replicated successfully

in a later cross-cultural study by Divale (1977). Combining the samples of houses examined in his and in Ember's studies, Divale calculated 95% confidence intervals for the average floor areas of the two residence systems. The houses of matrilocal groups averaged 175.0 m<sup>2</sup> (95% C.I.: 79.2 – 270.8 m<sup>2</sup>), while the houses of patrilocal groups averaged 28.6 m<sup>2</sup> (95% C.I.: 14.5 – 42.7 m<sup>2</sup>). In the present study, the average floor area of longhouses at Rogers Farm will be compared with Divale's confidence intervals and to earlier houses in order to determine if a decreased preference for matrilocal residence, as predicted by the study's second research hypothesis, is present.

The indices derived by Ember (1973) and Divale (1977) have been applied in various archaeological settings in North America, including Iroquoia. Peregrine (2001), for example, used the model to document the organization of production within matrilocally based households in Chaco society (cf. Schillaci and Stojanowski 2002; see also Peregrine and Ember 2002). Hart (2001) compared the size of longhouse areas from eleventh- through early fifteenth-century sites in New York state to Divale's threshold in his study of the co-evolution of Iroquois matrilocality and agricultural systems, finding that matrilocality, as inferred from house size, does not become frequent in the region until the thirteenth century.

Kapches (1990) similarly examined Iroquoian house patterns in southern Ontario, charting over time the floor area of residential structures from several Pickering sites (ca. AD 775-1260), the classic Iroquoian Draper site (AD 1450-1500), and the historic-period Ball site (ca. AD 1600). Matrilocal residence is indicated by the size of all houses examined except for the earliest Pickering houses at the Auda site (dating to ca. AD 775). The development of matrilocality, as represented by the increase of average floor area, is associated by Kapches (1990:50) with the introduction of horticulture and year-round village occupation. At this stage,



the practice allowed women, who were responsible for agricultural production, to live together, which in turn promoted group security and cohesion while men were absent from villages for periodic expeditions.

In this 1990 study, Kapches also goes beyond Ember's (1973) hypothesis and develops a new model regarding domestic architectural expressions of residential patterns. She interprets changes in the internal organization of space within residential structures as representative of the evolution of the importance of the matriline and matrilocal residence in Iroquoian social organization. Kapches refers to her study as a proxemic, spatially dynamic approach to the Iroquoian longhouse, defining spatial dynamics as the use of space within a house, in an attempt to view the longhouse as a 'lived-in, actively used' (1990: 49) structure, in contrast to earlier, purely metric treatments of the longhouse.

Within a longhouse, organized space is defined by the appearance of permanent and semi-permanent features including storage cubicles, hearth areas, and benches. For Kapches (1990:50-51), the amount of organized space within a house is not random; rather, it reflects the degree of social control over the layout of a given structure's architectural elements and the allocation of space within. In the case of Iroquoian groups, the development of matrilocal residence rules, specifically, exerts an influence on the way space is organized and used within the longhouse. She states, 'By analyzing structural dynamics, it is possible to chronicle developments in the social organization occurring in the group occupying the interior of the structure' (1990:51).

In applying this spatial dynamics model, Kapches (1990) examined changes over time in the proportion of longhouse area devoted to organized space at the Pickering-phase sites, the Draper site, and the Ball site. A strong increase in organized space is seen in the Draper site

houses when compared to the earlier Pickering sample. To Kapches, this represents the strengthening of the control of matrilineal residence patterns over the allotment of space within a structure as the length of occupation increased. As matrilineal practices became more fully institutionalized during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the placement and frequency of internal longhouse features likewise became more regularized.

Kapches (1990) further states that the greater proportions of organized space observed in the Draper site longhouses optimized efficiency in the use of interior space as local village and household populations grew from the preceding Pickering period. In a later paper, Kapches (2002) holds that the increased organization of space also helped to alleviate psychological stresses incurred by overcrowding within longhouses, pointing out that this was preferable to the major alternative to deal with overcrowding—moving out of a longhouse or village—due to the strength of social, economic, and emotional ties to the household and community. In this sense, organized space, like the institution of matrilineality itself, serves to promote harmony within the household.

In several aspects Kapches' argument is akin to that made in Kent's (1990) cross-cultural study of domestic architecture and social complexity. Kent demonstrated that internal segmentation of residential structures correlates with socio-political complexity—the houses of more politically complex cultures tend to have greater degrees of architectural segmentation than dwellings in less complex societies. Kent suggests that increased sedentism results in greater social stratification, more functionally restricted activity areas, and more elaborate material culture, including domestic structures. The structural characteristics analyzed by Kapches in the case of the Iroquoian longhouse are more subtle than the broader categories of house types employed by Kent across a number of societies; however, in both studies, the architectonic

principles that guide house construction are viewed as expressions of greater patterns of social organization<sup>8</sup>.

In analyzing the Draper site longhouses, Kapches (1990) also holds that the way space is organized within a house may additionally reflect functional specialization of a structure, as well as tribal differences among household groups. For example, she suggests that houses with greater proportions of bench areas may indicate that ceremonial activities were frequently held within these structures. Kapches also examines differences in organized space across the various village segments of the Draper site as representative of the expansion of the village by both local and non-local groups. Subtle differences are present, with some segments more similarly organized than others; however, organized space is quite similar overall across the site<sup>9</sup>.

In comparing houses at the Draper site with structures at the later Ball site, which dates to the early seventeenth century, a decrease in organized space is noted, although the Ball site houses still have markedly greater proportions of organized space than structures at the Pickering sites. Kapches (1990:63) attributes the decrease to stress on indigenous societies induced by European contact. Kapches also holds out the possibility that the difference may be due to tribal variation, although, as mentioned above, the evidence that organized space reflects ethnic association is not entirely convincing within the Draper site. If due to the societal stresses

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<sup>8</sup> Kapches' model would likely benefit from a similar cross-cultural approach. While she argues that organized space is an archaeological indicator of matrilineal control over the allotment of interior domestic space among Iroquoian groups, it remains to be determined if this is a universal phenomenon or one that applies only to Iroquoian residential architecture. A broader, cross-cultural study of the relationship between organized space and post-marital residence patterns would also elucidate whether the spatial dynamics model holds true only for the development of matrilineally aligned households, or refers in a more general sense to the development of more rigorous rules of post-marital residence, whether they are matrilineal, patrilineal, or otherwise in nature. In utilizing Kapches' model here, it is accepted that interior organized space positively correlates with the institutionalization of household-based residence patterns within a matrilineal society.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, there is no significant difference in organized space across the six village segments ( $F = 1.48$ ;  $df = 5, 20$ ;  $p = .24$ ).

related to European interaction, the decrease in longhouse interior spatial organization into the historic period presumably reflects a decline in the control of matrilineal residence practices.

This, however, is not made entirely clear by Kapches (1990), nor are the precise mechanisms associated with contact that would produce these changes. Several other researchers have similarly proposed that European interaction resulted in changes in household organization, yet the archaeological correlates of this phenomenon beyond the use of smaller longhouses are not fully articulated. Specifically, Engelbrecht (1985) suggests that depopulation prompted longhouse membership to become based more on the institution of the clan rather than the matrilineage. This idea was earlier proposed by Ember and Ember (1972), who found that bilocal residence becomes more common among societies that have recently experienced widespread population loss as is typical in the face of European contact (see also Peregrine and Ember 2002). Snow (1994) and Warrick (1984, 1996) also claim that depopulation created changes in the ways that household membership was formulated, adding that the fragmentation of matrilineages due to political differences further contributed to the breakdown of traditional matrilineal residence rules.

As discussed earlier, it is likewise proposed here that the influences of population loss and the development of factions based on differences in religious practices and political alignments led to greater flexibility in residence patterns, with personal choice becoming a stronger factor in determining household membership than traditional rules of matrilineality. Following Kapches (1990), it is held that spatial organization within longhouses does serve as an archaeological correlate of the degree of social control over and the rigidity of residence rules. It is thus expected that houses at the Rogers Farm site will show a decrease in organized space from earlier sites, as seen at the Ball site in Ontario. Whereas within the classic Iroquoian

longhouse, the regularization of organized space allowed efficiency of use and minimized crowding, depopulation during the Contact period may have made such efforts less necessary. Additionally, lesser proportions of organized space within dwellings identified at Rogers Farm would also point to a loosening of the authority of matrilocality in structuring residence patterns, as individuals elected (or were forced) to move into households with similar religious and/or political beliefs during this time of cultural uncertainty, with the desire to maintain peace within a house overriding previously established practices in which kinship was the primary agent formulating household membership.

As an additional line of evidence, in accordance with Snow's (1989, 1995b) observations of Mohawk house structures during the Contact period, it is expected that longhouse patterns recovered at Rogers Farm will be of a standardized size. While earlier longhouses would have been variable in size to accommodate the growth of a matrilineal clan segment, standardized houses would support the greater residential flexibility necessitated by the fracturing of lineages by disease, warfare, and religious and political differences.

Finally, longhouses that incorporate non-Cayuga Iroquois building characteristics would provide further evidence of both the presence of foreign groups residing within the village and expressions of their cultural identity. Such evidence would supplement existing indications that non-local individuals were incorporated into the community of Onontaré, including the ethnohistoric record as well as the identification of a Huron ossuary within the site's cemetery areas.

### **Production and Consumption of Durable Goods**

It is further hypothesized here that the new economic pursuits associated with European contact resulted in *change in traditional Iroquoian patterns of production and consumption of*

*goods within the household.* Participation in the fur trade boom of the mid-seventeenth century made the Five Nations Iroquois players in the emerging world capitalist economy. Exchange between Iroquois and European groups meant the meeting of two very different economic systems, one domestic and kinship based, the other profit driven and commercially oriented. In principle these two systems were not mutually compatible, and the encounter possessed a strong potential to transform Native economic organization (Delâge 1993:81). European trade goods have been referred to by Trigger (1985:162) as “agents of change” acting within the societies of the recipients. Engagement in the new global market system created the possibility of shifts in local economic organization as well as in traditional technology. Again, following Giddens (2000), changes in local socio-cultural traditions are predicted within the context of the developing globalization process.

As discussed earlier, many previous efforts have detailed the selective and patterned adoption of European goods by Iroquois groups during the Contact period (e.g., Bradley 1987; Mandzy 1992, 1994; Sempowski and Saunders 2001; Wray et al. 1987, 1991), and it is expected that the material culture inventory of Onontaré will likewise show changes in domestic production and use of durable goods. An examination of the incorporation of European objects into the household inventory of the Cayuga will be a central focus of the investigation at Rogers Farm as it will reflect the extent and nature of the impact of contact on the traditional domestic economy.

Using museum collections and site reports, Mandzy (1992, 1994) has documented the sequence of adoption of European artifacts on historic Cayuga sites. By the time of the historic occupation of the Rogers Farm site, there was a proliferation of European-made objects at Cayuga settlements. The increase in European-manufactured goods at seventeenth-century

Iroquois sites may be due in part to the institution of the Covenant Chain in the late 1670s, which assured entry into the markets of Albany. There prices for beaver pelts were better than those previously offered by the French. The appearance of Jesuit missions at this time also contributed to the increase. With Frenchmen within the midst of the villages, more individuals—particularly Christian converts—had access to European materials (Jennings 1984; Richter 1992).

The complement of items used by the Cayuga for domestic activities changed throughout the Contact period. As European items—iron axes, scissors, copper kettles, metal knives and needles, for example—were adopted, many Native technologies were gradually abandoned. While non-utilitarian items continued to be made from traditional materials, the domestic manufacture of pottery vessels and most lithic tools had been abandoned. Compared to earlier Contact period sites, the historic artifact inventory from Rogers Farm should show an increase in the diversity and abundance of goods of European origin.

Archaeological evidence from Rogers Farm will permit a more refined analysis of household production and consumption during the Contact period. The majority of the historic artifacts previously obtained from the site were derived from burials or unprovenienced contexts from the village area (Mandzy 1992). The archaeological investigations reported here were aimed at increasing the amount of materials systematically recovered from domestic and general site contexts.

The incorporation of European goods into the domestic inventory will also be examined from a gendered perspective. Due to the traditional Iroquoian division of labor, men's activities brought them into contact with Europeans more frequently than women during the earlier stages of the Contact period. Into the seventeenth century the tempo of interaction accelerated, and more members of society—both women and men—encountered the newcomers face to face,

increasing their direct access to sources of European goods. However, men continued to accomplish the greater part of the commerce with European merchants, creating gender-based differences in the channels of obtaining European items. Another product of the traditional division of labor is that the productive duties of women and men called for a degree of differentiation in their toolkits. As such, the inventory of European products recovered at Rogers Farm will reflect the different choices made by men and women in adopting and using the new materials.

Furthermore, Gilchrist (1988) has suggested that in societies where living arrangements are more flexible, a situation predicted to be in evidence at the Rogers Farm site under the second research hypothesis, women's activities and responsibilities are likely to extend beyond the household. Conversely, studies of households in colonial Florida demonstrate that women were increasingly restricted to the domestic realm and able to express social identity solely in private spaces (Deagan 1983; Troccoli 1991). However, for the Cayuga during the seventeenth century, where direct interaction with Europeans was more limited, women became even more involved in supra-household matters. In particular, the trade of beaver pelts with Europeans made both men and women participants in the emerging world market economy. Although male fur traders provided the bulk of a household's supply of European implements, women also played a role in the success of the traders' activities, provisioning expeditions, assisting in hide processing, and occasionally going out on the trail (Jennings 1975; *JR* 50:253; Bogaert 1988:8). These are pre-contact patterns that were intensified into the historic period as the fur trade became more important. Jennings (1975:88-89) characterizes the process of preparing peltry as involving extensive labor and skill and as the work of both men and women. Household



production took on a commercial dimension as the preparation of pelts for trade became much like a cottage industry (Jennings 1975:89).

The production of peltry for trade within the context of the household may have required a change in the spatial organization of longhouses to accommodate these activities, such as greater hearth spacing or new specialized activity or storage areas. The placement and relative frequency of architectural features may differ from those of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century longhouses. Sohrweide (2001), for example, identified unique structures at the Weston site, a late seventeenth-century Onondaga village that was burned by Frontenac. One longhouse (Structure 9) had a 3-m-wide annex running parallel to the long wall of the western side of the house (Figure 19). Structure 7 was an oblong building with no hearths and a central wall dividing it in half lengthwise (Figure 20). These are interpreted by Sohrweide (2001) as communal storehouses. While the Weston site appears to be the only settlement where this novel construction has been encountered, such structures may have existed at other contemporary Iroquois sites. At the same time, since longhouse interiors were quite flexible and already were suited to hosting a wide range of activities, it is also possible that processing and other tasks related to the fur trade were spatially integrated with subsistence production and other manufacturing activities.

The artifact inventory should also demonstrate functional differences from earlier sites due to the new emphasis on activities related to fur trade and the introduction of new technologies that likely affected the array of objects used by the community. Additionally, household involvement in the fur trade may be reflected in the faunal remains at the site, with an increase in beaver from earlier occupations. It is also expected that the Rogers Farm assemblage

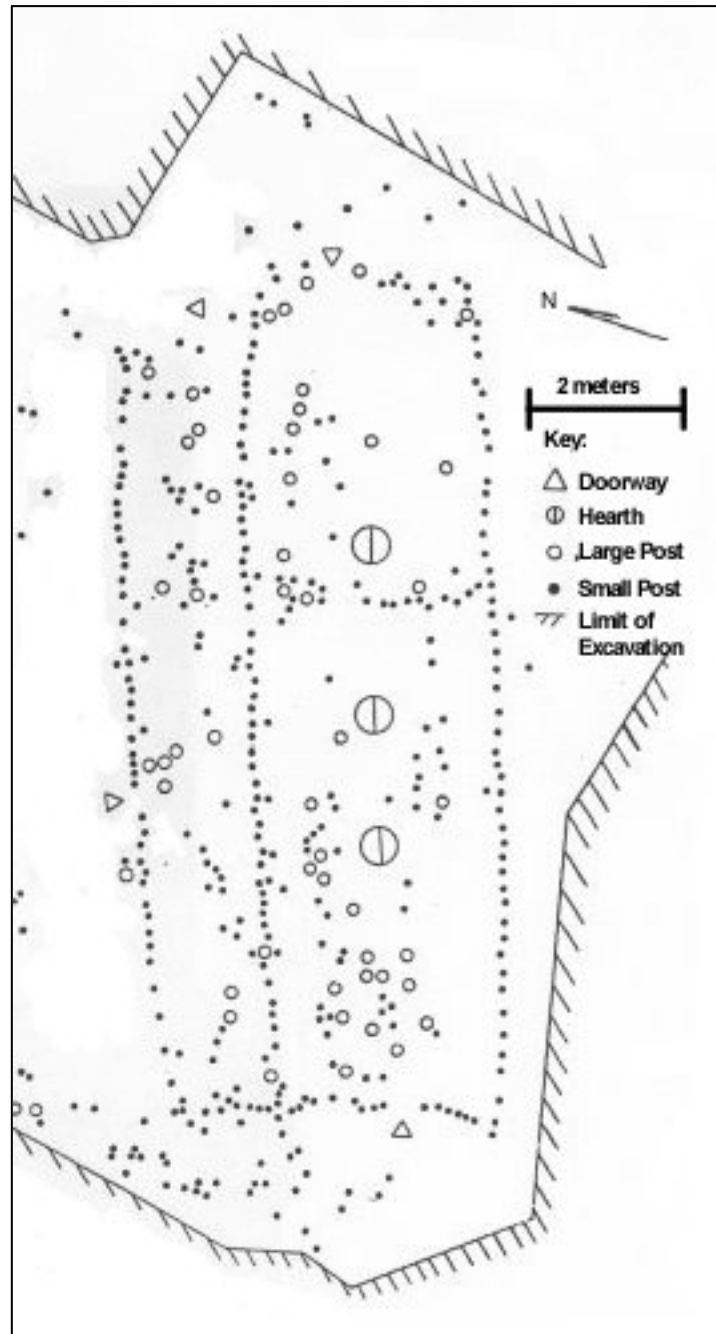
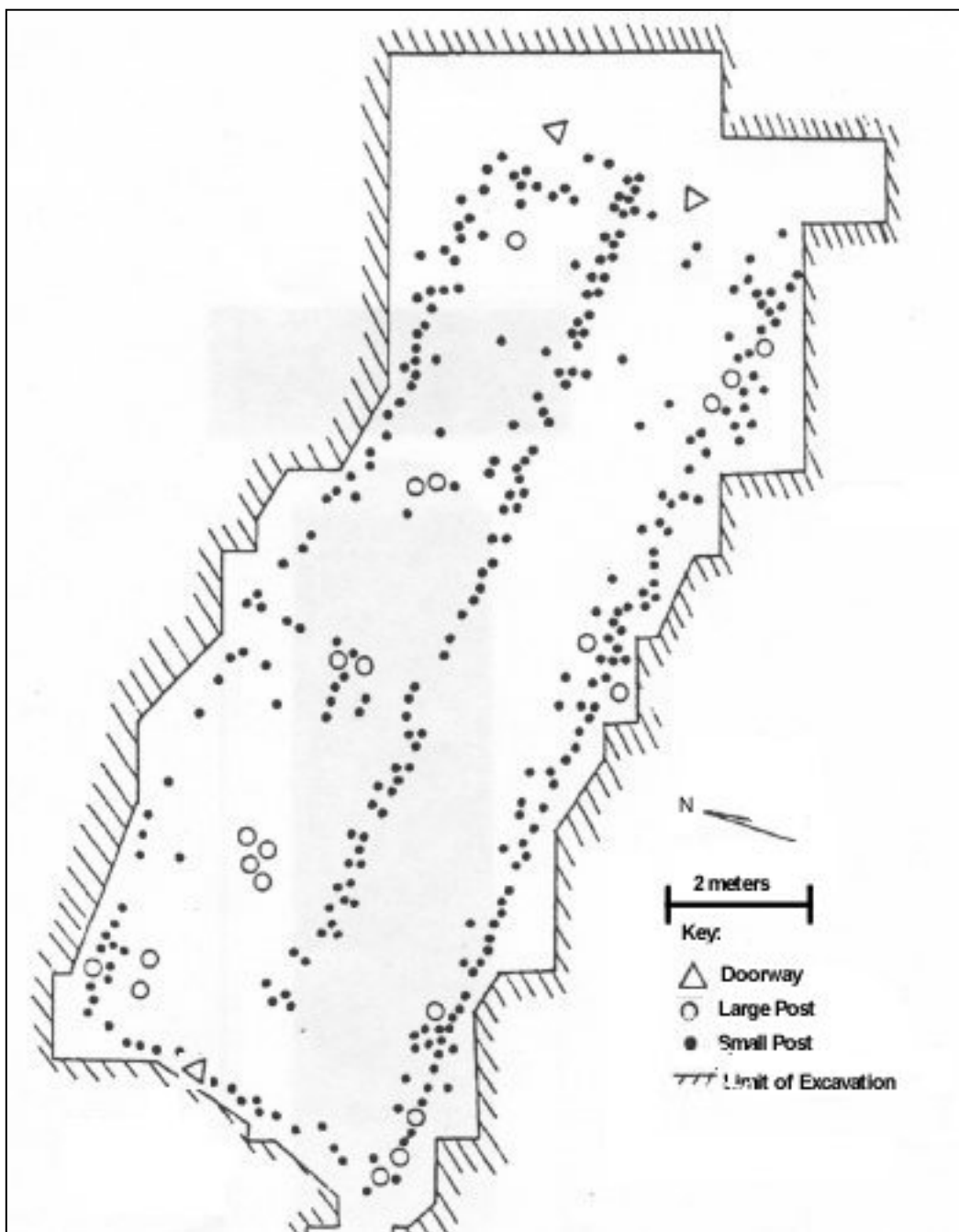


Figure 19: Weston site, Structure 9 (adapted from Sohrweide 2001:6, Figure 5).



**Figure 20: Weston site, Structure 7 (adapted from Sohrweide 2001:11, Figure 7).**

will reflect changes in the economic activities carried out by men and women as well as gendered access to and selection of European items.

To test this prediction, the functional content of the artifact assemblage from Rogers Farm will be compared to collections from prehistoric and earlier Contact period Cayuga sites. Functional analyses of historic artifacts, inspired by Stanley South's "pattern recognition" method (1977), have been accomplished previously by a number of researchers using a diversity of categorical schemes (e.g., Deagan 1983, 2004; Rogers 1993; Rothschild 2003; Wagner 1998). Deagan (2004:611) points out that this method has previously been criticized for "its reductionist statistical approach, and its often arbitrary assignment of function....Nevertheless, it is one of the few analytical techniques that permits us to organize and compare material remains from households (whether from historic or prehistoric) into informed categories appropriate to our questions." As such, the adoption of this approach for analyzing the Rogers Farm historic artifact assemblage will provide a means of evaluating the activities emphasized by the site's residents and enable both quantitative and qualitative comparisons with material culture inventories from earlier Cayuga sites.

### **Distribution of Resources**

Lastly, it is hypothesized that, even though households may have changed in their size, composition, and production and use of goods, *household-level patterns of distribution will show continuity from earlier periods*. One implication of the acculturation studies common in the mid-twentieth century was that as Native American groups adopted European goods, they also adopted European values. Giddens (2000) reaches a similar conclusion albeit through a much different logic, contending that the globalization process will lead to a greater degree of individualization. As mentioned earlier, some researchers dealing specifically with the Iroquois

during the Contact period have claimed that the processes of European contact brought about change in the power relations among men, women, and the household, with some (e.g., Richards 1957, 1967) viewing the increased absence of males a source of enhanced power for women and others (e.g., Hayden 1977; Hayden and Cannon 1982) viewing the increased importance of males through the fur trade as a source of their enhanced power and a means of wealth accumulation.

These lines of thought imply that the traditional principal of reciprocity that bound Iroquois men and women to each other and to the household was undermined during the Contact period (Fenton 1978; Prezzano 1997; Tooker 1984). They underestimate the complementary nature of the contributions made by men and women in the fur trade. While the increased absence of males represented an intensification of earlier practices, men continued to depend on the household for food and social ties to the community, just as women depended on men for the European-made goods they provided (Rothenberg 1979; Tooker 1984).

Well into the eighteenth century, based on the observations of European travelers in Iroquois lands, it appears that “the vast majority of Iroquois continued to operate in a traditional native nexus of reciprocity and redistribution” (Richter 1992:263). Despite the apparent tensions within Iroquois villages brought about by intra-community conflicts over religious beliefs and political orientation, as well as by the numerous non-native individuals within settlements such as Onontaré, and despite Iroquois participation in a capitalist economy and the emerging world market via the fur trade, the ethos of reciprocity was not lost. I turn again here to the observations made in the *Jesuit Relations*, from the 1656-1657 volume:

However, amid so many defects due to their blindness and to their barbarous training, they still possess virtues which might cause shame to most Christians. No Hospitals are needed among them, because there are neither mendicants nor paupers as long as there are any rich people among them. Their kindness, humanity, and courtesy not only make them liberal with what they have, but cause them to possess hardly anything except in common. A whole village may be without corn, before any individual can be obliged to endure privation. They divide the produce of their

fisheries equally with all who come; and the only reproach they address to us is our hesitation to send to them oftener for our supply of provisions. [JR 43:271]

Furthermore, the mechanisms of the fur trade in fact followed Iroquoian rites of gift giving, generosity, and reciprocity (Trigger 1985; Richter 1992). Accusations of witchcraft were still aimed against those who did not conform to ideals of sharing and redistribution (Trigger 1978:62). In addition, cooperative work groups of women continued to be responsible for horticultural production and the bulk of the community's food reserves well into the eighteenth century. It is likely as well that women contributed an even higher rate; since men were away for such extended periods of time, resources obtained from hunting may have declined (Brown 1970; Rothenberg 1979).

It is therefore predicted that archaeological evidence from Rogers Farm will indicate that traditional notions of shared social and economic obligations within the household endured in the mid-seventeenth century. Ultimately, years of participation in a capitalist economy may have led to individualism and a loss of the ethos of reciprocity. Most likely it was not until Western notions of land tenure and involvement in wage labor became commonplace in the mid- to late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that they were eroded (Richter 1992).

Archaeological evidence of persistence of household-level patterns of distribution will include the continued use of storage cubicles at longhouse ends for communally owned and shared food products. Artifact assemblages as well as storage and refuse pits within longhouses should show an even distribution of European goods. Longhouses should continue to lack privacy controls; the houses at Rogers Farm should exhibit features such as permeable divisions between family compartments and free access provided by dual end doorways.

In summary, the historical narrative of Iroquois lands during the seventeenth century points to a range of events with the potential to play out in the fundamental realms of household and gender relations. This was time of unprecedented flux, risk, and uncertainty for the Cayuga, and the evaluation of these hypotheses will enable a more precise understanding of the effects of contact at these societal levels, which in a number of ways may have differed from the models drawn from the ethnographic literature. It is anticipated that although change may have occurred in household size and in the rules of household membership, and that men and women were engaged in new, supra-household economic endeavors, preservation of previous practices of household distribution will be noted.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **SUMMER 2000 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE ROGERS FARM SITE**

This chapter presents the research methodology implemented during the archaeological investigations of the Rogers Farm site. Prior to its purchase by the NYSDEC in 1997, the Rogers Farm site had been collected by amateur archaeologists and local residents for over 100 years. The fieldwork program reported here represents the first systematic archaeological study of the site. Field investigations were geared toward exposing housing remains, recovering a sample of Contact period domestic-context artifacts, and gaining information about the prehistoric occupations of the Rogers Farm site.

The bulk of the fieldwork at Rogers Farm took place from June 26 to July 24, 2000. The field crew consisted of participants in the University of Pittsburgh's Summer Archaeological Field School, supplemented by volunteers. Dr. Kathleen Allen served as the field school's director, and fieldwork at the Rogers Farm site was supervised by the author. An additional week of work was conducted from August 22 to 26, 2000, and was undertaken by volunteer labor. Although extensive disturbance of the site's integrity resulting from cultivation and past collectors' activities, as well as the construction of Morgan Road, farm buildings, and a parking lot over parts of the site, would potentially make exploration of the research questions set forth in this dissertation more difficult, the disturbance also made Rogers Farm a more ethically appropriate venue for the educational nature of the program than an undisturbed, non-threatened archaeological site.



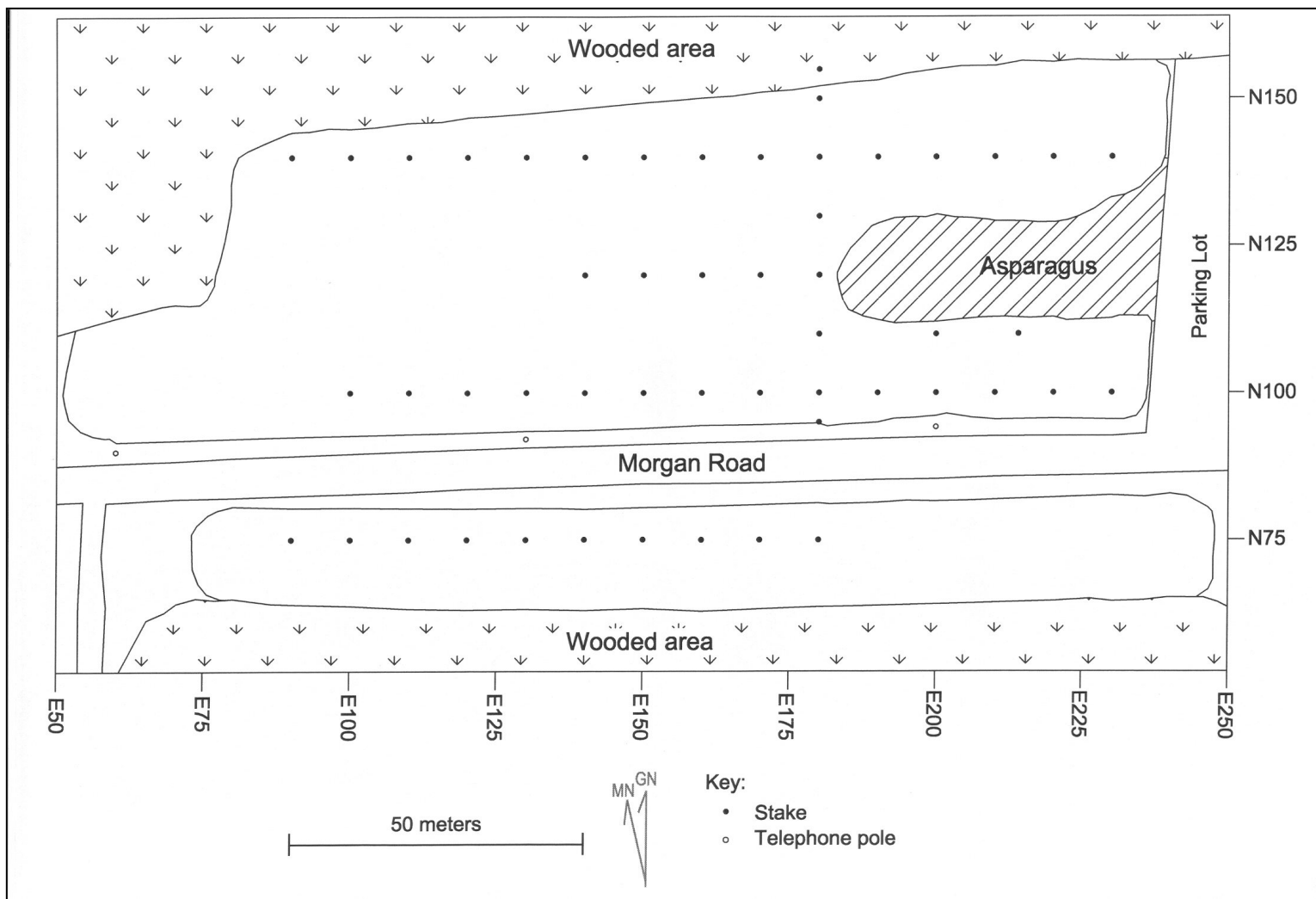
The program of fieldwork included surface collection, test unit excavation, and the horizontal clearing of a 40-m<sup>2</sup> area. Additionally, a sample of features and postmolds was bisected. Excavations revealed evidence of the remains of two residential structures. One of these structures was a portion of a longhouse associated with the historic village of Onontaré, while the other appears to date to the Middle to Late Woodland period occupations at the site.

Also discussed here are the laboratory methods utilized in processing and analyzing the artifact assemblage recovered during the field investigations. The artifact catalog from the 2000 excavations at Rogers Farm can be found in Williams-Shuker (n.d.). The site yielded large quantities of prehistoric materials and objects of indeterminate age, as well as lesser amounts of historic and more recent items. In the final portion of this chapter, an overview of the pre-contact occupations of the site is provided.

### **Preliminary Issues**

Because the archaeological investigations were to take place on state-owned lands, pursuant to Section 233, subsections 4 and 5, of the New York State Education Law (L. 1947, c. 820, amended L. 1958, c. 121, effective March 6, 1958), a permit was required to conduct fieldwork at the Rogers Farm site. Preparation of the permit application was coordinated with representatives of the NYSM and NYSDEC. Members of the Cayuga Indian Nation of New York were also contacted prior to the beginning of fieldwork regarding the nature of the proposed research project and its objectives. Final approval of the field program was received on June 23, 2000 (File No. AR2003).

Fieldwork primarily focused on the farmer's field located immediately to the west of the small complex of farm and office buildings at the end of Morgan Road (Figure 21). The field is cut through by the road. The northern section is irregularly shaped and measures approximately



**Figure 21: Rogers Farm site area of investigation.**

.9 hectare in area. It is bounded on the south by Morgan Road, by the parking lot to the east, and by more poorly drained wood lots to the north and west. The portion of the field extending along the southern side of Morgan Road was also investigated, although not as intensively as the area to the north. This area is lower-lying and smaller in extent, measuring approximately 175x18 m, with a total area of approximately .3 hectare. It is surrounded by a wooded area on its southern margin, and farm roads extend along its east and west sides (see Figure 21).

The farmer, Neil Malone (personal communication 2000), indicated that because of the fine, loose texture of the vicinity's sandy soils, disking is sufficient in preparing the ground for planting. It was therefore anticipated that cultural materials were potentially less disturbed than in an area requiring deeper plowing. At the beginning of the field program, the fields were planted in soybean and had previously been planted in corn. Additionally, at the eastern end of the northern field was a raised peninsula of land planted in asparagus that extended a maximum distance of about 55 m from the edge of the parking lot into the field and measured a maximum of about 17 m in width (see Figure 21). Mr. Malone and the staff of the NYSDEC Morgan Road office requested that the asparagus patch remain intact (asparagus takes several years to establish itself before it can be harvested), so it was not tested.

Discussions were held with Harold Secor (personal communication 1998, 2000) of Savannah and Robert Gorall (personal communication 2000) of Newark, two locally based avocational archaeologists who had been actively collecting in the village area of the site before its acquisition by New York State. Both men have worked at the Rogers Farm site for many years and also participated in earlier excavations of pre-Iroquoian components at the margins of the marsh (see Chapter 3). Additionally, Mr. Secor excavated one of the associated outlying cemeteries to the southwest of the Rogers Farm village in the 1980s (see Figure 9).

In the main village area of the historic Cayuga settlement, where the University of Pittsburgh's 2000 testing program was focused, their activities have included use of metal detectors, surface collection, and shovel probes. Mr. Secor reported identifying concentrations of postmolds as well as several historic graves in the part of the site below the present gravel parking lot. Within the unpaved portion of the site to the west of the lot, Contact period materials and posts were found in the greatest density in the portion of the field between the asparagus patch and the road; the area immediately west of the asparagus also produced quantities of historic, especially metal artifacts. He pointed out, however, that the area has been heavily collected by a number of individuals for years. Not surprisingly, informal reconnaissance of the field prior to beginning excavations revealed only a light surface scatter of artifacts, most of which were of prehistoric origin. The two men also indicated that the western "pan handle" of the field to the north of Morgan Road was the newest part of the field. A barn belonging to the Donselaar family, owners of the property adjoining the site on the west, had formerly stood in this location before it was brought under cultivation (see Figure 21).

Regarding prehistoric archaeological resources found in the area of investigation, Mr. Secor reported finding Owasco pits throughout the eastern half of the field to the north of the road. Several possible Meadowood cremation pits, features containing ash and some bone, were encountered in the region north of the asparagus and south of the treeline. He excavated 10 or 11 Point Peninsula burials, which were particularly concentrated within and to the west of the asparagus patch; these were identified in the subsoil as large oblong features measuring about 80 cm in diameter. Neil Malone also said that when plowing here in the past he had come across skeletal materials. Because the minimization of the possibility of disturbing human burials was a high priority of the research design (as well as to preserve the asparagus plants), no subsurface

probes were placed in this area. Likewise, testing to the west of the asparagus patch was avoided and was limited to the north of the patch.

Many of the materials recovered by Mr. Secor from the site are curated within the Rock Foundation collection at the RMSC, and he also shared his personal collections for inspection. Artifacts he retains from the site include trade axes, beads, a Christianization ring, gun lock parts, gun flints, and a number of projectile points representing various periods. Mr. Gorall made available for examination a collection of historic materials he recovered from the eastern half of the field to the north of Morgan Road with the assistance of a metal detector, including a French *liard* coin dating to 1656, a copper button, harness and lantern parts, and an iron ball bearing. The Rogers Farm artifact assemblages at the RMSC as well as many of the materials belonging to Mr. Secor and Mr. Gorall have been described in publications by Mandzy (1990, 1992, 1994) and Secor (1987). Mr. Secor also made available for analysis a small assemblage of artifacts he specifically provenienced to the area between the road and asparagus; these materials were collected more recently and are discussed later in the dissertation<sup>10</sup>.

Prior to initiating fieldwork, a grid system was imposed on the area of investigation. The grid was oriented according to Morgan Road and the furrows of the field, and grid coordinates were arbitrarily based. The site's datum was set about 3 m north of the roadside and given the coordinates N100E100. Grid north was oriented 16 degrees east of magnetic north. Five transects of stakes, placed at 10-m intervals, were established using a transit. Four transects were in the field north of the road. Of these, three were oriented east-west along the N100, N140, and

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<sup>10</sup> Other local collectors who shared information during the field season about artifacts retrieved from the site and surrounding environs could not be as specific about their provenience. Mr. Donselaar's (the owner of adjacent property) finds include prehistoric lithic tools and glass beads. He reports that a son, now living in Florida, possesses large quantities of beads from Rogers Farm. Billy Breen, of Montezuma, has been collecting in the area for over 40 years. His extensive collections include projectile points and several red round beads from Rogers Farm. Phil O'Brian, of Orlando, Florida, grew up on the property adjacent to the Donselaar's and recalled hunting for artifacts at the site during his childhood.

N180 lines; the fourth was oriented north-south along the E180 line. Two additional stakes (at N110E200 and N110E214) were placed to the south of the asparagus and north of the road as fieldwork progressed to maintain control of horizontal provenience during the block excavation. The fifth transect of stakes was placed across an east-west axis along the N75 line in the smaller field to the south of the road. The locations of these markers are shown in Figure 21. All surface collection and excavation units were keyed to this grid and assigned a north and east coordinate, denoting the southwest corner of the unit.

### **Surface Collection**

After establishing the site grid, the first component of the field program consisted of a systematic surface collection. Its objectives were to refine estimation of the village's extent within the area of investigation and to locate areas with the densest concentrations of historical materials to be probed more intensively by subsurface testing.

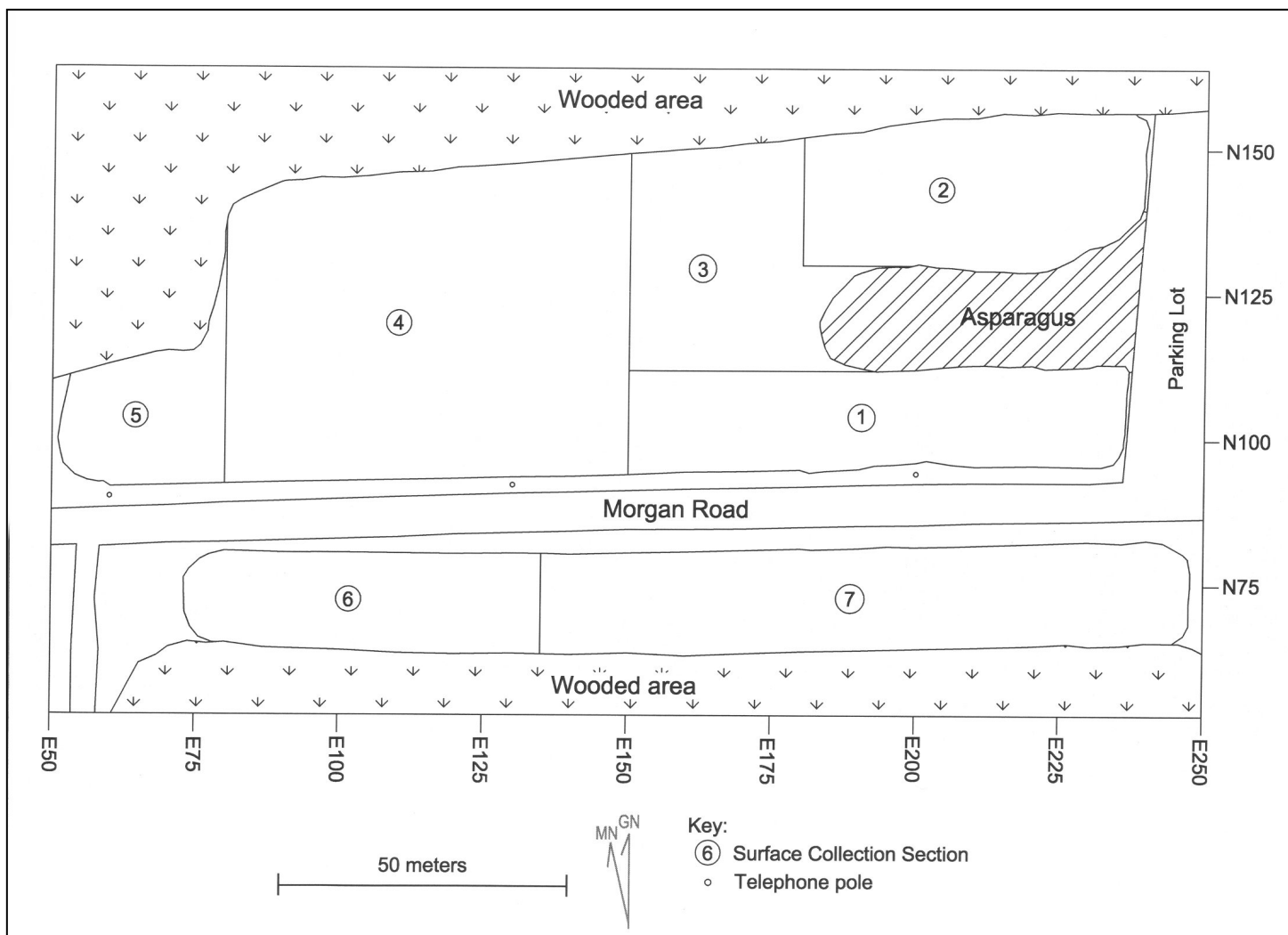
At the time of the surface collection, the soybean plants in the field had grown to between 10 and 15 cm in height and the ground between planted rows remained bare, which resulted in fairly good surface visibility. The dense, high foliage in the asparagus patch created very low surface visibility in this area and it was excluded from the collection.

Because prior walking of the fields gave the impression that surface finds would be sparse, the initial strategy for the collection was to flag any cultural remains on the surface to gain a visualization of densities across the site; artifact locations would then be piece-plotted according to the site grid. However, it quickly became apparent that surface remains were far more abundant than originally anticipated, making it impractical to survey the entire area in a single stage. Instead, the field was subdivided and the collections took place in seven phases (Table 3; Figure 22).

**Table 3: Summary of Surface Collection Sections**

<b>Section</b>	<b>Boundaries</b>	<b>Total Units Collected</b>	<b>No. Units Without Cultural Material (Unit Coordinates)</b>
1	N95E150 - N110E150 - N110E230 - N95E130	63	0
2	N125E180 - N155E180 - N155E235 - N130E180	59	1 (N150E205)
3	N115E150 - N145E150 - N145E175 - N125E175 - N125E195 - N115E185	43	1 (N140E150)
4	N90E80 - N140E80 - N150E145 - N90E185	158	51 (N135E145, N145E145, N150E145, N145E140, N150E140, N130E135, N135E135, N145E135, N150E135, N140E130, N145E130, N150E130, N145E125, N150E125, N140E120, N145E120, N150E120, N125E115, N135E115, N140E115, N145E115, N150E115, N120E110, N125E110, N130E110, N135E110, N140E110, N150E110, N130E100, N135E100, N140E100, N145E100, N95E95, N100E95, N105E95, N130E95, N135E95, N140E95, N145E95, N140E90, N145E90, N130E85, N135E85, N140E85, N145E85, N90E80, N120E80, N135E80, N140E80, N145E80)
5	N90E50 - N115E50 - N130E75 - N90E75	27	0
6	N60E60 - N80E60 - N80E130 - N60E130	49	12 (N80E75, N80E80, N80E85, N80E90, N80E95, N80E100, N80E105, N80E115, N80E120, N80E125, N80E125, N80E130)
7	N60E135 - N80E135 - N80E240 - N60E240	110	30 (N80E135, N80E140, N80E145, N80E150, N80E155, N80E160, N80E170, N80E175, N80E180, N80E190, N80E195, N80E200, N80E205, N80E220, N80E225, N80E230, N80E235, N70E225, N60E145, N60E160, N60E170, N60E175, N60E195, N60E210, N60E215, N60E220, N60E225, N60E230, N60E235, N60E240)

Members of the field crew were positioned at 2-m intervals and walked each of the seven collection zones across east-west transects, flagging surface artifacts as they were encountered. Students were instructed to mark all materials of cultural origin, regardless of their age. Modern materials having an estimated age of less than 50 years were recorded but later discarded (see



**Figure 22: Surface collection sections.**



Williams-Shuker n.d.). Once an area was surveyed, flagged artifacts were collected and assigned provenience to 5x5-m collection units.

A total of 509 units was collected. Of these, 95 (18.7%) did not yield any artifacts (see Table 3). Table 4 summarizes cultural materials recovered within the surface collection sections by gross artifact classes. The greatest densities of artifacts were encountered in the area between Morgan Road and asparagus (Section 1) and in the “pan handle” at the western end of the field (Section 5). The areas to the north and west of the asparagus (Sections 2 and 3, respectively) and the portion of the field to the south of the road (Sections 6 and 7) produced more moderate densities of artifacts. The fewest artifacts were recovered from Section 4, which represented the bulk of the western half of the field to the north of the road.

**Table 4: Summary of Surface Collection Artifacts**

Section	Lithics		Pottery		Faunal		Historic		Unident.		Total		Density (Artifacts/ Unit)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1	305	42.6	18	2.5	351	49.0	41	5.7	1	.1	716	100.0	11.4
2	180	69.5	2	.8	60	23.2	17	6.6	0	0	259	100.0	4.4
3	57	34.6	0	0.0	96	58.2	12	7.3	0	0	165	100.0	3.8
4	181	43.7	9	2.2	20	4.8	203	49.0	1	.2	414	100.0	2.6
5	8	3.6	2	.9	5	2.3	205	92.8	1	.5	221	100.0	8.2
6	181	65.6	4	1.5	22	8.0	69	25.0	0	0	276	100.0	5.6
7	253	58.7	4	.9	109	25.3	65	15.1	0	0	431	100.0	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1165</b>	<b>46.9</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>663</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>612</b>	<b>24.7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.1</b>	<b>2482</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4.9</b>

The surface survey also revealed that remains pertaining to the prehistoric and Contact period occupations of the Rogers Farm site were highly mixed; based on earlier conversations with Harold Secor (personal communication 2000), it was expected that these would be more

spatially discrete. However, some parts of the investigation area had higher concentrations of prehistoric materials and others had higher concentrations of historic materials.

Although Section 1 had the greatest density of artifacts, it proportionately contained the lowest amount of historic artifacts (see Table 4). Likewise, Sections 2 and 3 also contained low percentages of historic materials. This was unexpected, as these areas had been indicated to have been part of the Contact period Cayuga village area by Mr. Secor (personal communication 1998, 2000). Instead, the greatest proportions of historic materials were identified in Sections 4 and 5. However, when the different types of historic artifacts present in the surface collection are considered (Table 5), artifacts more closely associated with the seventeenth-century occupation of Rogers Farm—especially glass trade beads and gunflints—are more common in Sections 1, 2, and 3 than in the other collection areas. The majority of the assemblages from Sections 4 and 5 consists of glass; types included flat, bottle, and milk glass fragments, many of which are likely more recent than the Contact period (see Williams-Shuker n.d.). The abundance of glass and other historic materials present in the western part of the field appears to be related to the former barn in this area.

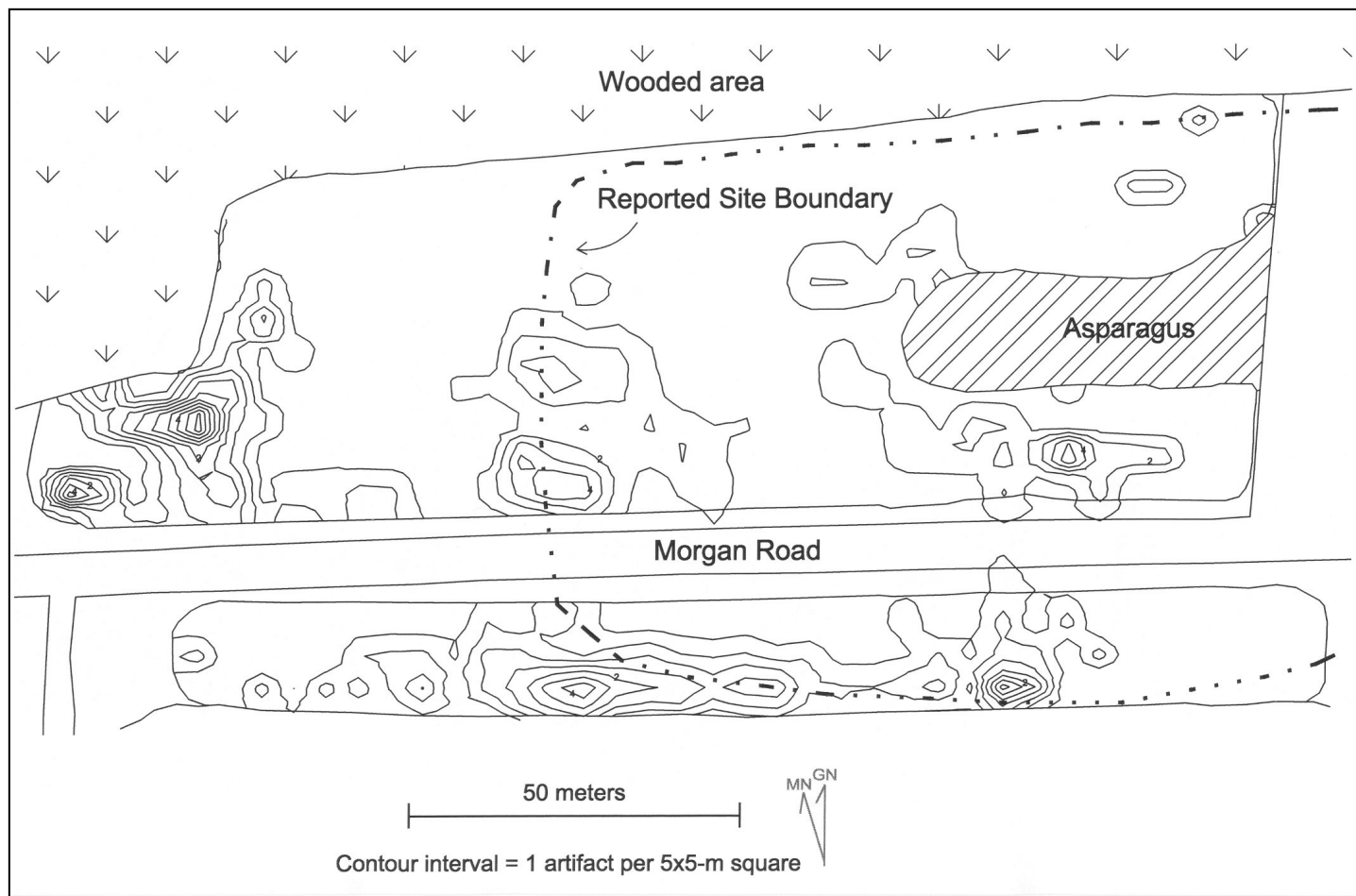
**Table 5: Surface Collection Historic Artifacts**

Section	Trade Beads		Metal		Euro-American Ceramics		Gunflints		Kaolin		Glass		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	8	19.5	3	7.3	6	14.6	1	2.4	3	7.3	20	48.8	41	100.0
2	4	23.5	0	0	3	17.7	0	0	0	0	10	58.8	17	100.0
3	3	25.0	2	16.7	2	16.7	1	8.3	1	8.3	3	25.0	12	100.0
4	2	1.0	0	0	32	15.8	0	0	10	4.9	159	78.3	203	100.0
5	0	0	0	0	26	12.7	0	0	0	0	179	87.3	205	100.0
6	0	0	1	1.5	22	31.2	0	0	0	0	46	66.7	69	100.0
7	2	3.1	2	3.1	25	38.5	1	1.5	10	15.4	25	38.7	65	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>19.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.5</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>72.2</b>	<b>612</b>	<b>100.0</b>

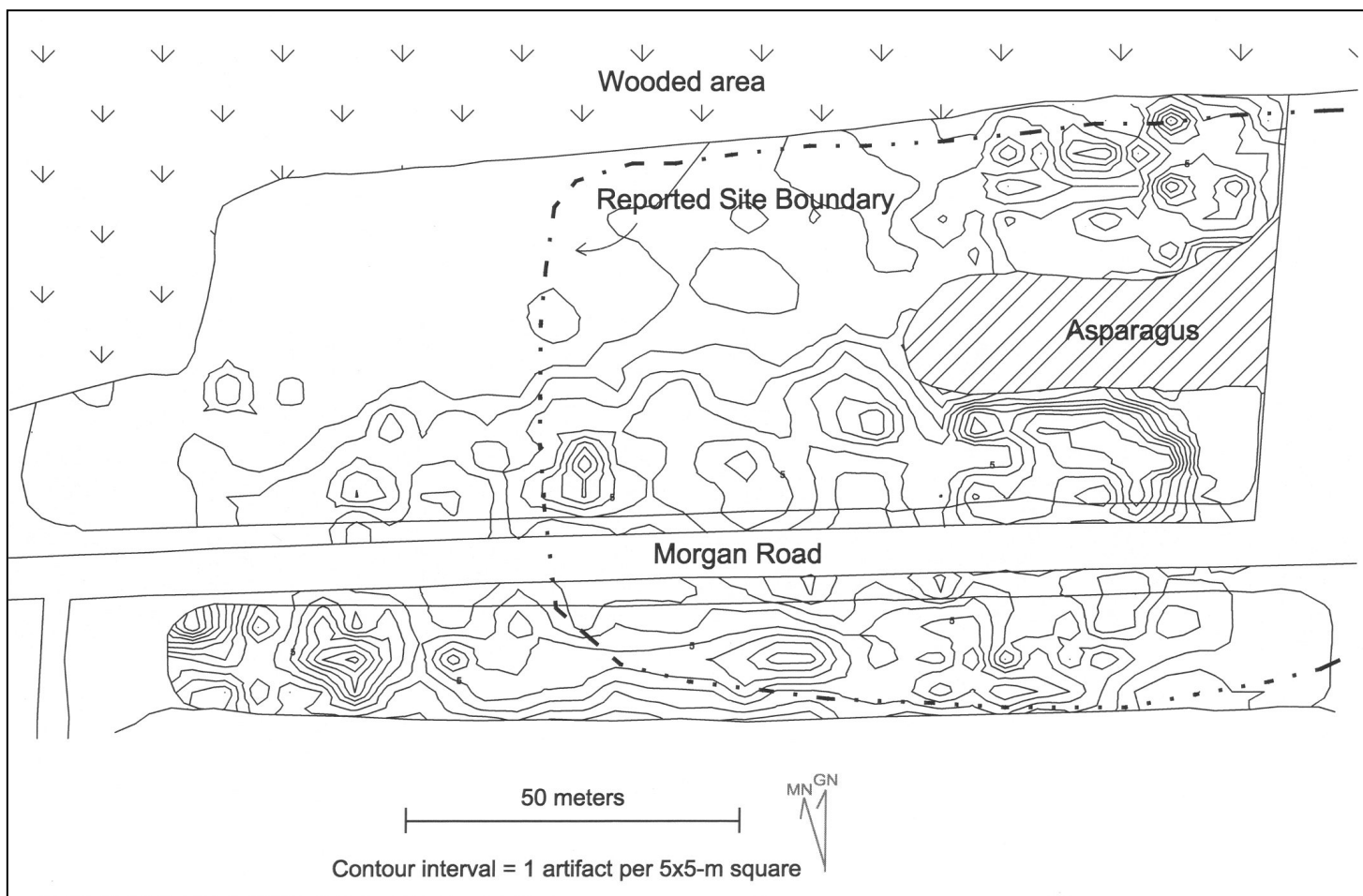
Figure 23 illustrates the distribution of historic artifacts recovered during the surface collection by frequencies. Historic remains were concentrated in the eastern ends of the north and fields, particularly to the south of the asparagus patch and north of Morgan Road, confirming the observations made by Harold Secor (personal communication 2000). Again, the second concentration toward the western end of the field consisted of later materials associated with the barn that stood in this location.

Along with Contact-period materials, pre-Iroquoian artifacts were abundant in the portion of the field between the road and the asparagus patch. Lithic artifacts were present throughout the investigation area, with the exception of the northwest corner and western end of the field to the north of Morgan Road (Figure 24). Several clusters of lithics were noted; they are located in the area to the north, south, and immediately west of the asparagus patch, and throughout the portion of the field to the south of the road. These patterns again coincide with Harold Secor's characterizations of the site prior to initiating fieldwork (personal communication 2000).

The surface collection also showed that, despite the site's long history of collection by local residents and avocational archaeologists, a good amount of cultural material was still present in the area of investigation. However, the activities of nonprofessional collectors also meant that the remaining artifacts primarily consisted of "less desirable" items such as lithic debitage, calcined bone, and glass fragments. For example, lithic debitage ( $n = 1071$ ) and burned bone ( $n = 638$ ) together made up 68.9% of the materials encountered during the surface collection. Nonetheless, "more desirable" items such as glass trade beads ( $n = 19$ ), copper/brass scraps ( $n = 2$ ), and bifaces ( $n = 32$ ) were also present, albeit in much lower quantities.



**Figure 23: Surface distribution of historic artifacts.**



**Figure 24: Surface distribution of lithic artifacts.**

## **Subsurface Testing**

The results of the surface collection guided placement of subsurface probes within the area of investigation. Procedures implemented included test unit excavation, horizontal clearing, and feature and postmold bisection. Initially, fourteen 1x1-m test units were excavated within the eastern portion of the field, north of Morgan Road. Ten of these were placed south of the asparagus patch (Locus 1), and four were to its north (Locus 2). Several of the units in Locus 1 revealed possible alignments of postmolds. A broader area was exposed around one of these units in an effort to define housing patterns. In this section, the field methods utilized are described and the results of excavations are presented.

### **Methods**

Units were excavated down to sterile subsoil using shovel and trowel. Soils were screened through ¼-in hardware cloth. Additionally, for some units a systematic sample of plowzone matrix (consisting of every fourth bucket of fill) was screened through ⅛-in mesh in order to ensure recovery of small finds such as seed beads. For all stages of excavation, written records were kept using standardized data forms. Each level of excavation was photographed (using 35-mm black-and-white print, color print, and color slide film as well as a digital camera) and mapped in plan view.

Stratigraphy at the Rogers Farm site consists of two soil horizons, differentiated by color, texture, structure, and content. The plowzone (Stratum A) was a very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2 and 2.5YR 3/2) fine sandy loam containing cultural material, many root hairs, and small rocks. The thickness of the plowzone was fairly consistent across the site, typically reaching a depth of about 28 cm below surface (bs). For the first five test units that were opened, the plowzone was excavated in 10-cm levels, until its depth was reliably established; thereafter, it

was taken out as a single stratum. The subsoil (Stratum B) lay immediately below the plowzone in all excavations and consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4 and 5/6) to dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4 and 4/6) fine sand that is culturally sterile. All excavation units revealed evidence of plowscars and a small amount of mottling at the interface of the two strata. Plowscars, running in an east-west direction, were encountered throughout the field, typically at depths between 18 and 20 cm below the ground surface. Their locations were sketched onto each unit's floor plan for the top of Stratum B, and deposits within the scars were screened with Stratum A material.

Once the subsoil was reached, the unit's floor and walls were scraped and examined for the presence of sub-plowzone features and postholes. The contrast in soil color and texture between Strata A and B aided in their identification. Small, round soil stains generally measuring less than 15 cm in diameter were assigned postmold numbers (PMs), while larger, often irregularly shaped stains were given feature numbers (Fs). Because the area of investigation has been disturbed by agricultural activity, approximately the top foot of subsurface features and postholes is truncated. Posts and pits commonly extend below the plowzone in most areas of Iroquoia and were also present at Rogers Farm; however, any features or posts that were sunk into the ground at a depth less than the plowzone would fail to leave physical traces in the site's archaeological record.

Bisected features and postmolds were troweled and their fill was screened through  $\frac{1}{8}$ -in mesh. Half of each feature was removed, and 1-liter samples of feature fill were retained for flotation. Feature excavation proceeded in arbitrary 10-cm levels or until soil changes were noticed. Profiles of bisected features and postmolds were photographed and drawn to scale. Upon bisection, some soil stains originally thought to be posts turned out to be small pits, and

some stains called features were revealed to be larger postmolds. In such cases, feature or postmold numbers were not reassigned. Due to time constraints, only a sample of postmolds and features was bisected.

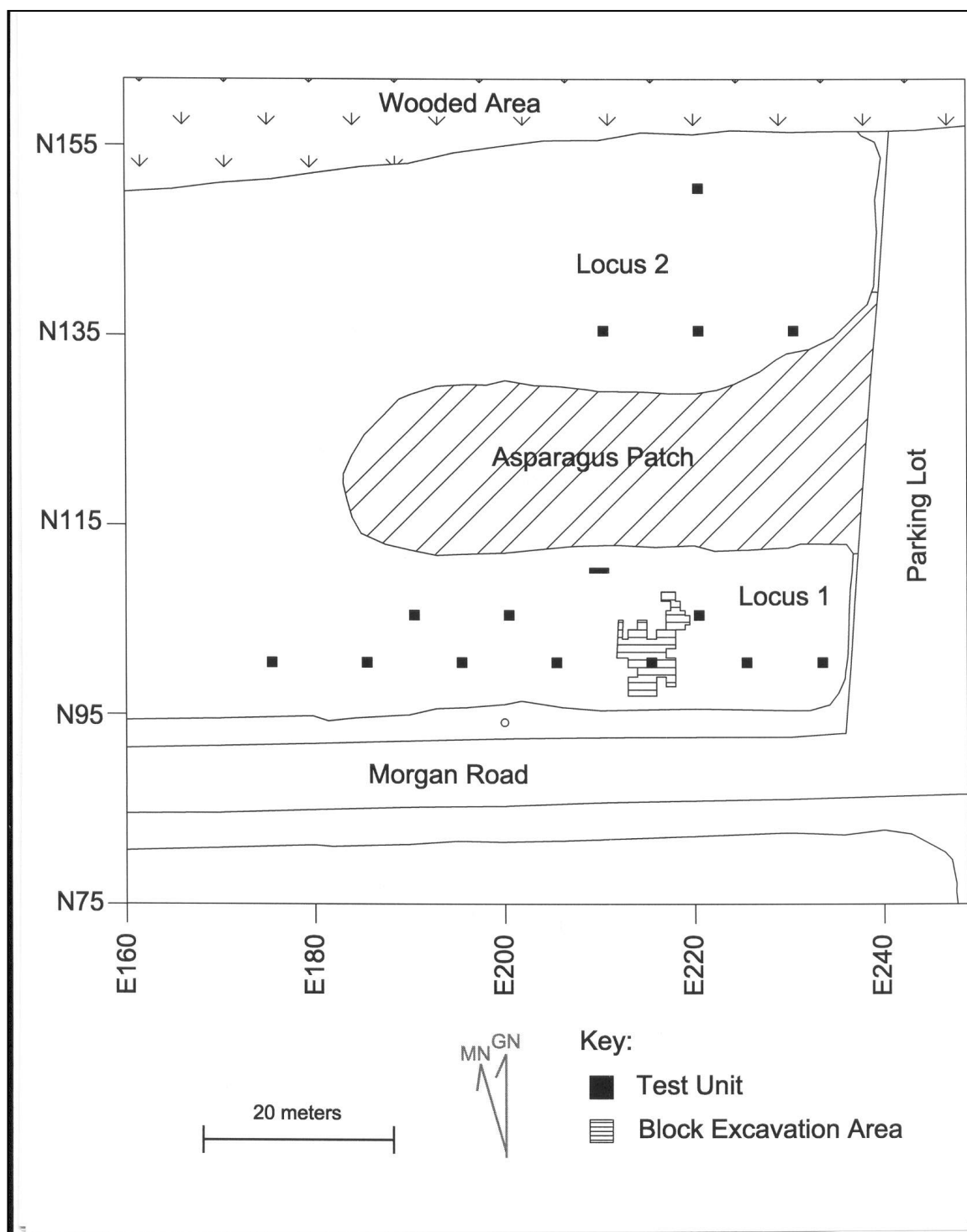
At the conclusion of the field season, all excavations were backfilled and the ground surface was restored as closely as possible to its original condition. A stake shot off the E180 line was placed approximately 3 m within the northern tree line in order to make it possible to re-establish the site grid in the future. The farmer was compensated for crop losses.

Artifact washing, sorting, and analysis took place at the field school's temporary laboratory in Ithaca, New York, and at the University of Pittsburgh Department of Anthropology's archaeology laboratory facilities in Pittsburgh. Durable materials such as lithics and glass were washed with plain water and a soft brush; fragile materials such as metal, friable pottery, and calcined bone were dry-brushed. Artifacts were cataloged according to the Policies and Procedures for the Archaeological Collections of the New York State Museum (NYSM 1990). Labels were affixed to artifacts using India ink between top and bottom coats of a PVA solution. All artifacts and associated documentation are permanently curated at the NYSM (Accession No. NYSM 2502/A2002.19).

### **Test Unit Excavations**

Preliminary subsurface testing took place within two zones of the field to the north of Morgan Road. A total of fourteen 1x1-m test units was excavated (Figure 25). Because the seventeenth-century artifacts found during the surface collection were densest in the eastern end of the field, particularly to the south of the asparagus patch and north of the road, 10 units were opened in this area (Locus 1). Four units were also placed to the north of the asparagus





**Figure 25: Locations of test unit excavations.**

(Locus 2) in an effort to explore the concentrations of prehistoric artifacts identified during the surface collection of this area and to clarify the northern boundary of the village area.

Table 6 summarizes the unit coordinates as well as the postmolds and features identified in each of the 14 test excavations; Tables 7 and 8 provide further postmold and feature data.

Each unit contained at least one postmold, and features were identified in six of the units.

Artifacts recovered during this phase of the fieldwork are tabulated in Table 9 for Locus 1 and in Table 10 for Locus 2. Overall, the most frequent artifact classes were debitage (n = 607; 50.6%), pottery sherds (n = 291; 24.3%), and burned bone (n = 183; 15.3%). Unburned bone was surprisingly uncommon in the Rogers Farm excavations. Only seven pieces of unburned bone were found in the test units, making up .6 percent of the collection. This is likely attributed to the poor preservation conditions created by the high acidity of the soils at the site; plowing and the use of fertilizers also likely contributed to the paucity of unburned bone in the test unit assemblages.

**Table 6: Summary of Initial Test Unit Excavations**

Unit	Postmold Nos.	Feature Nos.	Str. A Artifacts (Total No.)
<b>LOCUS 1</b>			
N100E175*	174, 175	-	33
N100E185	62	-	88
N105E190	59, 60, 61	-	82
N100E195	14	-	103
N105E200	50		42
N100E205	11, 12, 13	2	44
N100E215	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10	1 (partially exposed)	198
N105E220	40, 41, 42, 43, 49	-	83
N100E225	1, 7, 8, 9	-	127
N100E233	23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28	7	237
<b>LOCUS 2</b>			
N125E210	150, 151, 152	-	71
N135E220	98, 99, 100, 101	20	37
N135E230	70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75	17	31
N150E220	153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159	28, 28A	42

\* Sample of Stratum A fill screened through 1/8-in mesh

**Table 7: Test Unit Postmold Data**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>LOCUS 1</b>				
1	N100.51E225.12	22	8.5	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown with charcoal flecking; irregular profile, likely plow disturbed
2	N100.55E215.00	10	Not bisected	2.5Y 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
3	N100.63E215.75	9	Not bisected	2.5Y 3/6 v. dk. grayish brown
4	N100.57E215.57	11	24.5	10YR 3/3 dk. brown mottled with 10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included charcoal, burned bone, and 1 glass fragment; tapered profile
5	N100.33E215.40	14	Not bisected	2.5Y 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
6	N100.15E215.70	9	18	10YR 2/2 dk. brown mottled with 10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included charcoal, lithic debitage, and burned bone; irregular profile with square base
7	N100.66E225.24	9	<1	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown mottled with 10YR 2/1 black; superficial stain
8	N100.73E225.24	5	2	10YR 2/1 black; tapered end with rodent disturbance
9	N100.00E225.12	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
10	N100.05E215.15	10	35	2.5Y 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown mottled with 10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown; included lithic debitage and charcoal bits; tapered profile
11	N100.00E205.00	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
12	N100.00E205.22	12	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
13	N100.23E205.22	20	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecks; plow disturbed
14	N100.00E195.80	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
23	N100.12E233.42	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
24	N100.53E233.14	14	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
25	N100.87E233.22	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
26	N100.80E233.43	16	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
27	N100.92E233.30	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
28	N100.94E233.54	15	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
40	N105.33E220.17	14	Not bisected	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown; plow disturbed
41	N105.80E220.35	10	Not bisected	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown; plow disturbed; ephemeral
42	N105.87E220.30	7	Not bisected	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown
43	N105.28E220.88	8	Not bisected	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown

**Table 7 (continued)**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
49	N105.72E220.00	7	Not bisected	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown
50	N105.57E200.00	11	Not bisected	10YR 5/8 yellowish brown
59	N105.67E190.93	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
60	N105.15E190.90	10	Not bisected	10YR 5/4 yellowish brown
61	N105.37E190.25	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
62	N100.00E185.75	6	Not bisected	5YR 2.5/1 black
174	N100.15E175.82	20	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
175	N100.55E175.17	10	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black with chacoal flecks
<b>LOCUS 2</b>				
70	N135.85E230.20	12	6	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown; tapered profile with irregular base
71	N135.73E230.24	7	5	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown; appears to be a rodent burrow, not a post
72	N135.81E230.32	12	8	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown; sharply tapered profile
73	N135.32E230.76	11	4	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown; appears to be a rodent burrow, not a post
74	N135.23E230.85	8	6	10YR 6/6 brownish yellow; included lithic debitage; sharply tapered profile
75	N135.06E230.77	6	<1	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown; superficial stain
98	N135.70E220.00	12	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
99	N135.70E220.13	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
100	N135.95E220.95	15	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
101	N135.90E220.04	11	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
150	N135.94E210.62	13	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
151	N135.68E210.82	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
152	N135.75E210.95	3	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
153	N150.30E220.00	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
154	N150.05E220.47	5	5	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; tapered profile
155	N150.08E220.09	4	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
156	N150.35E220.00	12	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
157	N150.25E220.17	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
158	N150.40E220.20	13	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
159	N150.87E220.90	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown

**Table 8: Test Unit Feature Data**

<b>Feature No.</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>E-W x N-S Dimensions (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>LOCUS 1*</b>				
2	N100.37E205.70	30x17	68	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown with charcoal; interpreted as very deep postmold
7	N100.20E233.55	20x60	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown oblong stain with charcoal flecks
<b>LOCUS 2</b>				
17	N135.45E230.75	20x8	7	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown mottled with 10YR 2/1 black; likely a plow-disturbed postmold
20	N135.80E220.20	40x30	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown mottled with 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow; relatively faint soil stain
28	N150.27E220.80	41x32	5	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown mottled with 10YR 3/3 dk. brown; charcoal present; possible small pit with rodent disturbance
28A	N150.37E220.55	25x25	11	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown; charcoal present; interpreted as small pit

\*F 1 was partially revealed in N100E215; it is discussed with the block excavation units later in this chapter.

With the exception of one unit (N100E175), prehistoric artifacts (i.e., lithic tools and pottery vessel and pipe fragments) and materials of indeterminate age (i.e., lithic debitage, groundstone, burned bone, unburned bone, teeth, and shell) made up over 90 percent of the cultural materials yielded by the test units. A total of 68 historic artifacts likely associated with the seventeenth-century village was found in the test units, constituting 5.7 percent of the assemblages. It appears that this portion of the site area was heavily favored by the prehistoric occupants of Hunter's Home, as well as by the Cayuga residents of Onontaré.

**Table 9: Artifacts Recovered from Stratum A, Locus 1 Test Units**

	N100E175		N100E185		N105E190		N100E195		N105E200		N100E205		N105E220		N100E225		N100E233		Total	
Artifact Type	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Prehistoric/ Indeterminate Artifacts</b>																				
Lithic Debitage	10	30.30	41	45.56	27	32.93	39	37.86	20	47.62	17	37.78	36	43.90	80	63.49	151	63.45	421	50.06
Lithic Tool	1	3.03	0	0.00	1	1.22	1	0.97	2	4.76	3	6.67	1	1.22	6	4.76	5	2.10	20	2.38
Groundstone	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.22	0	0.00	3	2.38	1	0.42	5	0.59
Pottery Sherd	3	9.09	16	17.78	17	20.73	17	16.50	8	19.05	10	22.22	29	35.37	13	10.32	65	27.31	178	21.17
Pottery Pipe	0	0.00	1	1.11	0	0.00	1	0.97	1	2.38	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.79	0	0.00	4	0.48
Burned Bone	12	36.36	20	22.22	29	35.37	37	35.92	9	21.43	8	17.78	10	12.20	16	12.70	5	2.10	146	17.36
Unburned Bone	0	0.00	2	2.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.36
Tooth	0	0.00	1	1.11	1	1.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.36
Shell	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.12
Other	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.38	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.12
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>78.79</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>90.00</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>92.68</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>92.23</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>97.62</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>91.11</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>92.68</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>94.44</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>95.38</b>	<b>782</b>	<b>92.98</b>
<b>Historic Artifacts</b>																				
Trade Bead	1	3.03	2	2.22	1	1.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.22	4	4.88	1	0.79	0	0.00	10	1.19
Metal	1	3.03	0	0.00	1	1.22	4	3.88	1	2.38	0	0.00	1	1.22	3	2.38	3	1.26	14	1.66
Euro-Amer. Ceramic	1	3.03	3	3.33	1	1.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.59
Glass	4	12.12	4	4.44	2	2.44	4	3.88	0	0.00	3	6.67	0	0.00	3	2.38	1	0.42	21	2.50
Kaolin	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.22	0	0.00	7	2.94	9	1.07
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>21.21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10.00</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7.32</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7.77</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2.38</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8.89</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7.32</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5.56</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4.62</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>7.02</b>
<b>Total Artifacts</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>841</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 10: Artifacts Recovered from Stratum A, Locus 2 Test Units**

Artifact Type	N135E210		N135E220		N135E230		N150E220		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Prehistoric/Indet.</b>										
Lithic Debitage	40	57.14	28	75.68	23	82.14	26	72.22	117	68.42
Lithic Tool	3	4.29	1	2.70	1	3.57	0	0.00	5	2.92
Pottery Sherd	18	25.71	3	8.11	2	7.14	6	16.67	29	16.96
Burned Bone	6	8.57	3	8.11	2	7.14	2	5.56	13	7.60
Fire-cracked Rock	1	1.43	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.58
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>97.14</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>94.59</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>94.44</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>96.49</b>
<b>Historic</b>										
Metal	0	0.00	1	2.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.58
Euro-American Ceramic	1	1.43	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.78	2	1.17
Glass	1	1.43	1	2.70	0	0.00	1	2.78	3	1.75
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2.86</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5.41</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5.56</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.51</b>
<b>Total Artifacts</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Artifact densities were higher in the southern group of test units. Locus 1 averaged 102.9 artifacts/unit, while Locus 2 averaged 42.8 artifacts/unit. Assemblages from Locus 1 were also richer, with a greater diversity of artifact classes represented (see Tables 9 and 10). In general, the rankings of percentages of different artifact types were relatively constant in the two areas: in both areas, lithic debitage, pottery sherds, burned bone, and lithic tools were respectively the first through fourth most common artifacts (see Tables 9 and 10). However, Locus 1 (n = 62; 6.0 %) proportionately contained almost twice as many historic artifacts as Locus 2 (n = 6; 3.5%).

In both loci, posts and features became more frequent toward the eastern end of the area of investigation (see Table 6). The patterning of these subsoil features, together with the artifacts collected, was instrumental in guiding further subsurface testing during the field sessions. In the following sections, the results of the test unit excavations in each locus are discussed more specifically.

## **Locus 1**

A total of 10 test units was excavated in Locus 1, the area between Morgan Road and the asparagus patch. The units were staggered at 10-m intervals across the N100 and N105 lines (see Figure 25 and Table 6). From west to east, there is a very broad trend toward increasing numbers of plowzone artifacts, ranging from a total of 33 artifacts in the westernmost test pit to 234 in the easternmost, although there is a good deal of variation in the amounts of materials recovered from each unit (see Table 6). It thus appears that years of plowing have not resulted in the even dispersion of artifacts in this part of the area of investigation.

*Unit N100E175:* Unit N100E175 was the westernmost test unit in Locus 1. The thickness of the plowzone measured between 26 and 32 cm. Two posts (PMs 174 and 175) were identified at the top of the subsoil (see Table 7); these were not bisected. Both were distinct, dark stains, and PM 175 contained flecks of charcoal. A systematic sample of Stratum A fill (every fourth bucket of soil) from Unit N100E175 was screened through  $\frac{1}{8}$ -in hardware cloth. Despite the more intensive screening effort, this unit contained the fewest artifacts of the 10 test pits excavated in Locus 1. The unit also yielded the lowest percentage of prehistoric and indeterminate-age artifacts (78.8%) and the highest percentage of historic (21.2%) of all 14 test units (see Table 9). Based on the artifact content and appearance of postmolds, this part of the field seems to be located within the boundaries of the seventeenth-century village, yet shows less evidence of earlier use of the area than the other units excavated to the east.

*Unit N100E185:* The plowzone in this unit extended from 24 to 27 cm below the ground surface. A portion of a single postmold (PM 62) was identified (see Table 7); it was located along the south wall of the unit and was not bisected. Unlike Unit N100E175, the artifact frequencies of Unit N100E185 were typical of the other Locus 1 units; a total of 88 artifacts were



recovered, of which 92.1% were of prehistoric or indeterminate age and 8.0% were historic (see Table 9).

*Unit N105E190:* The plowzone was between 25 and 32 cm in thickness in this unit. Three postmolds (PMs 59, 60, and 61) were revealed below Stratum A (see Table 7). PMs 60 and 61 were lighter in color and fainter than PM 59. None of the postmolds were bisected. A diffuse area of discolored soil (10YR 3/4 dark yellowish brown) about 40 cm in width was also identified at the top of Stratum B. It extended from the center of the south wall of the unit toward its northwest corner, reaching a depth of 57 cm bs to the south and 46 cm bs to the north. This was interpreted as a large rodent disturbance and was not assigned a feature number, although the artifacts it contained (including unburned bone and lithic debitage) were given a separate provenience number.

*Unit N100E195:* Stratum A reached a depth of 25 cm bs in Unit N100E195. Plowscars were encountered at 10 cm bs, a somewhat shallower depth than typical of most other test pits. PM 14 was partially revealed along the south wall of the unit (see Table 7). This was a faint soil stain and was not bisected. The top of Stratum B of this unit also yielded a small amount of lithic debitage; its appearance is likely due to mixing with the plowzone.

*Unit N105E200:* Unit N105E200 also contained one postmold (PM 50). It was located along the eastern wall of the unit and was not bisected (see Table 7). The plowzone of this unit extended to 26 cm below the surface. With a single historic artifact, a copper/brass fragment, Unit N105E200 contained the smallest amount of historic materials of all the Locus 1 test units (see Table 9). The unit also yielded a fairly large piece of charcoal at the interface of Strata A and B; it was not associated with any apparent cultural feature.

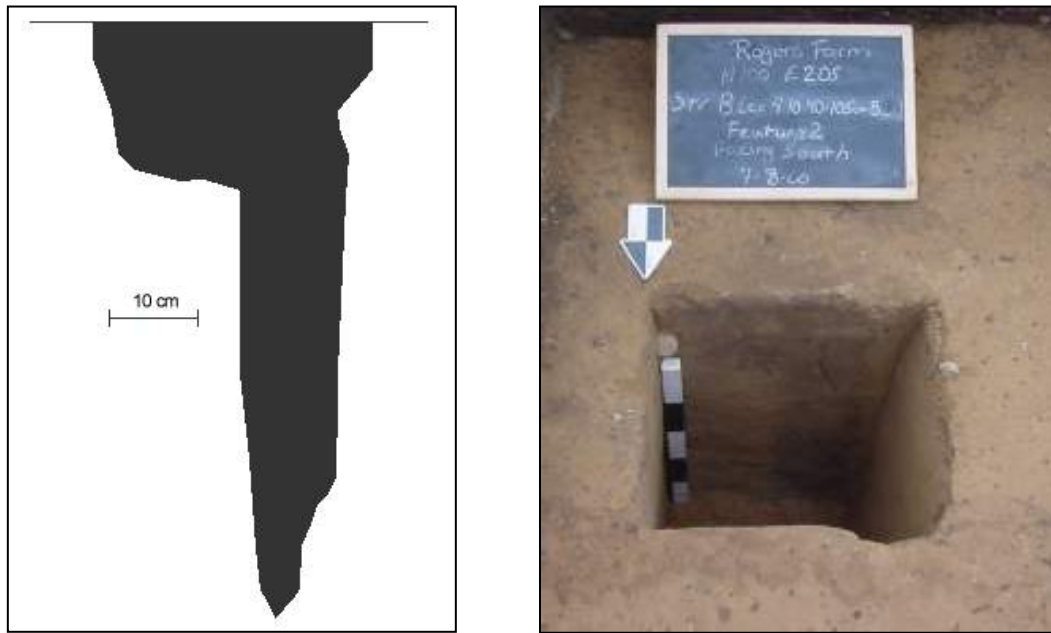
*Unit N100E205*: Stratum A in this test pit was about 27 cm in thickness; mottling with Stratum B material was rather extensive, beginning at 15 cm bs. Three postmolds (PMs 11, 12, and 13) and one feature (F 2) were identified at the top of the subsoil (Figure 26; see Tables 7 and 8). PM 13 contained charcoal flecks and had a tear drop-like shape, likely caused by plow disturbance. The three postmolds were not bisected.



**Figure 26: Stratum A floor plan, Unit N100E205, facing west.**

F 2, which appeared as a roughly almond-shaped soil stain measuring 30x17 cm, was bisected across its east-west axis. At a depth of 49 cm bs (or 19 cm from the top of the subsoil), a tapered postmold extended down from the west side of the feature. The postmold reached a final depth of 98 cm bs (Figure 27). Feature fill consisted of a 10YR 3/4 dark yellowish brown fine sandy silt; it contained a light amount of charcoal but no other artifacts. This feature appears to be a pit dug to aid the placement of a large, extremely deep post. This was by far the deepest

posthole found at the site during the 2000 field season. It is not certain, however, with what type of construction the post is associated.



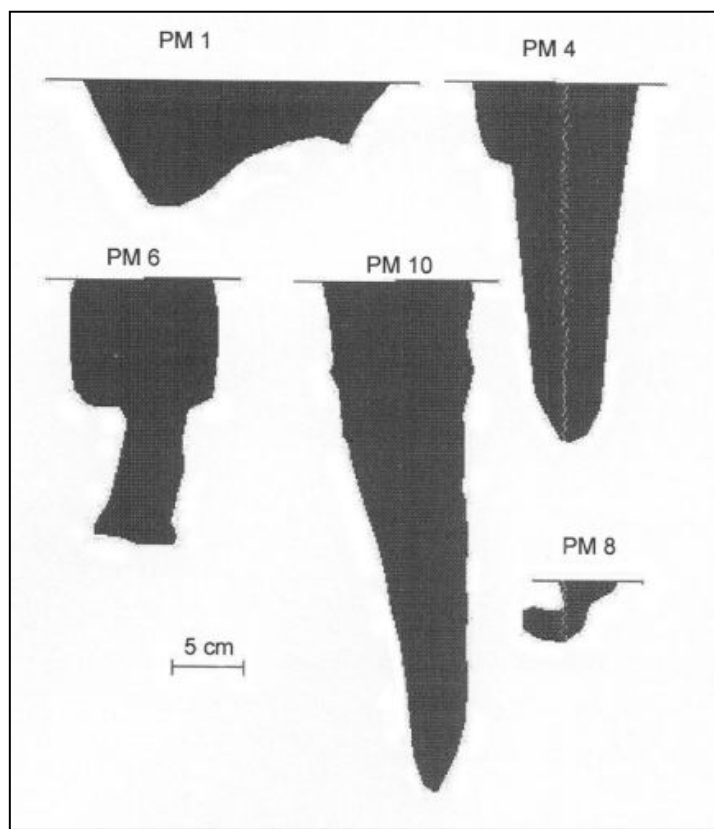
**Figure 27: Profile drawing (left) and photograph (right) of Feature 2.**

*Unit N100E215:* Plowzone deposits in Unit N100E215 reached an average depth of 29 cm bs, and plowscars were relatively thin, appearing at about 25 cm bs. With a total of 196 artifacts, the unit had the second greatest amount of materials of the Locus 1 test units. It also had the highest count of historic artifacts ( $n = 9$ ; see Table 9). Six postmolds (PMs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10) and a portion of a feature (F 1) were identified on the top of Stratum B (Figure 28; see Tables 7 and 8). PMs 4, 6, and 10 were bisected and are discussed here. F 1 extended 5 cm out of the north wall of the unit. The adjoining area to the north of the unit was later exposed as part of the block excavation, and the excavation of F 1 is discussed in that section of this chapter.



**Figure 28: Stratum A floor plan, Unit N100E215, facing west.**

PM 4 had a tapered profile and contained charcoal flecks, burned bone, and a glass fragment. It was 24.5 cm in maximum thickness, extending down to 51.5 cm below the surface (Figure 29). PM 6 also contained charcoal and burned bone, as well as one piece of lithic debitage. It reached a final depth of 41.5 cm bs, giving it a thickness of 18 cm. The profile of this post was irregular and diffuse, and the fill was mottled. For the first 10 cm of the post's thickness from the top of the subsoil, the profile had a rounded shape, possibly a small post pit; the shape then narrowed to a width of 5 cm, with a squared end angled toward the north (see Figure 29). The fill of PM 10 was also mottled, but its tapered profile was very distinct (Figure 30). It included charcoal fragments and one small chert flake. The post reached a maximum depth of 61.5 cm bs, with a maximum thickness of 35 cm (see Figure 29).



**Figure 29: Locus 1 postmold profiles.**



**Figure 30: PM 10 profile, facing south.**

*Unit N105E220:* Five postmolds (PMs 40, 41, 42, 43, and 49) were identified below the plowzone in Unit N105E220, which reached a maximum depth of 30 cm bs (see Table 7). All were relatively faint stains, and they were not bisected. PMs 40 and 41 had narrow “tails” extending to the east from the main portion of the postmold, a result of plow disturbance. PM 41 was quite shallow; the stain disappeared upon cleaning the unit’s floor for photography. Additionally, a thin clay inclusion, measuring approximately 7x20 cm and located about 25 cm from the southwest corner of the unit, was encountered 27 cm below the surface. Its color was recorded as a dark yellowish brown (10YR 5/4). The deposit was screened separately but did not contain any cultural materials. It is likely of natural origin and was not assigned a feature number.

*Unit N100E225:* Stratum A of this unit yielded four trade beads, the most of any of the test pits (see Table 5.7). The plowzone was between 30 and 35 cm in thickness. Four posts (PMs 1, 7, 8, and 9) were found at the base of the plowzone (see Table 7). PM 7 was ephemeral, disappearing upon scraping the unit’s floor. PMs 1 and 8 were bisected. At the top of the subsoil, PM 1 appeared as a large, dark stain flecked with charcoal. It reached a maximum depth of 38 cm bs and did not contain artifacts. Its profile was asymmetrical, tapered on its west side and irregularly shaped on its east, likely the result of plow disturbance (see Figure 29). Bisection of PM 8 showed it to be a shallow tapered post with a small rodent burrow disturbing its base (see Figure 29). This post’s fill did also not contain artifacts. It reached a maximum depth of 33.5 cm bs.

*Unit N100E233:* This unit was the easternmost test pit in Locus 1, placed 2 m from the gravel parking lot at the field’s terminus. This location at the end of the field is where the plow turns direction, and it was thought that subsurface deposits may have been less disturbed here.

The depth of the plowzone was 26 cm, similar to the other units, but Unit N100E233 produced the greatest amount of artifacts ( $n = 234$ ) of all the tests (see Table 5.7). Six postmolds (PMs 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28) and one feature (F 7) were identified at the base of Stratum A (Figure 31; see Tables 7 and 8). These were not bisected. F 7 was a dark linear stain with charcoal flecking, measuring approximately 20x60 cm. It extended to the northwest from the south wall of the unit. This soil stain was assigned a feature number because of its intrusion into the subsoil and its charcoal content; however, it may represent a particularly deep plowscar in the plow turn-around area caused by the weight of the machinery.



**Figure 31: Stratum A floor plan, Unit N100E233, facing west.**

*Summary:* Together, data from the 10 Locus 1 units and from the surface collections in this area confirm prior observations by local collectors that the area between the asparagus patch and Morgan Road represents a portion of the seventeenth-century Cayuga village. The artifact assemblages contain the greatest numbers of Contact-period materials found at the site, and postmolds are common. The abundance of prehistoric materials and features indicate that the area saw intensive pre-contact use as well.

Because a primary goal of the research design was to recover traces of seventeenth-century residential patterns, Locus 1 was subjected to further subsurface testing. Postmolds were discerned at the top of the subsoil in all the units, and all had greater frequencies and proportions of historic remains than the Locus 2 units (see Tables 9 and 10), making it more likely that their posts were associated with seventeenth-century construction. In several of the Locus 1 test pits, linear alignments of posts were noted, making these units candidates for expansion in order to identify house remains. Specifically, Units N100E205, N100E215, and N100E233 each featured at least three postmolds in a straight line. Although the alignment in Unit N100E205 included F2, the deepest post excavated, and although the unit proportionately contained a fairly high amount of historic artifacts, its overall artifact counts were relatively low for Locus 1 (see Figure 26 and Table 9). The six postmolds in Unit N100E233 were arranged in an L shape, possibly indicating the corner of a house or internal subdivision such as a compartment (see Figure 31); additionally, this test yielded the greatest numbers of artifacts of the Locus 1 units (see Table 9). However, although the unit was believed to have good potential for identifying housing remains, its proximity to the parking lot would have greatly curtailed excavation to the east, which would have been especially problematic if a structure extended in that direction.



Unit N100E215 proved to be the best option for further investigation in the hope of recovering structural patterns. It contained the second-most greatest total amount of materials and the most historic artifacts of the Locus 1 units (see Table 9). Furthermore, its six posts presented two possible alignments: PMs 3, 6, and 10 were aligned on a southwest-northeast axis, and PMs 2, 5, and 6 were aligned on a southeast-northwest axis (see Figure 28). The areas adjacent to Unit N100E215 were opened in an effort to determine if these lines of posts were associated with a longhouse. The results of the horizontal clearing around this test unit are presented later in this chapter.

## **Locus 2**

Three of the test units in Locus 2, located north of the asparagus and south of the field's northern margin, were placed at 10-m intervals along the N135 line. The fourth unit was dug at N150E230, close to the border of the wood lot (see Figure 25).

*Unit N135E210:* The plowzone in this unit was between 30 and 32 cm in thickness. Three postmolds (PMs 150, 151, and 152) were identified below the plowzone (see Table 7); these were not bisected. Additionally, an oval-shaped dark yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) clay deposit was found in the unit's floor in the southeast corner. It measured 60x12 cm. Like the clay inclusion identified in Unit N105E220, this was believed to be of natural origin. With a total of 70 artifacts, this unit contained the greatest abundance of cultural material of the Locus 2 test units (see Table 10).

*Unit N135E220:* In this unit the plowzone reached a depth of 28 cm bs. Four postmolds (PMs 98, 99, 100, and 101) and one feature (F 20) were identified. They were not excavated.

*Unit N135E230:* This was the only one of the 14 test units in both loci that did not produce any historic artifacts (see Tables 9 and 10). Stratum A reached depths between 25 and

27 cm bs. Below the plowzone, a total of six postmolds (PMs 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 75) and one feature (F 17) were encountered (see Tables 7 and 8). All were relatively faint stains in the subsoil.

PM 70 was shallow, extending 6 cm from the top of Stratum B. It had a tapered profile and an irregularly shaped base. PM 72 came to a sharply tapered point, extending to a maximum depth of 34 cm bs. PM 74 also had a sharply tapered point, and its depth measured a maximum of 32 cm bs. PM 75 was a very shallow post that disappeared at a depth of 1 cm below the top of Stratum B (Figure 32). Of these four posts, only PM 74 contained cultural material, a single piece of lithic debitage. PMs 71 and 73 are likely not posts. PM 71 appears to be a worm hole or a very narrow rodent burrow. In profile, its width was 3 cm in diameter, turning toward the south. Bisection of PM 73 revealed in profile a narrow shape curving to the east, also apparently a small rodent burrow.

F 17 was also bisected. In plan view, this feature measured roughly 10x8 cm, and its shape resembled a goldfish, with a rounded “head” to the east connected to a bifurcated “tail” to the west. Upon bisection, the western portion of the stain quickly disappeared. The profile of the remaining portion of the feature to the east had a tapered form extending 7 cm into the subsoil (Figure 33). Feature fill consisted of a 10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown mottled with 10YR 2/1 black sandy silt and did not contain artifacts. F 17 is interpreted as a plow-disturbed postmold.

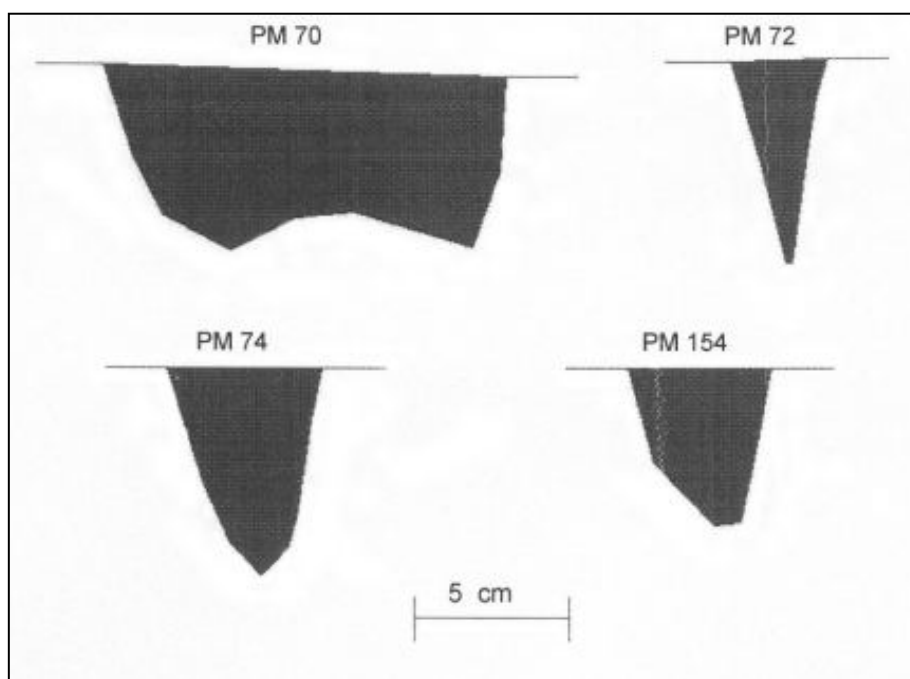
*Unit N150E220:* This unit was the northernmost excavated, located about 3 m from the treeline (see Figure 25). This area was slightly lower and moister than the other areas that were tested. At a depth of 32 to 34 cm bs, the plowzone was somewhat thicker than in the other test units. Post and features were also somewhat more dense in this unit. Seven postmolds (PMs

153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, and 159) and two features (Fs 28 and 28A) were discerned at the base of Stratum A (see Tables 7 and 8).

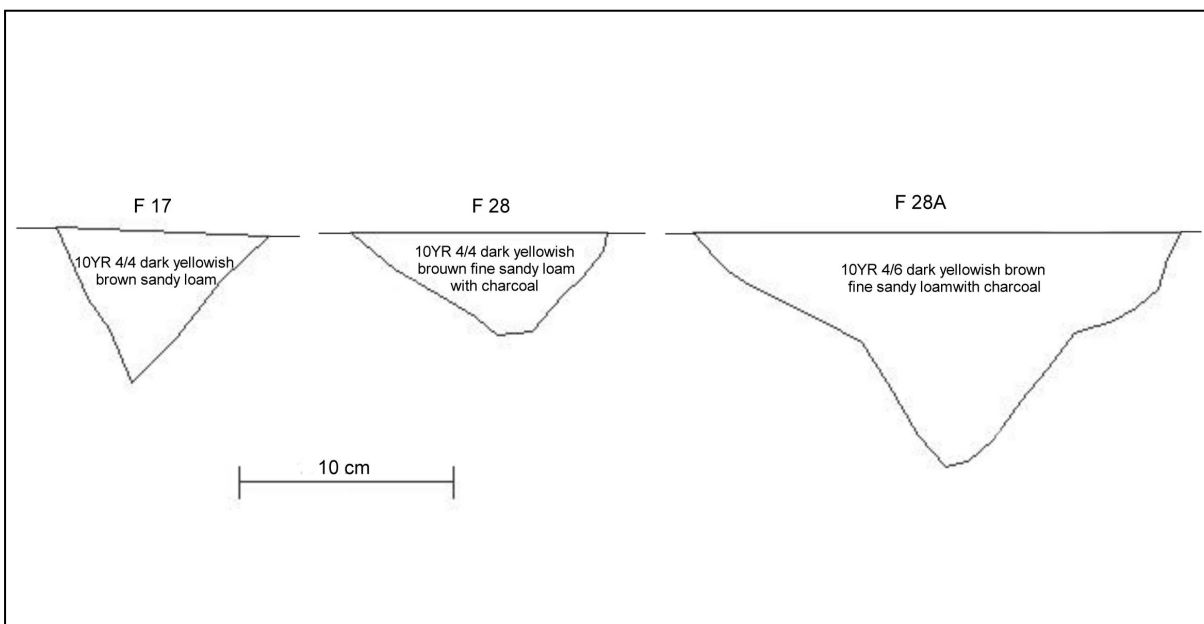
One of the posts (PM 154) and both features were bisected. PM 154 had a tapered profile and reached a maximum depth of 39 cm bs (see Figure 32). No artifacts were recovered from its fill.

F 28 appeared as a large, irregularly shaped soil stain measuring approximately 41x32 cm at the base of Stratum A. F 28A was located immediately to the southwest of F 28. In plan view it had a rounded shape, 25 cm in diameter (see Figure 33). Initially, the two features were thought to be a single anomaly in the subsoil, but upon scraping the unit floor for photography, they dissolved into separate features. Due to their juxtaposition, a small 15x60-cm trench was dug through the two features to explore their contents and profiles. F 28 had a maximum thickness of 5 cm, with a 1x9-cm worm or root disturbance extending from its north end. F 28A reached a thickness of 11 cm in its south profile. The fill of both features was fairly rich in charcoal content but did not contain any artifacts. They appear to be small storage pits.

*Summary:* Units in Locus 2 contained comparable numbers of postmolds and features to the test excavations in Locus 1, but quantities of artifacts were generally lower (see Tables 9 and 10). Prehistoric/indeterminate-age materials were proportionately greater in abundance in Locus 2 than in Locus 1; historic materials were present but in lower amounts. Based on the results of both surface collection and subsurface testing, this portion of the area of investigation is interpreted as the northern portion of the village Onontaré, with less intensive use than the areas to the south in Locus 1. It is possible that the village extended even further north of Locus 2, although testing in this wooded area was not undertaken. Locus 2 also provides evidence of utilization of the area by the prehistoric occupants of Hunter's Home.



**Figure 32: Locus 2 postmold profiles.**



**Figure 33: Locus 2 feature profiles.**

## **Block Excavation**

In order to clarify postmold patterns identified during the initial test unit excavations and hopefully identify housing remains, a larger area was opened around Unit N100E215 (see Figure 25). To follow the possible alignments of posts found at the top of Stratum B in this pit, discussed above, a series of test units of various dimensions was excavated. Ultimately, a total of 40 m<sup>2</sup> of the subsurface was exposed in the immediate vicinity of Unit N100E215 (Figure 34). Revealed were a fairly high density of posts and a number of features, as well as patterns of two overlapping structures, one an historic longhouse and the other an earlier dwelling. The results of these efforts are described in this section.

The block excavation was composed of 50 contiguous test units. These are summarized in Table 11. In general, units to the south of the block excavation had greater amounts of postmolds and features and greater artifact densities. Additionally, two 1x.5-m units (N110E209 and N110E210) were excavated several meters to the north of the horizontally cleared area in order to ascertain the extent of the longhouse that was identified (see Figure 25).

The methods utilized for the block excavation followed those described above for the initial test unit excavations. The plowzone was cleared manually primarily to allow for controlled screening and to maintain horizontal provenience of plowzone deposits, and also because mechanical stripping was discouraged as a provision of permit approval. Additionally, this strategy had the practical advantage of permitting the field crew to “chase” lines of posts and other structural features more efficiently and extemporaneously than would mechanical techniques. Fortunately, the loose texture of Stratum A deposits at the site allowed hand-excavation of this broad an area to progress rapidly.



**Figure 34: Block excavation area.**

**Table 11: Summary of Block Excavation Test Units**

Unit	Dimensions (m)*	Postmold Nos.	Feature Nos.
N101E212	.5 x 1	92, 93, 94, 95	-
N101E212.5	.5 x 1	161, 184, 185, 186	-
N102E212	.5 x 1	88, 89, 90, 91	-
N102E212.5	.5 x 1	256, 257, 258	43
N103E212	.5 x 1	51, 52	13, 14
N104E212	.5 x 1	-	-
N97E213	1 x 1	135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143	-
N98E213	1 x 1	119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129	24, 25
N100E213	1 x 1	199, 200, 201, 202, 298	3 (partial), 34
N101E213	.5 x 1	162, 303	3 (partial)
N101E213.5	.5 x 1	16, 17, 18	-
N102E213	.5 x 1	212, 213, 214, 215, 216	16 (partial)
N102E213.5	.5 x 1	19, 20, 21, 22, 287	16 (partial)
N103E213	1 x 1	268, 269	46 (partial)
N97E214 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172	29, 30
N98E214 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	188, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 249, 250	37, 38, 39, 40
N99E214 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211	-
N100E214	1 x .5	130, 131, 132, 133, 134	26
N100.5E214	1 x .5	29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39	8
N101E214	1 x 1	83, 84, 85, 86, 87	19
N102E214 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	207, 251	6 (partial)
N103E214	1 x 1	270, 271, 272, 273, 274	46 (partial)
N104E214	1 x 1	284, 285, 286	48
N97E215 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	187, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 320, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236	36
N98E215 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196	32, 33
N99E215	.5 x 1	77, 78, 80, 96	18 (partial)
N99E215.5	.5 x 1	79, 81, 82	16 (partial), 18 (partial)
N100E215 <sup>+</sup>	1 x 1	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10	1 (partial)
N101E215 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	255	1 (partial), 42
N102E215 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	251, 252, 253, 254	41, 31 (partial)
N99E216	.5 x 1	148, 149	16 (partial)
N99E216.5	.5 x 1	-	-
N100E216	1 x 1	63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69	15 (partial)
N101E216 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	265, 266, 267	-
N102E216 <sup>†</sup>	1 x 1	176, 177	31 (partial)
N103E216	1 x 1	178, 179, 180, 181, 182	31 (partial)
N107E216.5	1.5 x 1	292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297	-
N98E217	.5 x 1	53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58	9, 10 (partial), 12 (partial)
N98E217.5	.5 x 1	259, 260, 261, 262	10 (partial), 12 (partial)
N99E217	.5 x 1	44, 45, 46, 47, 48	10 (partial)
N99E217.5	.5 x 1	217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223	10 (partial), 35
N100E217	1 x 1	109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 160	15 (partial), 22, 23
N102E217	1 x 1	102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108	21

**Table 11 (continued)**

Unit	Dimensions (m)*	Postmold Nos.	Feature Nos.
N103E217	1 x 1	144, 145, 146, 147	-
N104E217	1 x 1	96, 97	-
N105E217	1 x 1	-	-
N106E217.5	1 x 1	290, 291	-
N104E218	1 x 1	281, 282, 283	47
N105E218	1 x 1	275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280	-
N104.5E219	.5 x 1	288	-

\* Given as east-west x north-south direction

† Sample of Stratum A fill screened through 1/8-in mesh

+ Excavated with series of initial test units

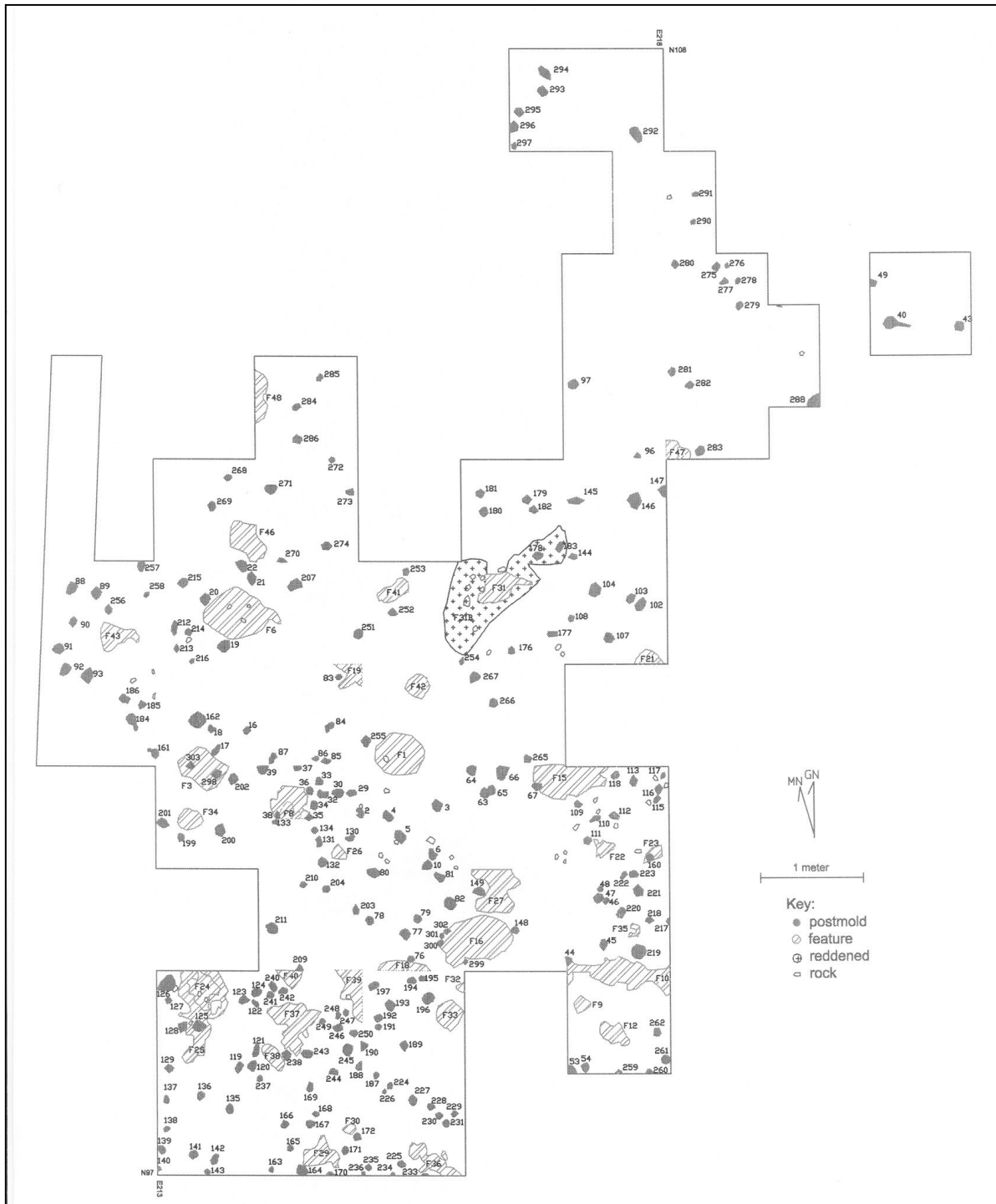
Within the block excavation area, a total of 252 postmolds and 38 features was identified. Descriptive data for the posts and features are presented within the following sections. Their locations are shown in Figure 35, which illustrates the floor plan of the top of the exposed subsoil in this locale. Artifacts recovered from the plowzone above this area (excepting modern materials) are summarized in Table 12.

### Features

Of the 38 features encountered in the horizontal clearing, 10 were bisected. Descriptions of the total 38 features found during the block excavation are summarized in Table 13, and those features that were excavated are discussed in further detail below. Four of these were interpreted as shallow refuse or storage pits and two pertained to a hearth area. Artifacts recovered from these six features are summarized in Table 14<sup>11</sup>. Additionally, two features were found to be recent collectors' pits, and one was a postmold. In general, the features were small in extent, ranging from .002 to .012 m<sup>3</sup>; however, these figures likely underestimate the original volumes

<sup>11</sup> It is notable that, as shown in Table 14, in several cases feature deposits contained more unburned bone than burned, in contrast to collections from the surface and plowzone, where unburned bone was quite uncommon. As mentioned earlier, it is likely that fertilization and plowing, combined with the natural acidity of the soil, made unburned bone more friable within the plowzone than within the sub-plowzone matrix.





**Figure 35: Block excavation floor plan.**

**Table 12: Artifacts Recovered from Stratum A, Block Excavation Area**

<b>Historic Artifacts</b>			<b>Prehistoric/ Indeterminate Artifacts</b>		
<b>Material</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Glass Beads</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24.11</b>	Lithic debitage	2508	41.44
Iron fragments	15	13.39	Lithic tools	83	1.37
Iron nails	5	4.46	FCR	17	0.28
Copper/brass fragments	35	31.25	Groundstone	2	0.03
Copper/brass point	1	0.89	<b>Total Lithics</b>	<b>2610</b>	<b>43.13</b>
Lead fragments	2	1.79	Pottery sherds	2117	34.98
<b>Total Metal</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>51.79</b>	Pipe fragments	6	0.10
<b>Euro-American ceramics</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>15.18</b>	<b>Total Pottery</b>	<b>2123</b>	<b>35.08</b>
<b>Gunflints</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1.79</b>	Burned bone	1135	18.75
<b>Kaolin fragments</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7.14</b>	Unburned bone	147	2.43
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100.00</b>	Teeth	28	0.46
			Modified bone	7	0.12
			Shell	2	0.03
			<b>Total Faunal</b>	<b>1319</b>	<b>21.79</b>
			<b>Total</b>	<b>6052</b>	<b>100.00</b>

of the features, since plowing has truncated the top portions of each one. None of the feature profiles revealed complex stratigraphy, and it is assumed that they all represent single episodes of use.

Because the area of investigation is essentially a palimpsest of the material remains left behind by the various groups who utilized the Rogers Farm site over time and because of the extensive disturbance from agricultural and construction activities, determining the age of features based on their contents is difficult. In general, it was interpreted that pits containing large potsherds and denser concentrations of pottery and lithics date to prehistoric usage of the site. Features with minimal amounts of pottery and/or lithic debitage may have been in use during either the prehistoric occupation of the site, or they may tentatively date to the time of the

**Table 13: Block Excavation Area Feature Data**

<b>Feature No.</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>E-W x N-S Dimensions (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
1	N101.11E215.37	47x40	13	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; contained pottery, fire-cracked rock, debitage, fish bone, fish scales; basin-shaped profile
3	N100.97E213.47	55x43	9	7.5YR 3/4 dk. brown; contained pottery, bone, lithics, and charcoal; top of feature plow disturbed; basin-shaped profile
6	N102.48E213.80	74x50	12	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; contained pottery, bone, lithics and charcoal; basin-shaped profile with rodent disturbance at base
8	N100.65E214.30	35x30	Not bisected	Central area of feature 7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown stain measuring 20x15 cm, surrounded by irregularly shaped 7.5YR 4/6 and 7.5 3/2 mottled area; possible natural soil anomaly
9	N98.67E217.14	16x17	23	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown round stain: contained banded slate pendant fragment, lithic debitage, and burned bone; interpreted as large postmold
10	N99.00E217.50	101x24	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown large oblong stain with charcoal; contained unburned bone (rodent jawbone and teeth)
12	N98.39E217.43	25x15	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown; fairly light, round soil stain
13	N103.2E212.17	30x8	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown linear stain; appears to be rodent disturbance, not a feature
14	N103.55E212.20	40x5	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown linear stain; appears to be rodent disturbance, not a feature
15	N100.87E217.01	70x33	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black; dark, oblong soil stain
16	N99.30E216.11	71x42	8	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; contained pottery, lithic debitage, burned bone, charcoal; shallow, basin-shaped pit
18	N99.05E215.43	57x10	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown linear stain along south wall of unit; did not extend into adjacent units; likely natural soil anomaly
19	N101.89E214.93	25x20	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown irregularly shaped stain in northeast corner of unit with burned bone; did not extend into adjacent units; likely natural soil anomaly
21	N102.03E217.80	33x15	Not bisected	10YR 6/6 brownish yellow mottled with 10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown stain with rounded shape extending from south wall; not fully exposed
22	N100.20E217.35	18x16	18	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown triangular stain; contained lithic debitage and burned bone; collector's pit
23	N101.15E217.84	16x13	22	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown triangular stain; contained burned bone and pottery; PM 160 encountered below feature; collector's pit

**Table 13 (continued)**

<b>Feature No.</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>E-W x N-S Dimensions (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
24	N98.80E213.46	30x40	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown irregularly shaped stain with charcoal; contained fire-cracked rock and bone
25	N98.36E213.42	48x90	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown diffuse stain surrounding F 24
26	N100.15E214.78	9x9	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black triangular stain; collector's pit
27	N99.82E216.33	37x41	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown, diffuse stain; did not extend into adjacent units; likely natural soil anomaly
29	N97.21E214.59	35x30	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black with charcoal flecks; collector's pit
30	N97.45E214.87	14x7	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black triangular stain; collector's pit
31	N102.74E216.36	45x28	7	10YR 2/2 v. dk. grayish brown mottled with 7.5YR 4/6 strong brown oval stain with charcoal, FCR, and burned bone, and pottery; 10YR 4/1 dk gray ashy deposit at top of feature; interpreted as hearth
31B	N102.74E216.36	108x94	12	5YR 4/4 reddish brown area around F 31; contained small amount of burned bone
32	N98.83E215.96	9x10	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black triangular stain with charcoal flecks; not fully exposed but likely collector's pit
33	N98.57E215.85	27x27	Not bisected	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown large round stain with charcoal flecks
34	N100.48E213.33	25x20	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown, large round stain aligned with Str. 1 south wall
35	N99.39E217.68	10x11	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black stain; ox-bow shape in plan view; possibly bottom of collector's pit
36	N97.12E215.70	35x15	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black rounded stain measuring 18x13 cm with lighter 10YR 3/2 dk. brown oblong soil stain extending from southeast edge; may represent rodent-disturbed pit feature
37	N98.49E214.34	50x55	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black; collector's pit
38	N98.16E214.14	14x30	Not bisected	Dark oblong soil stain; no Munsell color recorded
39	N98.82E214.91	25x50	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown diffuse, irregularly shaped soil stain; did not extend into adjacent units; likely natural soil anomaly
40	N98.93E214.31	24x16	Not bisected	Dark triangular soil stain; no Munsell color recorded; collector's pit
41	N102.70E215.35	35x15	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown oblong stain
42	N101.78E215.57	24x24	5.5	10YR 3/3 dk. brown round stain; contained burned bone, seeds, and charcoal; shallow, bowl-shaped profile

**Table 13 (continued)**

<b>Feature No.</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>E-W x N-S Dimensions (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
43	N102.27E212.62	38x20	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown plow-disturbed stain
46	N103.20E213.90	35x45	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown irregularly shaped stain with charcoal flecks
47	N104.08E218.08	23x19	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown; fairly light soil stain in sw corner of unit; did not extend into adjacent units; may be natural soil anomaly
48	N104.60E214.03	10x25	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black oblong stain protruding from east wall of unit; contained burned bone and charcoal

Cayuga Iroquois village, with the intrusion of these materials attributed to the mixing of deposits.

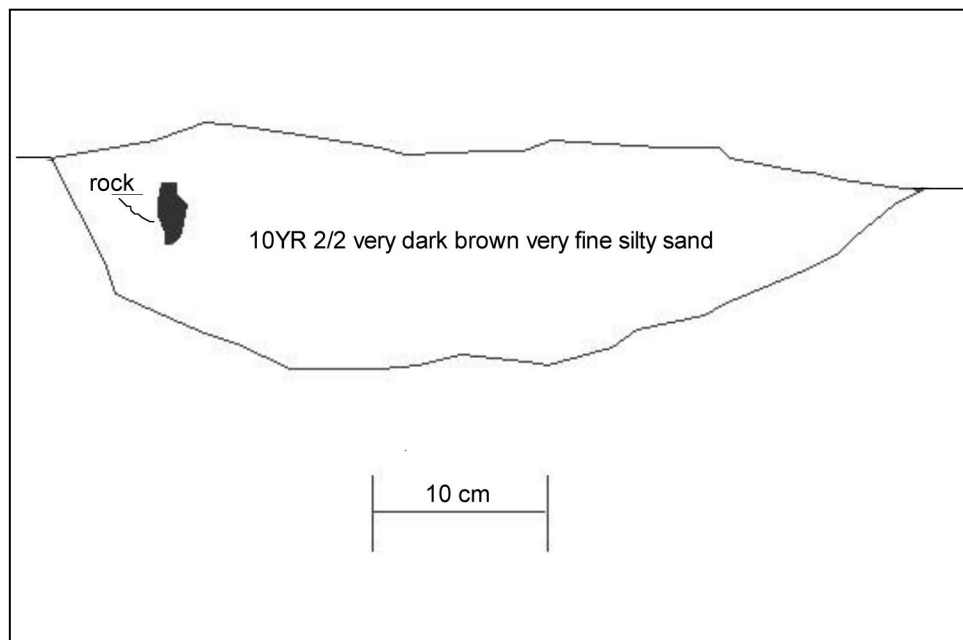
None of the features contained artifacts that would definitively date the deposit to the Contact period use of Rogers Farm.

*Feature 1:* In plan view, F 1 was a fairly round 10YR 2/2 dark brown soil stain measuring 47x40 cm; it was located across Units N100E215 and N101E215 (see Figure 35). The feature reached a maximum of 13 cm in thickness, deeper than any other feature bisected in the block excavation area (Figure 36). Its profile was bowl shaped and its fill consisted of a 10YR 2/2 very dark brown, very fine silty sand. Estimated total volume of F 1 is .04 m<sup>3</sup>. By count, F 1 held a greater amount of artifacts than the other features excavated in this part of the site, but artifact density was average (see Table 14). The most common artifact type was burned bone. Other materials recovered included unburned bone, cordmarked potsherds, lithic debitage, and small charcoal fragments. F 1 also contained several sherds of very coarse paste, two of which were rimsherds that mended. The rim shows several triangular dentations and wiping impressions, and the lip is fairly straight and almost pointed in profile. This pottery is typed as

**Table 14: Artifacts Recovered from Block Excavation Features**

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Feature 1</b>		<b>Feature 3</b>		<b>Feature 6</b>		<b>Feature 16</b>		<b>Features 31 &amp; 31B</b>		<b>Feature 42</b>	
	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>Density (count/ m<sup>3</sup>)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>Density (count/ m<sup>3</sup>)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>Density (count/ m<sup>3</sup>)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>Density (count/ m<sup>3</sup>)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>Density (count/ m<sup>3</sup>)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>Density (count/ m<sup>3</sup>)</b>
Lithic Debitage	19 (15)	950	9 (3)	1500	3 (5)	750	10 (30)	2500	2 (2)	667	0 (0)	0
Burned Bone	57 (45)	2850	20 (7)	3333	1 (2)	250	15 (45)	3750	47 (58)	15667	2 (100)	2000
Unburned Bone	37 (29)	1850	27 (10)	4500	14 (24)	3500	0 (0)	0	8 (10)	2667	0 (0)	0
Teeth	0 (0)	0	6 (2)	1000	1 (2)	250	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0
Pottery Sherd	7 (6)	350	206 (77)	34333	38 (64)	9500	8 (24)	2000	16 (20)	5333	0 (0)	0
Groundstone	1 (1)	50	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0
FCR	4 (3)	200	0 (0)	0	2 (3)	500	0 (0)	0	8 (10)	2667	0 (0)	0
Glass	1 (1)	50	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>6250</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>44666</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>14750</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>8250</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>27000</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2000</b>

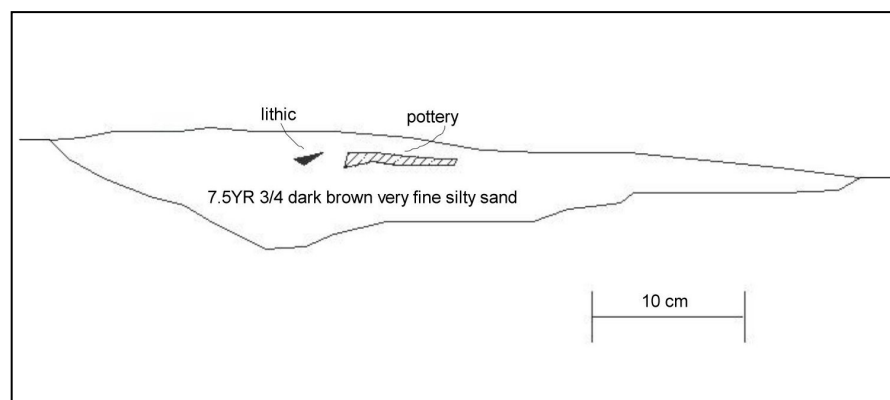
Vinette Dentate, dating from approximately AD 0 to 400 (Ritchie and MacNeish 1949:100), although this designation is tentative given the small portion of the vessel recovered. Furthermore, unique to the features excavated at the site, F 1 also contained fish bones and scales, as well as a small fragment of glass. This was the only historic/modern artifact found within the fill of all seven bisected features, its presence likely due to the mixing of materials seen across the site. Additionally, a fragment of a ground slate pendant was recovered from the interface of Strata A and B above the feature. It is interpreted that F 1 is a former refuse pit, likely used during the early to middle Point Peninsula occupation of Rogers Farm.



**Figure 36: Feature 1 profile.**

*Feature 3:* F 3 was fairly unusual among the features identified at the Rogers Farm site in that it was recognized at a relatively shallow depth within Stratum A. At approximately 14 cm bs, the feature first appeared as a dark stain along the south wall of Unit N101E213.5, containing charcoal, unburned bone, and a large amount of pottery. Several of these sherds found at the top of the feature were quite large, measuring over 10 cm in width. Because of the size of these finds and the recognition of the feature's boundaries within Stratum A, it appears that F 3 was only recently disturbed by plowing activity.

The feature was fully exposed upon the opening of Unit N100E213 and was shown in plan view to be an oblong stain measuring 55x43 cm (see Figure 35). Bisection of F 3 revealed it to be a fairly shallow, basin-shaped pit. It reached a maximum depth of 9 cm below the top of Stratum B (a total depth of 30 cm bs). The profile of the feature was asymmetrical, the thinner portion to the east likely the result of plow disturbance (Figure 37). The estimated total volume of F 3 is .012 m<sup>3</sup>, the largest of the features in this area. PMs 303 and 298 were encountered at the base of the bisection.



**Figure 37: Feature 3 profile.**



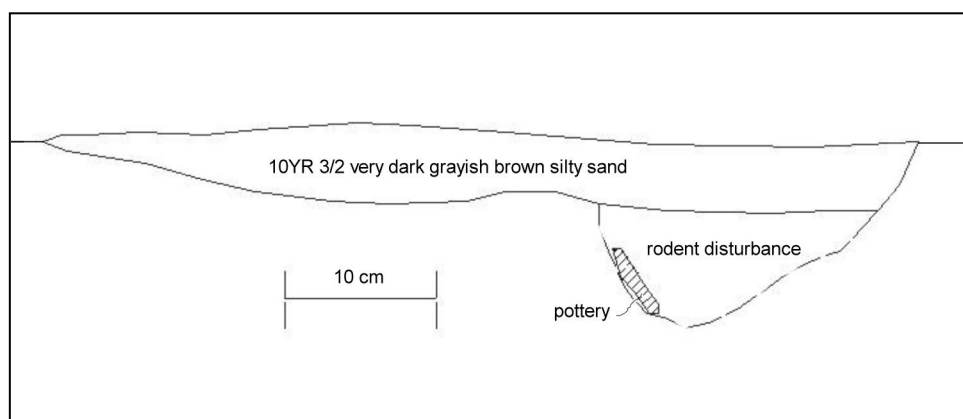
Fill consisted of a 7.5YR 3/4 dark brown very fine silty sand and contained a large quantity of pottery. Lithic debitage, burned and unburned bone, and small pieces of charcoal was recovered from the feature. A number of large cordmarked rim sherds that mended as well as smaller pottery fragments were also recovered (Figure 38). Much of the pottery featured thin cordmarkings in a cross-hatched pattern, often smoothed over, with oblique incising around the rim. It is tentatively identified as Wickham Corded (Ritchie and MacNeish 1949: 104), although the lip is more flattened than rounded. F 3 artifact densities were the highest of the 10 features excavated in this area (see Table 14). Based on the concentration of artifacts and pottery, the function of F 3 was likely a refuse pit during middle Point Peninsula times (ca. AD 200 – 400).



**Figure 38: Pottery recovered from Feature 3.**

*Feature 6:* F 6 was a large oblong stain, measuring 74x50 cm, located across Units N102E213 and N102E214 (see Figure 35). Like many of the features and postmolds identified at Rogers Farm, F6 had a small “tail” extending from its eastern edge, the apparent result of plowing. It was encountered at the top of Stratum B at 25 cm bs.

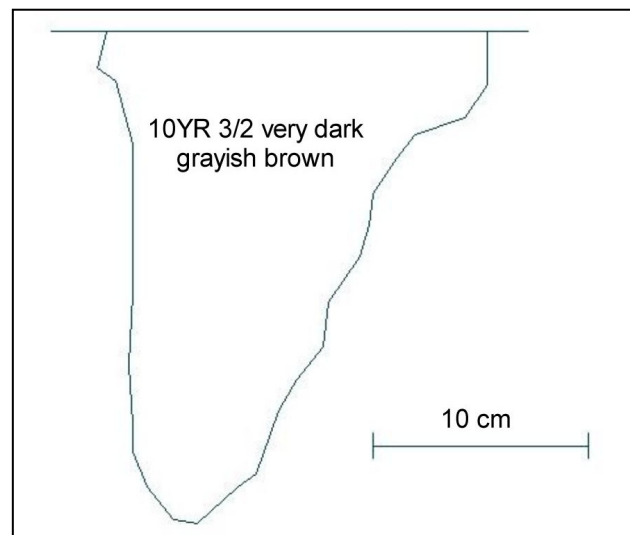
Bisection of the feature showed it to be a shallow, basin-shaped pit, averaging around 5 cm in thickness (Figure 39). The western end of the feature was deeper, reaching a depth of 12 cm from the top of the subsoil. F 6 fill was a 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown silty sand. Estimated total volume is .008 m<sup>3</sup>. Artifacts recovered included cordmarked pottery, fire-cracked rock, lithic debitage, charcoal fragments, burned bone, and unburned faunal materials (small mammal jaw, large mammal rib or long bone, and a rodent tooth fragment) (see Table 14). Several body sherds featured cross-hatched cordmarkings like the pottery from F 3 and is also tentatively identified as Wickham Corded (Ritchie and MacNeish 1949:104). F 6 is interpreted as a small refuse pit from the middle Point Peninsula phase of the Middle Woodland period.



**Figure 39: Feature 6 profile.**

A round soil stain measuring 7 cm in diameter was identified below the excavated portion of the feature, at 10 cm below the top of Stratum B and 10 cm north of the bisection line; this was designated PM 287. Upon further exploration, PM 287 was found to connect with the deeper portion of F 6, apparently representing rodent disturbance of the feature. The fill of this disturbance contained small pieces of cordmarked pottery, lithic debitage, and bone.

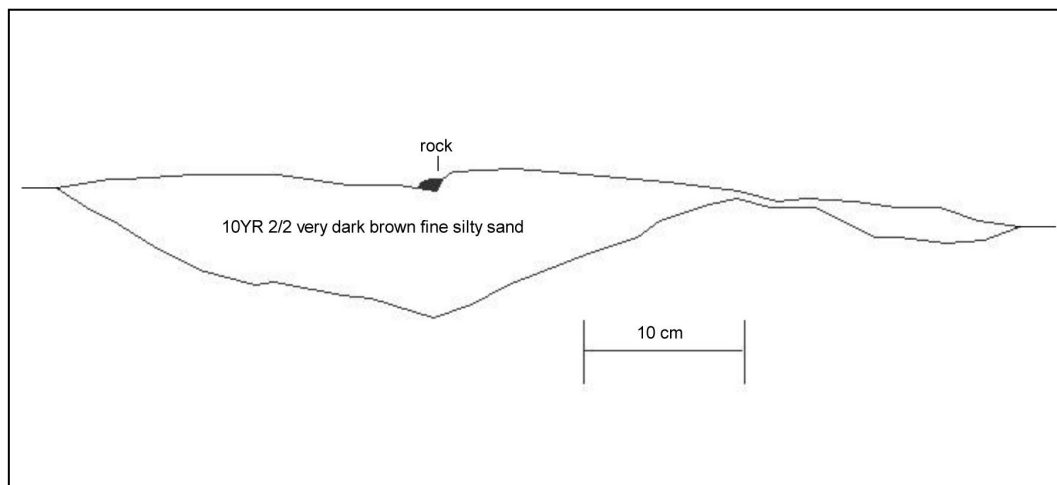
*Feature 9:* Upon bisection, F 9 was revealed to be a large postmold likely associated with the prehistoric occupation of the site. It was discerned as a dark (10YR 3/2) round stain at the base of Stratum A at 31 cm bs in Unit N98E217 (see Figure 35). Its profile was tapered and slightly angled and reached a maximum depth of 23 cm bs (Figure 40). Total volume of F 9 is estimated at .007 m<sup>3</sup>. The post's fill included char coal and a small quantity of artifacts, including one piece of lithic debitage, one burned bone fragment, and a fragment of a ground slate pendant.



**Figure 40: Feature 9 profile.**

*Feature 16:* F 16 was defined at 30 cm bs in Units N99E215 and N99E216 (see Figure 35). At the top of the feature, a good quantity of burned bone fragments and charcoal flecks were noted, as well as smaller quantities of unburned bone fragments. In plan view, F 16 measured 71x42 cm. The feature's estimated volume is .008 m<sup>3</sup>. Bisection of the feature showed it to consist of two parts. The main portion, to the west of the feature, was basin shaped; it measured 4 cm in diameter and 8 cm in thickness. The eastern portion of F 16 was shallow, 2 cm in thickness, and 18 cm in length (Figure 41). Again, plowing is believed to have caused the distortion of the profile. Three postmolds were encountered below F 16 at its western margin, at 33 cm bs; these were designated PMs 300, 301, and 302.

Fill was a 10YR 2/2 very dark grayish brown fine silty sand. Materials recovered included small cordmarked pottery sherds, lithic debitage, and burned bone, giving F 16 a lower degree of artifact diversity than the other features. Artifact density was also relatively low (see Table 14). Likely F 16 functioned as a single-use refuse pit. Its age is indeterminate.



**Figure 41: Feature 16 profile.**

*Features 22 and 23:* These features were identified in Unit N100E217 at about 37 cm bs. Both were triangular in plan with 10YR 2/2 very dark brown fill (Figure 42). They appeared to be spade marks from previous collecting activities at Rogers Farm. During a visit to the site when these features were exposed, Harold Secor confirmed that he had dug in this area in the past and that the pits may have been his. In order to satisfy a curiosity as to what artifacts may have been left behind, both Fs 22 and 23 were excavated. Neither contained many cultural remains. F 22 yielded two pieces of lithic debitage and two burned bone fragments; two small pieces of pottery, charcoal flecks, and two burned bone fragments were recovered from F 23. F 22 extended 11 cm in depth into the subsoil, while F 23 extended 7 cm.



**Figure 42: Stratum A floor plan, Unit N100E217 (facing east), showing Features 22 and 23.**

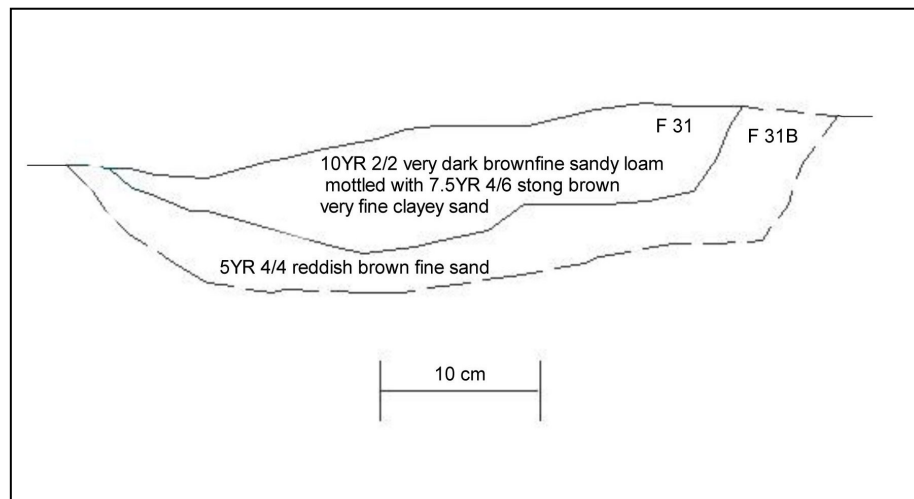
Several other features were encountered in the block excavation area that were similar in plan view to Fs 22 and 23, also appearing to be shovel marks from collector's pits. These include Fs 29, 30, 32, 35, 37, and 40 (see Table 13). Likewise, F 5, identified at N1103.20E209.60 in one of the two test units placed north of the block excavation area near the asparagus patch, appears to be a collector's pit. This feature measured 12x22 cm and its fill was a 7.5YR 3/4 dark brown deposit with charcoal.

*Features 31 and 31B:* F 31 was encountered at 23 cm bs in Unit N102E216 (see Figure 35). It consisted of a dark oval stain measuring 45x25 cm, with plow disturbance on its eastern side. A small ashy deposit (10YR 4/1 dark gray) and fragments of fire-cracked rock were noted at the top of the feature. Additionally, F 31 was surrounded by a larger area of reddened soil (5YR 4/4 reddish brown) which was designated F 31B.

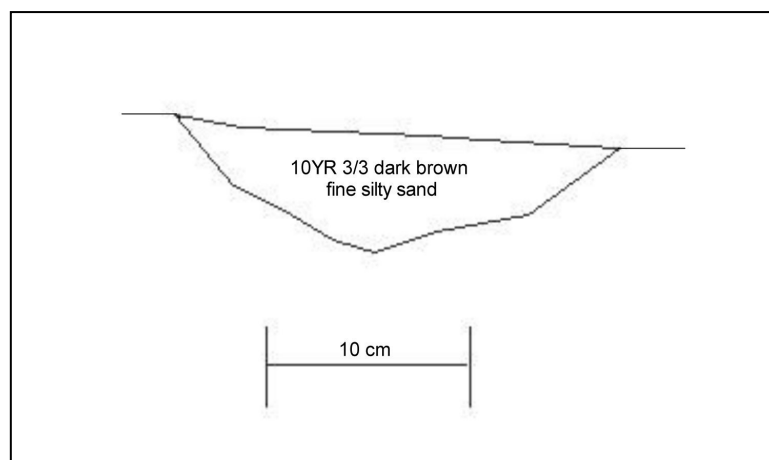
Bisection of F 31 showed it to be basin shaped and fairly shallow, extending a maximum of 7 cm from the top of the subsoil (Figure 43). Estimated volume is .006 m<sup>3</sup>. Fill was a 10YR 2/2 very dark brown very fine clayey sand mottled with 7.5YR 4/6 strong brown fine sand. It contained a fairly high charcoal content and a relatively large amount of burned bone, with lesser frequencies of unburned bone and pottery (see Table 14). One burned bone fragment was recovered from the surrounding F 31B fill. Together, Fs 31 and 31B appear to represent a hearth area; it may date to either the prehistoric or historic occupations of the site.

*Feature 42:* This feature appeared at 27 cm bs in Unit N101E215. It was a round, relatively light soil stain, measuring 24 cm in diameter (see Figure 35). Excavation showed F 42 to be relatively shallow, reaching a maximum depth of 5.5 cm below the top of the subsoil. The estimated volume of the feature is .002 m<sup>3</sup>, the smallest of the excavated features. The profile was fairly symmetrical and rounded in shape (Figure 44). Feature fill was a 10YR 3/3 dark

brown fine silty sand and contained relatively few artifacts, including only two pieces of burned bone (see Table 14). The paucity of artifacts may suggest that F 42 functioned as a storage pit that was subsequently emptied. Alternatively, it may represent a postmold, although it seems unlikely that a post with such a large diameter would have been planted so shallowly. Its age is indeterminate.



**Figure 43: Feature 31 profile.**



**Figure 44: Feature 42 profile.**

## Structural Remains

During the clearing of the block area, PM numbers were assigned to 252 soil stains seen at the top of the subsoil (Table 15). Of these, 61 were further explored. Upon bisection, 41 PMs were confirmed to be posts, along with F 9 (described in the previous section). Twenty stains proved to be rodent burrows or plowscar remnants. Figure 35 illustrates the locations of the confirmed posts as well as the 191 unexcavated PMs. Figure 45 presents profile drawings of the bisected PMs.

In interpreting the postmold patterns seen in the block excavation floor plan, outlines of two superimposed structures were defined: an end portion of a longhouse utilized by the seventeenth-century residents of Onontaré (Structure 1), and a part of a smaller, oblong dwelling associated with the Middle Woodland occupants of the site (Structure 2) (Figure 46). Summary statistics for the diameters and depths of the 233 confirmed and suspected postmolds associated with the two structures are presented in Tables 16 and 17, respectively. Because the two structures in part overlap, isolated posts—those other than the postmolds interpreted to be structural members such as walls or bench supports—could have been contemporaneous with either house. These isolated postmolds may have been used for temporary constructions, such as sweat baths, drying racks, or cooking pot suspension over a hearth, both inside and outside a structure.

A total of approximately 36 m<sup>2</sup> of Structure 1 was exposed. Figure 47 illustrates the interpreted contexts of the postmolds associated with the structure. The longhouse end measured 6.74 m in width. Alignments of posts were apparent at an average distance of 1.55 m toward the interior of the house from the west and east side walls; these were interpreted as support posts for



**Table 15: Block Excavation Area Postmold Data**

PM	Center Coordinates	Max. Diameter (cm)	Depth below subsoil surface (cm)	Description
2	N100.55E215.00	10	Not bisected	2.5Y 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
3	N100.63E215.75	9	Not bisected	2.5Y 3/6 v. dk. grayish brown
4	N100.57E215.27	11	24.5	10YR 3/3 dk. brown mottled with 10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included charcoal, burned bone, and 1 glass fragment; tapered profile
5	N100.33E215.40	14	Not bisected	2.5Y 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
6	N100.15E215.70	9	18	10YR 2/2 dk. brown mottled with 10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included charcoal, lithic debitage, and burned bone; irregular profile with square base
10	N100.05E212.64	10	35	2.5Y 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown mottled with 10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown; included lithic debitage and charcoal bits; tapered profile
16	N101.35E213.89	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
17	N101.15E213.59	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
18	N101.36E213.55	7	4	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecks; shallow post with tapered profile
19	N102.17E213.68	14	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
20	N102.63E213.50	9	17	10YR 2/1 black; included pottery, burned bone, lithic debitage, and charcoal; tapered profile with rodent disturbance at base
21	N102.83E213.95	14	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown
22	N102.95E213.87	12	Not bisected	10YR 4/5 dk. brown
29	N100.74E214.91	8	20	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown; included pottery and charcoal; slightly angled profile with irregular borders
30	N100.74E214.78	4	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
31	N100.54E214.75	10	0.5	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; superficial stain; not a post
32	N100.73E214.63	11	11	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecks; slightly angled profile
33	N100.85E214.60	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
34	N100.62E214.55	8	6	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecks; contained debitage and burned and unburned bone; square-shaped base
35	N100.50E214.50	6	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
36	N100.76E214.50	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
37	N100.98E214.38	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
38	N100.52E214.19	6	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
39	N100.96E214.05	11	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
44	N99.10N217.10	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
45	N99.26E217.35	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
46	N99.68E217.38	5	5	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; shallow post with tapered profile
47	N99.71E217.31	9	17	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; contained burned bone; tapered profile and pointed base
48	N99.80E217.33	11	5	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; shallow post with tapered profile

**Table 15 (continued)**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
51	N103.25E212.15	10	5	10YR 4/3 dk. brown; not a post; part of rodent burrow (F 13)
52	N103.80E212.10	18	5	10YR 4/3 dk. brown; not a post; part of rodent burrow (F 14)
53	N98.03E217.03	14	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
54	N98.05E217.17	12	2	10YR 2/1 black; shallow post with rounded base
55	N98.03E217.24	4	<.05	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; plowzone remnant; not a post
56	N98.12E217.27	7	<.05	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; plowzone remnant; not a post
57	N98.04E217.33	12	<.05	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; plowzone remnant; not a post
58	N98.10E217.20	11	<.05	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; plowzone remnant; not a post
63	N100.74E216.21	9	6.5	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown; included burned and unburned bone and charcoal; tapered profile with rodent-disturbed base; overlaps PM 65 and seems to be more recent
64	N100.97E216.08	11	Not bisected	Large dark stain with charcoal flecks; Munsell color not recorded
65	N100.76E216.27	7	10	10YR 5/6 brown; included burned and unburned bone; square-shaped base; overlapped by PM 63 and seems to be older
66	N100.94E216.37	11	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
67	N100.80E216.71	9	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
68	N100.30E216.27	8	5	10YR 5/6 brown; rodent disturbance
69	N100.15E216.35	4	3	10YR 5/6 brown; rodent disturbance
76	N99.12E215.47	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
77	N99.36E215.41	7	6	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with small amount of charcoal; slightly angled profile
78	N99.49E215.08	8	3.5	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; charcoal present; rounded base
79	N99.51E215.54	8	8	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown stain; included pottery and charcoal; tapered profile
80	N99.96E215.12	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
81	N99.88E215.76	10	9	7.5YR 4/6 strong brown; straight-sided profile with possible rodent/root disturbance at base
82	N99.66E215.86	11	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
83	N101.87E214.80	5	8.5	10YR 3/3 dk. brown with charcoal flecks; tapered profile
84	N101.38E214.69	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
85	N101.05E214.61	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
86	N101.08E214.56	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
87	N101.08E214.15	10	12.5	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown with charcoal flecks; prehistoric post with pottery pipe fragment and burned bone; tapered profile

**Table 15 (continued)**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
88	N102.74E212.18	10	4	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; shallow post with squared base and possible post pit
89	N102.68E212.43	10	11	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown faint stain; charcoal preset; tapered profile with rounded base
90	N102.40E212.19	10	28	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; tapered profile with square base, possibly rodent disturbed
91	N102.14E212.06	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
92	N101.93E212.11	12	9	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown with charcoal; squared base
93	N101.89E212.33	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
94	N101.60E212.35	4	3	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown diffuse stain; likely plowscar remnant; not a post
95	N101.45E212.40	7	4	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown diffuse stain; likely plowscar remnant; not a post
96	N104.03E217.71	5	Not bisected	10YR 2.5/0 black
97	N104.73E217.09	10	Not bisected	10YR 2.5/0 black
102	N102.58E217.74	13	11	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; post with slightly angled, irregular profile
103	N102.63E217.64	10	2.5	10YR 5/6 yellowish brown mottled with 10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; shallow post with squared base
104	N102.72E217.29	13	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
105	N102.34E217.43	7	15	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; rodent burrow; not a post
106	N102.27E215.50	9	<1	10YR 4/2 dk. grayish brown; plowzone remnant; not a post
107	N102.26E217.43	8	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
108	N102.45E217.06	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
109	N100.62E217.12	6	16.5	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown; included burned bone, pottery, and charcoal; tapered profile with some root disturbance; pointed base
110	N100.48E217.27	8	1.5	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown; included charcoal; shallow post with slightly pointed base
111	N100.28E217.21	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
112	N100.51E217.47	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
113	N100.87E217.66	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
114	N100.60E217.68	8	>20	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown; rodent burrow; not a post
115	N100.68E217.87	8	8	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; included charcoal, pottery, and burned and unburned bone; tapered post with rodent disturbance on side and worm hole or root disturbance at base
116	N100.77E217.89	9	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
117	N100.91E217.94	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
118	N100.91E217.47	7	Not bisected	10YR 6/6 brownish yellow
119	N98.05E213.80	10	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown

**Table 15 (continued)**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
120	N98.07E213.92	12	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. Brown
121	N98.22E213.97	15	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; plow disturbed
122	N98.66E213.96	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
123	N98.72E213.85	8	12	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; included burned bone and charcoal; tapered profile with disturbance on east side
124	N98.78E213.98	8	7	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown; contained pottery and charcoal; squared base
125	N98.45E213.41	14	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
126	N98.86E213.10	15	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
127	N98.70E213.11	6	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
128	N98.44E213.26	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
129	N98.04E213.11	8	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
130	N100.29E214.89	8.5	3	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; plow-disturbed; included pottery; tapered profile with rounded base
131	N100.26E214.59	8	15	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown mottled with 10YR 5/4 and 4/3 dk. yellowish brown; included small amount of charcoal and pottery; deeper post with rounded base
132	N100.07E214.62	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
133	N100.45E214.17	6	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
134	N100.38E214.55	5	3	10YR 3/1 v. dk. gray; plow disturbed; tapered profile
135	N97.65E213.71	10	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
136	N97.78E213.43	7	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown
137	N97.73E213.09	6	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown
138	N97.45E213.09	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
139	N97.24E213.04	8	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecking
140	N97.06E213.01	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
141	N97.21E213.35	8	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
142	N97.15E213.56	10	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecking
143	N97.03E213.48	6	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown with charcoal flecking
144	N103.05E217.09	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown stain with charcoal flecks
145	N103.59E217.11	14	7	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included pottery; pointed base
146	N103.59E217.69	13	4	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; shallow post with rounded base
147	N103.69E217.97	8	7	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included lithic debitage; tapers to pointed end
148	N99.42E216.48	6	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
149	N99.78E216.15	11	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
160	N100.11E217.81	6	Not bisected	Dark stain with charcoal flecks; Munsell color not recorded; encountered below F 23, at 44 cm bs
161	N101.12E212.99	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; plow-disturbed
162	N101.44E213.42	14	5	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown with charcoal flecks; included burned bone; rounded profile; possibly small pit

**Table 15 (continued)**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
163	N97.05E214.11	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
164	N97.05E214.41	12	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
165	N97.27E214.30	5	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
166	N97.50E214.24	10	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
167	N97.50E214.49	9	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
168	N97.60E214.55	4	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
169	N97.85E214.49	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
170	N97.02E214.67	6	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
171	N97.24E214.82	8	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
172	N97.37E214.95	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 yellowish brown
176	N102.12E216.47	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
177	N102.29E216.88	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
178	N103.05E216.74	10	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
179	N103.61E216.64	8	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
180	N103.48E216.21	8	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
181	N103.66E216.19	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
182	N103.51E216.70	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown
183	103.14E216.95	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown
184	N101.44E212.78	15	Not bisected	10YR 4/2 dk. grayish brown; plow-disturbed
185	N101.59E212.87	8	Not bisected	6YR 3/3 dk. brown
186	N101.66E212.70	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
187	N97.97E215.13	5	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
188	N98.06E214.96	7	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
189	N98.27E215.40	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
190	N98.26E215.01	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
191	N98.45E215.16	6	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black with charcoal flecks
192	N98.54E215.16	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
193	N98.66E215.27	11	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
194	N98.90E215.48	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
195	N98.92E215.58	4	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
196	N98.74E215.64	11	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black with charcoal flecks; contained lithic debitage
199	N100.30E213.25	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
200	N100.37E213.63	12	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
201	N100.44E213.07	10	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown with charcoal flecks
202	N100.87E213.76	9	32	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown; included burned bone and charcoal; sharply tapered profile
203	N99.59E214.94	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
204	N99.80E214.66	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
205	N99.35E214.73	8	5	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; part of rodent burrow, not a post
206	N99.25E214.63	10	<1	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; superficial stain; not a post
207	N99.18E214.36	7	<1	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; superficial stain; not a post
207	N102.77E214.37	15	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
208	N99.10E214.55	15	5	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown; part of rodent burrow; not a post
209	N99.02E214.40	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown

**Table 15 (continued)**

<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
210	N99.84E214.44	10	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
211	N99.42E214.13	4	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
212	N102.34E213.20	13	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
213	N102.14E213.21	8	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
214	N102.31E213.33	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
215	N102.78E213.28	8	Not bisected	10YR 2/1 black
216	N102.03E213.36	4	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
217	N99.48E217.98	4	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
218	N99.50E217.80	7	Not bisected	10YR 8/6 yellow
219	N99.19E217.69	12	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
220	N99.57E217.52	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/2 dk. grayish brown
221	N99.78E217.69	11	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
222	N99.94E217.55	7	Not bisected	10YR 4/2 dk. grayish brown
223	N99.94E217.65	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/1 v. dk. gray
224	N97.88E215.26	5	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
225	N97.11E215.38	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
226	N97.82E215.21	5	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
227	N97.74E215.49	11	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
228	N97.67E215.66	7	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
229	N97.62E215.89	6	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
230	N97.58E215.74	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
231	N97.51E215.80	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
232	N97.39E215.83	8	<1	10YR 3/3 dk. brown stain; superficial stain; not a post
233	N97.01E215.60	7	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
234	N97.01E215.29	4	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
235	N97.08E215.06	8	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
236	N97.01E215.01	5	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
237	N97.94E214.00	5	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
238	N98.18E214.26	9	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
239	N98.86E214.05	8	<0.5	Ephemeral dark stain that disappeared while scraping; Munsell color not recorded; plowscar remnant
240	N98.84E214.14	10	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
241	N98.78E214.12	7	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
242	N98.80E214.23	8	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
243	N98.19E214.45	11	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded; contained burned bone
244	NN98.01E214.73	7	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded; contained burned bone
245	N98.23E214.85	13	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
246	N98.44E214.77	9	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
247	N98.59E214.84	6	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
248	N98.56E214.76	7	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded

**Table 15 (continued)**

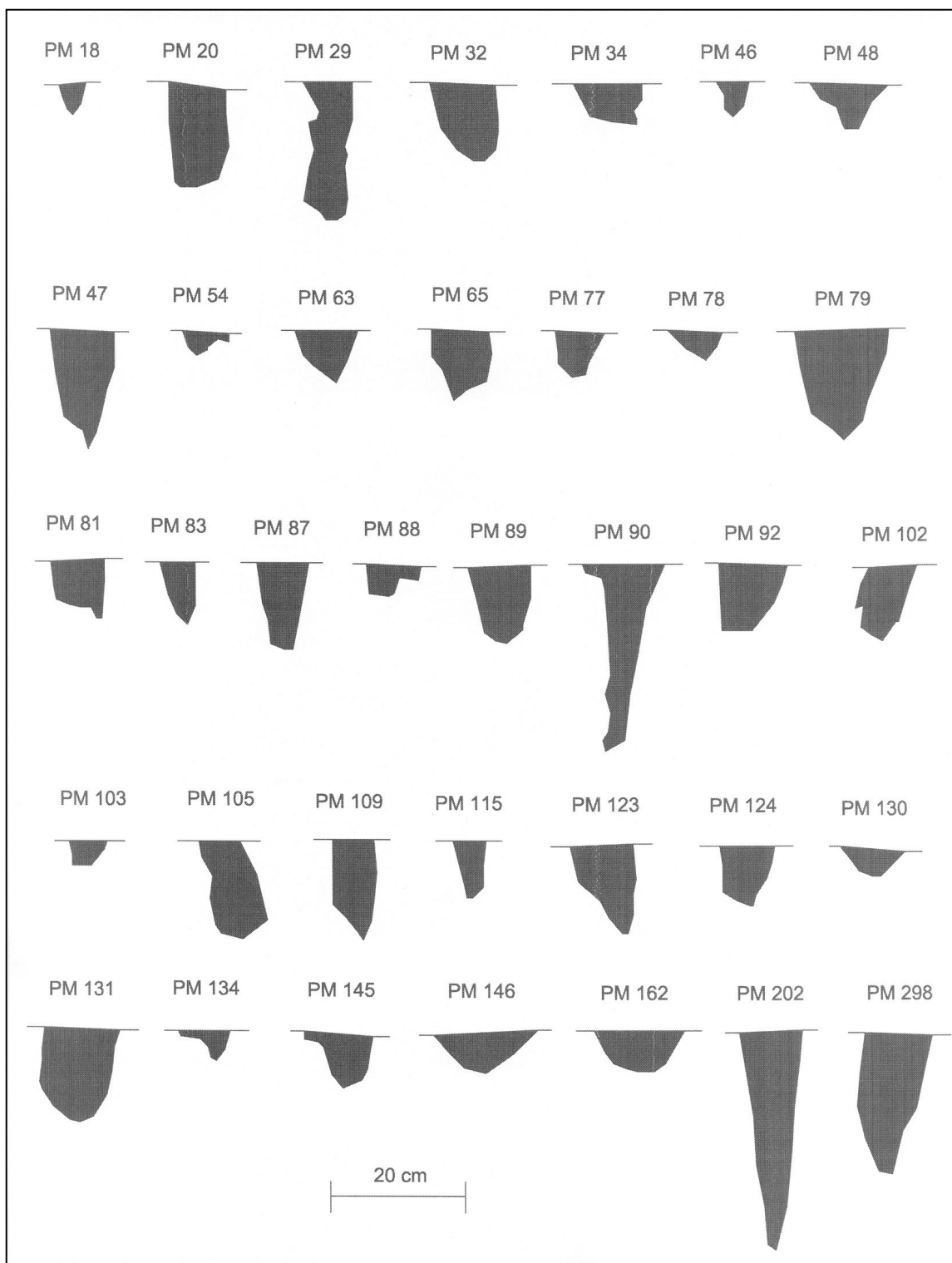
<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
249	N98.51E214.61	5	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
250	N98.39E214.92	6	Not bisected	Dark round stain; Munsell color not recorded
251	N102.29E214.99	10	Not bisected	Dark stain with charcoal flecks; Munsell color not recorded
251	N102.29E214.99	9	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
252	N102.50E215.32	8	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
253	N102.90E215.45	6	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
254	N102.02E215.99	6	Not bisected	Dark round soil stain; Munsell color not recorded
255	N101.24E215.06	11	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
256	N102.53E212.54	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown
257	N102.94E212.87	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
258	N102.67E212.93	5	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
259	N98.01E217.49	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
260	N98.01E217.79	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
261	N98.13E217.95	9	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
262	N98.04E271.86	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
265	N101.07E216.63	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; contained a FCR fragment
266	N101.61E216.30	9	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
267	N101.87E216.12	10	Not bisected	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown
268	N103.82E213.73	7	Not bisected	2.5Y 4/4 olive brown
269	N103.54E213.58	8	Not bisected	2.5Y 4/4 olive brown
270	N103.00E214.25	10	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/4 dk. brown
271	N103.70E214.15	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
272	N103.99E214.75	4	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
273	N103.67E214.92	6	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
274	N103.14E214.68	8	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
275	N105.86E218.49	7	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
276	N105.87E218.60	5	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
277	N105.72E218.57	8	Not bisected	7.5YR 4/6 strong brown
278	N105.73E218.70	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
279	N105.50E218.72	7	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
280	N105.89E218.09	7	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
281	N104.85E218.06	8	Not bisected	10YR 5/8 yellowish brown
282	N104.72E218.23	8	Not bisected	10YR 4/6 dk. yellowish brown
283	N104.07E218.32	10	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
284	N104.50E214.40	9	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown
285	N104.78E214.63	6	Not bisected	10YR 4/4 dk. yellowish brown
286	N104.19E214.41	5	Not bisected	10YR 4/3 dk. yellowish brown
287	N102.65E213.72	7	<1	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; encountered below F 6, at 34 cm bs; contained pottery; proved to be rodent disturbance
288	N104.54E219.45	15	Not bisected	10YR 3/4 dk. yellowish brown
290	N106.30E218.27	5	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown

**Table 15 (continued)**

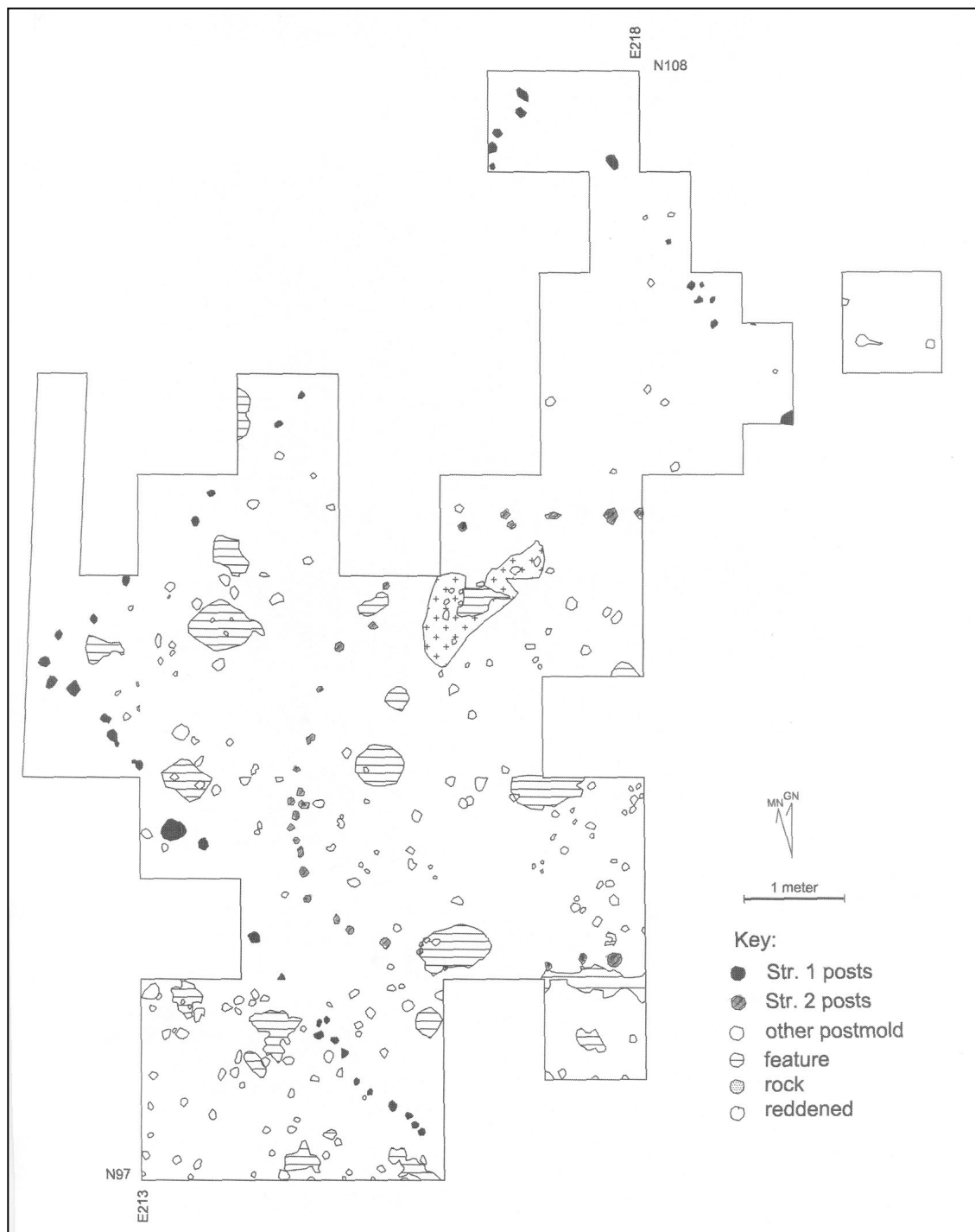
<b>PM</b>	<b>Center Coordinates</b>	<b>Max. Diameter (cm)</b>	<b>Depth below subsoil surface (cm)</b>	<b>Description</b>
291	N106.57E218.30	7	Not bisected	10YR 2/2 v. dk. brown
292	N107.16E217.73	14	Not bisected	10YR 3/6 dk. yellowish brown
293	N107.59E216.82	11	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown
294	N107.76E216.84	13	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/4 dk. brown
295	N107.38E216.59	9	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/4 dk. brown
296	N107.24E216.53	10	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/4 dk. brown
297	N107.05E216.54	8	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown
298	N100.92E213.59	10	26	10YR 3/2 dk. grayish brown with charcoal flecking; included burned bone, pottery, lithic debitage, and charcoal; encountered below F 3, at 26 cm bs; tapered profile
299	N99.09E216.01	5	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; encountered below F 16
300	N99.27E215.77	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/3 dk. brown; encountered below F 16
301	N99.34E215.78	5	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; encountered below F 16
302	N99.39E215.83	6	Not bisected	10YR 3/2 v. dk. grayish brown; encountered below F 16
303	N101.00E213.35	8	Not bisected	7.5YR 3/2 dk. brown; encountered at base of F 3, at 28 cm bs

sleeping benches. A storage cubicle was indicated by an alignment of posts 1.25 m from the north end wall of the house as well. Centrally located between the side walls was the hearth area defined by Fs 31 and 31B. As discussed in the previous section, the recovery of pottery from the hearth suggests the feature may be associated with the prehistoric occupation of the site; however, the pottery that was found was minimal and sherds were small (mostly crumbs), leaving open the possibility that Fs 31 and 31B were utilized by residents of the Contact period village, with mixing responsible for the appearance of prehistoric materials within the feature. The location of the hearth in the middle corridor of the structure—as is typical of Iroquoian longhouses—can be taken to strengthen this latter interpretation, although the possibility remains that this could be the result of mere coincidence. With these cautions in mind, the hearth is here assumed to be associated with the historic occupation of Rogers Farm.





**Figure 45: Postmold profiles from block excavation area.**



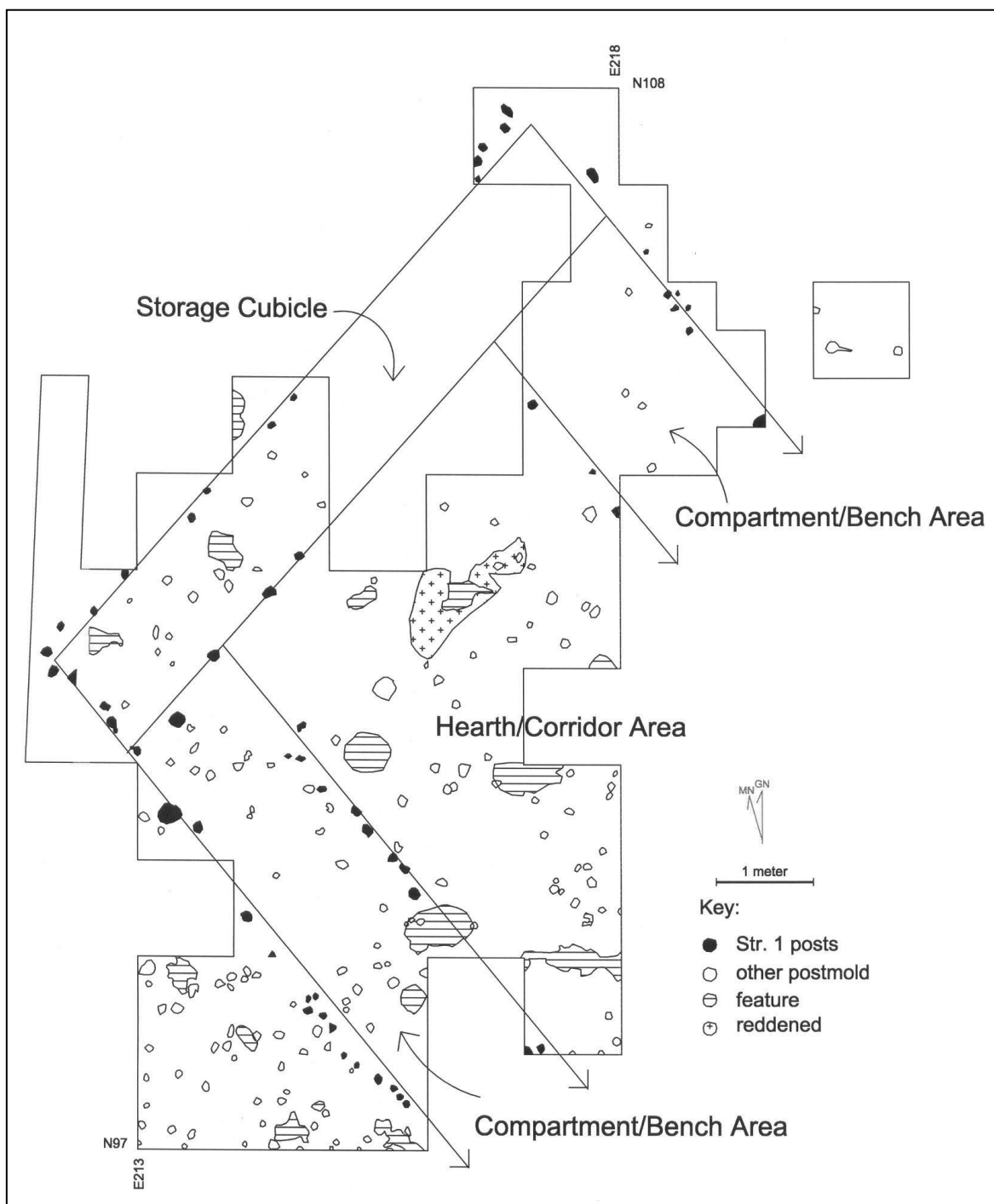
**Figure 46: Floor plans of Structures 1 and 2.**

**Table 16: Summary Statistics for Postmold Diameters**

<b>Context</b>	<b>No. Posts</b>	<b>Min. (cm)</b>	<b>Max. (cm)</b>	<b>Mean (cm)</b>	<b>SD (cm)</b>	<b>95% C.I.</b>
<b>Structure 1</b>						
East wall	9	5.00	15.00	8.33	3.67	5.51 – 11.16
North wall	14	6.00	13.00	9.14	1.75	8.13 – 10.15
West wall	22	5.00	15.00	8.45	2.86	7.19 – 9.72
All wall posts	45	5.00	15.00	8.64	2.71	7.85 – 9.43
Bench support	11	8.00	14.00	11.00	2.28	9.65 – 12.35
Compartment posts	3	8.00	15.00	12.33	3.79	2.93 – 21.74
All interior structural posts	14	8.00	15.00	11.29	2.55	9.90 – 12.68
<b>Structure 2</b>						
Wall posts	28	5.00	14.00	8.38	2.16	7.52 – 9.20
<b>Isolated Posts</b>						
Exterior to Strs. 1 and 2	50	4.00	12.00	8.06	2.55	7.34 – 8.78
Interior to Strs. 1 and 2	57	4.00	13.00	8.03	2.18	7.45 – 8.61
Str. 1 interior/Str. 2 exterior	38	4.00	17.00	8.21	2.98	7.23 – 9.19
All isolated posts	145	4.00	17.00	8.09	2.52	7.67 – 8.50

**Table 17: Summary Statistics for Postmold Depths**

<b>Context</b>	<b>No. Posts Bisected</b>	<b>Min. (cm)</b>	<b>Max. (cm)</b>	<b>Mean (cm)</b>	<b>SD (cm)</b>	<b>95% C.I.</b>
<b>Structure 1</b>						
East wall	0	-	-	-	-	-
North wall	2	11.00	28.00	19.50	12.02	0 – 127.50
West wall	1	9.00	-	-	-	-
All wall posts	3	9.00	28.00	16.00	10.44	4.19 – 27.81
Bench support	6	2.00	35.00	18.08	11.59	5.92 – 30.25
Compartment posts	1	5.00	-	-	-	-
All interior structural posts	7	2.00	35.00	16.21	11.68	7.56 – 24.86
<b>Structure 2</b>						
Wall posts	10	3.00	15.00	7.10	3.67	4.47 – 9.73
<b>Isolated Posts</b>						
Exterior to Strs. 1 and 2	3	4.00	12.00	7.67	4.04	0 – 17.70
Interior to Strs. 1 and 2	12	1.50	17.00	7.83	5.08	4.61 – 11.06
Str. 1 interior/Str. 2 exterior	6	4.00	32.00	19.08	10.05	8.53 – 29.63
All isolated posts	21	1.50	32.00	11.02	8.27	7.29 – 14.79



**Figure 47: Interpretation of Structure 1 floor plan.**

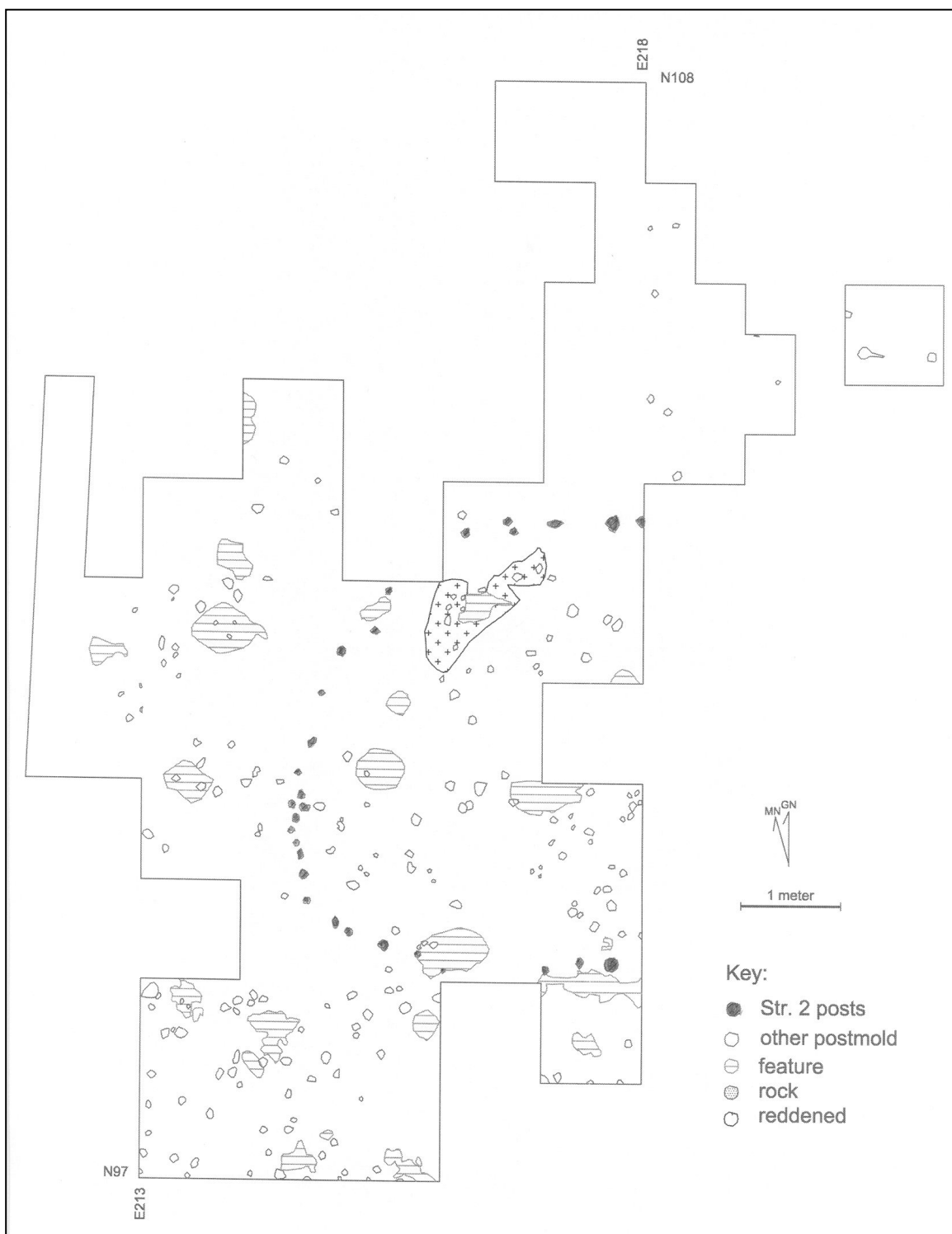
Post density varied among the three walls of Structure 1, likely due to differences in preservation. The west wall had 2.62 posts/m, the north wall had 2.24 posts/m, and the east wall had 1.68 posts/m, giving an average wall post density of 2.18 posts/m. The density of interior posts within the longhouse is approximately 2.40 posts/m<sup>2</sup>, and interior feature density is approximately .19 features/m<sup>2</sup>. These last two figures may be inflated by posts and features associated with the earlier structure.

Figure 48 illustrates the floor plan of Structure 2, with posts associated with Structure 1 construction omitted. Approximately 13.3 m<sup>2</sup> of Structure 2 was exposed. This smaller, oblong house measured about 4.5 m in width. It does not seem to feature any internal divisions. Wall post density is 3.00 posts/m, interior post density is 4.29 posts/m<sup>2</sup>, and interior feature density is approximately .53 features/m<sup>2</sup>. Again, these last two densities may be inflated because some posts and features located within Structure 2 date to the historic occupation.

Given Structure 2's narrow width and lack of interior partitioning, it does not appear to be a longhouse. Rather, it is likely a residential structure associated with the pre-Iroquoian occupations of the Rogers Farm site. Although it is not possible to date the house definitively, it likely pertains to Middle Woodland period usage of the site. Small, oblong structures similar in dimensions and layout to Structure 2 have been identified at the late Point Peninsula Kipp Island site located southeast of Rogers Farm near the southern end of the Montezuma Wetlands (Ritchie and Funk 1973) and the Pickering phase Auda site in southeastern Ontario (Kapches 1990)<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> A study of differences in Middle and Late Woodland housing patterns may provide another line of evidence in unraveling the transition between the two periods (see Chapter 3). It is my impression that later Owasco houses tend to be wider with more regular interior organization than earlier Point Peninsula houses such as Structure 2; in short, they are more longhouse-like.



**Figure 48: Structure 2 floor plan.**

Comparison of some of the metric attributes associated with the Structure 1 and 2 posts can begin to provide some insight into the construction practices of the houses' builders. There were no significant differences in diameter across the posts making up the longhouse's three walls ( $F = .34$ ;  $df = 2, 44$ ;  $p = .72$ ). Likewise, Structure 1's wall posts were not significantly larger in diameter than the isolated posts ( $t = 1.27$ ,  $df = 188$ ,  $p = .10$ ). However, the wall posts, which averaged 8.64 cm in diameter, were significantly smaller than the interior structural posts, which averaged 11.29 cm in diameter ( $t = 3.22$ ,  $df = 57$ ,  $p = .001$ ). The use of narrower posts for building walls and wider posts for interior structures is typical of Iroquoian longhouses (Kapches 1994). No significant difference in depth between the wall and interior structural posts was detected ( $t = .03$ ,  $df = 8$ ,  $p = .49$ ); this may be a function of the small sample of bisected posts, or it may indicate that posts of larger diameter did not require deeper placement than smaller posts.

The wall posts of Structures 1 and 2 were not significantly different in diameter ( $t = .47$ ,  $df = 71$ ,  $p = .32$ ). However, the wall posts for Structure 1 (mean depth = 16.00 cm) were sunk significantly deeper into the ground than those for Structure 2 (mean depth = 7.10 cm) ( $t = 2.43$ ,  $df = 11$ ,  $p = .02$ ). This is a particularly strong difference, given that only three Structure 1 wall posts were included in the sample. Conversely, Structure 2 had a greater wall post density than Structure 1. These patterns may be reflective of differing construction techniques between the Cayuga and the earlier residents of Rogers Farm. Similar sized posts were utilized in both houses, but in the longhouse the walls were built of fewer supporting posts placed more deeply below the surface than in the prehistoric house.

The difference between the two houses in wall post density may also be related to differences in structure use. Higher wall post, interior post, and feature densities may all point to

differences in the intensity and duration of use. The factors that influenced changes in longhouse construction and use into the Contact period will be discussed in the next chapter of the dissertation, where further comparisons with earlier housing practices will be accomplished.

### **Prehistoric Occupation**

The remainder of this dissertation deals with archaeological evidence of the Contact period village recovered during the Summer 2000 excavations of the Rogers Farm site. In concluding the present chapter, this final section provides a brief summary of the remains related to the prehistoric usage of the site that were encountered during the field investigations. The majority of the materials found predate the historic occupation of the site, yet few diagnostic artifacts were included within the assemblage, which overwhelmingly consisted of lithic debitage, burned bone, and highly fragmentary pottery from surface and plowzone contexts. Along with debitage, chipped-stone artifacts included formal tools such as knives, scrapers, drills, and projectile points. Of the points recovered, 21 were complete enough to be typed; all were recovered from the plowzone or surface (Williams-Shuker n.d.). These diagnostics, in addition to the identifiable pottery from Fs 1, 3, and 6, permit a rudimentary reconstruction of exploitation of the site by prehistoric groups during the centuries prior to the establishment of Onontaré in the AD 1660s.

The earliest period represented by the collection is the Late Archaic. Lamoka and Brewerton materials are both present and are nearly equally represented, with five Lamoka and four Brewerton projectile points. All the Lamoka bifaces were broken, while the Brewerton points consisted of two complete side-notched points, one eared-notched point with a broken tip, and one side-notched point that was worn and reused as an endscraper or strike-a-light. At a minimum, these remains suggest that Late Archaic peoples utilized Rogers Farm as a hunting



ground, but their disturbed context prevents the determination of other activities that may have taken place at the site during this period.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Lamoka and Brewerton materials are occasionally found together within the same locale, such as at the nearby Ross and DiSanto site, about 1.4 miles northeast of Rogers Farm (Secor 1987:23, 56), and at the Clauson site in the southwestern Finger Lakes region (Levine 2004). Unfortunately, it is unlikely that the Late Archaic remains yielded by the Rogers Farm site during the Summer 2000 excavations can be used to explore the relationship between Lamoka and Brewerton components, or to evaluate the suggestion that Lamoka and Brewerton are instead two contemporary toolkits (Levine 2004), given the context of their recovery.

A good number of Transitional sites have been previously identified in the immediate vicinity of the Rogers Farm site (see Figure 14). Somewhat surprisingly, none of the prehistoric artifacts in the assemblage dated to this time period. This is most likely a function of the vagaries of sampling, although it may underscore how closely groups were tied to the marshline and riverine resources during the period.

On the other hand, during the 2000 field season some Early Woodland remains were identified, a period that is often absent on northeastern sites, possibly due to widespread population declines (Fiedel 2001). A base of a Meadowood point and a lobate-based Adena-like point (likely unfinished) were found. Additionally, a thin leaf-shaped blade and several slate gorget fragments were recovered. These are typical Meadowood objects, although they may be associated with later periods as well (Ritchie 1969). Harold Secor (personal communication 2000) also reported finding Meadowood cremation pits during his investigations of the site, indicating more intensive use of the vicinity than during earlier periods. In addition, the

Meadowood point base and the leaf-shaped blade were among the few chipped-stone artifacts found at the site that were not manufactured of locally available Onondaga chert, which, along with the Adena-like point (which was made of the local raw material), provides some evidence that the occupants of Rogers Farm were linked to the long-distance exchange and communication network in place during the Early Woodland.

Evidence of the Middle Woodland period shows even more intensive and longer-term use of the Rogers Farm site, with not only diagnostic lithic materials and pottery but also pits and housing remains identified during the field investigations. As discussed earlier in this chapter, F 1, on the basis of the presence of Vinette Dentate pottery, appears to be an early to middle Point Peninsula storage pit. The recovery of fishbones as well as terrestrial faunal remains from F 1 indicates exploitation of the area as a hunting and fishing location, likely used seasonally. The occupation may possibly be associated with the construction of the Hopewell mound found at the Bluff Point site, just across the Seneca River from the site (Secor 1987:56).

Pottery from Fs 3 and 6 demonstrates later Point Peninsula usage of the site. Contemporary lithic artifacts consist of a Jack's Reef Pentagonal point. The features, together with Structure 2, also believed to date to this phase, and the burials encountered previously by Harold Secor (personal communication 2000), suggest use of the site as a semi-permanent base camp toward the end of the Middle Woodland period.

A total of seven Levanna projectile points (1 complete and 6 broken) were recovered from surface and plowzone contexts. Levanna points are generally associated with the Owasco phase of the early Late Woodland period, although there is some overlap with the late Middle Woodland (see Chapter 3). A number of Owasco pits were identified by Harold Secor during his earlier work at the Rogers Farm site (personal communication 2000), although none of the

features excavated during the fieldwork of Summer 2000 were definitively dated to this period. However, the bulk of the potsherds recovered from the surface and plowzone were cordmarked, a technique that becomes more frequent during the Late Woodland period. Archaeological deposits containing late Point Peninsula and Owasco remains are fairly common in the project vicinity (see Table 2 and Figure 15), which was apparently heavily utilized by prehistoric groups during these periods.

Concurring with previous characterizations of the site, Rogers Farm does not seem to have been as intensively utilized by classic Iroquoian peoples as during the preceding centuries, with a hiatus between the early Late Woodland and Contact period Cayuga occupations evident. No distinctively Iroquois pottery was encountered during the investigations and no evidence of a village is present, likely due to the lack of high, defensible landforms. There were, however, two small, triangular projectile points that are likely typed as Madison within the Summer 2000 assemblage. It is quite likely that groups from the Dhondt site, about 1 mile southwest of Rogers Farm, or from other Iroquois settlements in the region, forayed into the vicinity to hunt and take advantage of its diversity of resources.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the area surrounding the Rogers Farm site has been an important location in addressing the problem of the Middle to Late Woodland transition, as well as the question of Iroquois origins. Due to the project's research questions, however, the excavations at Rogers Farm undertaken during the Summer of 2000 were more closely geared toward understanding the seventeenth-century occupation of the site; for example, a greater emphasis was placed on the recovery of remains associated with the Contact period longhouse

than on bisection of features believed to be prehistoric<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, data recovered during the fieldwork sessions showed that prehistoric materials related to the Point Peninsula and Owasco periods are more abundant than evidence of other phases, and it is hoped that the information will contribute to the greater body of archaeological materials associated with this transition that has previously been assembled. What *is* clear from the diagnostic prehistoric materials discussed here, as well as from the great volume of artifacts of indeterminate age recovered from the site, is that Rogers Farm indeed can be considered a “persistent place” ( *sensu* Rieth 2002), its resource-rich natural setting extremely inviting to the populations of what is now central New York state for millennia.

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<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, because human remains had previously been encountered across the field, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the minimization of the possibility of encountering burials was another motivation in leaving larger features intact.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION**

In this chapter, the analyses of the archaeological evidence recovered from the Rogers Farm site are presented. The goal of the procedures conducted herein is to be able to utilize the information gathered from the site to evaluate the study's primary research hypotheses, as set forth in Chapter 4.

First, the longhouse patterns identified at the site are discussed. The architectural remains are compared with longhouse patterns from earlier Cayuga sites and with contemporary houses in other Iroquois areas. The size, structural attributes, and spatial organization of the structures are considered.

Second, the assemblage of historic artifacts recovered during the investigations is examined. Artifacts related to the historic occupation of the Rogers Farm site found in association with the longhouse (Structure 1) are analyzed as a reflection of the activities performed within the household context. The organization of domestic activities at Rogers Farm is contrasted with household assemblages from the Klinko site, a prehistoric Cayuga Iroquois village. The entire historic assemblage is then compared to previously documented collections from other Contact period Cayuga sites in order to assess community-wide patterns in the adoption of European goods. Functional analyses are also conducted to trace changes over time in the activities represented in the assemblages.

In the final portion of the chapter, the artifact inventory is considered from a gendered perspective as a means of reconstructing differences between men and women in the selection of and access to European goods as the Contact period unfolded.

## **Longhouse Patterns**

The portion of the longhouse that was revealed provides one important line of investigation into how the community of Onontaré responded to the increasingly permanent European presence in Iroquoia. In this section, I compare the Rogers Farm longhouse to data on prehistoric and contemporary houses known from Cayuga territory and from other parts of Iroquoia as a means of determining the degree of change in longhouse architectural practices into the Contact period, which in turn is expected to reflect transformations in the organization of the households that created these dwellings. A number of structural attributes are examined and discussed, including those related to size, post and feature densities, and the organization of space.

Structure 1, the portion of the longhouse that was uncovered at the Rogers Farm site currently represents the only documented Cayuga Iroquois historic period residential structure. Additionally, existing information regarding pre- and protohistoric longhouses in the Cayuga area is relatively scanty, particularly in comparison to the amount of data available for houses in the Mohawk region and especially in Ontario. Data for two partially excavated longhouses at the Klinko site and three partially excavated longhouses at the Carman site were available for analysis (Kathleen Allen, personal communication 2000; Nelson 1977; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998). A small segment of a longhouse wall and interior was also identified at the Indian Fort Road site (Baughner and Clark 1998:46). All three sites are located southwest of Cayuga Lake. The Klinko site dates from approximately AD 1450 – 1500 (Niemczycki 1984; Nelson 1977), the Indian Fort Road site dates from approximately AD 1500 – 1525 (Baughner and Clark 1998; Niemczycki 1984), and Carman is dated from about AD 1550 – 1600 (Allen 2002; Niemczycki 1984).

The Cayuga data were examined in conjunction with information on an additional 216 longhouses from the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Huron, and Neutral areas. The dataset includes both fully excavated and partially exposed structures. The residences date from the early fifteenth to late seventeenth centuries, representing house forms from the beginning of the classic Late Iroquoian period up through the end of the early historic period. Table 18 presents the excavated sites with longhouse evidence that are utilized in this study.

In compiling the comparative longhouse data, I relied for the most part on the interpretations made by the author of a particular study, supplemented by my own assessments of floor plans as necessary, when they were provided in the published literature. In some cases, floor plans were used to determine measurements for additional attributes not mentioned by the author. In other cases, observations made by an author were modified on the basis of the floor plans to conform with the measurement conventions used herein. For example, several house lengths reported by Snow (1985b) do not include storage cubicles; here, the total maximum length of a structure is used. However, some reproduced floor plans did not present a sufficient level of detail and/or were drawn at scales that did not permit further examination of structural variables, even when the maps were enlarged. For these reasons, only rudimentary measurements are given for some longhouses, even though they were fully excavated.

Before proceeding, other potential problems with the dataset should be noted. First, a number of the longhouses used in the analysis, including the one from Rogers Farm, were incompletely excavated. It is therefore necessary to assume that the exposed portions sufficiently represent the organization and characteristics of the entire structure. Also, assessing the statistical significance of any observed differences within the Cayuga region is limited by the fact that the longhouse identified at the Rogers Farm site comprises a sample of one Contact

**Table 18: Comparative Longhouse Data Sources**

<b>Site</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Date Midpoint</b>	<b>No. Houses</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Klinko	Cayuga	1475	2	Nelson 1977; Allen, personal communication 1998; Niemczycki 1984
Indian Ft. Road	Cayuga	1513	1	Baughner and Clark 1998; Niemczycki 1984
Carman	Cayuga	1575	3	Allen 2002, personal communication 1998; Niemczycki 1984; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998
Elwood	Mohawk	1475	1	Snow 1985b
Getman	Mohawk	1475	6	Snow 1985b
Ostungo	Mohawk	1513	1	Snow 1985b
Garoga	Mohawk	1552	9	Funk and Kuhn 2003; Grumet 1995; Snow 1985b
Klock	Mohawk	1552	1	Funk and Kuhn 2003; Grumet 1995; Snow 1985b
Smith Pragerie	Mohawk	1570	1	Funk and Kuhn 2003; Snow 1985b
Rumrill-Naylor	Mohawk	1640	2	Snow 1985b
Caughnawaga	Mohawk	1686	12	Snow 1985b
Schoff	Onondaga	1400	1	Tuck 1971
Bloody Hill	Onondaga	1420	1	Tuck 1971
Burke	Onondaga	1480	2	Tuck 1971
Temperence House Ft.	Onondaga	1575	1	Tuck 1971
Atwell Ft.	Onondaga	1675	1	Tuck 1971
Weston	Onondaga	1683	10	Sohrweide 2001
Buyea	Oneida	1530	1	Whitney 1970 in Pratt 1976
Bach	Oneida	1570	1	Whitney 1967 in Pratt 1976
Thurston	Oneida	1630	1	Whitney 1964 in Pratt 1976; Grumet 1995
Ganondagan	Seneca	1678	1	Dean 1984 in Lewis-Lorentz 1990
Draper	Huron	1475	29	Finlayson 1985; Kapches 1990
Ball	Huron	1605	37	Kapches 1990; Knight 2002
LeCaron	Huron	1640	6	Johnston and Jackson 1980
Christianson	Neutral	1623	8	Noble 2002
Thorold	Neutral	1623	15	Noble 2002
Walker	Neutral	1633	9	Noble 2002
Hamilton	Neutral	1643	5	Noble 2002
Hood	Neutral	1646	11	Noble 2002
Bogle I	Neutral	1646	3	Noble 2002
Bogle II	Neutral	1648	2	Noble 2002
Data compiled from various sites	Neutral	1530	32	Dodd 1984



period Cayuga dwelling. Only a limited amount of information was available for the Seneca and Oneida as well. In the interest of representing as many tribal areas and time periods as possible these data have been included in the inferential statistical procedures as much as possible, although their usefulness is somewhat restricted by these small samples in some of the analyses. It should be stated that future archaeological recovery of additional structures could possibly reveal patterns different than those described herein.

As discussed in Chapter 3, several aspects of longhouse construction such as width have been shown to vary regionally within Iroquoia, making comparisons of the Rogers Farm longhouse with structures from earlier Cayuga sites of prime interest. Other attributes such as length have been found to vary over time across Iroquoia. For these reasons, the dimensions of time and tribal area are controlled for in the proceeding analyses. This approach will enable the investigation of construction practices among the Cayuga over time, as well as the ability to discern if any changes observed in Cayuga territory coincide with or differ from changes in other parts of Iroquoia as the seventeenth century ensued. As such, these findings will reflect whether household-level responses to European interaction varied among Iroquoians as each region devised unique strategies in facing the challenges of the period, or if these processes were instead more uniform across Iroquoia.

### **House Size**

Of the 223 longhouses considered in this analysis, 201 were excavated completely enough to estimate house length, and total house area could be calculated for 122 structures (Tables 19 and 20). Unfortunately, these do not include any Cayuga longhouses—there are no longhouse data from contemporary historic Cayuga sites against which to compare the size of the

**Table 19: Summary Statistics for Longhouse Length**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (m)	Max. (m)	Mean (m)	SD (m)	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Mohawk	18	9.40	82.60	48.21	20.14	38.19 – 58.23
Onondaga	4	11.60	121.90	57.78	50.32	0 – 121.90
Oneida	2	11.30	36.00	23.65	17.47	0 – 180.57
Huron	29	18.20	85.50	49.06	21.24	40.98 – 57.14
Neutral	32	N/A	N/A	19.90	8.50	16.83 – 22.97
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>9.40</b>	<b>121.90</b>	<b>47.94</b>	<b>23.72</b>	<b>41.47 – 54.42</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 – 1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	25.00	–	–
Mohawk	14	26.00	44.90	34.26	4.87	31.45 – 37.07
Onondaga	4	10.70	21.34	16.76	4.62	9.42 – 24.10
Oneida	1	–	–	36.00	–	–
Seneca	1	–	–	8.60	–	–
Huron	42	5.80	39.20	21.74	7.96	19.26 – 24.22
Neutral	53	N/A	N/A	18.19	4.87	12.20 – 26.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>5.80</b>	<b>44.90</b>	<b>23.58</b>	<b>8.94</b>	<b>21.45 – 25.72</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	25.00	–	–
Mohawk	32	9.40	82.60	42.11	16.79	36.05 – 48.16
Onondaga	8	10.70	121.90	37.28	39.69	4.09 – 70.45
Oneida	3	11.30	36.00	25.93	12.97	0 – 58.15
Seneca	1	–	–	8.60	–	–
Huron	71	5.80	85.50	32.90	20.01	28.16 – 37.63
Neutral	85	N/A	N/A	18.40	4.55	14.59 – 22.21
<b>Total</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>5.80</b>	<b>121.90</b>	<b>34.50</b>	<b>20.86</b>	<b>30.76 – 38.24</b>

Rogers Farm longhouse, nor do available data for partially excavated pre-contact Cayuga houses permit assessment of total house size.

House length was measured as the maximum length of a house down its centerline, including end storage cubicles if present. When not reported within the literature, house area was calculated by multiplying length by width as measured from available floor plans. For houses with tapered ends, area is thus slightly overestimated; however, oblong longhouses tend to have flattened, often nearly rectangular ends, so the extra estimated space is considered minimal.

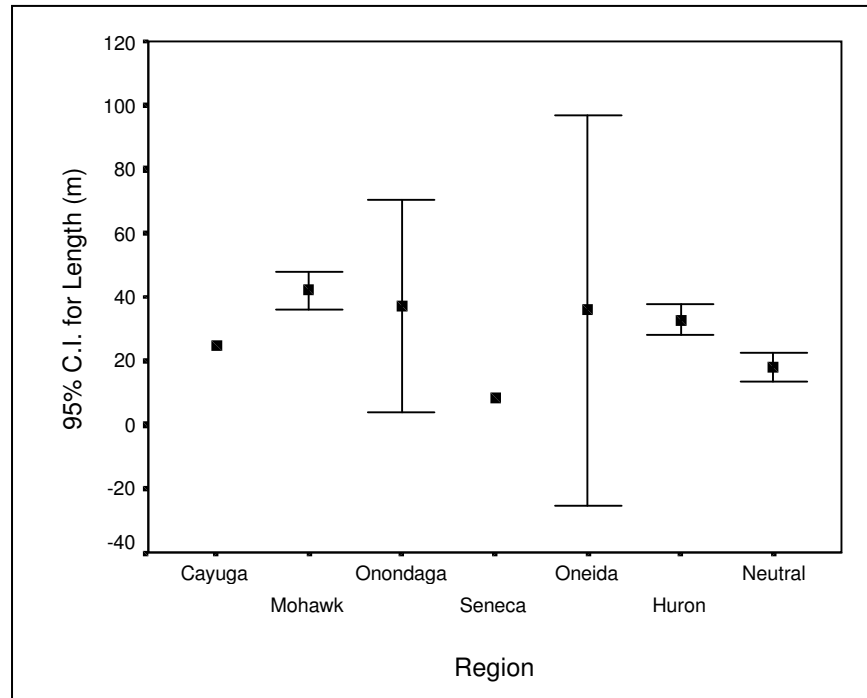
**Table 20: Summary Statistics for Longhouse Area**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (m <sup>2</sup> )	Max. (m <sup>2</sup> )	Mean (m <sup>2</sup> )	SD (m <sup>2</sup> )	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Mohawk	18	57.34	611.00	299.67	133.04	233.51 – 365.83
Onondaga	4	88.00	816.90	354.85	337.49	0 – 891.87
Oneida	2	62.20	189.00	125.60	89.66	0 – 931.17
Huron	29	115.00	568.00	318.69	146.23	115.00 – 568.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>57.34</b>	<b>816.90</b>	<b>307.67</b>	<b>159.88</b>	<b>263.60 – 351.74</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 – 1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	167.50	–	–
Mohawk	14	158.60	314.30	219.13	38.67	196.80 – 241.46
Onondaga	3	109.07	165.98	135.08	28.77	63.61 – 206.54
Oneida	1	–	–	222.65	–	–
Seneca	1	–	–	–	46.4	–
Huron	42	33.60	315.90	165.72	69.54	144.08 – 187.37
Neutral	53	N/A	N/A	127.58	38.35	92.11 – 163.05
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>33.60</b>	<b>315.90</b>	<b>170.50</b>	<b>66.03</b>	<b>154.62 – 186.34</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	167.50	–	–
Mohawk	32	57.34	611.00	264.43	109.46	224.97 – 303.90
Onondaga	7	88.00	816.90	260.66	266.51	14.18 – 507.14
Oneida	3	62.20	222.65	157.95	84.61	0 – 368.14
Seneca	1	–	–	–	46.4	–
Huron	71	33.60	568.00	228.20	130.81	197.24 – 259.17
Neutral	53	N/A	N/A	127.58	38.35	92.11 – 163.05
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>33.60</b>	<b>816.90</b>	<b>230.08</b>	<b>134.53</b>	<b>205.97 – 254.19</b>

Based on the topography of the Rogers Farm site, it is estimated that Structure 1 extended no longer than a total of 25 m in length: following the orientation of the house to the southwest there is a drop in grade that likely would not have been built upon. This estimate gives the longhouse a maximum total area of approximately 167.5 m<sup>2</sup>. A house of these dimensions would likely have had three or four central hearths and hosted a total of six to eight families, assuming a hearth spacing of about 6 m based on Snow's (1997:81) reading of ethnohistoric records and observations of Mohawk houses that compartments along the sides of a longhouse tended to be as long as the house was wide, with hearths placed centrally within compartments.

Using these estimated figures, the Rogers Farm longhouse shows some similarity in size to longhouses uncovered at several contemporary Iroquoian settlements. The average length of 37 longhouses from the early seventeenth century Ball site, in Huron territory, is 23.39 m ( $s = 8.3$  m), with an average area of 164.9 m<sup>2</sup> ( $s = 71.0$  m<sup>2</sup>) (Knight 2002). Remains of six longhouses, three completely excavated and three partially excavated, were recorded at the circa AD 1630 – 1650 Huron site of Le Caron in Tiny Township, Ontario. The structures ranged in length from 17.7 to 29.0 m, with a mean of 23.9 m and a standard deviation of 4.5 m; mean area was 168.1 m<sup>2</sup> ( $s = 51.3$  m<sup>2</sup>) (Johnston and Jackson 1980). Interestingly, stronger differences are seen when comparing Structure 1 at Rogers Farm to contemporaneous Five Nations Iroquois sites. The 12 longhouses excavated at the late-seventeenth century Mohawk site of Caughnawaga (AD 1679 – 1693) averaged 34.3 m in length ( $s = 5.0$  m), each with between three and four hearths. In area, they averaged 219.1 m<sup>2</sup> ( $s = 38.7$  m<sup>2</sup>) (Snow 1985b). At the Weston site, an Onondaga settlement dating from AD 1670 – 1696, most houses had two or three hearths; however, these houses were on average smaller, with a mean length of 16.8 m ( $s = 4.6$  m) and a mean area of 135.1 m<sup>2</sup> ( $s = 28.8$  m<sup>2</sup>) (Sohrweide 2001).

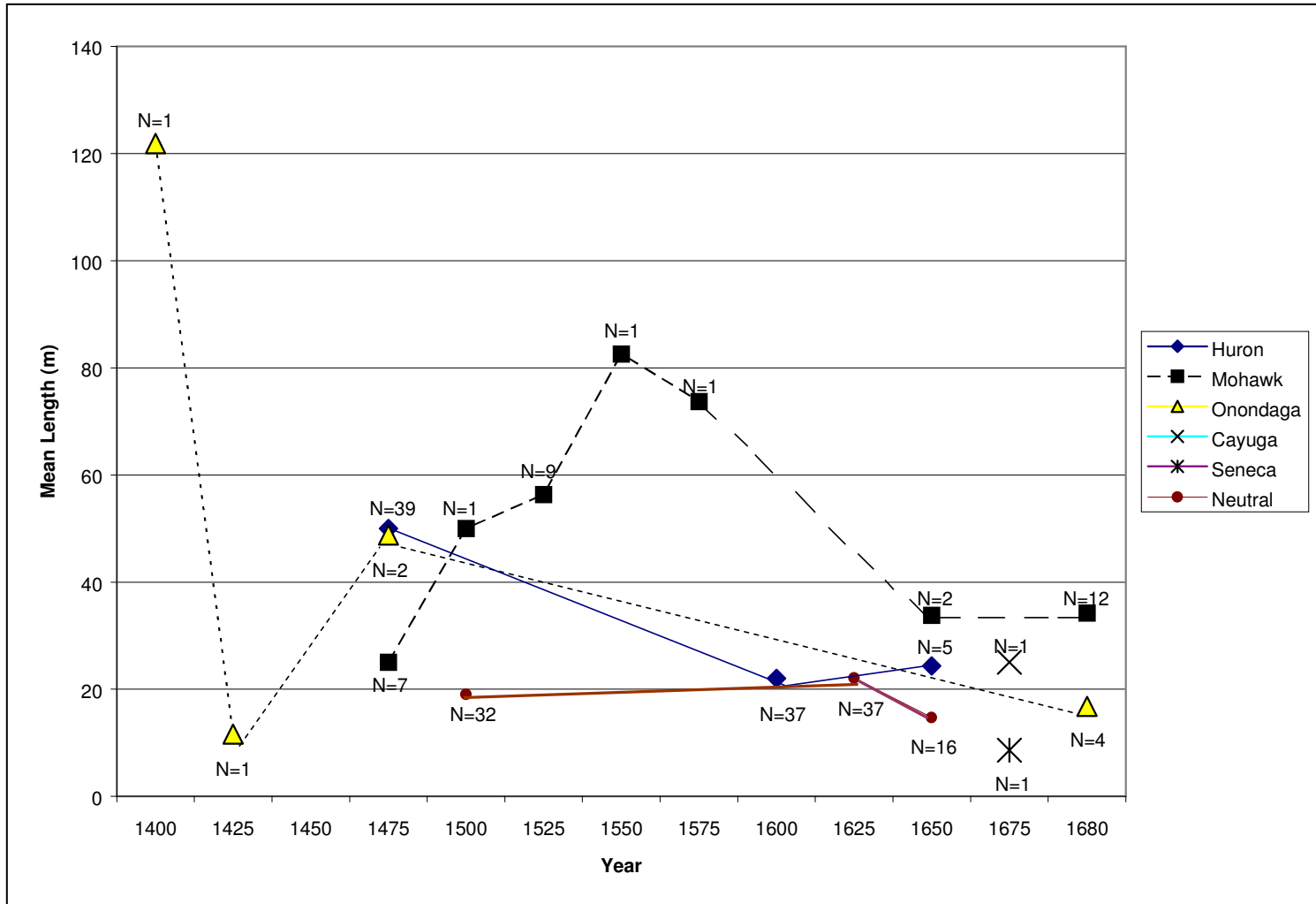
Upon examining the complete dataset of longhouse lengths, several patterns are noted (see Table 19). When lengths are compared by region, regardless of period, there are no significant differences at an alpha level of .05 ( $F = 1.47$ ;  $df = 6, 122$ ;  $p = .19$ ), confirming the notion that length is not a region-dependent variable when the factor of time is held constant (Figure 49). However, length across all areas decreases significantly from the pre- and protohistoric periods into the historic period, from an average of 47.94 m to 23.52 m ( $F = 6.65$ ;  $df = 1, 112$ ;  $p = .01$ ). *T* tests were conducted to compare mean house length within regions where samples for both prehistoric and Contact period structures were available. For the Huron



**Figure 49: Mean longhouse lengths by region.**

( $t = 7.62$ ,  $df = 69$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and Mohawk ( $t = 2.53$ ,  $df = 30$ ,  $p = .02$ ) these differences were significant. This, however, was not the case for the Onondaga ( $t = 1.62$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p = .08$ ), likely due to the combination of smaller sample size and extreme variability in the length of the earlier houses (see Table 19).

Figure 50 charts change over time in length among the analyzed structures using finer grained chronological divisions, showing a general tendency for decrease in length into the seventeenth century. However, the data are highly variable by Iroquoian region. Among the sample of Onondaga houses, for example, three houses represent length prior to the sixteenth century and reveal an enormous range of house size; length then decreases into the seventeenth century. Mohawk houses spike in length from the late fifteenth into the mid-sixteenth centuries and then decline into the seventeenth. Neutral longhouses remain fairly consistent in length from



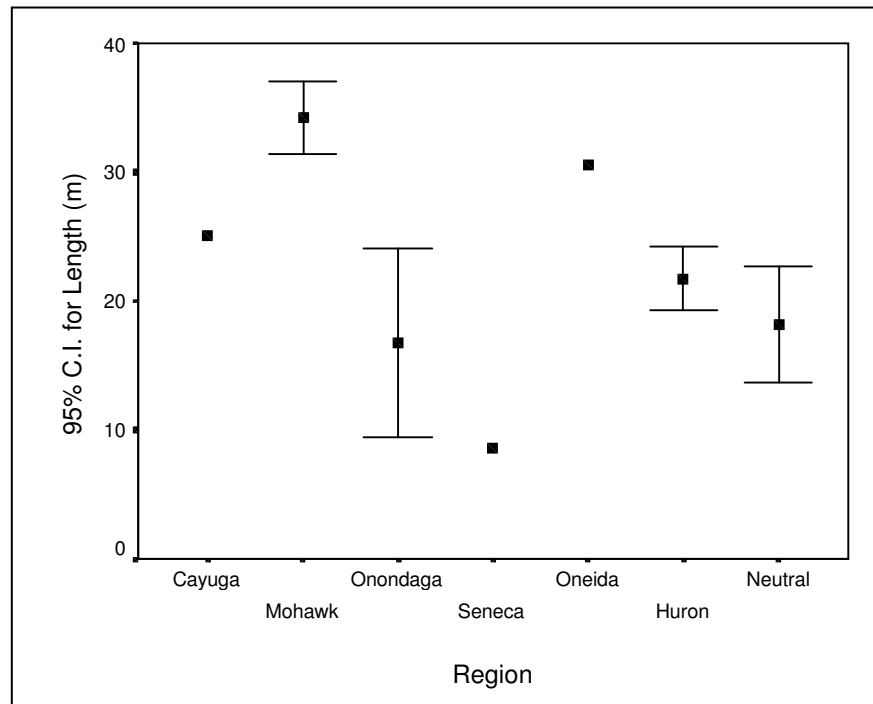
**Figure 50: Change over time in longhouse length.**

the early sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century, and then decrease in size by the mid-seventeenth century. Huron and Oneida longhouses do show deviations from this pattern.

Huron houses increase in length from the early to mid-seventeenth century; however, this increment in mean size is slight and statistically insignificant ( $t = 1.10$ ,  $df = 44$ ,  $p = .27$ ). The Oneida houses show an increase in length from the late sixteenth into the mid-seventeenth century, but given the extremely low number of Oneida longhouses included in the sample, it is impossible to conclude that these three structures represent real trends within this particular region of Iroquoia.

Working with a large sample of Ontario longhouse data, Dodd (1984:270) detected the same trends in house length over time: 30 houses dating from AD 1300 – 1450 averaged 35.5 m ( $s = 20.0$  m); 124 houses dating from AD 1450 – 1609 averaged 28.6 m ( $s = 14.7$  m), and 88 houses dating from AD 1610 – 1650 averaged 19.9 m in length ( $s = 9.0$  m). These differences in mean house length are highly significant ( $F = 19.83$ ;  $df = 2, 239$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

One unexpected finding was that while no significant differences in mean length by region were found among the prehistoric longhouses ( $F = 1.04$ ;  $df = 4, 49$ ;  $p = .38$ ), the mean lengths of the historic houses *were* significantly different ( $F = 3.13$ ;  $df = 6, 62$ ;  $p = .01$ ). Figure 51 presents 95% confidence intervals for mean lengths for the historic period longhouses. As can be seen in this graph, historic Mohawk houses are significantly longer than those from the other areas examined. While shorter than the Mohawk houses, Structure 1 at the Rogers Farm site is above the upper limit of the Onondaga, Huron, and Neutral houses, while the single historic Seneca house is below the lower limit of these areas. However, it is difficult to know if these two houses are representative of the population of longhouses from these two areas. In the

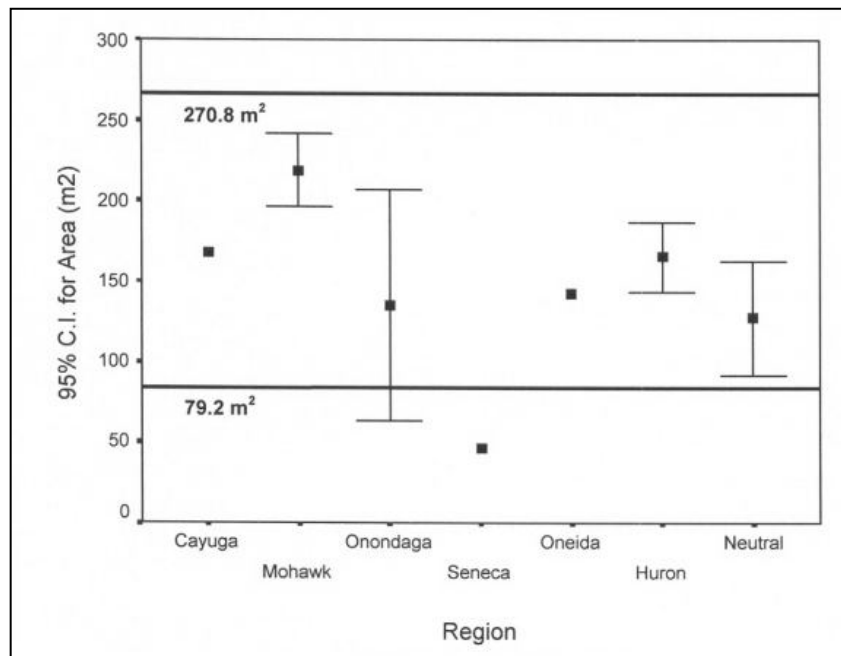


**Figure 51: Mean lengths of historic period longhouses by region.**

case of the Rogers Farm structure, it should also be recalled that the house length reflects the maximum postulated length of the longhouse.

Unsurprisingly, similar trends are seen with longhouse area; because longhouse width tends to show much less variability, total house area is closely correlated with length (see Table 20). Again, no significant differences in mean area across region are observed ( $F = .92$ ;  $df = 6, 48$ ;  $p = .48$ ), but a significant decrease in mean area from the pre- and protohistoric into the historic period is present ( $F = 4.20$ ;  $df = 1, 111$ ;  $p = .04$ ). As shown in Figure 52, historic Mohawk houses tend to have significantly greater area than structures identified at other seventeenth-century sites ( $F = 3.13$ ;  $df = 6, 62$ ;  $p = .01$ ), as well as greater length.





**Figure 52: Mean areas of historic period longhouses by region compared to Divale's (1977) index of matrilineal residence patterns.**

As discussed in Chapter 4, Ember (1973) and Divale (1977) conducted cross-cultural research into the association between house floor area and post-marital residence rules. Combining the findings of his own studies with Ember's previous work, Divale deduced that, with 95% confidence, societies practicing patrilineal residence tend to have houses with floor areas between 14.5 and 42.7 m<sup>2</sup>, while areas of the houses of matrilocally oriented societies typically measure between 79.2 and 270.8 m<sup>2</sup>. Figure 52 compares the area of the historic Iroquoian longhouses with Divale's range for matrilineal residential structures<sup>14</sup>. The average

<sup>14</sup> Because detailed information about internal organization was not available for the many of the house plans examined and/or interior excavation was incomplete, for much of the dataset it was not possible to subtract storage areas in order to calculate absolute living floor area as originally defined by Ember (1973) and Divale (1977). Instead, total house area is used here, and although values for living floor area are thus inflated, the effect on the observed pattern is likely negligible. A similar application of Divale's work was taken by Hart (2001) and Schillaci and Stojanowski (2002) due to difficulties in determining storage areas.

areas of longhouses in most of the regions analyzed fall comfortably within Divale's interval for matrilineal residence patterns. Although a significant decrease in house area between the pre- and protohistoric periods and the historic is observed, taken together the historic houses average  $170.50 \text{ m}^2$ , with a 95% confidence interval between  $154.62$  and  $186.34 \text{ m}^2$ , well within the range for matrilineal structures (see Table 20). However, the shorter longhouse excavated at the Seneca site of Ganondagan falls below this figure, as would houses with areas measuring toward the lower limit of the 95% confidence interval calculated for the Onondaga region (see Table 20 and Figure 52). This may suggest that in these areas rules of post-marital residence were undergoing change, and that the process was uneven across Iroquoia during the seventeenth century. At the same time, these values are still above Divale's range of  $14.5$  to  $42.7 \text{ m}^2$  for patrilineal groups.

These smaller Contact period longhouses, as shown by significant declines in house length and area, and the correspondingly smaller households within are a reflection of the sheer demographic decline across Iroquoia. As in other areas, when the residents of the Rogers Farm site constructed new longhouses, they built them to a scale to accommodate households that were reduced in size by the earlier epidemics and other sources of population loss. However, the sizing of dwellings to fit the number of residents within is not a novel development in longhouse design. Longhouses documented at pre-contact Iroquoian sites were regularly expanded as the household grew. The diversity in house size seen prehistorically is a result of this practice.

Additionally, population decline may have resulted in a shortage of labor, which would have been further compounded by the increased amount of time that males, who were responsible for building longhouses, spent away from the village for trading, military, and diplomatic missions (Richards 1956, 1967; Tooker 1984; Trigger 1985). The use of smaller

longhouses would have helped reduce the amount of labor needed for construction and maintenance.

### **Structural Attributes**

Although data on house size are incomplete, longhouse remains from pre-contact Cayuga sites enable other comparisons of structural attributes. As discussed above, longhouse length is generally an attribute that shows pan-Iroquoian variation over time, while other features of longhouse construction vary more strongly by region or tribe (e.g., Dodd 1984; Kapches 1994; Snow 1997; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998). The sample of excavated longhouses in the area is meager in comparison to the Huron, Neutral, and Mohawk areas, yet the ability to make structural comparisons between the Rogers Farm longhouse and the pre-Contact period Cayuga dwellings is advantageous for this reason.

Specifically, the variables of house width, bench depth, wall postmold density, interior postmold density, and feature density are analyzed in this section. The analyses proceed in the following manner. For each structural attribute, I first compare the Rogers Farm longhouse to the six pre- and protohistoric houses known in the Cayuga area. I then consider each variable within the broader database of Iroquoian longhouses, discussed earlier. Two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to ascertain the degree to which the structures vary across tribal region as well as across time, from the pre- and protohistoric periods into the seventeenth century. For house width, the influence of greater territorial divisions—specifically, Ontario Iroquoian and League Iroquois territories—is explored as well.

Longhouse width was measured at the midpoint of the exposed portion of the house. Bench depth was taken by measuring the distance of posts demarcating the bench line to the closest side wall of the house. However, because the side walls of a longhouse are not always

perfectly parallel, house and bench widths may vary within a structure. In such cases, measurements were taken at the midpoint as well as far ends of a house and the average value was recorded.

Wall postmold density was calculated by dividing the total number of wall posts identified by the total number of exposed linear meters of house circumference that was excavated. Interior post density was computed by counting the number of posts unrelated to walls or bench supports within a structure and dividing this figure by the total area of the house uncovered. Similarly, feature density was calculated by counting the number of features identified within a house and dividing that by the total area of house exposure.

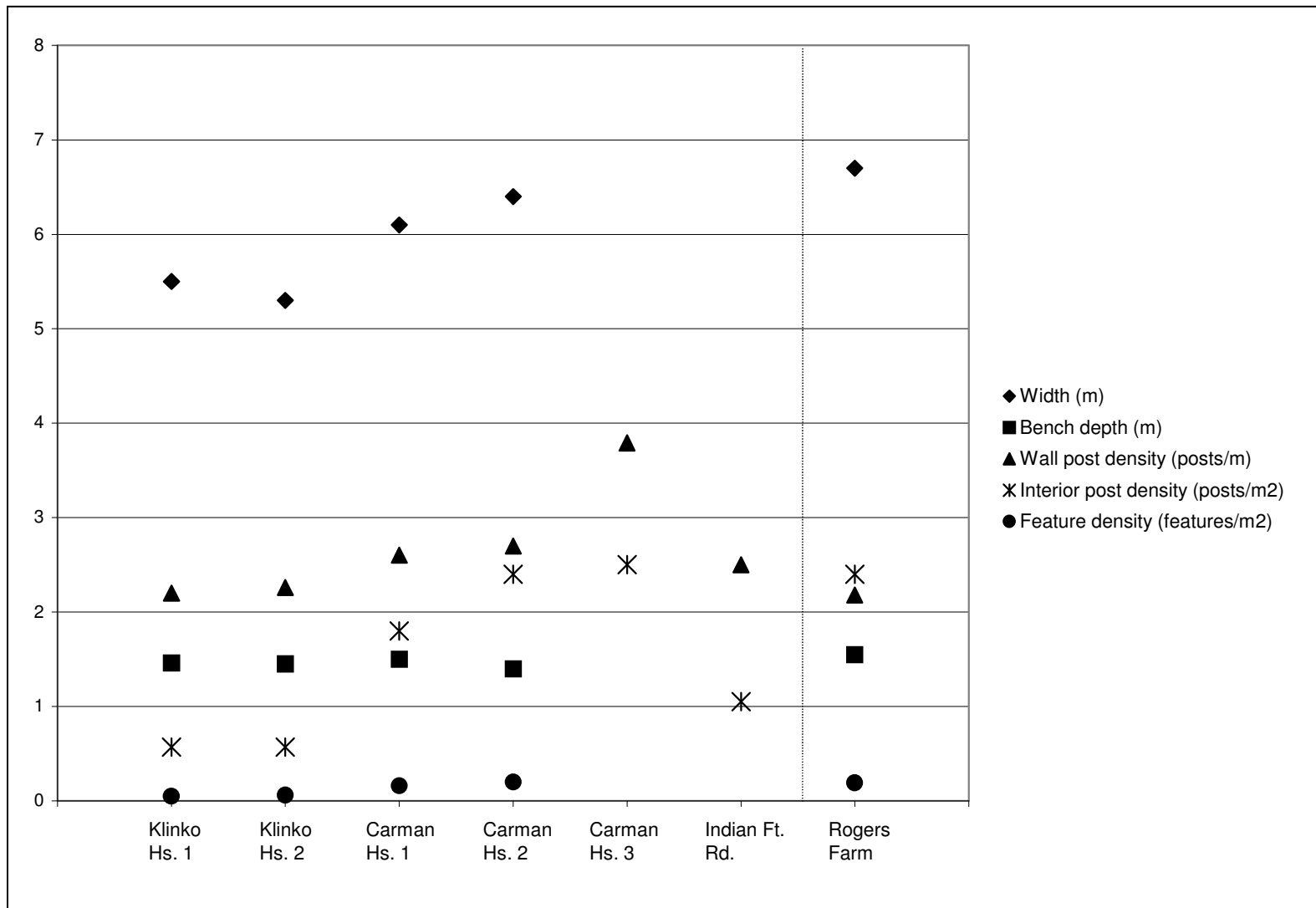
The measurements for these five attributes for the available Cayuga longhouses are shown in Table 21 and Figure 53. Summary statistics and 95% confidence intervals were computed for the earlier houses and are presented in Table 22.

At a general level, Structure 1 at the Rogers Farm site differs little in layout from the structures at the earlier sites. The longhouse end exposed at Rogers Farm features many of the architectural elements of a pre-contact structure, including a central hearth area, family compartments and sleeping benches along the side walls, and an end storage cubicle (see Figure 47). Additionally, by maintaining the traditional longhouse layout, the Rogers Farm structure demonstrates a continuation in the amount of privacy afforded to its inhabitants, with family compartments clearly visible to other residents of the dwelling as they passed through the central corridor of the house. Furthermore, while demographic decline and the death of a community's artisans may have led to the loss of native technologies such as ceramic and lithic manufacture (Trigger 1985), traditional architectonic principles continued to be practiced. This is not insignificant given the longhouse's symbolism of Iroquoian identity (Kapches 1994).

**Table 21: Structural Attributes at Pre-Contact Cayuga Sites and the Rogers Farm Site**

<b>Longhouse Attribute</b>	<b>Width (m)</b>	<b>Bench depth (m)</b>	<b>Wall post density (posts/m)</b>	<b>Interior post density (posts/m<sup>2</sup>)</b>	<b>Feature density (features/m<sup>2</sup>)</b>
Klinko Site House 1	5.50	1.46	2.20	.57	.05
Klinko Site House 2	5.30	1.45	2.26	.92	.06
Carman Site House 1	6.10	1.50	2.60	1.80	.16
Carman Site House 2	6.40	1.40	2.70	2.40	.20
Carman Site House 3	—	—	3.79	2.65	—
Indian Fort Road Longhouse	—	—	2.50	1.05	—
Rogers Farm Structure 1	6.70	1.55	2.18	2.40	.19

However, some differences among the houses in their structural details are noted. At 1.55 m, the depth of the bench at the Rogers Farm longhouse is somewhat inconsistent with the average bench depth of 1.45 m for the earlier Cayuga structures, falling just above the upper limit of the 95% confidence interval for the mean bench depth established for the earlier structures (see Tables 21 and 22). If the population of Contact period Cayuga longhouses has the same average width and variability as shown in the pre-contact sample, the observed value from Rogers Farm would be considered a fairly rare occurrence. At the same time, these measurements for bench depth in both the earlier and Contact period structures are consistent with the approximate 1.5-m standard size seen across Iroquoia, showing that the native unit of measurement, the *ten*, noted by Kapches (1993), continued to be employed.



**Figure 53: Comparison of longhouse attributes at pre-contact Cayuga sites and the Rogers Farm site.**

**Table 22: Summary Statistics of Longhouse Structural Attributes from Pre-Contact Cayuga Sites**

Longhouse attribute	Width (m)	Bench depth (m)	Wall post density (posts/m)	Interior post density (posts/m <sup>2</sup> )	Feature density (features/m <sup>2</sup> )
Mean	5.83	1.45	2.68	1.57	.12
St. Dev.	.51	.04	.58	.85	.07
St. Error	.26	.02	.24	.35	.04
95% Confidence Interval	5.01 – 6.64	1.38 – 1.52	2.07 – 3.28	0.67 – 2.46	0.00 – 0.24

When the variable of bench depth is considered within the entire longhouse dataset (Table 23), there is no overall change over time ( $F = 1.99$ ;  $df = 1, 60$ ;  $p = .16$ ), indicating that the *ten* continued to be expressed architecturally into the seventeenth century. Somewhat surprising in light of Kapches' (1993) assertion that the standard bench depth is a pan-Iroquoian trait, there are significant regional differences present ( $F = 11.21$ ;  $df = 4, 60$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Specifically, Huron and Mohawk houses tend to have broader benches than those of the Onondaga and Cayuga, with the one house observed for the Seneca having a particularly narrow bench (see Table 23). At the same time, this distinction, although significant, is not an especially strong one, with only about a 50-cm difference among the regions.

Turning to the attribute of house width, among the Cayuga longhouses examined, the one at Rogers Farm is the widest, surpassing the upper limit of the 95% confidence interval established for the earlier structures (see Tables 21 and 22). Like bench depth, the 6.74-m width of the historic house is unusual compared to the earlier houses.

**Table 23: Summary Statistics for Longhouse Bench Depth**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (m)	Max. (m)	Mean (m)	SD (m)	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Cayuga	4	1.40	1.50	1.45	.04	1.39 – 1.52
Mohawk	6	1.60	2.30	2.02	.25	1.76 – 2.78
Huron	29	1.75	3.00	2.23	.26	2.13 – 2.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>1.40</b>	<b>3.00</b>	<b>2.12</b>	<b>.34</b>	<b>2.01 – 2.23</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	1.55	–	–
Mohawk	13	1.50	2.20	1.86	.24	1.65 – 2.09
Onondaga	7	1.30	1.83	1.50	.16	1.35 – 1.65
Seneca	1	–	–	1.10	–	–
Huron	7	1.40	2.00	1.87	.24	1.65 – 2.09
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>1.10</b>	<b>2.20</b>	<b>1.74</b>	<b>.27</b>	<b>1.64 – 1.84</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	5	1.40	1.55	1.47	.06	1.40 – 1.54
Mohawk	19	1.50	2.30	1.91	.22	1.80 – 2.02
Onondaga	7	1.30	1.83	1.50	.16	1.35 – 1.65
Seneca	1	–	–	1.10	–	–
Huron	36	1.40	3.00	2.16	.29	2.06 – 2.26
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>1.10</b>	<b>3.00</b>	<b>1.96</b>	<b>.36</b>	<b>1.87 – 2.05</b>

As discussed earlier, width is generally observed to show less variation over time than length and is more likely to vary regionally across Iroquoia (Kapches 1994; Snow 1997; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998). Interestingly, a two-way ANOVA revealed highly significant differences not only in the mean width of the 215 longhouses examined across the seven Iroquoian tribal regions ( $F = 3.90$ ;  $df = 6, 199$ ;  $p = .001$ ), but also between the prehistoric and Contact period houses ( $F = 13.65$ ;  $df = 1, 199$ ;  $p < .001$ ), with houses in general becoming wider over time (Table 24).

Previous research has shown that wider houses are associated in particular with Ontario Iroquoians, while Mohawk and Cayuga houses tend to be narrower (Kapches 1994; Snow 1997; Williams-Shuker and Allen 1998). The longhouse dataset was used to further test this proposition and to attempt to understand the change in width over time (Table 25). When the



**Table 24: Summary Statistics for Longhouse Width**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (m)	Max. (m)	Mean (m)	SD (m)	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Cayuga	4	5.30	6.40	5.83	.51	5.01 – 6.64
Mohawk	19	5.60	7.40	6.21	.41	6.01 – 6.41
Onondaga	5	4.90	7.60	6.02	1.10	4.65 – 7.39
Oneida	2	5.30	5.50	5.40	.14	4.13 – 6.67
Huron	29	4.60	8.30	6.49	.82	6.18 – 6.80
Neutral	38	N/A	N/A	6.50	.77	6.24 – 6.76
<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>4.60</b>	<b>8.30</b>	<b>6.28</b>	<b>.73</b>	<b>6.09 – 6.47</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	6.74	–	–
Mohawk	14	5.80	7.00	6.38	.40	6.15 – 6.61
Onondaga	6	5.50	8.69	6.79	1.20	5.53 – 8.04
Oneida	1	–	–	7.30	–	–
Seneca	1	–	–	5.40	–	–
Huron	42	5.60	8.20	7.10	.48	6.94 – 7.25
Neutral	53	N/A	N/A	6.97	.25	6.74 – 7.20
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>5.40</b>	<b>8.69</b>	<b>6.89</b>	<b>.62</b>	<b>6.89 – 7.00</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	5	5.30	6.80	6.02	.62	5.25 – 6.80
Mohawk	33	5.60	7.40	6.28	.41	6.14 – 6.43
Onondaga	11	4.90	8.69	6.44	1.17	5.65 – 7.22
Oneida	3	5.30	7.30	6.03	1.10	3.30 – 8.77
Seneca	1	–	–	5.40	–	–
Huron	71	4.60	8.30	6.85	.71	6.68 – 7.02
Neutral	91	N/A	N/A	6.91	.29	6.67 – 7.15
<b>Total</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>4.60</b>	<b>8.69</b>	<b>6.62</b>	<b>.74</b>	<b>6.49 – 6.74</b>

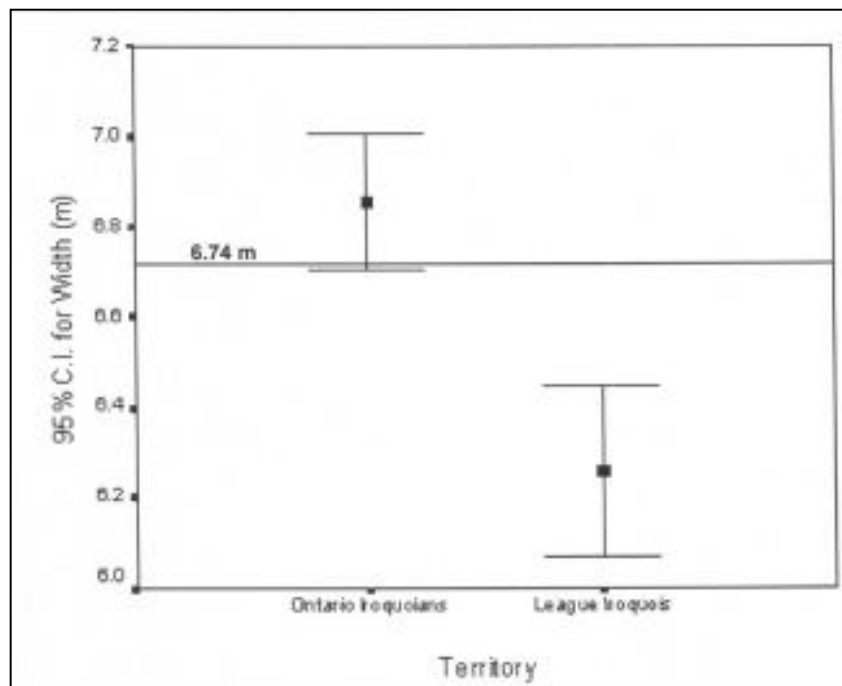
**Table 25: Summary Statistics for Longhouse Width by Greater Territory**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (m)	Max. (m)	Mean (m)	SD (m)	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Ontario Iroquoians	67	4.60	8.30	6.49	.81	6.19 – 6.79
League of the Iroquois	30	4.90	7.60	6.07	.59	5.85 – 6.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>4.60</b>	<b>8.30</b>	<b>6.28</b>	<b>.73</b>	<b>6.09 – 6.47</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Ontario Iroquoians	95	5.60	8.20	7.08	.46	6.95 – 7.21
League of the Iroquois	23	5.40	8.69	6.50	.54	6.18 – 6.82
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>5.40</b>	<b>8.69</b>	<b>6.89</b>	<b>.62</b>	<b>6.89 – 7.00</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Ontario Iroquoians	162	4.60	8.30	6.85	.67	6.70 – 7.01
League of the Iroquois	53	4.90	8.69	6.26	.69	6.07 – 6.45
<b>Total</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>4.60</b>	<b>8.69</b>	<b>6.62</b>	<b>.74</b>	<b>6.49 – 6.74</b>

widths of the Ontario houses (mean = 6.85 m,  $s = .67$  m) are compared to the League Iroquois houses (mean = 6.26 m,  $s = .69$  m), the Ontario houses are in fact wider, the difference extremely significant ( $F = 24.44$ ;  $df = 1, 130$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Within Ontario territory, Huron and Neutral houses do not differ in width ( $t = .26$ ,  $df = 77$ ,  $p = .80$ ), nor do houses within Five Nations territory ( $F = .81$ ;  $df = 4, 48$ ;  $p = .53$ ).

Figure 54 compares the observed width of Structure 1 (6.74 m) at the Rogers Farm site with the mean widths in these two greater territories using 95% confidence intervals. The width of the Rogers Farm longhouse appears to be more typical of the Ontario sample than the League Iroquois. This unusually wide longhouse may thus be a result of the influence in building techniques by Ontario Iroquoians, particularly the Huron, living among the local residents of Onontaré. As discussed in Chapter 3, after the destruction of the villages in 1647, many Huron refugees made their way south into Five Nations territory, and they and many other non-Iroquois war captives from other conflicts were adopted into Five Nations villages. Their presence is well documented in contemporary European reports (see Chapter 4). Additionally, the identification of a possible ossuary during the 1930s excavation of the cemetery area to the southwest of the main village area of the Rogers Farm site suggests that Huron groups resided at the settlement (Mandzy 1990).

By extension, it is possible that Ontario Iroquoian involvement in longhouse construction within their new communities accounts for the wider houses seen among the League Iroquois in the historic period. For example, at the Mohawk village of Caughnawaga, among the 12 excavated structures there are 6 houses that are significantly wider than a “typical” Mohawk house measuring 6.28 m in width on average. Measuring from 6.70 to 7.00 m, the widths of



**Figure 54: Mean longhouse widths by greater territory compared to Structure 1 width.**

these longhouses exceed the upper limit of the 95% confidence interval (6.14 – 6.43 m) calculated from the full assemblage of Mohawk houses. Jesuit observers reported in 1677 that two-thirds of the population of Caughnawaga were from non-local groups, with only one-third native Mohawk (Brandão 1997:78). Similarly, at the Weston site, two of the five houses that were excavated fully enough to determine width (measuring 7.62 and 8.69 m) were greater than the upper limit of the 95% confidence interval (5.22 – 7.22 m) calculated for Onondaga houses, even though this interval is quite large due to the smaller sample of houses examined.

The evidence is more tenuous, but, recalling that Huron longhouses on average featured the greatest mean bench depth among the analyzed structures, it is possible that Ontario Iroquoian structures also tend to have wider side benches. The unusually wide bench at the Rogers Farm longhouse thus may also be the effect of non-local residents within the village

participating in house construction. Benches at Caughnawaga and Weston, however, do tend to fall within the range of depths typical of Mohawk and Onondaga longhouses, respectively.

If this observation of an uncommonly wide house at the Rogers Farm site (and possibly its bench as well) is in fact the result of non-Cayuga influence on longhouse construction, it represents an interesting example of socio-cultural expression through domestic architecture and may be considered an expression of the ethnic identity by the captive population. Likewise, the ossuary identified at the site suggests that the adopted Huron also maintained the burial traditions of their homeland. Although the Requickening rite undergone by foreigners incorporated into Five Nations villages was symbolic of a hostage's birth into his or her new family, the integration of adoptees into Iroquois society was not always fully carried out in daily life (see also Richter 1992:71-72).

Contemporary accounts, in which non-native residents were easily identified by the Jesuits (e.g., *JR* 43:159-160, 51:257, 52:179, 56:51), provide further evidence of this. The *Jesuit Relations* also suggest that the fact that the adoptees' cultural identity found expression may also have been a means of resistance to their hosts to some degree. As discussed in Chapter 4, ethnohistoric documents often discuss the harsh maltreatment adoptees received from the Iroquois (e.g., *JR* 43:293-294, 299-300).

Considering the densities of wall posts, interior posts, and features of the Cayuga structures, the values for these three variables for the Rogers Farm longhouse are quite similar to those of the pre-contact structures, falling comfortably within the 95% confidence intervals (see Tables 20 and 21). Similarities in interior post density and feature density indicate that the household members were utilizing the space within the house as intensively during the Contact period as before. While the households and their homes may have been reduced in size, the

remaining populations appear to have been carrying out household activities with the same frequency. This may also be due to the sustaining of household membership by the inclusion of foreign captives and refugees.

The Rogers Farm longhouse does depart from the pre-contact data regarding these attributes in one suggestive way. Among the earlier houses, there are strong, positive, significant correlations among the wall post, interior post, and feature density variables (Table 26; see also Figure 53). In the Rogers Farm structure, however, wall post density did not increase with interior post density. A regression of these factors in the pre-Contact houses predicts that the Rogers Farm house should have 3.15 wall postmolds per meter of perimeter wall ( $r = .831$ ,  $p = .040$ ,  $Y = 1.787 + .567X$ ). The observed value of 2.18 posts/m shows that, given the intensity of use, there were fewer repair episodes to the wall than expected.

**Table 26: Correlation Coefficients of Select Pre-Contact Cayuga Longhouse Variables**

	Wall post density	Interior post density	Feature density
<b>Wall post density</b>			
Pearson Correlation	1.000	.831	.997
Significance	—	.040	.003
N	6	6	4
<b>Interior post density</b>			
Pearson Correlation	.831	1.000	.990
Significance	.040	—	.010
N	6	6	4
<b>Feature density</b>			
Pearson Correlation	.997	.990	1.000
Significance	.003	.010	—
N	4	4	6

This may reflect several aspects about the longhouse's residents. As mentioned previously, it is generally reported that males during the Contact period spent an increased amount of time away from their communities (Richards 1956, 1967; Trigger 1985). Their

absence may have resulted in less attention to the maintenance of a village's longhouses, as men were traditionally responsible for longhouse construction (Fenton 1978; Heidenreich 1971; Tooker 1984). Alternatively, the presence of iron nails in the artifact assemblage from the longhouse vicinity (which will be further described later in this chapter) may indicate the use of building technologies that made the house walls more durable than all-bark construction. Similarly, the use of iron hinges was noted by Harmen van den Bogaert while traveling through a Mohawk village in 1634 (Bogaert 1988:4), demonstrating the household-level use of European hardware for traditional forms of material culture.

Somewhat different patterns in wall post, interior post, and feature densities are seen when looking at the entire longhouse sample. Wall post densities differ significantly by region ( $F = 19.67$ ;  $df = 4, 101$ ;  $p < .001$ ); Huron houses have higher densities and Mohawk lower<sup>15</sup>, with Cayuga and Onondaga houses falling between these means (Table 27). This may represent differences in construction techniques, or that longhouses were used more intensively for longer durations by the Huron than the longhouses of the other regions.

There is also a significant drop in wall post density over time, from an average of 3.73 posts/m prehistorically to 2.48 posts/m historically ( $F = 6.14$ ;  $df = 4, 101$ ;  $p = .02$ ). Although it appears that among the Cayuga the events associated with European interaction had little impact on this aspect of longhouse construction and use, in other areas, population decline may have resulted in less intensive longhouse use.

Regionally, significant differences in mean interior post densities were detected ( $F = 2.40$ ;  $df = 5, 103$ ;  $p = .04$ ; Table 28), as well as in feature densities ( $F = 3.92$ ;  $df = 5, 93$ ;  $p = .003$ ; Table 29), with Huron houses again having the greatest mean values for these attributes.

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<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that the rather low value for the Mohawk is likely in part due to poor preservation conditions at several of the sites that were included in the analysis (Snow 1995b).

**Table 27: Summary Statistics for Wall Post Densities**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (posts/m)	Max. (posts/m)	Mean (posts/m)	SD (posts/m)	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Cayuga	6	2.20	3.79	2.68	.58	2.07 – 3.28
Mohawk	5	1.10	4.00	1.96	1.18	.50 – 3.43
Huron	29	1.00	7.50	4.25	1.41	3.71 – 4.79
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>7.50</b>	<b>3.73</b>	<b>1.55</b>	<b>3.23 – 4.22</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	2.18	–	–
Mohawk	14	.17	1.60	.57	.44	.31 - .82
Onondaga	10	1.53	3.70	2.64	.72	2.12 – 3.15
Seneca	1	–	–	.47	–	–
Huron	43	1.59	6.20	3.12	.84	2.87 – 3.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>6.20</b>	<b>2.48</b>	<b>1.27</b>	<b>2.18 – 2.79</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	7	2.18	3.79	2.60	.56	2.09 – 3.12
Mohawk	19	.17	4.00	.93	.92	.49 – 1.38
Onondaga	10	1.53	3.70	2.64	.72	2.12 – 3.15
Seneca	1	–	–	.47	–	–
Huron	72	1.00	7.50	3.58	1.23	3.29 – 3.87
<b>Total</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>7.50</b>	<b>2.94</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>2.65 – 3.22</b>

**Table 28: Summary Statistics for Interior Post Densities**

Region	No. Houses	Min. (posts/m)	Max. (posts/m)	Mean (posts/m)	SD (posts/m)	95% C.I.
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Cayuga	6	.57	2.65	1.57	.85	.67 – 2.46
Mohawk	5	.28	.98	.52	.27	.18 – .85
Huron	29	.31	4.66	2.02	1.11	1.60 – 2.44
Neutral	5	N/A	N/A	1.00	.50	.53 – 1.47
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>.28</b>	<b>4.66</b>	<b>1.74</b>	<b>1.10</b>	<b>1.40 – 2.10</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	2.40	–	–
Mohawk	14	.07	2.58	1.13	.63	.77 – 1.45
Onondaga	10	.23	1.40	.71	.41	.42 – 1.01
Seneca	1	–	–	.71	–	–
Huron	42	.19	1.82	.62	.33	.52 – .73
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>2.58</b>	<b>.77</b>	<b>.50</b>	<b>.65 – .89</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	7	.57	2.65	1.68	.84	.91 – 2.46
Mohawk	19	.07	2.58	.97	.62	.67 – 1.27
Onondaga	10	.23	1.40	.71	.41	.42 – 1.01
Seneca	1	–	–	.71	–	–
Huron	71	.19	4.66	1.19	1.02	.95 – 1.44
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>4.66</b>	<b>1.14</b>	<b>.91</b>	<b>.96 – 1.31</b>

**Table 29: Summary Statistics for Feature Densities**

<b>Region</b>	<b>No. Houses</b>	<b>Min. (features/m)</b>	<b>Max. (features/m)</b>	<b>Mean (features/m)</b>	<b>SD (features/m)</b>	<b>95% C.I.</b>
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Cayuga	4	.05	.20	.12	.07	0 – .24
Mohawk	6	.06	.28	.14	.08	.05 – .22
Huron	29	.03	.52	.18	.12	.23 – .22
Neutral	6	N/A	N/A	.21	.95	0 – .99
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.52</b>	<b>.16</b>	<b>.11</b>	<b>.13 – .20</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	.19	–	–
Mohawk	14	.02	.09	.05	.02	.04 – .06
Onondaga	4	.01	.09	.03	.04	0 – .09
Seneca	1	–	–	.17	–	–
Huron	42	.06	.59	.22	.12	.18 – .26
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.59</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>.14 – .20</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	5	.05	.20	.13	.07	.04 – .22
Mohawk	20	.02	.28	.08	.06	.05 – .10
Onondaga	4	.01	.09	.03	.04	0 – .09
Seneca	1	–	–	.17	–	–
Huron	71	.03	.59	.20	.12	.17 – .23
<b>Total</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.59</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>.12</b>	<b>.14 – .19</b>

As with wall post densities, higher feature densities may represent more intensive, longer term use of a structure. Neither factor is different from the prehistoric into the historic period (interior posts:  $F = .004$ ;  $df = 1, 100$ ;  $p = .96$ ; features:  $F = .06$ ;  $df = 1, 93$ ;  $p = .80$ ), following the same pattern seen among the Cayuga longhouses. Despite the decrease in local populations due to warfare and epidemics, households appear to have been carrying out activities with the same intensity as in earlier times. The sustaining of population counts within the longhouses was likely due to the incorporation of foreign captives and refugees in Iroquois villages.

### **Spatial Analysis**

Another question that can be explored with the evidence regarding domestic architecture recovered from the Rogers Farm site is the issue of household membership. The use of archaeological evidence to reconstruct the kinship relations around which Iroquoian communities



were organized has been attempted in previous studies by ceramic analysis (e.g., Allen 1988; Engelbrecht 1974; Whallon 1968). Since pottery manufacture had ceased by the time of the occupation of Onontaré, such analyses are precluded at the Rogers Farm site (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1990, 1992, 1994). Instead, an analysis of the organization of space within the structures was conducted, following Kapches' (1990) spatial dynamics model. As discussed in Chapter 4, Kapches takes the interior layout of a longhouse as an archaeological correlate for post-marital residence patterns, an approach that may be viewed as an extension of the work of Ember (1973) and Divale (1977), who found an association between house floor area and the rules of residence practiced by a society.

The spatial dynamics model suggests a correlation between the amount of organized space within a structure and matrilineal orientation of household membership. In the model organized space refers to the proportion of total longhouse area devoted to permanent and semi-permanent features, including hearths, sleeping benches, and storage areas. Greater amounts of organized space are taken to reflect a greater degree of matrilineal control, versus patrilineal, over a structure's layout and the partitioning of space within. As matrilocality came into practice the increasingly regular organization of space served to optimize efficiency, minimize overcrowding, and promote social harmony among the members of a longhouse (Kapches 1990, 2002). Applying the model to Ontario Iroquoian longhouses, Kapches (1990) compared data from the Pickering site of Auda, the late prehistoric Draper site, and the historic Ball site. She noted an increase in organized space at Draper and a decrease at the Ball site. The decrease in organized space into the historic period, and in turn the lessening of matrilineal control over the organization of residential architecture, is a function of the societal stresses caused by European interaction according to Kapches. It was anticipated that, compared to pre-

contact structures, a similar decrease in organized space would be seen at the Rogers Farm site, as matrilineal residence rules became less rigid due to the development of religious and political factions, which was exacerbated by the flood of non-local residents into the community.

Four of the longhouses in the sample of Cayuga houses were included in the analysis. For each dwelling, the areas of the sleeping benches, storage cubicles, and hearths were measured, and then the percentage the total excavated house area dedicated to each feature was calculated (Table 30 and Figure 55). It should be noted that none of the structures were completely excavated, creating potential biases in the measurements. Structure 1 at Rogers Farm consisted of an end storage cubicle and a small portion of the central corridor; thus, organized space is likely overestimated. For the three prehistoric Cayuga longhouses examined, greater portions of the structures were exposed, including an end storage cubicle and most of the central corridor. Assuming that second end cubicles were present, organized space is likely underestimated for these houses.

**Table 30: Organization of Space Within Cayuga Longhouses**

Spatial Attribute	Total Excavated Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Bench Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Storage Cubicle Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Hearth Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Total Organized Space	
					m <sup>2</sup>	%
Klinko Site House 1	64.89	29.72	12.00	2.10	43.72	67.38
Klinko Site House 2	53.06	24.86	10.99	1.40	37.25	70.21
Carman Site House 1	112.84	47.22	20.33	5.20	72.75	64.47
Rogers Farm Longhouse	36.55	10.66	10.50	0.60	21.76	59.53

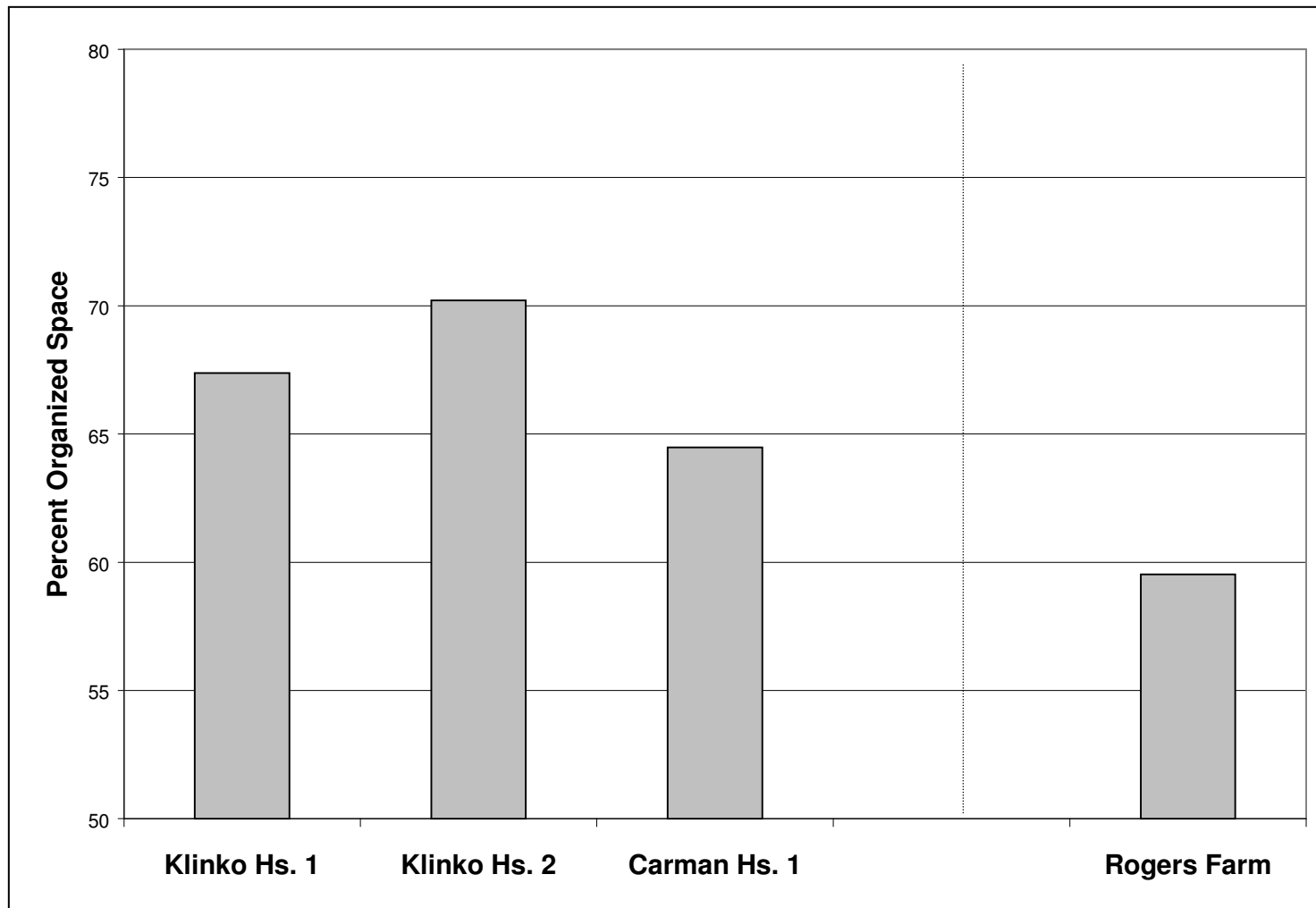
*Note:* Summary statistics of percent organized space for pre-Contact sites: Mean = 67.35%; St. Dev. = 2.87; St. Error = 1.66; 95% Confidence Interval = 60.22% - 74.48%; N = 3.

Despite the overestimation of organized space for Structure 1 and underestimation of the same for the earlier longhouses, at Rogers Farm, the amount of organized space is less than that of the pre-contact longhouses, falling below the lower limit of the 95% confidence interval based on the mean of the prehistoric structures (see Table 30).

Extending this analysis to the 98 longhouses representing 5 different Iroquoian regions excavated at a sufficient level of detail to determine relative proportions of organized space, a highly significant difference between the pre-/protohistoric and historic structures is seen ( $t(95.4) = 5.90, p < .001$ ), with a decrease in the average percentage of organized space apparent (Table 31 and Figure 56). Overall, longhouses on average were composed of 71.32 percent organized space prior to the period of European contact, and 52.75 percent after the seventeenth century. Among the regions included in the analysis, there is no significant difference in the mean amount of organized space of the longhouses in the sample ( $F = .71; df = 4, 93; p = .58$ ). According to Kapches' (1990) model, this indicates that definition of longhouse membership on the basis of matrilineal relationship became less structured during the early historic period among the Cayuga, as well as across greater Iroquoia.

### **Historic Artifact Inventory**

The historic artifacts recovered from the Rogers Farm site demonstrate that traditional Iroquoian patterns of consumption and production of durable goods had undergone change in the seventeenth century. In this section, the European-derived materials from the site are analyzed across several dimensions. First, artifacts found in association with the longhouse are discussed in terms of their distribution within the structure and in comparison with longhouse-related assemblages recovered from the prehistoric Cayuga Klinko site. Second, the historic



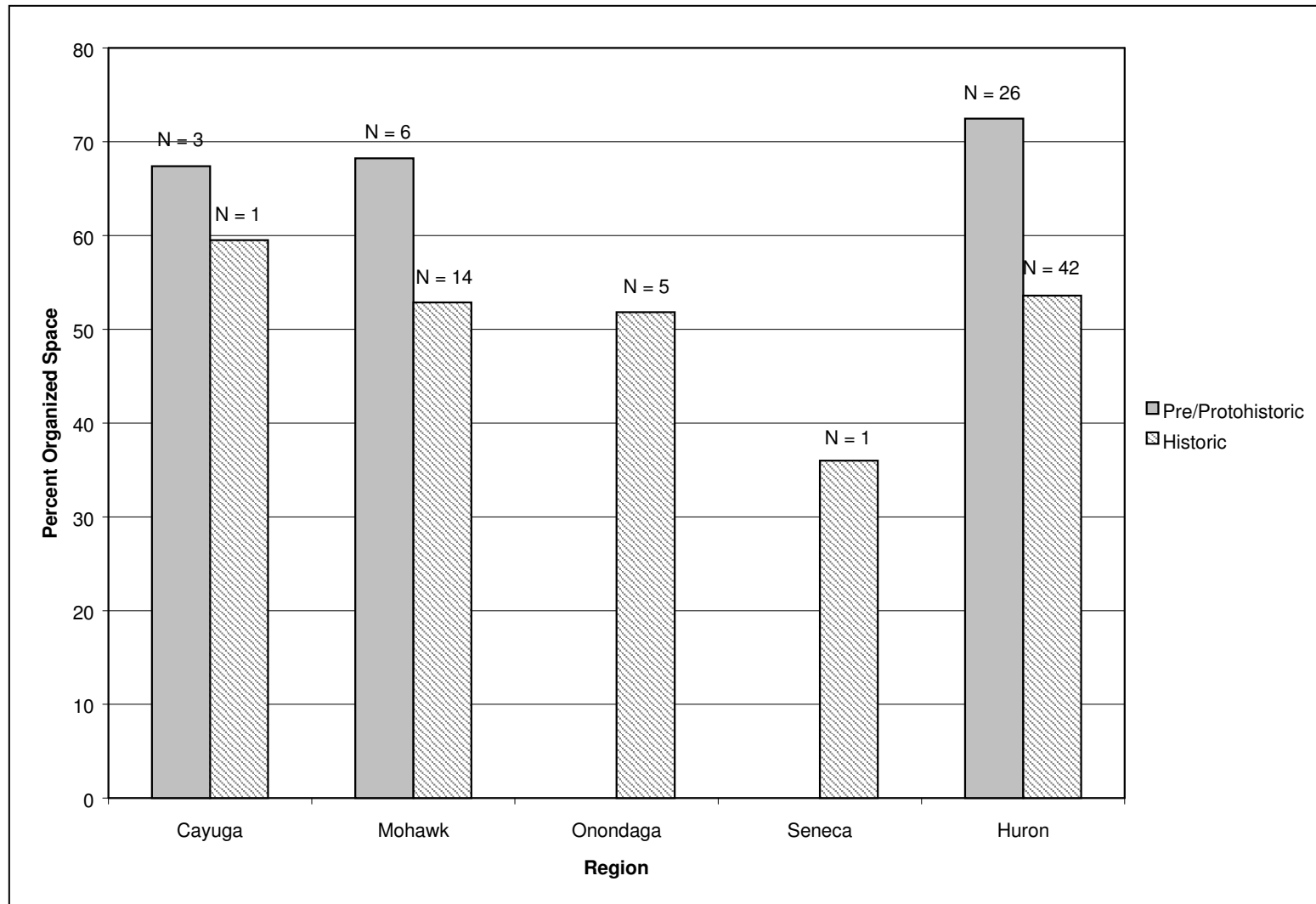
**Figure 55: Organization of space within Cayuga longhouses.**

**Table 31: Summary Statistics for Percentage of Organized Space**

<b>Region</b>	<b>No. Houses</b>	<b>Min. (% org. space)</b>	<b>Max. (% org. space)</b>	<b>Mean (% org. space)</b>	<b>SD (% org. space)</b>	<b>95% C.I.</b>
<b>Pre- and Protohistoric Period (AD 1400 – 1600)</b>						
Cayuga	3	64.47	70.20	67.40	2.87	60.28 – 74.52
Mohawk	6	50.64	91.00	68.34	14.22	53.41 – 83.26
Huron	26	56.47	89.63	72.46	10.10	68.38 – 76.54
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>50.64</b>	<b>91.00</b>	<b>71.32</b>	<b>10.44</b>	<b>67.73 – 74.91</b>
<b>Historic Period (AD 1600 –1700)</b>						
Cayuga	1	–	–	59.53	–	–
Mohawk	14	18.49	76.80	52.87	17.39	42.82 – 62.91
Onondaga	5	38.94	64.06	51.82	9.66	39.82 – 63.82
Seneca	1	–	–	35.99	–	–
Huron	42	0.00	82.18	53.06	23.09	47.54 – 53.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>82.18</b>	<b>52.75</b>	<b>20.67</b>	<b>47.54 – 58.00</b>
<b>All Houses</b>						
Cayuga	4	59.53	70.20	65.43	4.58	58.15 – 72.72
Mohawk	20	18.49	91.00	57.51	17.69	49.23 – 65.79
Onondaga	5	38.94	64.06	51.82	9.66	39.82 – 63.82
Seneca	1	–	–	35.99	–	–
Huron	62	0.00	89.63	60.48	21.32	55.32 – 65.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>91.00</b>	<b>59.38</b>	<b>19.78</b>	<b>55.41 – 63.35</b>

remains from the site as a whole are examined and compared to collections from other Cayuga Contact-period sites.

Trends over time in the quantity and diversity of the pre- and post-contact remains are investigated in both the household and village-wide contexts. Analysis also relies on the comparison of the various functions represented by the artifact assemblages, using the pattern recognition approach originally devised by South (1977) (see Chapter 4). The artifact categories utilized in the analyses here are informed by the work of Deagan (2004), Rothschild (2003), and Wagner (1998).



**Figure 56: Percentage of organized space by time period and region.**

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the ensuing analyses is the fact that most deposits at the Rogers Farm site represent mixed contexts; evidence of seventeenth-century occupation was typically found in association with materials representing earlier use of the site. For the most part, the materials most surely left behind by Onontaré's residents include European goods. Likewise, pottery artifacts and projectile points are the clearest indicators of prehistoric usage of the site. Addressing the great quantities of lithic debitage and burned bone, as well as the lesser amounts of utilized flakes, lithic tools (other than projectile points), and unburned faunal remains, excavated from the site is more problematic. Unless recovered *in situ* from undisturbed sub-plowzone features or postmolds together with more securely diagnostic artifacts, it is not possible to determine the chronological association of these materials securely. Therefore, artifact classes of prehistoric and indeterminate date are excluded from the assemblage used to understand the domestic activities carried out by the residents of Onontaré.

### **Household Artifacts**

In this section, I compare artifacts associated with Structure 1, the longhouse end identified during the Summer 2000 field program at the Rogers Farm site, with longhouse-related remains from the Klinko site, a prehistoric Cayuga settlement dating from approximately AD 1450 – 1500. This site is located in Covert Township, Seneca County, New York, to the southwest of Cayuga Lake. Information about the Klinko site excavations was gathered from Nelson (1977).

The household-associated assemblages from the two sites are compared in terms of their material and functional make-up. A central assumption made in the proceeding analysis is that the artifacts found within the context of structural remains reflect the items used, and by extension the activities carried out by, the members of those longhouses. Since both the Rogers

Farm and Klinko sites are located in plowed fields, it must be assumed that agricultural activities have resulted in minimal lateral movement of artifacts over the site. At Rogers Farm, the distribution of surface artifacts tends to indicate that this is the case, although evidence of vertical mixing is apparent (see Chapter 5). This is less certain for Klinko; nevertheless, Nelson (1977) was able to define household-related activity areas based on the distribution of features and artifacts at the site. It must also be noted that materials related to the domestic sphere are not only found within a residence, as the activities carried out by a household often take place in locations away from a structure, at distances both near and far, and an example of such an area at the Klinko site is considered in this analysis. Furthermore, processes such as cleaning, curation, and abandonment serve to shape the archaeological assemblages associated with domestic structures. In sum, although remains found in the context of residential structures can not fully reflect intact assemblages of materials used by the members of a particular household, they do provide some insight into the activities accomplished within an Iroquois longhouse.

Table 12 in Chapter 5 lists artifacts recovered from the block excavation area, the deposits surrounding the Rogers Farm longhouse. These data are examined here, along with materials recovered during the surface collection of the same vicinity. With this assemblage I also include a collection of artifacts made several years ago by Harold Secor. Mr. Secor was able to provenience these materials to the same location as the block excavation and made them available for analysis. The content of these three artifact assemblages (with the exception of materials dating to prehistoric, indeterminate, or modern ages) is presented in Table 32.

The household-associated materials to be considered from the Klinko site were derived from four contexts. Two of these contexts are deposits associated with the longhouses that were discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter. A third context is an activity area located just



**Table 32: Artifacts Recovered from Structure 1 Vicinity**

Materials	Excavation Units in Longhouse Vicinity	Surface Collection in Longhouse Vicinity	Secor Collection	Totals	
				N	%
<b>Glass beads</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>13.89</b>
<b>Iron</b>					
Fragments	15	1	59	75	
Nails	5	0	4	9	
Knife blades	0	0	2	2	
Gun lock	0	0	1	1	
Chisels	0	0	2	2	
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>35.53</b>
<b>Copper/brass</b>					
Fragments	35	0	38	73	
Projectile point	1	0	0	1	
Kettle lug	0	0	1	1	
Awl	0	0	1	1	
Beads	0	0	2	2	
Bangles	0	0	2	2	
Ring	0	0	1	1	
Bracelet	0	0	1	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>32.54</b>
<b>Lead</b>					
Fragments	0	0	3	3	
Musket balls	0	0	6	8	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4.37</b>
<b>Ceramic (European) fragments</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7.54</b>
<b>Gunflints (European)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.79</b>
<b>Kaolin (white ball clay)</b>					
Fragments	8	0	0	8	
Pipestems	0	0	6	6	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5.56</b>
<b>Grand Totals</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.00</b>

outside one of the structures. Remains within this 16.8x6.1-m area included three hearths, three pits, four fired areas, and their associated artifacts. A burial was also encountered in this area, although it appears to predate the Cayuga occupation. Nelson (1977:17) believes this represents a food preparation area used by the residents of the adjacent longhouse during warmer periods of the year and that it may have been sheltered. The fourth context is another activity area that Nelson (1977:18) interprets as a residential area within the central aisle of a longhouse, although excavation was not extensive enough to identify the surrounding walls of the house. This area, measuring 12.2x7.6 m, included 8 fired areas, a hearth, and 25 postmolds. Unfortunately, deposits above this area were removed by heavy equipment and not screened, so fewer artifacts from within this context were recovered than from the first area.

The various functions and associated artifact types represented by the assemblages from the household areas at the two sites are presented in Table 33. The creation of these functional categories was informed by the work of Deagan (2004) and Wagner (1998). The artifacts at each site were quantified based on these categories. (Because of the problems in dating faunal and botanical remains at Rogers Farm, stated above, these artifact classes were excluded from the analysis for both sites.)

The relative emphases of each of these functional categories, as represented by the proportion of artifacts related to each activity, are similar at both sites. Within the two assemblages manufacturing technology is most common, and the percentages of food-processing implements are almost the same at the two sites. Despite the historical processes of the Contact period, the distribution of domestic artifacts from the Rogers Farm site associated with these activities are essentially the same as what is seen at a prehistoric longhouse.

**Table 33: Household Artifact Categories at the Klinko and Rogers Farm Sites**

Functional Category	Rogers Farm Site		Functional Category	Klinko Site	
	N	% of Grand total		N	% of Grand total
<b>Manufacturing</b>			<b>Manufacturing</b>		
Iron knife blades	2	0.79%	Lithic debitage/utilized flakes	544	91.74%
Iron chisels	2	0.79%	Lithic scrapers	2	0.34%
Copper/brass awls	1	0.40%	Bone awls	1	0.17%
Iron nails	9	3.57%			
Iron frags	75	29.76%			
Copper/brass frags	73	28.97%			
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>64.29%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>547</b>	<b>92.24%</b>
<b>Food processing</b>			<b>Food processing</b>		
Copper/brass kettle parts	1	0.40%	Pottery vessels	35	5.90%
Euro-American ceramics	19	7.54%	Grinding stones	1	0.17%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>7.94%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>6.07%</b>
<b>Hunting/Weaponry</b>			<b>Hunting/Weaponry</b>		
Gun lock mechanism	1	0.40%	Lithic projectile points	5	0.84%
Copper/brass projectile point	1	0.40%			
Lead musketballs	11	4.37%			
Gunflints	2	0.79%			
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5.95%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0.84%</b>
<b>Non-utilitarian</b>			<b>Non-utilitarian</b>		
Glass trade beads	35	13.89%	Pottery pipe frags	3	0.51%
Kaolin pipestems and frags	14	5.56%	Sandstone beads	1	0.17%
Copper/brass jewelry	6	2.38%	Toy pots	1	0.17%
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>21.83%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0.84%</b>
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>Grand total</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

However, overall the proportions of goods within each category differ significantly from expected values if there is no difference between the Rogers Farm and Klinko household artifacts ( $\chi^2 = 370.33$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In particular, within the Rogers Farm materials, artifacts associated with warfare and hunting, including the gun lock mechanism, lead musket balls, and the copper/brass projectile point, are more frequent than at the Klinko site, highlighting the role of the household in organizing the more frequent military expeditions of the Contact period.

Non-utilitarian items also appear in much greater amounts, although they are typically quite rare on pre-contact sites. This could be indicative of the increase in ceremonialism taking place within the context of the household as an aftereffect of the epidemics (Trigger 1985:250). Trade, warfare, and ritual were all activities conducted in the traditional household (Heidenreich 1971:114); the events of the period likely resulted in an intensification of these practices rather than a complete overhaul of their organization.

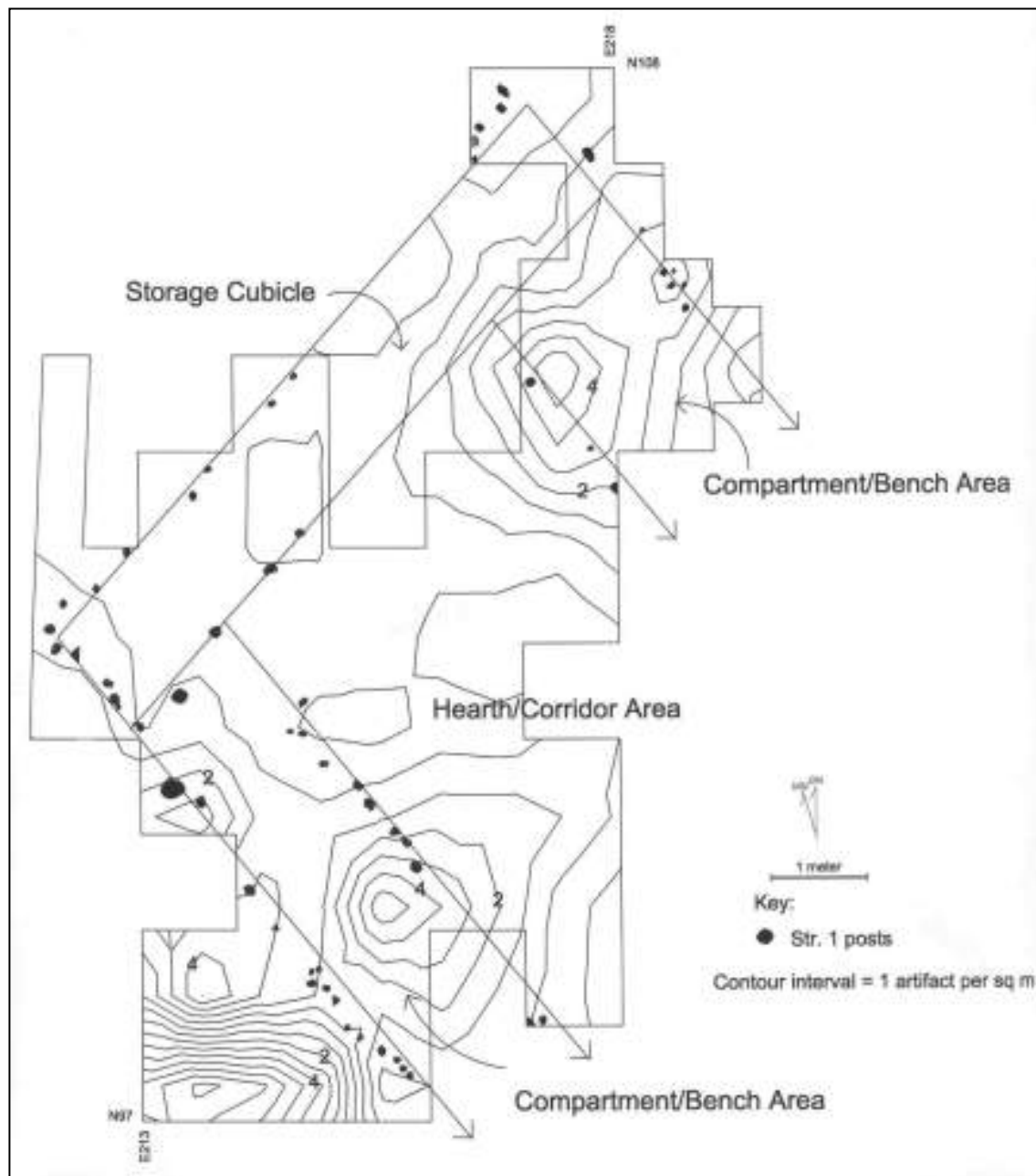
The assemblage of artifacts found in association with the longhouse at the Rogers Farm site do demonstrate that Cayuga Iroquois household patterns of consumption and production of durable goods had undergone change from prehistoric times, with different materials used during the seventeenth century to fulfill the same range of activities as prior to the Contact period. The incorporation of these new materials for many of the daily tasks undertaken by the household is evident. Additionally, a wider variety of objects is utilized for these activities (see Table 33).

Based on analysis of burial materials from the site's outlying cemeteries, it has previously been demonstrated that the production of lithic and ceramic items had dropped off by the time of Onontaré's occupation (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1990, 1992, 1994). These are activities that were traditionally undertaken within the context of the Iroquoian household (Allen 1992) and are prevalent within the Klinko site assemblage. Although Native technology of pottery had declined, this did not spell the end of household-based manufacture of goods for both utilitarian and non-utilitarian purposes. European-made materials are present both in modified and unmodified form within the Rogers Farm household assemblage. Examples of unmodified items include iron knives, lead shot, a portion of a gun lock mechanism, and glass trade beads. Modified items include iron scraps apparently sharpened into chisels, and a projectile point, beads, an awl point and items of personal adornment fashioned out of copper/brass fragments,

presumably pieces cut from kettles (see Table 32). Interestingly, analysis of burial data from Rogers Farm by Mandzy (1992, 1994) indicates quantities of non-utilitarian objects made of native materials. With the exception of a broken slate gorget recovered near the house, which may predate the village, no such items were present in the longhouse excavations.

Figure 57 illustrates the distribution of historic artifacts within the block excavation area at the Rogers Farm site. Although again it must be cautioned that plowing may have resulted in the horizontal movement of materials and that these patterns are merely serendipitous, three clusters of historic artifacts do appear in the house segment. Denser concentrations appear under both benches, with a third, smaller concentration along the south wall. The impression is that one family did not seem to control significantly more resources than another.

The distribution of artifacts within the longhouse thus suggests that traditional notions of shared social and economic obligations within the household persisted at the time of Rogers Farm's occupation. The presence of the end storage cubicle further indicates the communal economy of the longhouse. Well into the eighteenth century, based on the observations of European travelers in Iroquois lands, it appears that "the vast majority of Iroquois continued to operate in a traditional native nexus of reciprocity and redistribution" (Richter 1992:263). The mechanisms of the fur trade in fact followed Iroquoian rites of gift giving, generosity, and reciprocity (Trigger 1985; Richter 1992). In addition, cooperative work groups of women continued to be responsible for horticultural production and the bulk of the community's food reserves (Brown 1970; Rothenberg 1979). Participation in a capitalist economy and the emerging world market via the fur trade does not seem to have led to a loss of the ethos of reciprocity and the corporate nature of the household (Del  ge 1993; Richter 1992).



**Figure 57: Distribution of historic artifacts within Structure 1.**

## **Village-Wide Comparisons**

In this section I compare the Rogers Farm artifact assemblage to collections from other Cayuga sites of the Contact period in terms of frequency of European materials, diversity, and functional content to evaluate changes and continuity in material culture patterns as the community became increasingly involved in the fur trade and, concurrently, the emerging European world market system. Mandzy (1992, 1994) compiled information from published literature and from museum and private collections for 10 seventeenth-century Cayuga sites, including previously recovered materials from the Rogers Farm site curated at the RMSC.

The amount of archaeological work conducted at these sites and the state of the collections vary widely, however. For some sites little research has been conducted and assemblages are mainly casual finds; in other cases only the presence of artifact types rather than their quantities could be noted based on field notes. In this analysis, four of the sites described by Mandzy (1992, 1994) which have more complete collections are compared with the Rogers Farm museum collections as well as the historic artifact assemblage recovered during the summer 2000 field season. Two of the sites predate and two postdate the occupation of Onontaré: Genoa Fort I (AD 1600 – 1620), the Dean Site (1640 – 1660), Mead Farm (1670 – 1690), and Young Farm (AD 1690 – 1710). Additionally, the artifact collections from these occupations were derived from a variety of contexts, including surface finds, plowzone and feature deposits, and burials, and it was not possible to quantify artifacts on this basis. Instead, the complete assemblages are used to represent these various decades of the seventeenth century and the analyses are conducted at the level of site or village. Accordingly, the site-wide assemblage of artifacts from Rogers Farm investigations are included with the previously recorded collections from the site. As with the household analysis in the previous section, items

that date to the prehistoric and modern usage of the site as well as artifacts of indeterminate age are not included, so the possibility of over-representation of European-derived objects exists. For example, unmodified faunal and botanical remains, although reported by Mandzy (1992, 1994) have also excluded from the analysis for all five sites.

The pattern recognition method was again used to assess differences in the functional makeup of the artifact assemblages. The categories established here are similar to those used in the previous section, with the exceptions that there are additional activities represented by the five sites' collections, including fishing and agriculture, and that there is a far greater number of artifact types—both of European and Native origin—that are utilized within each functional category<sup>16</sup>. These are listed in Table 34, and Table 35 presents the distribution of the five Contact period site collections across the categories.

Although valid for the comparison between the Rogers Farm and Klinko site longhouses, chi-square cannot be utilized to determine if any statistical differences within this distribution due to the absence and/or very low counts of observations in some cells. Additionally, the non-systematic nature of some of the collections and differences in levels of recovery efforts make comparisons problematic, such as is seen in the overwhelming numbers of beads compared to more mundane objects in the assemblages. Because of these issues, a rank-order correlation was instead selected to compare the relative functional emphases of the assemblages. The proportions of artifacts in each functional category at the sites were assigned ranks (Table 36) and Spearman's *rho* was calculated as the correlation coefficient among the ranks.

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<sup>16</sup> Lead seals and weights and measures were recovered from the Mead Farm site and may represent an additional category of economic technology (unlike coins which were likely also used for personal adornment rather than currency). Because these artifacts were found at a single site and number only three, this category was not included in the analysis.



**Table 34: Functional Categories Represented by Contact Period Collections**

**Manufacture**

- Antler flaking tools
- Gouges
- Engravers
- Hammerstones
- Abrading stones
- Copper/brass fragments
- Melted copper/brass
- Iron fragments
- Silver fragments
- Pewter fragments
- Lead splash
- Iron European hammers
- Iron files
- Iron saws
- Chisels
- Bone chisels
- Iron chisels
- Stone knives
- Copper/brass knives
- Iron knives
- Antler knife handles
- Flint scrapers
- Glass scrapers
- Iron scrapers
- Rubbing stones
- Beaming tools
- Flint drills
- Iron drills
- Bone awls
- Copper/brass awls
- Iron awls
- Bone needles
- Copper/brass needles
- Iron needles
- Iron scissors
- Iron nails
- Pottery tools
- Copper/brass thimbles
- Whetstones

**Agriculture**

- Digging sticks
- Iron sticks
- Iron hoes
- Stone celts
- Iron celts
- Iron axes and fragments

**Fishing**

- Bone fishhooks
- Copper/brass fishhooks
- Iron fishhooks
- Pebble stone net sinkers
- Bone harpoons
- Iron harpoons

**Food Processing**

- Pottery vessels and sherds
- European ceramics
- Copper/brass kettles and parts
- Ladles
- Wooden spoons
- Pewter spoons
- Copper/brass spoons
- Pewter cups and mugs
- Wooden bowls
- Spatulas
- Iron pot hooks
- Iron cooking skewers
- European glass bottles

**Hunting/Weaponry**

- Triangular flint points
- Rapier blades
- European edged weapon parts
- Bone spear points
- Iron spears
- Conical bone points
- Copper/brass flint points
- Iron points
- Musket parts
- Gun flints
- Lead musket balls
- Iron bullet molds

**Non-Utilitarian**

- Copper/brass rings
- Iron bracelets
- Buttons
- Buckles
- Copper/brass hawk bells
- Wampum
- Shell pendants
- Red shale/catlinite beads
- Red shale/catlinite pendants
- Bone beads
- Bone and tooth pendants
- Gorgetes

**Non-Utilitarian (cont.)**

- Copper/brass jinglers/bangles
- Stone pendants
- Copper/brass pendants
- Copper/brass beads
- China beads
- Discoidal pottery beads
- Glass beads
- Glass seed beads
- Lucky stones
- Combs
- Human effigy figurines
- Antler effigies
- Maskettes
- Pottery pipes
- Copper/brass pipe bowl liners
- Wooden pipe bowl fragments
- Extended ring coil elbow pipes
- Trumpet bowl pipes
- Stone pipes
- Pewter pipes
- Copper/brass pipes
- White ball clay/kaolin pipes
- Iron smoker's companion
- Turtle shell rattles
- Copper/brass rattles
- Christianization rings and medals
- European religious effigies
- Copper/brass host container
- Jews' harps
- Mirrors
- Bone whistles
- Iron strike-a-lights
- Iron keys
- Paint pigment
- Gaming stones
- Antler/bone button dice
- Magnifying glasses
- Coins
- Whizzers
- Iron octagonal boxes
- Iron mirror boxes

**Table 35: Distribution of Contact Period Artifacts by Function**

	<b>Genoa Ft. I (1600-1620)</b>		<b>Dean (1640-1660)</b>		<b>Rogers Farm (1660-1680)</b>		<b>Mead Farm (1670-1690)</b>		<b>Young Farm (1690-1710)</b>	
<b>Activity</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Manufacturing	979	19.81	131	18.35	284	5.91	193	2.5	57	4.02
Food processing	194	3.92	43	6.02	82	1.71	29	0.4	23	1.62
Agriculture	47	0.95	0	0.00	3	0.06	6	0.1	5	0.35
Fishing	23	0.47	1	0.14	3	0.06	4	0.1	5	0.35
Hunting/Weaponry	1058	21.40	54	7.56	94	1.96	272	3.5	40	2.82
Non-Utilitarian	2642	53.45	485	67.93	4340	90.30	7179	93.4	1288	90.83
<b>Totals</b>	<b>4943</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>4806</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>7683</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1418</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 36: Ranked Proportions of Functional Categories**

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Genoa Ft. I (1600-1620)</b>	<b>Dean (1640-1660)</b>	<b>Rogers Farm (1660-1680)</b>	<b>Mead Farm (1670-1690)</b>	<b>Young Farm (1690-1710)</b>
Manufacturing	3	2	2	3	2
Food processing	4	4	4	4	4
Agriculture	5	6	5.5	5.5	5.5
Fishing	6	5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Hunting/Weaponry	2	3	3	2	3
Non-Utilitarian	1	1	1	1	1

The rank-order correlation coefficients are shown in Table 37. There are significant positive correlations among the rankings of the artifact categories for all of the sites. Here, the significant relationships reveal not differences but very strong similarities among the functional composition of the five sites. In each case, non-utilitarian items are the most popular, likely due to several factors. First, the non-systematic nature of the collections and the inclusion of burial contexts biases in the collections potentially resulted in the overrepresentation of such goods.

**Table 37: Rank-order Correlation Coefficients**

	<b>Genoa Fort I</b>	<b>Dean</b>	<b>Rogers Farm</b>	<b>Mead Farm</b>	<b>Young Farm</b>
<b>Genoa Fort I</b>					
Spearman's $\rho$	1.000	.886	.928	.986	.928
Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.019	.008	.000	.008
N	6	6	6	6	6
<b>Dean</b>					
Spearman's $\rho$	.886	1.000	.986	.928	.986
Sig. (2-tailed)	.019	.	.000	.008	.000
N	6	6	6	6	6
<b>Rogers Farm</b>					
Spearman's $\rho$	.928	.986	1.000	.941	1.000
Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.000	.	.005	.
N	6	6	6	6	6
<b>Mead Farm</b>					
Spearman's $\rho$	.986	.928	.941	1.000	.941
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.008	.005	.	.005
N	6	6	6	6	6
<b>Young Farm</b>					
Spearman's $\rho$	.928	.986	1.000	.941	1.000
Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.000	.	.005	.
N	6	6	6	6	6

Second, beads, which appear by the hundreds at the sites, were counted individually, whereas in use they would typically have been strung as necklaces, belts, and other items or sewn onto clothing, with multiple beads incorporated into a single object. At the same time, as mentioned earlier, the Contact period is characterized by a rise in ceremonial activities. Also, increased contact with Europeans as the seventeenth century unfolded produced greater access to beads and other non-utilitarian items, possibly changing patterns of curation; this issue will be discussed in further detail below.

Across the sites, manufacturing-related items or hunting implements and weaponry are ranked next, then food processing, with fishing and agriculture least represented. Discounting the non-utilitarian items, this distribution is somewhat similar to that seen in the two household assemblages, with the exception that hunting and weaponry appear more frequently in the site-

wide collections. This may also be related to collection biases or to the inclusion of artifacts from burial contexts; alternatively, it may reflect the greater participation of the Cayuga in military expeditions fed by mourning cycles or conflict over trade, as described in Chapter 3. However, throughout the sequence there is in general little change in the various activities represented by the artifact inventories.

The overall artifact assemblage from Rogers Farm does contrast in several other important ways with the previously recovered collections from the earlier Contact period sites. Again, although comparing the volume of goods across these settlements is somewhat problematic because of biases produced by the non-systematic nature of some of the collections, there is a clear rise in the quantity of trade goods at Rogers Farm (Table 38). Using the artifact classes described in Table 34, there is also a marked increase in the different types of artifacts of European origin appearing on Cayuga sites by the mid-seventeenth century (Table 39). Several likely influences contributed to these observed changes.

**Table 38: Frequency of Artifacts of Native and European Origin on Five Contact Period Cayuga Sites**

Site	Dates	European Origin		Native Origin	
		N	%	N	%
Genoa Fort I	1600s-1620s	2361	50	2367	50
Dean	1640s-1660s	587	86	94	14
Rogers Farm*	1660s-1680s	4571	95	235	5
Mead	1660s-1680s	6690	92	586	8
Young Farm	1670s-1710s	1190	87	182	13

\* Includes museum collections and 2000 University of Pittsburgh excavations

**Table 39: Frequency of Artifact Types of Native and European Origin on Five Contact Period Cayuga Sites**

Site	Dates	Artifact Types of European Origin		Artifact Types of Native Origin	
		N	%	N	%
Genoa Fort I	1600s-1620s	51	41	72	59
Dean	1640s-1660s	38	37	64	63
Rogers Farm*	1660s-1680s	52	69	23	31
Mead	1670s-1690s	69	64	39	36
Young Farm	1670s-1710s	52	55	42	45

\* Includes museum collections and 2000 University of Pittsburgh excavations

On the earliest sites of the period, European artifacts had found their way into the hands of inland Native groups like the Iroquois via traditional trade routes well before direct contact occurred. Items such as beads, cutouts from copper kettles, and iron implements reworked into traditional tool forms appear in small quantities on early Contact period sites in the sixteenth century, almost exclusively in mortuary contexts (Bradley 1987:110). These were commodities of little monetary value to their European suppliers but of great symbolic importance to their new owners. Glass and brass objects were analogous to indigenous artifacts of crystal and native copper, exotic materials charged with life-restoring powers (Hamell 1987).

Into the seventeenth century, as face-to-face interaction became more commonplace, there was a proliferation of European goods on Iroquoian sites. The European presence in the region became more permanent, and the establishment of trading posts created a more predictable source of goods. Instead of small amounts of goods reaching Iroquoia through an extensive trade system, large quantities of an increasing range of variety arrived from a more limited range of places of origin (Bradley 1987:81). Occupation of the Rogers Farm site coincides with the institution of the Covenant Chain in the late 1670s, which assured entry into

the markets of Albany, where the British offered better prices for beaver pelts than those previously offered by the French and increased access to goods (Jennings 1984; Richter 1992).

The short-lived missions to the Iroquois provided yet another source of European materials. With the Jesuits in the midst of the villages, more individuals—particularly Christian converts—had access to trade goods. The Rogers Farm and Mead Farm sites were two of the three missions established in Cayuga territory and show the greatest quantities and diversity of trade goods (see Tables 38 and 39). The Jesuits' objectives in trade differed from the commercial trading interests; ceremonial exchanges created an occasion for the priests to proselytize (*JR* 43:286). Religious medals, finger rings, and crucifixes, which are present in the Rogers Farm museum collections (Mandzy 1990), along with more mundane items like small metal tools, were found to be an effective means to raise the Cayugas' interest in Christianity (Bradley 1987:136). The government of New France fostered trade with converts by offering them better prices and more lavish gifts (Del   1993:119). For many Iroquois conversion to Catholicism was indivisible from economic ties to the French (Richter 1992:106).

Compared to the earlier seventeenth-century Cayuga sites, there is also a rise in the use of items for their originally intended function at Rogers Farm. Complete finished goods are present, whereas on earlier sites they were typically reworked into traditional forms. Additionally, the European-derived artifacts found on the earlier sites display an emphasis on ideological functions; at Rogers Farm there is a shift to preference for utilitarian items (Mandzy 1992, 1994). The increased availability of and familiarity with European materials appear to have lessened their symbolic, supernatural powers, demonstrated by the fact that quantities are now found in general village contexts and middens, and not only in burials (Bradley 1987:165).

An increase in the proportion of European-derived goods to those of Native origin is also seen at Rogers Farm (see Tables 38 and 39). Although non-utilitarian items of Native manufacture, such as shell beads and pendants, continued to appear (De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1992, 1994), the manufacture of other traditional artifact classes, most notably pottery vessels and lithic tools, ceased almost completely (Bradley 1987; De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1994). Ultimately, as European goods obtained through trade were increasingly incorporated into Cayuga material culture, the site's occupants became more and more dependent on the fur trade for many tools used for everyday purposes.

### **Gender Roles of the Iroquois**

The historic artifact assemblage also reflects transformations of the material culture inventories of the village's men and women, as well as gender-based differences in access to the newly introduced goods. In this last part of the chapter, I consider differences between men and women in the types of European goods they adopted, the activities they accomplished, and in access to the new materials available through the course of the Contact period.

Because men undertook the greater part of the commerce with the European merchants, they had the most direct access to trade goods (Table 40). In exchange for a single commodity—fur—Iroquois traders received a suite of finished products. By the time of the site's occupation, the manufacture of items purely intended for trade in the New World was well established in European workshops (Bradley 1987:165), and the preferences of Native men would have played an important role in driving the production of these goods. They also dictated the exchange in terms of their own economic norms, and trade was conducted following Native practices using Native languages. Each year elaborate ceremonies took place to initiate trade with the French:

**Table 40: European-Derived Artifact Classes by Gender**

<b>Artifacts Used Primarily by Men</b>	<b>Artifacts Used Primarily by Women</b>	<b>Artifacts Used by Both Men and Women</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Musket parts</li><li>• Musket balls</li><li>• Gunflints</li><li>• Copper/brass projectile points</li><li>• Iron thrusting blades</li><li>• Iron fishhooks</li><li>• Iron nails</li><li>• Bottle glass (alcohol containers)</li><li>• Smoking pipes</li><li>• Smokers' companions</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Copper/brass kettles</li><li>• European ceramics</li><li>• Needles</li><li>• Scissors</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Iron axes</li><li>• Iron knives and other metal cutting edges</li><li>• Metal awls</li><li>• Non-utilitarian items (including glass and copper/brass beads, religious items, coins, buttons, jewelry, tinkling cones, and other items of personal adornment)</li><li>• Textiles</li></ul>

both parties dressed in their finest and partook in speeches, feasts, and gift exchanges to solidify the relationship (Trigger 1985:186-190).

Of the materials traditionally associated with primarily male manufacture, the remains at Rogers Farm reveal a dramatic decrease in the production of lithic tools. Replacing these are implements made of iron and copper, including knives, axes, and scrapers. Likewise, metal fishhooks and awls replaced those of bone and antler. The substitution of these traditional industries for ready-made European objects may be due in part to their utilitarian advantages and superior efficiency, but it also reflects the loss of many expert Native artisans who passed away during the epidemics before they were able to teach their skills to younger members of their communities (Trigger 1985:250).

Men also used European materials as a foundation for new craft undertakings. Fragments of iron, brass, and copper were reworked into cutting edges, pipe inserts, projectile points, and non-utilitarian items like tubular beads, jewelry, and conical tinklers that were utilized by men and women alike. According to Bradley (1987:132), construction of these items using European goods as raw material reflects a continuation of pre-contact manufacture of



objects of native copper. Additionally, the organization of these industries appears to be in the same manner as in pre-contact times. There is no evidence of full-time specialization or labor organization above the household level. Instead, production was domestically based, with the artisan having rights to the usage and distribution of his handiwork.

Prominent among the European-derived artifacts most closely associated with men at Rogers Farm are a number of items used in hunting and warfare, which illustrate the flexibility of Iroquois men in adopting new goods and in transforming traditional technologies. Muskets were highly desirable trade goods after their introduction in the 1640s, and Iroquois men quickly became highly skilled in their use. While they were required to rely on European sources for new equipment, they endeavored for self-sufficiency by casting their own musket balls out of lead and by applying their flintknapping skills to produce their own gunflints (Bradley 1987:142, 152; Delâge 1993:158-159). Men also fashioned triangular projectile points out of scraps of copper or brass instead of chipped stone. Other weaponry present in the Rogers Farm museum collections includes iron rapier and stiletto blades (Mandzy 1990:21; 1994:150).

Other artifact classes from the site relating to men's activities include smoking pipes of both European and Native manufacture, as well as smokers' companions. Iron axes were utilized to clear fields, replacing groundstone implements. Men continued to build longhouses at the site, incorporating the use of European hardware, such as nails, into traditional architecture.

While the types of European goods, such as brass points, reworked iron axes, and firearms, first found on earlier Cayuga sites like Genoa Fort are chiefly associated with male activities, it appears that by the mid-seventeenth century, women had increased access to European objects. At Rogers Farm, objects that would have been used by women also appear in

the inventory of foreign goods (see Table 40). Women's choices therefore can be interpreted as contributing to the overall increase in trade goods seen at the site.

A chief source of the goods used by women was the village's male traders. However, women did not need to rely entirely on their male counterparts as suppliers or as sources of information. On the trading trips they participated in from time to time, women could receive first-hand knowledge of available products. As the European presence in their region became more permanent, women also had opportunities to trade directly with the foreigners, although on a small scale. In van den Bogaert's (1988:6) journal of his 1634 voyages through Mohawk territory, he writes of participating in exchange with two Iroquois women, bartering coins for salmon.

The French priests in their territory in particular were likely a significant source of goods. While their original strategy was to first convert a village's chiefs in order to bring a community to Christianity, the Jesuits instead found that women were very often most receptive to the new religion and often comment on the piety and devotion of their female converts (Delâge 1993:235-236; *JR* 53:180, 54:297). As Richter (1992:125) writes, "despite the inherent patriarchal bias of the Christianity taught by seventeenth-century missionaries, Roman Catholicism, with its cult of the Virgin Mary, its veneration of female saints, and its sisterhoods of nuns appealed strongly to the matrilineal principles of Iroquois culture." Religious objects, such as those recovered from the site, were identified as female possessions in the *Jesuit Relations* (*JR* 53:180). Of course, accepting baptism was an individual decision—women who just as fervently held to their traditional beliefs were also noteworthy to the priests (e.g., *JR* 43:275, 54:99)—but for Christianized Iroquois women, trade goods could be procured from the

priests, who exchanged items like beads, iron knives, and awls for provisions and to win favors (Bradley 1987:136).

Like men, the women of Onontaré adopted tools of European origin for their daily productive activities. They made use of iron needles, scissors, and awls for clothing manufacture, and iron knives and other cutting edges for preparing food and hides or for other tasks. Iron axes were used by women for splitting and collecting firewood (Trigger 1985:209). Containers of European ceramics were used for food storage.

Lighter in weight and more durable, copper kettles replaced pottery for cooking pots. Much as men were no longer manufacturing traditional formal lithic tools, women were no longer manufacturing pottery by the mid-seventeenth century (Bradley 1987:132; De Orio 1978; Mandzy 1994). The absence of pottery from the artifact assemblage is rather striking given its prevalence on prehistoric Iroquoian sites, and the discontinuation of the industry seemingly would have left women with a good deal of time to devote to other activities, such as the increased time commitment in provisioning the more frequent trading, hunting, and military parties. Allen's study (1992) of the organization of Iroquois ceramic production estimates that a woman would need only manufacture about five pots per year to fill her family's needs. Chilton (1998) asserts that production was a somewhat more intensive industry than Allen suggests, involving part-time fabrication of pots for use by lineages and clans, groups larger than the nuclear family. Although she does not provide an estimate of annual rates of vessel manufacture, she contends that production involved more people, occurred more frequently and regularly, and at higher production rates than manufacture organized purely for household consumption. Even so, pottery production took place on a relatively small scale, and in terms of

time at least, its cessation possibly would not have had an overly significant impact on women's activities.

Cooperative work groups of women continued to be responsible for horticultural production and the bulk of the community's food reserves (Brown 1970; Rothenberg 1979), and in this area little change occurred. The residents of the site would have been familiar with the crops grown by European farmers in their gardens, such as Old World grains, legumes, and herbs, as well as their use of domesticated animals (Bradley 1987:119-120). However, Iroquois women largely ignored these food sources and elected to maintain their traditional farming techniques to grow corn, beans, and squash. These plants had many advantages over European crops. Compared to wheat, maize is extremely prolific, producing four times as much food per unit of land from one-tenth the amount of seed. Corn also comes to harvest more quickly, can be harvested over a longer period of time, and preserves more reliably through the winter season (Jordan and Kaups 1989:115).

Women also continued to use the same farming equipment, wooden hoes and digging sticks, and still utilized groundstone and wooden milling tools to process the grain (Bradley 1987:123). Among the collections from other Contact period Cayuga sites, only two agricultural implements of European origin are present: a single iron sickle was recovered from the contemporary Mead Farm site, and an iron hoe was found at the Young Farm site, which post-dates Rogers Farm (Mandzy 1994:149). Delâge (1993:161) has stated that acquiring iron agricultural tools would have been a priority of Iroquois women, and their failure to do so indicates the restriction of their direct access to the European suppliers. However, the tools of the European system of permanent field agriculture were not entirely compatible with the farming needs of the Iroquois. The mounds of soil in which they planted did not require plowing

or tilling. In fact, plows would be essentially useless in the stump-studded, root-filled temporary fields. Corn is harvested by hand, making sickles unnecessary (Jordan and Kaups 1989:119). At the same time, iron hoes would likely have been useful in breaking up the soil and building it up into mounds.

It is uncertain whether women did indeed seek out these specialized tools unsuccessfully, or if their traditional tools were considered sufficient. It is also possible that women adopted other types of implements for working the earth, such as the iron “spatulas” or “scrapers” found in the museum collections (Mandzy 1992, 1994). These were items specifically made for the Native market and, while their intended function is unclear, they generally are believed to have been for processing hides (Bradley 1987:145); possibly, their size and chisel-like shape might have made them useful gardening tools as well. Additionally, Jordan and Kaups (1989:95, 119) note that the American Midland pioneers, who themselves had adopted many Native farming practices and crops, could accomplish all their agricultural tasks, from felling trees to preparing fields to planting seed, with a single tool, the steel axe. Women potentially could have similarly used iron trade axes for cultivation.

To summarize, the data gathered during the Summer 2000 investigations at the Rogers Farm site were able to shed light on several aspects of the domestic life of the Cayuga during the Contact period. Structural and spatial analyses of the longhouse end recovered during the excavations, in comparison with other known Iroquoian longhouse patterns, reveal that local-level population loss, a reorganization of household membership, and the adoption of non-local groups into the community’s households are reflected in the archaeological remains of the village, while the corporate nature of the longhouse endured. Analysis of the artifact

assemblages associated with the longhouse and with the village as a whole shows changes in the types of technologies utilized by the denizens of Onontaré, although the organization of the household-based activities accomplished with these implements remained much like pre-contact times. A surge in the volume and diversity of European-supplied goods (especially in non-utilitarian items and weaponry) is seen in the assemblage, materials that were obtained, selected, and used differently by the village's men and women. In the next chapter of the dissertation, these findings will be applied to the model of Contact period household change proposed in Chapter 4.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I first use the evidence and analyses presented in the previous chapter to assess the dissertation's four primary research hypotheses, which were outlined in Chapter 4. These were designed to gain a better understanding of the impact of European interaction and incipient globalization on traditional patterns of Cayuga Iroquois household organization, membership, and activities. Before turning to the summary of the conclusions drawn within this dissertation, I discuss the contemporary history of the Cayuga Iroquois, including the events that have affected the Nation since the close of the Contact period as well as issues of importance in their current state of affairs. Lastly, I suggest potential areas for future research into the issues raised in the dissertation.

#### **Evaluation of Research Hypotheses**

To begin this chapter, I turn back to the four primary research hypotheses that were formulated for the study. Using the analyses and data presented in the preceding sections, I evaluate whether each is sufficiently supported by the evidence recovered from the Rogers Farm site. The research hypotheses were aimed at achieving a fuller understanding of the degree to which the historical events associated with European contact and the beginnings of the globalization process affected the organization, membership, and economic activities of the village's households. As discussed in Chapter 4, it was predicted that (1) households would show a decline in membership, (2) that traditional rules of matrilineal and matrilocal relationships would structure household membership more loosely than in the past, (3) that patterns of household-based production and consumption of durable goods would undergo

change, and (4) that the distribution of resources within the household would continue to follow traditional principles of reciprocity and communal use.

### **Household Size**

It was initially proposed that during the Contact period *households will be smaller in size than in previous periods*. This hypothesis was based on the general, severe reduction in population across Iroquoia beginning in the early seventeenth century caused by the rampant epidemics and widespread warfare that came with the initiation of the globalization process. As such it was predicted that the households at Rogers Farm would be smaller in size than during earlier periods.

Archaeological data from the Rogers Farm site, as well as other parts of Iroquoia, confirm this hypothesis. Evidence of smaller households includes the use of shorter longhouses, and, although there was no available information to compare the estimated size of the Rogers Farm longhouse with other Cayuga sites, across Iroquoia both house length and area decrease over time. Additionally, the Rogers Farm longhouse is likely of comparable size to the other historic houses that were analyzed. Smaller houses would more appropriately fit the smaller groups living within as well as conserve on labor costs in longhouse construction.

It was also expected that since the historic houses would have had fewer people living in them they would reflect a lower degree of intensity of use than earlier structures, with less intensive usage reflected by lower densities of wall posts, interior postmolds, and features. Comparison of the Rogers Farm and the earlier Cayuga longhouses instead showed a great degree of similarity in these attributes. However, given the correlations among these variables at the earlier sites, the house at Rogers Farm had a lower density of wall posts than would be expected. Across the greater longhouse dataset, a significant drop in wall post density was also



observed. It may be that the more frequent and longer absences of males from the village due to the increased involvement in military and trade expeditions seen during the Contact period meant that their labor was not available as frequently for structural repairs.

Among the Cayuga longhouses, as well as those from the other parts of Iroquoia that were examined, no differences in interior post or feature densities were seen between the prehistoric and historic periods. Contrary to expectations, it appears that the smaller households of the Contact period utilized their residences to the same degree of intensity and for similar periods of time as prior to the seventeenth century.

### **Household Membership**

It was also predicted at the start of the study that, as the Contact period progressed, *the matrilineage and matrilocal residence rules become less important in defining household membership*. The formulation of the hypothesis that household membership would be more flexible was based on several factors. First, because of population decline, it would be a practical advantage to structure households more loosely than traditional practices dictated. Secondly, flexibility in choosing one's place of residence would alleviate the intravillage dissension that developed due to pressures from the great influx of foreign residents as well as to religious and political factions that emerged within the community; compounding this situation was the fact that many non-Iroquois who were incorporated into Five Nations villages were Christian.

The appearance of the adoptees living among the Iroquois and tensions developing within their villages is well described in contemporary documents. At the Rogers Farm site, the possible ossuary excavated in one of the village's cemetery areas provides archaeological evidence of Huron presence, as well as the likelihood that Structure 1 may have had Huron input

into its construction, based on its width and possibly also its bench depth. Similar evidence of wider houses, generally typical of Ontario Iroquoian structures was also established at other historic period Five Nations sites.

Kapches' (1990) spatial dynamics model was utilized to test the hypothesis. A clear, significant reduction in the amount of organized space was seen at the Rogers Farm site, as well as at the other Contact period sites that were considered, reflecting a loosening of matrilineal control over the structures. The average areas of the analyzed longhouses were also compared with Divale's range for house size among societies with matrilineal post-marital residence patterns. Although the decrease in house area between the pre- and protohistoric periods and the historic was significant, taken together the average area of the historic longhouses was within Divale's interval for matrilineal residence. However, the longhouse at the Seneca site of Ganondagan was below this figure, as were Onondaga houses with areas measuring toward the lower limit of the 95% confidence interval. This may indicate that in these regions post-marital residence patterns were undergoing change, and that the process was uneven across Iroquoia during the seventeenth century. At the same time, the areas of these structures are still larger than Divale's range of house size for patrilineal groups—although membership rules may have been less rigid than prior to the seventeenth century, they apparently did not become patrilineally aligned.

It was also proposed that additional archaeological evidence supporting this hypothesis would come in the form of standardized house sizes, as suggested by Snow (1989).

Unfortunately, since only one structure was identified during field investigations, it is not possible to know if this was the case among the Cayuga.

If, then, we accept Kapches' (1990) model that organized space is a reflection of matrilineally organized household membership, we do have evidence of a relaxing of earlier rules. This would serve to help resolve the intrahousehold disputes and tensions that were most likely arising just as frequently at Onontaré as at other Iroquois villages. This modification of traditional cultural conventions in the face of globalization also concurs with Giddens' (2000) characterization of the process.

### **Production and Consumption of Durable Goods**

The third research hypothesis stated that *change in traditional Iroquoian patterns of production and consumption of goods within the household* would be in evidence at the Rogers Farm site, due to involvement in the fur trade (and through that, in the emerging world market economy), the increased access to European goods through the Jesuit missions in Cayuga territory, and the establishment of the Covenant Chain. The historic artifact assemblage recovered during field investigations, from both the household context and from the wider village area, indicates that such a change did take place. The use of new technologies and a diversity of new materials clearly are observed. By the time of the site's occupation, European-derived items were utilized within the household setting, and not only in mortuary contexts as earlier in the Contact period. The acceptance of European materials by the Cayuga of Onontaré is seen not as a yielding to Western dominance, but as an active and selective process that took place as the onset of globalization made such choices available.

It was also predicted that functional differences between artifact assemblages associated with historic and prehistoric Iroquois households would be noted due to changes in the types of activities carried out within the domestic realm. Furthermore, new household activities would be reflected by changes in longhouse architecture for new specialized activities, such as may have

been necessitated by involvement in the fur trade. Functional comparisons of the household artifacts with those from the earlier Klinko site revealed that, although new implements and materials were utilized by the household, the same activities were represented. However, greater emphases on artifacts associated with non-utilitarian purposes and with warfare and hunting were seen at the Rogers Farm site; these patterns suggest an increase in ritual, trade, and military activities within the household, precipitated by participation in the fur trade as well as the escalating cycles of death and mourning of the times. When comparing the village-wide artifact assemblage with other seventeenth-century Cayuga sites, no changes in artifact function were seen, although surges in the volume and diversity of European items were indicated at Rogers Farm as the arrival of Catholic missionaries and the establishment of the Covenant Chain increased the availability of trade goods in Five Nations territory. Lastly, Structure 1 at Rogers Farm was laid out very much like a traditional longhouse and did not include any novel architectural features designed to accommodate new activities, such as was evident at the Weston site in Onondaga territory (Sohrweide 2002).

### **Distribution of Resources**

The final research hypothesis stated that *household-level patterns of distribution will show continuity from earlier periods*. It was held that despite using European-supplied items and participation in the world market, principles of reciprocity and communal usage of resources would be seen at the Rogers Farm site. Archaeological data from the site supported this hypothesis, supplementing previously noted information contained in ethnohistoric documents. Architectural evidence included the appearance of an end storage cubicle in Structure 1, as well as the longhouse's floor plan—like earlier structures it lacked privacy controls and internal divisions remained permeable. The dispersion of goods within the longhouse also indicated that

resources continued to be evenly distributed among the nuclear families making up the household.

It is likely that women were a significant source of the preservation of this ethos during the seventeenth century. With men frequently absent, women would have had further responsibilities in social reproduction. Helms (1970) notes a parallel situation in her study of three groups during contact processes, where women were maintainers of traditional social patterns. Furthermore, Seneca Iroquois women were adamantly resistant to adopting European agricultural practices into historic times (Rothenberg 1979). In Giddens' (2000) discussion of globalization, such resistance to change in tradition is characteristic when a society is confronted with the universalizing institutions associated with the process.

In summary, although evidence recovered from archaeological investigations of the households of the Rogers Farm site does point to changes in household size, membership, and domestic technologies, the corporate nature of the household remained intact despite the external pressures associated with the period. These findings underscore the notion that Native responses to the processes of European interaction are characterized by both persistence and transformation. As globalization began its development in the seventeenth century, the phenomenon brought about both measured changes from traditional practices as well as resistance to the new.

### **The Cayuga Nation Today**

In the more recent chapters of their history, the Cayuga are still facing the consequences of the processes set into motion 500 years ago. During the American Revolution, the Iroquois attempted to remain neutral but were eventually drawn into the conflict. Pro-British Iroquois waged guerilla warfare against American frontier settlements. On the other hand, the Oneida and

Tuscarora (who become the sixth nation of the Iroquois League around 1722) tended to favor the American cause. The Cayuga remained on their lands until the 1779 punitive raids of Sullivan and Clinton ordered by George Washington destroyed their settlements, as well as those of the Seneca and Onondaga (Graymont 1981; Tooker 1981; White et al. 1978).

When the war concluded, the Treaty of Paris declared that western New York was part of the United States but included no provisions for the Iroquois. Most Cayuga relocated to Canada, living in two villages on the Six Nations Reserve along the Grand River in Ontario, or resided among the Seneca at Buffalo Creek in western New York. In 1790 only 130 Cayuga remained in their homeland on Cayuga Lake (Snow 1994; White et al. 1978).

In a series of questionable treaties with the government of New York, by 1807 all Cayuga land was sold off to the state. Afterward some Cayuga and other Iroquois moved to the lower Sandusky River in Ohio. This group became known as the Sandusky Seneca. Of those Cayuga who remained in the northeast, most continue to live at the Seneca Cattaraugus reservation in western New York or at the Six Nations Reserve. Today, the Cayuga Indian Nation of New York counts 500 members (Carter 2004; Snow 1994; White et al. 1978).

By the end of the eighteenth century, two new Iroquois councils had formed, one at Buffalo Creek and one at the Six Nations Reserve, marking the permanent fracture of the Iroquois confederacy. On the reservations most Iroquois were living in small European-style log or frame cabins or foreshortened, two-hearth longhouses scattered across the landscape. Although the days of communal residence in big extended-family dwellings were gone, longhouses with European-style gable roofs and framing continue to serve as meeting houses in some locations (Snow 1994; Tooker 1978b).

The reservation system secured land for the Iroquois, but the eventual in-crowding of settlers curtailed hunting lands and made traditional shifting agriculture and village relocation difficult to impossible. Some Iroquois turned to the manufacture of ash splint baskets for sale to non-Iroquois for economic support or sought employment among Euro-Americans. Reservation life also challenged the gendered division of space of years before; whereas the village was formerly the demesne of women and the clearing that of men, more and more the reservation became the center for both, although men would leave the settlement to “hunt” for jobs in other occupations. As the eighteenth century drew to a close, reservations were plagued by low employment, dispirited morale, and high rates of alcoholism (Snow 1994:157-158; Tooker 1978b:463).

Within this depressed context the prophet Handsome Lake spurred a religious resurgence among the Iroquois. Handsome Lake was a member of the Allegany band of the Seneca living on the Cornplanter grant in northwestern Pennsylvania. Suffering from poor health induced by excessive alcohol use, in June 1799 Handsome Lake collapsed and entered a trance state. He experienced visions in which the Four Beings sent by the Creator brought him messages instructing him and his people in religious and moral propriety (Wallace 1978).

Inspired by his dreams, Handsome Lake preached a complex code of conduct, called the *Gai’wiio* (“Good Message”), to the Iroquois. As Snow (1994:162) observes, “Like all nativistic movements, this one claimed to revive traditional religious values while it was in reality carefully selective of those values and inventive in finding innovative solutions to new problems.” The *Gai’wiio* called for a revival of some traditional ceremonies, augmented by new rituals, games, and dances. It dictated the abolition of witchcraft, gossip, and easy divorce; encouraged men to practice the intensive plow agriculture taught to them by Quaker

missionaries; and prohibited further land sales, alcohol use, and enlistment in United States military forces. Handsome Lake's religion spread through the Iroquois diaspora. By at least 1850 it was codified and continues to be recited at gatherings (Snow 1994; Tooker 1978b; Wallace 1978).

Handsome Lake also promoted the nuclear family as the most important of familial units, reflecting the new reality of household organization. Although Handsome Lake's movement eventually became known as the Longhouse religion, the traditional authority of the matrilineage was largely undermined by the code, furthering the processes set into motion during the tumult of the seventeenth century. For Handsome Lake, the strong matrilineal ties of Iroquois society resulted in blood feuds, gossip, and the instability of the nuclear family. However, the clan system remained intact, and clan matrons retain their authority to appoint chiefs (Snow 1994; Tooker 1978b; Wallace 1978).

From 1830 to 1846, the United States federal government pursued a policy of removing Native Americans to lands west of the Mississippi River. The Sandusky Seneca, who had fought alongside the Americans during the War of 1812 and in 1818 saw their lands enlarged, decided to sell their reservation in 1831, and moved to northeastern Oklahoma where they became known as the Seneca-Cayuga Nation. The tribe received federal recognition in 1958 and today numbers 4,000 members (Carter 2004; Snow 1994; Sturtevant 1978). The War of 1812 also served to confirm the territories held by the United States and by the British in Canada, and that "each government would continue to deal separately with the Iroquois within its borders. The once powerful and independent Iroquois confederacy had become 'nations within nations'" (Tooker 1978b).



In this same period, New York began to pass a series of laws intended to constrain the sovereignty of Native groups in the state, and in 1855 took over responsibility for educating Indian children. Additionally, in the aftermath of a fraudulent land deal, the Seneca lost the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations. The remaining Seneca reservations, Allegany and Cattaraugus, would be impacted in the mid-twentieth century by construction of the New York highway system and, especially, the Kinzua Dam project, which left only 2,300 habitable acres on the Allegany reservation (Snow 1994).

The Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887 redefined United States policy toward the American Indian population. The act called for the assimilation of Native Americans into mainstream American society, seeking to make them “real” Americans—civilized, Christianized, English-speaking citizens. It promoted the use of the English language and assigned reservation lands to individual ownership once a tribe was deemed sufficiently “advanced.” Said President Theodore Roosevelt of the act, “[it is a] mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass” (Wilson 1998:303). Reformers and philanthropists hailed it as an avenue toward Native American independence. The Canadian government implemented similar legislation in the year 1888. By 1900, Native American population counts reached an all-time low, with many groups facing the danger of disappearing altogether. The Bureau of American Ethnology was established during this period and charged with recording Indian cultures before they vanished completely (Snow 1994; Wilson 1998).

As the twentieth century unfolded, further legislation that continued to erode the sovereignty of Native groups was introduced by both the federal and New York State governments. The Citizenship Act of 1924 granted citizenship to all Native Americans, whether they desired it or not. The 1948 Criminal Jurisdiction Transfer Act conferred the adjudication of

criminal matters in Iroquois territory to the State of New York. After World War II, a policy of termination was advanced by the United States government, which directed that the reservation system and the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be dismantled in an effort to liberate Native Americans from the poverty of reservation life and bring them more fully into the mainstream. The policy met with resistance in Iroquois territory (Snow 1994; Wilson 1998).

Despite these forces, and despite their effectiveness in encouraging integration among some Iroquois individuals, traditional practices endure, and Iroquois culture has enjoyed a revival during the second half of the twentieth century. However, the advance of globalization today continues to pressure traditional ways. This situation is by no means unique for the Iroquois. As Snow comments,

The Iroquois face the same overwhelming influence of Euro-American culture that confronts cultures everywhere as the century draws to a close. Satellite dishes and cables ensure that television sets are as ubiquitous on reservations as they are elsewhere. Through this and other media the Iroquois are as aware as anyone else of the dominance of Euro-American speech, music, dress, and the rest of popular culture. This too has to be accommodated and resisted at the same time. [1994:198]

As strategies for preserving local practices in the face of the encroachment of modern-day global culture, some Iroquois groups have claimed cultural patrimony under NAGPRA of ceremonial objects in museum collections and sought their return. They have asserted that their wishes concerning the display and publication of sacred items and legends be respected. In describing the place of the Longhouse religion within modern Iroquois society, Wallace (1978:442) writes, “The ‘church,’ and the system of religious belief and ritual associated with it, have survived among the Iroquois into the latter half of the twentieth century as a non-Christian alternative to the several Protestant and Catholic denominations that have established themselves on the reservations and as a forum for the continued assertion of the integrity of an Iroquois

ethnic identity.” Iroquois individuals and groups have also taken advantage of the Internet to share their culture with the world in their own voices.

The court system has also been used to pursue land claims as another means of reasserting and maintaining sovereignty. Since 1980, the Cayuga have been involved in a protracted court battle with the state of New York to regain ownership of a portion of their traditional territory. The land claim area consists of approximately 64,000 acres surrounding the northern tip of Cayuga Lake sold to the state in the 1794 Pickering Treaty (the Rogers Farm site is not within the land claim area). In 1982 the Cayuga-Seneca of Oklahoma became co-plaintiffs in the suit. The federal court in Syracuse originally ruled that the government of New York had illegally acquired the Cayuga lands by failing to comply with a 1790 law requiring ratification of treaties and land transfers with Native American groups by Congress. Since that time, New York has challenged the ruling and sought to appeal the legitimacy of the Cayuga’s claim to the land, and the case became bogged down in the system (Carter 2004; Kates 2001; Spector 2004a, 2004b).

The lawsuit has caused an eruption of overtly anti-land claim sentiment among some local residents. The grass-roots group Upstate Citizens for Equality (UCE) formed to fight against the Cayuga case and has been particularly vocal in its opposition to Native sovereignty in the area (Champagne 2004b; Olson et al. 2001).

Recent years have seen increased activity in the case. In 2001 U.S. District Judge Neal McCurn awarded the Cayuga Nation \$247.9 million in damages and interest. Both parties appealed this ruling in 2003, the Pataki administration seeking to overturn the judgment that the land claim is valid and to lower the amount of the award, and the Cayuga arguing that the value of the damages was too low (*Democrat and Chronicle* 2003).

As of 2001 the Cayuga Indian Nation of New York planned to use part of the settlement funds to purchase a parcel of 70 acres of farmland adjacent to one of their most sacred sites. There they will establish a sovereign reservation and language school, operate an organic farm, and build a ceremonial longhouse (Olson et al. 2001). More recently, gaming has also become an issue in the lawsuit. In mid-November 2004 an out-of-court settlement between the parties was announced, in which the New York Cayuga would receive damages from the state and be permitted to construct a Las Vegas-style casino in the Catskills, in exchange for dropping their quest for the 64,000 acres covered by the original land claim. The agreement would allow New York to raise badly needed funds for the state to comply with a court order mandating billions of dollars in additional education funding, and it was estimated the casino could earn \$1 billion in revenue yearly for the Cayuga (*Ithaca Journal* 2004; Rapp 2005; Spector 2004). Perhaps as a precursor to a larger gaming operation, the Cayuga Nation recently expanded gas station/convenience stores they operate in Seneca Falls and Union Springs to include electronic bingo facilities (Champagne 2004a).

Although the Catskills casino deal offered the possibility of a conclusion to the decades-long land claim battle, it also was a source of controversy among the Cayuga. One dispute centered on the Cayuga-Seneca Nation's standing in the settlement. Judge McCurn ruled that the tribe is a "successor of interest" in the case with legal rights over the land in question and was one of the five tribes included in the proposed agreement (*New York Newsday* 2004; Sample 2004). The Cayuga Nation and other in-state Native American tribes, however, called the Cayuga-Seneca's title to the land questionable (Carter 2004). Additionally, heated conflict arose within the leadership of the New York Cayuga over tribal representation and authority, and pro- and anti-gaming factions developed (Rapp 2005).

The Cayuga's prospects of a favorable outcome in the case encountered serious setbacks in 2005. In April Governor Pataki withdrew the casino settlement, faced with opposition from both state lawmakers and the Iroquois included in the offer (Adams 2005a). Even more grave, on June 28 the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in a 2-1 decision, overturned Judge McCurn's judgment and dismissed the entire land claim case. The court found that the claim was subject to the defense of laches—that the Cayuga had failed to assert their rights to the land in a timely fashion (*Cayuga Indian Nation v. Pataki*, 02-6111). The ruling followed the legal precedent set in March 2005 by the U.S. Supreme Court in *City of Sherrill v. Oneida Nation* (125 S. Ct. 1478), which denied the Oneida sovereignty over traditional lands repurchased by the nation (Adams 2005b).

Nevertheless, an appeal of the Circuit Court's decision by the Cayuga is expected (Adams 2005b), and talks of casino development continue (Champagne 2005). It is likely that there will be several more years of lawsuits and failed agreements before this chapter of Cayuga history closes.

## **Conclusions**

From a reading of the broad-scale processes described in the historical literature concerned with European contact, one may expect the tumult of the period to have left the organization and activities of Iroquois households in a condition far different from the state of affairs prior to the Contact period. Analysis of the materials recovered from the Rogers Farm site tempers such a view. In some ways, the large-scale processes—those affecting the nation, tribe, all indigenous peoples—are reflected in the household, but in other ways they are not.

The evidence from the site indicates that many features of the traditional Iroquois household endured in the face of the Contact period. The household adapted to the various

forces behind population decline by shrinking the longhouse to fit the downsized groups, but still occupied their homes as intensively and still utilized distinctively Iroquoian architecture. The household began using new, European-supplied materials and developed new ways to work them, but carried out many of the same activities. While the various historical events associated with the Contact period meant that household membership may no longer have been strictly matrilineal and became more flexible as a means of resolving intra-community conflict, the household still functioned as a cooperative whole.

The household evidence from the Rogers Farm site reveals both change and resistance as globalization unfolded in the seventeenth century. The choices made by the villagers of Onontaré are representative of the reactions described by Giddens (1991, 2000) of individuals within traditional societies to increased contact with modernity through the globalization process. Engagement with global institutions such as capitalism as well as interaction with peoples with different belief systems and customs induced a new period of uncertainty and risk. As a response, some cosmopolitan, universalizing institutions were accepted, such as seen in the use of new technologies in place of indigenous crafts like lithic and pottery manufacture, the moving away from matrilineally oriented kinship-based residence (with a shift to nuclear-family residences in succeeding centuries), and, among some, conversion to Christianity. But the adoption of the conventions of globalization was not an unquestioned process, and opposition is exemplified by the conservation of older technologies such as horticulture and house construction, the continued corporate nature of the household, and the decision made by some to maintain adherence to traditional religious practices. Giddens (2000) also predicts that with globalization comes the development of individualization over tradition in guiding behavior. This is evident in the choices made by individuals to reject or accept Christianity, or to elect to

join a household which he or she would not belong to according to traditional rules. However, individualization did not extend to the personal accumulation of resources during the time that Onontaré was occupied, with reciprocal economic obligations still in evidence.

In comparing the broader collection of historic remains recovered during the field project with other seventeenth-century Cayuga sites, it was shown that the Rogers Farm assemblage reflects little difference in the activities carried out by the site's residents. At the same time, it contrasts in several ways with earlier Contact period sites. Into the seventeenth century, as face-to-face interaction became more commonplace, there was a proliferation of European goods on Iroquoian sites. Instead of small amounts of goods reaching Iroquoia through an extensive trade system, large quantities arrived from a more limited range of places of origin.

As Bradley (1987:166) points out, there is an underlying logic to the idea that by preferring European-made goods to their own, Native groups were making a rational choice to use a superior product, thereby abandoning their traditional industries and eventually their culture, ultimately succumbing to European dominance. An analysis of the archaeological data from Rogers Farm does not necessarily support this conclusion. Instead, the record shows flexibility, creativity, and continuity in the Cayuga response to the dynamics of contact. Although the Iroquois were involved in an increasingly global market economy and changes in their technologies and material culture had taken place, traditional domestic economic organization persisted into the seventeenth century.

It has also been observed that the dynamics of the fur trade had the potential to transform not only the economic lives of Iroquois men and women but also the power relations between them. Several researchers have viewed the importance of the role of men in the fur trade as a source of enhanced power over women (e.g., Hayden 1977; Hayden and Cannon 1982; Snow

1994). In burials of the period, the graves of men tend to be furnished more lavishly with trade goods than those of women (Trigger 1985:156-157), signaling men's more significant role in the exchange as well as women's conservatism and lack of access to European materials. On the other hand it has also been proposed that the decreased presence of males augmented women's power base as men became more peripheral to the affairs of the village (e.g., Richards 1957, 1967).

However, both of these arguments underestimate the integration of the contributions made by men and women in the fur trade, which parallels the complementary nature of gender roles as understood in traditional Iroquois economic organization. Within the community, women's work continued to be visible and highly valued (Brown 1970; Rothenberg 1979). Men continued to depend on the women for food, for support of their expeditions, and for social ties to the community, just as women relied on men for European-made goods and their continued assistance in clearing fields and providing game. The increased absence of males represented an earlier practice on an intensified scale. The prevalence of trade goods in male burials also likely reflects not heightened status but rather their close connection with foreign exchange. Grave goods were believed to be provisions for the afterlife not only for the newly deceased but also for those already in the world of the dead (Snow 1994:106).

Neither Iroquois men nor women were able to escape the consequences of the encroaching European presence in their lands. Both suffered through the European-born epidemics, endured the effects of increased warfare, and witnessed the integration of foreign captives into their communities. Both also participated in the dynamics of the fur trade. Both men and women were selective in the adoption of new goods and technologies while maintaining other aspects of their material culture and productive activities. Although they experienced the



effects of European interaction differently in their everyday lives—for example, women's daily routines would have been more greatly impacted by the many new adoptees into the village, whereas men would have found themselves away from their homes for ever increasing amounts of time—they continued to play complementary roles in the newly reorganized economic endeavors of the period.

In conclusion, the archaeological evidence from Rogers Farm also reflects to some extent the impact of European encroachment and nascent globalization on the day-to-day life of the Iroquoian villagers but also continuity of traditional lifeways in the face of these historical processes. Involvement in the fur trade, coupled with drastic population loss to newly introduced diseases, resulted in shifts in traditional patterns of warfare and changes in the consumption and production of durable goods. A reorientation of exchange took place, but trade alliances with the European newcomers followed Iroquoian customs, and exchange continued to be a path to prestige through reciprocal relationships. A further result of these processes was a new multiethnic dimension to the villages of the Iroquois. The many Native Americans who lived among the Five Nations Iroquois and were ritually made members of their matrilineages were not fully assimilated into their new communities; while they appear to have been second-class citizens, they maintained the power to express their social identities and shared in the common Iroquoian traditional principles of reciprocity.

It remains to be seen if globalization theory will turn out to be a viable means of explaining the mechanisms of Native-European interaction in other areas in the context of archaeological research. One implication of the use of the model is that it forces a view of European contact as qualitatively different from other types of interaction; whether the theory can be used to interpret cross-cultural interaction in other situations will require further

investigations. There are, however, several benefits to the approach. It integrates the various issues raised by post-quincentenary archaeological research of Native-European interaction into a single framework and takes into account both local-level and international processes, both change and resistance in the face of culture contact. Native Americans are conceived as active agents determining their own responses to the events of the period and not passive recipients of a dominant global culture. Finally, it is an approach that is grounded both historically in the period under study and in current socio-economic circumstances, creating a case where archaeological research can perhaps lend its insight into the past as well as the processes shaping our world today.

It is hoped that the combination of the household and global perspectives used herein have provided a more nuanced view of the Iroquois during the Contact period. It is clear from this study that micro- and macro-scale approaches to the period can complement and inform each other. Interpretation of the household-scale evidence was guided by the broader historical narrative; in turn, the information on local-level processes can deepen the overall understanding of the period. By considering the period from multiple perspectives, we can hope to create a richer picture of a period and its legacy that remain important, politically charged areas of study.

### **Directions for Further Research**

The frequent mentions throughout this dissertation of the problems encountered in dealing with small sample sizes and a lack of comparative data highlight the need for further research into Contact period Iroquois household organization, among both the Cayuga and other Five Nations regions. Archaeological investigations at sites that pre- and post-date Rogers Farm would serve to increase the time depth of our understanding of the local-level cultural processes during the trajectory of the Contact period; although several of these occupations have been

collected and are represented in museum collections, systematic testing will yield assemblages more securely comparable with materials recovered from the Rogers Farm excavations. They may hopefully result in the identification of additional seventeenth-century house patterns, which are still poorly known in Cayuga territory despite the identification of Structure 1 at Rogers Farm.

Additionally, because the focus of this dissertation was on the historic occupation of the site, basic interpretations of materials associated with pre-Iroquoian use of the Rogers Farm site were offered but this aspect of the archaeological record of Rogers Farm was underemphasized. The remains encountered during the course of the project provide further insight into the Late Archaic through Owasco period populations who so heavily utilized the Hunter's Home landscape. They offer further evidence for understanding the Middle to Late Woodland transition that has been so puzzling and should be further explored.

Research on later, eighteenth-century Cayuga sites would also help us to understand more fully the household transformations that began in the previous century. The period between the occupation of the Rogers Farm site and the end of the American Revolution is little known archaeologically in Cayuga territory. Quite possibly, the same pattern seen on eighteenth-century sites in other Five Nations regions occurred, with a shift from longhouse villages to dispersed hamlets of one- or two-nuclear family short longhouses or Euro-American style cabins (Jordan 2002; Richter 1992; Snow 1989). By the late eighteenth century, these house sites became more and more indistinguishable from the homesteads of European settlers in the area (Grumet 1995:347). These later dramatic shifts in architecture, settlement structure, and residence patterns are surely associated with the changes in domestic socio-economic

organization seen at Rogers Farm. By gathering further information about subsequent changes, firmer reconstructions of the influence of globalization in its earliest incarnations could be made.

Lastly, the Iroquoian longhouse with its multiple shades of meaning in itself is an important focus for future investigation, and it is hoped that other researchers will continue to recover and record details of longhouse remains. This effort is particularly needed in New York Iroquois territory. Ultimately, such data could be integrated into a cross-cultural study of longhouse forms, exploring the diversity of symbolism, use, and architectural features of these extended-family dwellings as seen in various settings around the world.

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