

SEVEN GENERATIONS: EMOTION WORK, WOMEN, AND THE ANDERDON  
WYANDOT CEMETERY, 1790-1914

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## Abstract

On the shores of the Detroit River in present day Essex County, Ontario, the Wyandot of Anderdon Cemetery remains the last preserved section of the nineteenth century Anderdon Reserve. This thesis situates the cemetery within the context of colonialism, women's history, and emotion work—a social phenomenon where emotional caretaking is used to heal communities and highlight key cultural events. While histories of the Wyandots are plenty, there has been little attention given to the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation and almost nothing on the history of their sacred spaces and burial practices. Further, scholarship on the post-1701 Wyandot Confederacy is sparse. Consequently, my work highlights these overlooked areas drawing on Wyandot concepts of *kwatatenonk* (everything is related), and methodological approaches of ethnohistory and community engaged research. Unique sources obtained through fieldwork in southern Ontario and Detroit, Michigan in August 2018 inform this study. The result is an original analysis, demonstrating that Wyandot women have continuously conducted emotion work in relation to Wyandot burial practices to heal and preserve Wyandot culture and community. Chapter One traces pre-contact traditions of emotion work developed over thousands of years underscoring the evolution of Wyandot matricentric customs and deathway practices, as well as the fact that the majority of emotion work rested on the women. Chapter Two analyses how Wyandot women's emotion work changed in the wake of European conquest. Specific attention is given to the nineteenth century Anderdon Cemetery demonstrating that Wyandots did not assimilate into Christian-European society, nor did Wyandot women succumb completely to patriarchal authority. Rather, Wyandot women continued their emotion work so Wyandots could heal and preserve their culture. Finally, Chapter Three, looks to the modern Wyandot of Anderdon Nation and evidence of their persisting emotion work into the twenty-first century.

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## Introduction

Speaking about the importance of burial grounds and homelands, a group of Wyandot warriors and women petitioned the United States Congress in 1806 pleading their case to protect their Reserve and its cemetery. The petitioners justified their request by stating, "... it is the place where we were born, where our ancestors were born; and where they, and many of our relations lie buried."<sup>1</sup> For the nineteenth-century Wyandot, the relationship between ancestral remains and the land provided critical references for spiritual, historical, and cultural guidance. Burial grounds connected the living with the dead and created a sacred space for unity and community-building.

Despite the significance of Wyandot sacred spaces and burial grounds, there is little scholarship on the history of these sites. The Anderdon Nation's Wyandot Cemetery located along the shores of the Detroit River in present day Windsor, Ontario, Canada, for instance, has received only minor scholarly attention.<sup>2</sup> The cemetery remains the last piece of land held in trust by the Canadian government for the non-status Wyandot of Anderdon First Nation, who have been at the centre of colonial attempts to control and erase Indigenous presence in the area.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The petition was sent to congress on behalf of the Ohio Wyandot warriors and women before their forced removal to Kansas. See, United States of America, National Archives, Legislative Branch, *13.8 Petitions and Memorials, Chapter 13. Records of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and Its Predecessors*, in *Guide to Federal Records in the National Archives of the United States, 1789-1988* by Charles E. Schamel, Mary Rodney Ross, David Kepley, Robert W. Coren, and James Gregory Bradsher, accessed May 01, 2019, <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/guide/house/chapter-13-public-lands.html>.

<sup>2</sup> The entrance gate to the cemetery reads the Wyandotte Indian Cemetery (see A.1). Modern Anderdon members refer to themselves as the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation and this space as the Wyandot Cemetery. Consequently, I refer to the site as the Wyandot Cemetery and the Cemetery, hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> The Wyandot are a transnational North American Indigenous group and scholarship on the Wyandot concurrently spans the Canada-USA border. Consequently, I use global, Canadian, and American terminology when appropriate. Globally, the first peoples to inhabit North America are often referred to as Native, Aboriginal, and Indigenous. In Canada, common terminology of Indigenous peoples includes: First Nations, band, and community. A band refers to members of a First Nation or group whose lands have been separated and money held by the Crown, often through treaty processes. Common American terms include Amerindian, American Indian, Indian, and tribe. In the USA, Indian is regularly used to refer to the first peoples living in North America. A tribe refers to a group of Native Americans sharing language and culture. As previously mentioned, when not using specific naming terms designated by Indigenous groups such as Wyandot, I use the term Indigenous to describe the first inhabitants of North America. See, *Terminology Guide: Research on Aboriginal Heritage* (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 2012).

Research focused on the Wyandot Cemetery provides a window into understanding larger questions concerning how Wyandot society has changed over time, especially after European contact. This thesis traces the long history of Wyandot burial practices from pre-contact to the present, with specific emphasis on Wyandot women and the Cemetery.

Women have held significant positions of power in Wyandot society and deathways in particular.<sup>4</sup> Evidence of this is displayed clearly through their *emotion work* during funerary processes.<sup>5</sup> Archeologist John Creese has examined how Indigenous communities in the Great Lakes employed emotion work to “condition their own and others emotional orientations to persons, places, events or actions thinking about the next seven generations.”<sup>6</sup> Creese describes this kind of social labour as, “The importance of peak experiences - particularly painful, fearful, ecstatic or awe-inspiring events - in coming-of-age ceremonies highlights the significance of emotion in the creation of enduring connections between people and the social identities they come to live.”<sup>7</sup> Wyandot funerals and deathway traditions fit well within the scope of “peak experiences.” They were a time of personal and communal mourning, loss, and on occasion celebration. Questions remain, however, concerning who conducted this emotion work for the Wyandot and how? An analysis of emotion work, the Wyandot Cemetery, and women provides answers to these questions, delivering both a theoretical framework and an historical focus to evaluate the changes and continuity of Wyandot society. This thesis argues that despite colonial

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<sup>4</sup> Deathways refers to funeral or mortuary practices.

<sup>5</sup> Emotion work is a phenomenon that sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild developed in 1983. This will be discussed in depth throughout this thesis. See, Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 3 (1979); John Laurence Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Case," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2016): 17.

<sup>6</sup> Seven generations is a Wyandot tradition still practiced in modern Wyandot society. In brief, Wyandots make decisions keeping in mind how their actions will affect the next seven generations, with a focus on maintaining balance as well as sustainability. Warrow et al., "Elder Interview: Judith Pidgeon Kukowski."

<sup>7</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 17.



influences of Christianity and patriarchy, Wyandot women have maintained emotion work in relation to burial practices to heal their communities.

### The Wyandot: Origins, Relocations, and Diaspora

The Wyandot, also known as the Wa<sup>n</sup>dat, Wendat, 8endat, Wyandotte, Huron, and Huron-Wendat, are a North American Indigenous community originally from the Georgian Bay region of southern Ontario (See A.2).<sup>8</sup> This homeland, according to the Wyandot, was created by Aataentsic (“Skywoman”) who fell from the Skyworld to land on a moss-back turtle. As a result, Aataentsic is responsible for Wyandot life and death practices.<sup>9</sup> The Creation story provides guiding principles for Wyandot society, encouraging matricentric customs and cosmologies. The Wyandots follow a common Iroquoian/Nadouekan ethnic heritage, language, agriculture, and matrilineal social order.<sup>10</sup> Matricentric societies are structured around the female line, empowering women’s authority in both the private and public spheres. While men held public positions as war and civil headmen, warriors, and hunters, women controlled most other aspects of Wyandot life. Women worked the fields and held authority over the home and domestic life.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See A.2. Wendat means “Islanders”, or “Dwellers of the Peninsula.” Huron is derived from the French term ‘*hure*’, meanings a boar’s head. Many historians believe that the French used the term for boar based on the hairstyle of seventeenth-century Wyandot. Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000), 27. For more information on the term Wendat see, Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 3-11.

<sup>9</sup> Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 16-19.

<sup>10</sup> Georges Sioui uses the Anishinabe term Nadouek to describe the anthropological term for the Indigenous group typically called Iroquoian. I have chosen to use Iroquoian because the majority of scholars also refer to the group this way. In particular, I am following the lead of anthropologist Ronald F. Williamson and his extensive work on the archeological history of the Wyandot, where he uses Iroquoian terminology for cultural patterns. See, Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000); Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 900-1650*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Journal of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, no. 94 (2014).

<sup>11</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 2; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969): 87.

Women were also the heads of clans and exercised their authority over the selection of war chiefs and civil headmen as Clan Mothers.<sup>12</sup> Faith Keepers were more frequently women as well. A Faith Keeper was a spiritual leader who organized festivals, made necessary arrangements for gatherings, and conducted ceremonies.<sup>13</sup> Faith Keepers also monitored and supervised their community's behaviours, reporting inappropriate actions to the council.<sup>14</sup> The significant and varied contributions of Wyandot women reflect the legacy of Aataentsic, fostering a society built upon female authority.

Pre-contact Wyandots were part of a confederacy that consisted of five autonomous nations: the Bear Nation (*Attignawantan*), the Rock Nation (*Arendaeronnon*), the Deer Nation (*Tahontaenrat*), the Marsh Nation (*Ataronchronon*), and the Cord Nation (*Attigdeenongnahac*). These nations were organized around twelve matrilineal clans in eighteen to twenty-five villages.<sup>15</sup> These clans included: Big Turtle, Little Turtle, Mud Turtle, Striped Turtle, Highland Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Deer, Porcupine, Snake, and Hawk.

At the time of European encounters in the 1600s, Wyandot villages contained several longhouses, designed to hold roughly six families each, as well as a village burial ground.<sup>16</sup> Each

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<sup>12</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 2.

<sup>13</sup> John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014): 182.

<sup>14</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 182.

<sup>15</sup> Historic Wendake (also known as Huronia and Wendake Ehen) is defined as the area between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay that was occupied by Wyandot people by the end of the thirteenth century. Wendake is most commonly used as a noun to refer to the original Wyandot homeland pre-contact or the modern Wyandot/Wendat community located near Quebec City (the Wendat Reserve formerly known as Jeune-Lorette). In this thesis "Wendake Ehen" refers to the Wyandot homeland pre-1649 and "Wendake" denotes the modern community located in Quebec. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 32; Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 2; Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Journal of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, no. 94 (2014): 29; Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience, 1650-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 13.

<sup>16</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 45; Trigger, *The Huron*, 59.

village was palisaded and occupied for roughly twenty to thirty years.<sup>17</sup> Together, these villages' population is numbered at approximately 30,000 people.<sup>18</sup>

Iroquois military strikes in the seventeenth century resulted in a dispersal strategy that led to the relocation of Wyandot communities throughout North America. Weakened by several epidemics and warfare, the Wyandot abandoned Wendake Ehen and relocated to ancient Wyandot sites, some of which were occupied by French or Iroquois such as to the east near Quebec City and the west near Michilimackinac.<sup>19</sup> Migrations continued beyond the seventeenth century as Wyandots sought out new homelands. This led to the establishment of a diaspora of communities, including ones near the Detroit/Windsor corridor (1701), Upper Sandusky or “at the cold water”, Ohio (1817), Kansas City, Kansas (1843), and Wyandotte, Oklahoma (1867).

#### The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation

The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation are the descendants of seventeenth-century Wyandot refugees, settling in the Detroit area in 1701 on what became the Anderdon Reserve in 1790.<sup>20</sup>

The Detroit River Wyandot established villages with sizable longhouses and fields in which they

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<sup>17</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Warrick, *A Population History*, 23.

<sup>19</sup> The Iroquois, also known as the Haudenosaunee, or “People of the Longhouse,” are a group of five First Nations that make up the Iroquois Confederacy: the Mohawk (*Kanien'kehá:ka*), the Oneida (*Onʌyote?á-ká*), the Onodaga (*Onoñda'gega'*), the Cayuga (*Gayogohó:nq'*), and the Seneca (*Onödowa'ga:'*). The Wyandots have a long history with the Haudenosaunee as both neighbours and, at times, enemies. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 27-30; Linda Sioui, “Case Study XXV: Reunification of the Wendat/Wyandotte Nation at a Time of Globalization,” in *Information Technology and Indigenous People*, edited by Laurel Evelyn Dyson, Max Hendriks, and Stephen Grant (Hershey: Idea Group Inc., 2007), 311.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts: And Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America*, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co. 1870), 9. For more information on the Wendat dispersal, Wendat Confederacy, and the Iroquois Confederacy see, Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000); Daniel Coleman “Indigenous Place and Diaspora Space: Of Literalism and Abstraction,” *Settler Colonial Studies*, 31 (2015): 1-16; Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014); Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience, 1650-1900*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

followed their Iroquoian traditions of cultivating corn, beans, and squash, while also introducing French staples such as peas and wheat.<sup>21</sup> Commander Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, New France's authority in the area, encouraged the Wyandot settlements to in order to improve trade networks and occupy the territory with French allies.<sup>22</sup> Cadillac's plan for maintaining French sovereignty in the Great Lakes region rested on promises of religious, educational, diplomatic, and medical services.<sup>23</sup> As more French Settlers came to the area, the close interaction between Wyandot and French colonists at Detroit led to Wyandot-French marriages and the adoption of French policies and practices, such as Catholic prayer and patriarchal social structures.

The French were not the only European power interested in the Detroit/Windsor area. After the Seven Years War, British policies began to replace French political ones in the area. These policies had long-lasting effects on the Wyandots. The most significant consequence of new British policies was the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which effectively determined what lands remained Indigenous and what were to become Crown lands. The Proclamation determined that all lands not included in the Quebec colonies or the Hudson's Bay Company territory were considered Indigenous property, which needed to be surrendered through treaty for Settlers to gain access.<sup>24</sup>

Hostilities between Settlers, Indigenous nations, and the British Crown grew in the aftermath of the Proclamation and the American Revolution. Consequently, the "Loyalists" who

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<sup>21</sup> Laurie Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," (MA Thesis, University of Windsor, 1988), TH - 48158 AMICUS, no. 9297468, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac was appointed the commander of the fur trade between Missouri, Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and the Ohio valley, which includes the Detroit/Windsor region. Eventually he became the founder of Detroit on 24 July 1701 and governor of Louisiana on 5 May 1710. Guillaume Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance: The French Presence in the Detroit River Region, 1701-1815* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2019); Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township 1701-1914," 7.

<sup>24</sup> Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 14.

fought for Great Britain received grants for land in southwestern Ontario in 1783. They were also promised provisions and tools as long as they occupied the lands within a year of receiving the grant. The resulting influx of Settlers into the Wyandot's Detroit River homeland caused significant unrest. In February 1789, Great Britain created District Land Boards to monitor the area's land possessions and to mediate land disputes between both Wyandots and Settlers in the region. On 2 April 1789, a board was created for the District of Hesse, on which William Drummer Powell, Duperon Baby, Alexander McKee, and Alexander Grant sat.<sup>25</sup> McKee called council at Detroit in May 1790 to discuss colonial settlement in the area. The result of the meeting and several subsequent negotiations was the McKee Treaty —signed on 19 May 1790. This treaty extinguished Indigenous titles to southwestern Ontario, while also establishing two Indigenous reserves: the Huron Church Reserve and the Rivière aux Canards Reserve (See A.3).<sup>26</sup>

Notwithstanding the establishment of Wyandot reserves, Indigenous land rights continued to be threatened by Settler encroachment. By 1793, for instance, the old Jesuit mission of L'Assomption became the township of Sandwich. This left Rivière aux Canards almost completely surrounded by Settlers. Similarly in 1795, Fort Malden, more commonly known as Amherstburg, was established near the Wyandot reserves. Amherstburg's population grew quickly, creating a robust Settler military presence that threatened surrounding Indigenous communities and their land. Adding to the ongoing land disputes, Ottawa Chief Charloe from Ohio claimed that a part of the Rivière aux Canards Reserve belonged to the Ottawa in 1829.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Alexander McKee (1735-1799) was an Indian agent who was instrumental in securing the Anderdon Reserve lands. Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 22; Garrad, *Mary Mckee (1838-1922)*, Research Bulletin No. 41, North York: Petun Research Institute (July 2013), 1.

<sup>26</sup> See A.3; Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 21-23.

<sup>27</sup> Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 28, 34, 39-40, & 89.

Land disputes such as these pushed British officials to turn their attention once again to the issue of Wyandot reserves.

The Wyandots were invited to a general council on 29 August 1828, where Lieutenant-Governor Colborne declared the Wyandots had exclusive rights over the McKee Treaty's Huron Reserve, rather than sharing it with other First Nations. Following the council, many negotiations between Wyandot community leaders and Colborne took place. These negotiations, still incomplete when Colborne left office in December 1835, concluded with the 2 February 1836 treaty, which resulted in the surrender of 9,674 acres of Wyandot lands to the Crown and the establishment of the township of Anderdon.<sup>28</sup> This treaty caused controversy among Wyandots, who told travel journalist K. Jameson that "the land had been taken away from them without their acquiescence, and that whites and those of mixed blood were encroaching on their remaining lands."<sup>29</sup> Despite these controversies, the Wyandots relocated to the nearby Anderdon township.

Over the next several decades, Settlers bought Wyandot lands in the area through various land cessions with the passing of the Act of Enfranchisement in 1857. This act encouraged Indigenous individuals to integrate into Settler society by allowing Indigenous people to sell their reserve lands and obtain private ownership in Settler communities; however, choosing to participate in this manner meant giving up their Indigenous rights in the process.<sup>30</sup> Although Wyandots who engaged in enfranchisement would lose their traditional treaty rights, enfranchisement allowed Indigenous individuals to own land, vote in federal and provincial

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<sup>28</sup> The origin of the name "Anderdon" is not entirely clear, but there is reason to believe that because this community comprised mostly of members from the Arendaeronnon Nation, Anderdon could be a mispronunciation of the original Nation name. Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 40-42.

<sup>29</sup> K. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, II (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), 325-326, quoted in "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," by Laurie Leclair, 42.

<sup>30</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 13; Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 57-58.

elections, go to university, and drink alcohol—all of which was illegal for Indigenous people at the time.<sup>31</sup> By 1875, 7,600 acres of land belonged to the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation with approximately seventy-six people living on the reserve.<sup>32</sup> One year later, the Anderdon Wyandots relinquished 217 acres of reserve lands for the total of one Canadian dollar (See A.4).<sup>33</sup> On 2 November 1892, the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation signed their final land cession, with the significant exception that their cemetery be kept in trust with the Canadian government.<sup>34</sup>

### The Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery

The Wyandot Cemetery first appears in written records on a 1836 map of the western district of the Anderdon reserve with the first documented burial of Margaret Dayanlete (Chief Joseph White's mother) (See A.7).<sup>35</sup> The site was used throughout the nineteenth century, although some sources indicate that burials took place as early as the 1700s.<sup>36</sup> This cemetery was

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<sup>31</sup> Throughout this work, I use the word “traditional” to demonstrate that these practices were complex, long-established, historic cultural customs. Merriam-Webster dictionary defines traditional as adhering to past practices or established conventions handed down from age to age. In no way does traditional mean “primitive” or “simple.” As terminology is important to Indigenous communities to fully understand their worldviews, I use traditional because the word supports Indigenous teachings and culture. See, "Traditional," Merriam-Webster, (accessed April 04, 2019), <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/traditional>; Kathryn Labelle, Brittany Luby, and Alison Norman, "(Re) naming and (De) colonizing the (I?) ndigenous People(s) of North America – Part I," ActiveHistory.ca, July 20, 2017, (accessed April 04, 2019), <http://activehistory.ca/2016/11/renaming-and-decolonizing-the-indigenous-peoples-of-north-america-part-ii/>; Kathryn Labelle, Brittany Luby, and Alison Norman, "(Re) naming and (De) colonizing the (I?) ndigenous People(s) of North America – Part II," ActiveHistory.ca, July 20, 2017, (accessed April 04, 2019), <http://activehistory.ca/2016/11/renaming-and-decolonizing-the-indigenous-peoples-of-north-america-part-i/>; Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 13.

<sup>32</sup> Leclair, “The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914,” 77.

<sup>33</sup> See A.4; Leclair, “The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914,” 79.

<sup>34</sup> Leclair, “The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914,” 82.

<sup>35</sup> See A.7.

<sup>36</sup> Al Roach, a Windsor reporter from the 1980's published an article about the Wyandot Cemetery in 1985. In this article he states that one authority told him the Protestant Cemetery was destroyed but gave no other information about who this source might have been or when this event occurred. Al Roach, “Reflections from an Indian Burial Ground,” September 1985, in *Walking Through Windsor/Essex*, accessed March 1, 2019, <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/379>; Dennis Barnes, “Wyandottes,” *TRAILS*, 11, No. 2, April 1989, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Anderdon Cemetery File, Toronto, Ontario, 51.

Catholic and was the site of numerous funerals for Wyandot men, women, and children.<sup>37</sup> Today, gravestones and family plots can still be seen, although countless others have eroded and been lost due to neglect, urbanization, and weathering. Still, it has been preserved far better than other Wyandot sacred sites in the vicinity. The neighbouring Protestant cemetery, located roughly 100 meters across the road from the Catholic cemetery, was completely destroyed by Settlers sometime during the early 1900s. Anderdon Wyandot historians Lil Splitlog and Yvonne Gibbs reported in 1981 that only two headstones remained at the Protestant cemetery.<sup>38</sup> In contrast, the Catholic burial ground contains over 400 Wyandot burials, many of which are still visibly marked today.<sup>39</sup>

#### The Modern Wendat/Wyandot Confederacy

Despite attempts to erase the Wyandot people from the Detroit River region, the cemetery remains a physical reminder of the Wyandot history and persistent presence in the area. In fact, some “Wyandots stayed in the area and have maintained their identity to this day.”<sup>40</sup> The Anderdon Wyandots continue to thrive and are part of the modern Wyandot Confederacy represented in the dispersed Wyandot Nations in Canada and the United States of America. The Confederacy includes: La Nation Hurrone-Wendat (Wendake or Québec), the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation (Ontario-Michigan border), the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma (Oklahoma), and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas (Kansas).<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Lil Splitlog and Yvonne Gibbs, Protestant Cemetery, 1981, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Anderdon Cemetery File, Toronto, Ontario, 24.

<sup>38</sup> Splitlog et al., Protestant Cemetery, 24.

<sup>39</sup> Roach, “Reflections from an Indian Burial Ground.”

<sup>40</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 14.

<sup>41</sup> Sioui, “Case Study XXV,” 311.



The modern confederacy was created on 29 August 1999, 350 years after their dispersal from Georgian Bay. At that time, the Wyandot Nations gathered in the heart of Wendake Ehen for the reburial of 1500 Wyandot ancestral remains and grave goods previously housed in the Royal Ontario Museum Archives.<sup>42</sup> The reburial honoured the bones of their Ancestors whose initial gravesite had been destroyed by archeological digs in 1947.<sup>43</sup> This event marked the reunification of the Wyandot diaspora – signifying the enduring importance of burial practices and sacred sites to the Wyandot people.<sup>44</sup>

## Historiography

This project contributes to the broad field of Indigenous North American history by focusing on three specific bodies of scholarship: Wyandot Studies, Indigenous Deathways and Spirituality, and Indigenous Women’s History.

### *Wyandot Studies*

Wyandot Studies has grown considerably since the end of the twentieth century. The field, first created by Dr. George Sioui (Huron-Wendat), focuses on Wyandot research.<sup>45</sup> While there is significant scholarship on Wyandots in general, there is not an extensive study of the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. Laurie Leclair, the only scholar to focus explicitly on the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, examines how the Anderdon community used enfranchisement to obtain individual land ownership and integrate into mainstream Canada.<sup>46</sup> This land analysis highlights why Wyandots were drawn to the area and why individuals chose to leave.

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<sup>42</sup> Mima Kapches, "Ossossané Ossuary: The Circle Closes," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, no. 38 (2010): 1.

<sup>43</sup> Sioui, "Case Study XXV," 312. The language is from, Gabriel Sagard and George McKinnon Wrong, *Sagard's Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939), 205.

<sup>44</sup> Sioui, "Case Study XXV," 312.

<sup>45</sup> Sioui, *Huron-Wendat*, xx.

<sup>46</sup> Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," iv.

Leclair aside, the Anderdon narrative is most often overlooked or marginalized within larger studies. Anderdon is briefly included within the Wyandot migration narratives that trace the dispersal from Georgian Bay, Ontario to Quebec, Michigan, Ohio, Kansas, and Oklahoma.<sup>47</sup> Bruce Trigger's *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, for instance, noted the existence of the *Tionontati*, Ancestors of the Anderdon Wyandots, who lived south of the great swamps of Nottawasaga, Ontario, in his extensive history of the Wyandot Confederacy.<sup>48</sup> Trigger's discussion of this group included limited information on their history post-1650, noting erroneously that the Wyandot Confederacy was completely destroyed in 1649.<sup>49</sup> Historian Kathryn Labelle's history of seventeenth century Wyandots, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, includes accounts of Anderdon Wyandot Ancestors' relocation to Michilimackinac in the 1650s arguing that they maintained Indigenous cultural, political and spiritual practices despite colonial influences from the French. Like Trigger's, the study ends in the seventeenth century, with little discussion of what happened

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<sup>47</sup> For Wyandot historiography see, Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians: 1615-1649* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 1964); Conrad E. Heidenreich, *The Huron: A Brief Ethnography*, (Toronto, Ontario: York University Press, 1972); Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976); Laurie Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township 1701-1914," (MA Thesis, University of Windsor, 1988), TH – 48158 AMICUS, no. 9297468; Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London: Routledge, 1991); Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Jonathan C. Lainey, *La "Monnaie des Sauvages: " Les Colliers de Wampum D'heir a Aujord'hui"* (Sillery, QC: Septentrion, 2004); Roger Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004); Linda Sioui, "Reunification of the Wendat/Wyandotte Nation at a Time of Globalization," in *Information Technology and Indigenous People*, 310-13 (IGI Global: Information Science Publishing, 2007); Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 900-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014); John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014); Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014); Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, *From Huronia to Wendakes: adversity, migrations, and resilience, 1650-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

<sup>48</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 91-94.

<sup>49</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 725-789.

beyond 1701.<sup>50</sup> Charles Garrad's *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* gives more insight into the Anderdon Wyandots by an analysis of material collected by the ethnographer Marius Barbeau in 1905 when he visited the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. Although minor in a book over five hundred pages, Garrad makes efforts to show the history of important Wyandot community members such as Mary McKee.<sup>51</sup>

Scholars have begun to push Wyandot studies beyond the 1600s. Thomas Peace and Kathryn Labelle, for instance, edited *From Huronia to Wendake: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience, 1650-1900* - a collection of essays that address the narratives of destruction from early Wyandot scholarship with a focus on research analysis of the post-1650 period. Labelle and Peace argue that previous scholarship from the 1870s through to the 1990s on Wyandot peoples aimed to erase Indigenous peoples and culture from North American life and depicted the Wyandot as destined for destruction.<sup>52</sup> Their book brings together Wyandot post-migration stories to continue the Wyandot narrative past the destruction in 1649 by arguing that Wyandots have remained resilient and influential throughout these histories and in North America today. Wyandot Chief Janith English wrote the forward for the book, highlighting concerns about the implications of multigenerational effects of trauma, grief, and diaspora on modern Wyandot peoples.<sup>53</sup> Out of the six chapters, only one chapter is devoted to the Detroit Wyandots. Andrew Sturtevant's history examines the Detroit Wyandot's involvement in the American Revolution maintaining that Wyandots created new settlements in the region from Detroit up to Sandusky, Ohio as a deliberate military strategy to gain access to more resources and expand their

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<sup>50</sup> Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 83-98, and 201.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Garrad, *Mary Mckee (1838-1922)*, Research Bulletin No. 41, North York, Ontario: Petun Research Institute, July 2013; Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 2, 20, 25, 90, 106-134, 140, and 514-522.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience 1650-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 6-9.

<sup>53</sup> Peace et al., *From Huronia to Wendakes*, IX-X.

influence.<sup>54</sup> Other chapters help explain larger historical processes and cultural developments among the Wyandot communities at large. Michael Cox investigates the relationships between Sandusky Wyandots and missionaries, demonstrating that Wyandots actively negotiated their spiritual beliefs embracing dualistic religious practices that included both Wyandot and Christian customs.<sup>55</sup> Concluding the collection, Annette de Stecher argues that objects are intimately interwoven with colonialism and identity through a case study of the Quebec Wyandot and the Lord Elgin trays, noting that “the public performance of ceremonial events based on Wyandot teachings was how Wyandots maintained and shaped their national identity.”<sup>56</sup> Together, the chapters consistently produced stories rich with Wyandot narratives and perspectives, demonstrating Wyandot agency while emphasizing the influences that Wyandots have on Settler histories beyond the 1650s. My research contributes to this scholarship by providing an additional case study of the nineteenth-century Detroit River Wyandot of Anderdon community.

### *Indigenous Deathways and Spirituality*

Deathways and spiritual beliefs are a reoccurring theme within contact zones research, demonstrating the complex ways in which Indigenous peoples across North America have experienced colonialism, Christianity, and forced relocations. Historian James Treat contends that Christian institutions, liturgical forms, teachings, or spiritual practices were adopted by the Indigenous groups without abandoning their former religious traditions.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, in his chapter “First Contact as a Spiritual Performance: Encounters on the North American West

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<sup>54</sup> Peace et al., *From Huronia to Wendakes*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> Peace et al., *From Huronia to Wendakes*, 11-12.

<sup>56</sup> Peace et al., *From Huronia to Wendakes*, 12.

<sup>57</sup> James Treat, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 9-10.

Coast,” historian John Lutz states that early Indigenous and non-Indigenous encounters were built on spiritual performances and cross-cultural exchanges to negotiate peaceful trading relationships.<sup>58</sup> During these encounters, Indigenous and Settler practices came together, sometimes creating new practices and customs as demonstrated by Amanda Fehr and Mackinley Darlington in “Encountering Mary: Apparitions, Roadside Shrines, and the Métis of the Westside.” Drawing on core Indigenous values of healing and protection, the Métis of Île-à-la-Crosse adopted Marian shrines into their cultural practices after the mission in 1846, specifically surrounding the Virgin Mary.<sup>59</sup> The Métis members attested that these shrines were adopted to bring their families and communities together under protection.<sup>60</sup> At other times, Indigenous peoples drew on pre-contact customs. Keith Carlson’s *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, analyzes the Stó:lō people of the Fraser River Valley, arguing that Stó:lō reactions to colonial events, such as smallpox epidemics, the gold rush, and increased tribal conflict, were shaped by pre-contact practices rather than by European contact.<sup>61</sup> Both pre-contact and contact experiences shaped Indigenous responses to change as well as influenced their cultural and spiritual practices.

Cultural adaptations such as these manifest in Indigenous communities through what Susan Neylan terms syncretism and dualism in her book *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity*. Syncretism describes the various, often contradictory, beliefs that are blended (manifested in religious beliefs, prayers, songs, burial

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<sup>58</sup> John S. Lutz, “First Contact as a Spiritual Performance: Encounters on the North American West Coast,” in *Myth and Memory Stories of Indigenous-European Contact* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 31.

<sup>59</sup> Amanda Fehr and Mackinley Darlington, “Encountering Mary: Apparitions, Roadside Shrines, and the Métis of the Westside,” *Saskatchewan History* 61, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 29.

<sup>60</sup> Fehr et al., “Encountering Mary,” 37.

<sup>61</sup> Keith Thor. Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

practices, and so on that created new hybrid religions and cultural practices.<sup>62</sup> Dualism, in contrast, “recognizes the coexistence of forms of Native spiritualities and Christianity side by side yet separate and distinct from one another... Instead of a belief system blending or converging, dualism fosters a separation of the two, but not necessarily a rejection or favouring of one another.”<sup>63</sup>

Similar to the ways other North American Indigenous people adapted and rejected colonialism, Wyandot burial customs were shaped by their pre-contact lifestyles, European encounters, and forced dispersal. In *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534*, historian John Grant argued that the French Catholic missions in Wendake were successful because the missionaries rooted their teachings and practices in central aspects of Indigenous culture, such as language or music.<sup>64</sup> Emma Anderson’s *Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs* challenges understandings of early Indigenous and non-Indigenous encounters in North America during the 1640s when eight Jesuit missionaries were killed by Indigenous people (including the Wyandot).<sup>65</sup> Anderson argues that these deaths were controversial in Indigenous communities and Wyandot leaders were often unsure of what to do with these strangers and the Christian faith.<sup>66</sup> She further argues that despite colonial attempts to erase Indigenous cultural traditions, Indigenous communities maintained their customs while adopting new practices at the same time.<sup>67</sup> Taking these interpretations into consideration, the

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<sup>62</sup> Susan Neylan, *The Heavens Are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 15.

<sup>63</sup> Neylan, *The Heavens Are Changing*, 15.

<sup>64</sup> John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 32.

<sup>65</sup> Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 10.

<sup>66</sup> Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife*, 11.

<sup>67</sup> For Indigenous spiritual adaptation histories see also: Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. 2nd ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992); Martha Kaplan, *Neither Cargo nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Raymond

Wyandot Cemetery provides an opportunity to explore similar processes of rejection, syncretism, and dualism of Wyandot burial practices and spaces.

A number of historians have researched the complex history surrounding Wyandot burial practices and their main pre-contact funeral ceremony—the Feast of Souls. Georges Sioui notes that the feast was the main way Wyandots reinforced traditional teachings, memories, and relationships.<sup>68</sup> Erik R. Seeman’s detailed analysis of the feast in *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* demonstrates the spiritual nature of Wyandot-non-Wyandot encounters underscoring two main arguments. First, religious practices among the Wyandot (especially the feast) motivated the Wyandot to seek trade with Settlers to obtain ceremonial items and grave goods.<sup>69</sup> Second, when Wyandots and Christians came together, they bonded over their mutual understandings of the power in bones and centrality of burial practices within their societies.<sup>70</sup> In her chapter “*Faire la Chaudière: The Wendat Feast of Souls*,” Kathryn Labelle looks at the Feast of Souls to demonstrate how Wyandots used burial practices to build alliances with Settlers and neighbouring Indigenous communities to “create unity and solidarity among their family, friends, and neighbors.”<sup>71</sup> Further, Labelle contends that the Feast was much more than a burial, but a contract for political and military alliances. Combined, these scholars effectively highlight the importance of deathways in Wyandot

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Joseph Armand Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis* (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1996); James Treat, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*, (New York: Routledge, 1996); John S. Lutz, "First Contact as a Spiritual Performance: Encounters on the North American West Coast," in *Myth and Memory Stories of Indigenous-European Contact* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); John S. Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-white Relations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008); Amanda Fehr and MacKinley Darlington, "Encountering Mary: Apparitions, Roadside Shrines, and the Métis of the Westside," *Saskatchewan History*, 61, no. 2, (Fall 2009): 29-31.

<sup>68</sup> Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 146.

<sup>69</sup> Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2011), 4.

<sup>70</sup> Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 2-3.

<sup>71</sup> Kathryn Labelle, "“*Faire la Chaudière*”, The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," In *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 2.

communities, especially in negotiating cross-cultural encounters. Yet, they remain grounded in the seventeenth century, with little research on Wyandot deathways and spiritual beliefs later on. Building on these important works, my research expands Wyandot deathways narratives beyond the seventeenth century into modern Anderdon society.

### *Indigenous Women's History*

Since the rise of social history in the 1980s, scholars have contributed greatly to our understanding of Indigenous women. Sylvia Van Kirk's work was at the forefront of this movement exploring the roles of Indigenous women in the fur trade. Using a variety of source materials including diaries, letters, wills, and Hudson's Bay Company correspondence, Van Kirk demonstrates that women held influential roles in the fur trade as interpreters, guides, and wives.<sup>72</sup> Following her lead, scholars have taken a particular interest in the effects of colonialism on Indigenous women. The studies surrounding Indigenous women contain opposing views in the historiography. Most contend that Indigenous women's roles were transformed after European contact. Historian Theda Perdue's *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change, 1700-1835*, for instance, is an ethnohistorical account of these changes. Focusing on eighteenth-century Cherokee women as a case study, Perdue maintains that many Cherokee women became marginalized in their societies, as patriarchal social structures became more prevalent after the American Revolution.<sup>73</sup> Other studies demonstrate how some groups of women were able to

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<sup>72</sup> Sylvia Van Kirk, *The Role of Women in the Fur Trade Society of the Canadian West, 1700-1850* (England: University of London, 1975); Sylvia Van Kirk, "'Women in Between': Indian Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada," *Historical Papers*, 12, no. 1 (1977): 30; Sylvia Van Kirk, *Life in the Western Canadian Fur-Trade 1770-1870* (Ottawa: National Museum of Manitoba, 1979); Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 9-13; Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 9-10.



maintain their power as historian Susan Sleeper-Smith argues in *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Sleeper-Smith argues that Indigenous women in the fur trade in the Great Lakes region used many avenues to maintain their authority such as Christianity, kinship, and marriage in interactions with French Settlers.<sup>74</sup>

Wyandot scholars have made similar observations concerning women and colonialism. Karen Anderson looks at the subjugation and marginalization of Wyandot women as a result of European encounters in *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France*. She argues that within three decades after the arrival of French Settlers to Wendake Ehen women became subjugated through patriarchal Christian practices.<sup>75</sup> Bruce Trigger finds comparable evidence, emphasizing how Christianity was a driving force behind the subjugation of Wyandot women after contact with the Jesuits in the 1600s, especially after Traditionalists and Christians began to intermarry.<sup>76</sup> In contrast, Kathryn Labelle's investigation into Wyandot women's power after 1650 contends that while men seemed to dominate the public sphere, women maintained their authority over most aspects of Wyandot life throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>77</sup> In doing so, Labelle reveals that Wyandot women used Christianity as a means to create and preserve unity, spirituality, and social mobility.<sup>78</sup> Supporting Labelle, John Steckley argues in *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan Based Study* that women's roles remained intact among eighteenth century Detroit River Wyandot country.<sup>79</sup> Of particular interest is Steckley's brief hypothetical assertion that women likely continued to be main actors

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<sup>74</sup> Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

<sup>75</sup> Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London: Routledge, 1991), 5.

<sup>76</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 368.

<sup>77</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 159-160.

<sup>78</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 160-170.

<sup>79</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 1-2.

in ceremonies and funeral proceedings.<sup>80</sup> My thesis allows for further analysis to these important works on Wyandot women by providing a case study of Wyandot women's emotion work after 1701 and delivering concrete examples to support Steckley's speculative analysis. My analysis supports Labelle and Steckley, emphasizing continuity and resilience of Wyandot women and their agency over victimhood and assimilation.

## Sources

The results of this study are original as they rely heavily on documents found in the Charles Garrad Private Collection.<sup>81</sup> This collection provides a unique and rarely used source of interdisciplinary material. Charles Garrad was an archeologist from Ontario and a major contributor to Wyandot studies and Ontario archaeology. In 1974, Garrad served as the President of the Ontario Archeological Society and was the Executive Director from 1979-1996. He was also an active member of Ontario's Archaeologic Conversation Programme throughout its existence. Garrad was the honorary adopted son of Cecille Wallace (Wyandot Nation of Oklahoma) and adopted honorary member of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas. Garrad received many accolades and awards, including the Margaret and James F. Pendergast Award in 2000.<sup>82</sup> This collection, arguably one of the largest Wyandot repositories in existence, includes primary documents from Garrad's visits to Anderdon, as well as copies and transcriptions of archival documents found in holdings across North America. Archeological evidence, including field notes and material culture from pre-seventeenth century burial grounds is also in the collection. I

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<sup>80</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 181-182.

<sup>81</sup> It is worth noting that Charles Garrad passed away during the writing of this thesis and shortly after my meetings with him. I am very grateful to have had the opportunity to know and work with this influential scholar.

<sup>82</sup> The Margaret and James F. Pendergast Award recognizes individuals for their exemplary contributions to Canadian archaeology by an avocational archaeologist. Canadian Archaeological Association (Association Canadienne D'archeologie), "Margaret and James F. Pendergast Award," January 01, 1970 (accessed May 24, 2019), <https://canadianarchaeology.com/caa/about/awards/margaret-and-james-f-pendergast-award>.

accessed the collection at Garrad's Toronto home in the summer of 2018 with the permission of Charles Garrad and his wife Ella.

Other primary source evidence is drawn from published accounts, including missionary Gabriel Sagard's *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* and Reuben Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. All these publications are missionary perspectives that offer first-hand accounts of daily interactions between Europeans and Wyandot peoples in the early 1600s-1800s. Taking their obvious biases into account, they remain some of the most valuable observations of Wyandot life during the first few centuries of contact. Archival documents also inform this study including church records from the Diocese of London Church Archives in London, Ontario that provide records of Christian Wyandot burials from 1802-1899 in Anderdon and Sandwich; and the François Baby House Collection's newspaper articles discussing the cemetery during the 1900s housed at the François Baby House Museum and Archives in Windsor, Ontario. Finally, I have drawn upon the expertise of archaeologists Gary Warrick, Susan Pfeiffer, Carol Ramsden, Jennifer Birch, Ronald F. Williamson, and Mima Kapches; anthropological works by Bruce Trigger and James Wright; linguistic documentation of John Steckley; and the extensive ethnographic collection of Marius Barbeau.<sup>83</sup>

## Methodology

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<sup>83</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), Carol Nasmith Ramsden, *The Kirche Site: A 16<sup>th</sup> Century Huron Village in the Upper Trent Valley* (Dundas, Ontario: Copetown Press, 1989); Jennifer Birch and Ronald F. Williamson, *The Mantle Site an Archaeological History of an Ancestral Wendat Community* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2013); James V. Wright, "The Middleport Horizon," *Anthropologica*, New Series 2, no. 1 (1960): 113-120; James V. Wright, *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966); John Steckley, *A Huron-English/English-Huron Dictionary (Listing Both Words and Noun and Verb Roots)* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007); John Steckley, *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008); Mima Kapches, "Ossossané Ossuary: The Circle Closes," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, no. 38 (2010): 1-15; Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald F. Williamson, *Bones of the Ancestors: The Archaeology and Osteobiography of the Moatfield Ossuary* (Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003).

My research is guided by the Wyandot concept of *kwatatenononk*, which informs my community-engaged ethnohistorical approach. At its core, *kwatatenononk* means “everything is related.”<sup>84</sup> This concept is similar to the Cree concept *wahkootwin*, which scholars have used to guide their research. *Wahkootowin* is a term that describes “how family, place, and [economics] were historically interconnected, the expression of a world view that laid out a system of social obligation and mutual responsibility between related individuals – between members of a family – as the foundational relationship within communities.”<sup>85</sup> These relationships are about the people, the stories, and the land. This project applies *kwatateenonk* in a similar way. For example, the success of this project was contingent on building respectful relationships with Anderdon community members, Wyandot researchers, and with Wyandot homeland(s). The women, the land, and funerary practices are at the center of Wyandot histories, and thus situated at the center of my research methodologies.

Ethnohistory is a hybrid discipline that combines historical, anthropological, archeological, and ethnological methods to study Indigenous communities. Ethnohistorical methods are centered around conventional sources (for instance, written documents created by non-Indigenous authors) and non-conventional historical sources (often oral traditions, artefacts, and landmarks) to gain an Indigenous perspective.<sup>86</sup> Additionally, ethnohistorical methods are based on the community’s perspectives on how events are constituted, and cultural constructions

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<sup>84</sup> Email correspondence between John Steckley, a prominent Wyandot linguist, and Kathryn Labelle. See, John Steckley to Kathryn Labelle, Email Correspondence, February 01, 2018.

<sup>85</sup> Brenda Macdougall, "Wahkootowin: Family and Cultural Identity in Northwestern Saskatchewan Métis," *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (2006): 433.

<sup>86</sup> Triangulation is a social science term that means using two or more methods. Often triangulation is used in Ethnohistory by utilizing a variety of sources to understand a specific individual, group of individuals, event, or moment in time. My project, for instance, used triangulation to understand the history of the Anderdon Cemetery. See, Karl H. Schwerin, “The Future of Ethnohistory,” *Ethnohistory*, 23, no. 4 (1976): 323-341; William N. Fenton, “Ethnohistory and Its Problems”, *Ethnohistory*, 9, no. 1 (1962): 1-23; Bruce G. Trigger, “Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice,” *Ethnohistory*, 33, no. 3 (1986): 253-267; Patricia Galloway, *Practicing Ethnohistory: Mining Archives, Hearing Testimony, Constructing Narrative* (Lincoln, United States: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

are made.<sup>87</sup> As previously mentioned, I utilize a variety of source materials and mediums that are produced by Wyandot and non-Wyandot actors including archival materials, land surveys, municipal reports, township maps, Indian Affairs reports, the landscapes, tombstones, artefacts, and oral histories. I compared these sources to gain insights into Wyandot perspectives on their burial rights and spaces.<sup>88</sup>

As a non-Indigenous Canadian Settler, I worked closely with Wyandot individuals through community engagement to bolster my understandings of Wyandot people, culture, ways of knowing, and knowledge sharing. Since the beginning of my project, I sought to build relationships with the Wyandot Women's Advisory Council (WWAC). WWAC is a group of eight women that represent the dispersed modern Wyandot Nations. The members are: Catherine Tammaro, Sallie Cotter Andrews, Beverlee Petit, Judith Manthe, Janith English, Judith Pidgeon Kukowski, Linda Sioui, and Manon Sioui. Although the WWAC shaped the initial outline of this project through consultation with my supervisor Kathryn Labelle and myself, I have made a concerted effort to create and sustain relationships with the Wyandot of Anderdon members. As a result, I have relied heavily on the specific guidance of Faith Keeper Catherine Tammaro and tribal genealogist Judith Pidgeon Kukowski.

In August 2018 I conducted field work in Wendake Ehen near Toronto, Ontario, as well as The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation near Detroit, Michigan. Catherine Tammaro, acting as a guide and mentor, took me to sacred Wyandot sites in the greater Toronto area including Ossossané (a traditional burial site), Crawford Lake (a fourteenth-century Wyandot village), *Ekarennondi* or Standing Rock (a sacred Wyandot site associated with deathways), and the

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<sup>87</sup> Shepard III Krech, "The State of Ethnohistory," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 20 (1991): 349.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," *Ethnohistory*, 33, no. 3 (1986): 253-267; Karl H. Schwerin, "The Future of Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory*, 23, no. 4 (1976): 323-341; William N. Fenton, "Ethnohistory and Its Problems," *Ethnohistory*, 9, no. 1 (1962): 1-23.

Cemetery itself. Additionally, the Anderdon community gave me permission to attend the Wyandot of Anderdon Green Corn Feast, which is a yearly gathering for Wyandot community members in Woodhaven, just outside of Detroit, Michigan. Although there were certain sacred ceremonies I could not attend as an outsider, I was allowed to participate in the fireside story circle, the annual picnic, Wyandot Women's Circle, and the awards ceremony. These experiences taught me invaluable lessons in Wyandot perspectives, history, and protocols.

I have applied this integrated approach—*kwatatenonk*, ethnohistory, and community engagement—to my research in an effort to heed Linda Smith's call for decolonizing methodologies. Often historical research methods used in studying and writing Indigenous history have been based in colonial, privileged Western ways of knowing, and have broken cultural protocols.<sup>89</sup> Decolonizing methodologies “attempts to do something more than deconstructing Western scholarship simply by [Indigenous] retelling, or by sharing Indigenous horror stories about research” by bringing together both Settler and Indigenous ideologies and dismantling colonial systems of research.<sup>90</sup> Working within this framework, my research utilizes both Indigenous and Settler methods while paying particular attention and respect to Wyandot perspectives on their own history.

Emotion Work

*Arlie Russell Hochschild*

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<sup>89</sup> Linda Sioui, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Zed Books LTD, 2012), 3.

<sup>90</sup> Sioui, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 3.

This thesis is constructed through an analysis of emotion work. Emotion work, first coined by sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild in her article “Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure” in 1979, is the “act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling.”<sup>91</sup> Said differently, emotion work is the management and regulation of emotion. Using airline hospitality industries as a case study Hochschild observes that female workers often engage in “deep acting”—expressively emoting and engaging in emotional caretaking for the ease, benefit, or pleasure of their patrons.<sup>92</sup> Emotion workers employ three main techniques: first, cognitive emotion work that attempts to change images, ideas, or thoughts to alter the feelings associated with them; second, bodily emotion work that attempts to change physical symptoms of emotions like trying to breath slowly to alter external feelings; third, expressive emotion work that attempts to change expressive gestures such as smiling or crying to alter inner feelings. Hochschild states that bodily and expressive emotion work is different because “the individual tries to alter or shape one or another of the classic public channels for the expression of feeling.”<sup>93</sup> Each of these techniques use emotions to orient themselves and others to people, places, things, and events around them. In this way, emotions gain power.

Countering previous research on the topic, Hochschild argues emotions are controllable. Hochschild notes that emotions can be uncontrolled or caused by impulsive, instinctive biological responses like when a person sweats because he or she is hot; however, unlike these reactions based on biology or bodily functions, emotions can be influenced by social norms and situations.<sup>94</sup> Since emotions are largely controlled and influenced by social norms, emotion work

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<sup>91</sup> Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 3 (1979): 561.

<sup>92</sup> Hochschild notes that regarding emotion work, to “work on” is the same as “to manage,” or to do “deep acting.” See, Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 561; John Laurence Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Case," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2016): 17.

<sup>93</sup> Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 562.

<sup>94</sup> Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 551, & 554-555.

provides a window into understanding larger questions surrounding cultural and social patterns of different groups of people.

Hochschild also establishes the relationship between social order and emotion management. She argues emotions are intrinsically linked to social structure, feeling rules (rules or guidelines demonstrating acceptable emotional responses), emotion management, and emotive experience. As Hochschild asserts,

Rules seem to govern how people try or try not to feel in ways “appropriate to the situation.” Such a notion suggests how profoundly the individual is “social,” and “socialized” to try to pay tribute to official definitions of situations, with no less than their feelings.<sup>95</sup>

To determine what is or is not appropriate to feel in a particular situation, the individual constantly makes comparisons between feeling and situation, which lends the assessor to establish what is socially normal or acceptable. In this way, societal rules and expectations shape the way individuals respond to events, people, places, and material objects.

Emphasizing the connections between societal rules, expectations, and emotions, Hochschild highlights the junctures in ideology and emotion work. Ideologies such as those surrounding etiquette, rules of bodily behaviours, and societal interaction, influence emotions because when an individual or society changes an ideological stance, “he or she drops old rules and assumes new ones for reacting to situations, cognitively, and emotively. A sense of rights and duties applied to feelings in situations is also changed.”<sup>96</sup> These ideologies also influence class and gender as feeling rules associated with what is appropriate for males and females, and upper and lower classes are often different.

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<sup>95</sup> Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 551-552, & 560.

<sup>96</sup> Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 567.



It is important to note that feeling rules can sometimes not be taken seriously or “boldly broken” at varying costs.<sup>97</sup> This thesis does not attempt to investigate when individuals resist emotion work or break feeling rules. Rather, this study analyzes how Wyandot women used emotion work to shape their societies and ideologies.

*John Laurence Creese*

Archeologist John Laurence Creese then examined how pre-contact Indigenous communities employed emotion work to orient their own and others’ emotional attachments to persons, places, events or actions as political, public acts in his article, “Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Consensus” in 2016. Specifically, Creese argues that the active regulation of emotional states is critical to the success and development of consensus-based coalitions surrounding the Great Lakes.<sup>98</sup> Creese explains that in consensus-based societies, including the Wyandot, power was exerted through kinship groups—a system that depended on positive bodily attentions.<sup>99</sup> Negative emotions like grief, anger, resentment, and selfishness compromised political alliances and social developments. To combat these negative feelings, Creese demonstrates that Great Lakes communities used the Wyandot concept of soul desires in the form of grooming, adornment, smoking, and gift-giving to evoke positive feelings.<sup>100</sup> To maintain physical and mental health Wyandot would participate in these soul desires, especially during times of tremendous grief or anger. If individuals neglected

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<sup>97</sup> Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 566.

<sup>98</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 14 & 17.

<sup>99</sup> Creese also notes that in Wyandot societies village councils were controlled by matrilineal kin groups meaning senior women of each lineage group were responsible for appointing (and impeaching) male Chiefs. These Chiefs did not make decisions without support from senior women and members of their communities. Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 15 & 19.

<sup>100</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 15.

participating in these activities they could fall into deep depressions, deteriorating mental health, and sometimes even death.

Building on the work of Hochschild, Creese makes several significant observations about emotion work in pre-contact Wyandot society. First, mediation of material objects was a vital part of emotion work as the materials people used to promote positive, healthy feelings. In turn, these objects became embedded with emotion, individual bodies, and histories. Second, emotion management of people's bodies influenced patterns of personhood, kinship, collective-life, self-discipline, and restraint. Third, drawing on Michael Foucault, emotion work in these communities generated power networks that influenced people to behave according to established rules and institutions. Lastly, emotion work is intricately related to creating, protecting, and preserving culture as well as shaping social experiences.<sup>101</sup> Participating in emotion work through ceremony, smoking, and so on, aided in social categorization. Creese states that,

In performing ourselves, we develop an array of memories, attachments and commitments to other people, places and things, so that becoming a socially recognized category of person is first and foremost a profounding [sic], affecting and affective process. The importance of peak experiences - particularly painful, fearful, ecstatic or awe-inspiring events - in coming-of-age ceremonies highlights the significance of emotion in the creation of enduring connections between people and the social identities they come to live.<sup>102</sup>

As individuals processed peak experiences, they developed attachments to one another, their material objects, and ancestral spaces. Though Creese is referring to the ways both Indigenous men and women participated in emotion work, Wyandot burial practices and the emotion work related to those practices was primarily done by women. It is for this reason, that I employ emotion work as a conceptual framework for this thesis, tracing the way that Wyandot women

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<sup>101</sup> See, Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 15-16.

<sup>102</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 16-17.

have conducted emotion work over time in relation to deathways and sacred spaces. Further, this thesis expands on Creese's work investigating emotion work in Wyandot societies beyond the seventeenth-century.

Although emotion work is a non-Indigenous concept, it provides an avenue for Indigenous people to understand their past. When I brought this concept to the WWAC, members (especially Faith Keeper Tammaro) expressed their support for using emotion work as a method of analysis because this concept has helped them articulate information they already knew.<sup>103</sup> Emotion work has offered another model for Wyandot women to understand the details and wording of the historical processes they have experienced.

#### Chapter Outline

The chapters that follow encapsulate the complexities of Wyandot burial practices and spaces and emphasize the influence of women in funerary protocols and acts of emotion work. Chapter One, “‘Bathed Their Bones with Her Tears’: Wyandot Beginnings, 500-1636,” is a gendered analysis of pre-contact Wyandot burial practices. This chapter focuses on sacred Wyandot burial sites such as the Pointe-du-Buisson 5 site (c. 500), , the Miller site (800-1000), the Moatfield Ossuary (1280-1320), the Mantle site (1500-1530), and the Feast of Souls ceremony at Ossossané (1636). Following the evolution of burial practices from the twelfth century through to the seventeenth century and using material culture evidence, this chapter emphasizes customary Wyandot emotion work and burial practices while paying particular attention to the roles of women in pre-contact society. The examination of these sites is critical

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<sup>103</sup> Faith Keeper Tammaro has expressed support for this project and method of analysis several times, including in her reviews throughout the creation of this thesis.

as it provides the basis for a comparative analysis between pre-contact burials and the evolution of these practices among the nineteenth-century Wyandot of Anderdon Nation.

Chapter Two, “‘Stories Found in Stones’: The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, 1790-1914,” focuses on the long history of the Wyandot Cemetery. Almost one-hundred years after the Ossossané burial in 1636, this chapter analyses how colonialism influenced burial practices and spaces in Wyandot communities between 1790 and 1914.<sup>104</sup> In addition to traditional archival resources, this section also focuses on a material culture analysis of tombstones to capture the ways Wyandots have maintained their traditional cultural practices, while simultaneously adopting new customs like French-Catholic Christianity. Although at first glance the cemetery seems to suggest patriarchal and Christian dominance, a closer investigation demonstrates that Anderdon women continued to conduct emotion work on behalf of the community, both living and dead.

Chapter Three, “Stories Beyond Stones: Protection and Revitalization” interrogates the history of the Wyandot Cemetery and colonialism in the 1900s after the reserve was lost to enfranchisement. This section historicizes how modern Wyandots have used emotion work to revitalize the community and how Wyandot activists like Mary McKee (1838-1922), Catherine Tammaro (1955-), Elder Judith Kukowski (1945-) are preserving Wyandot sacred spaces. Specifically, modern women continue to partake in emotion work through traditional ceremonies including the naming ceremony at the annual Anderdon Green Corn Feast, the creation of a women’s circle in 2012, and the reseating of the first Faith Keeper in over 130 years.

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<sup>104</sup> I am using these dates specifically because this is the official time of the reserve era for Anderdon. The reserve was established in 1790 with the signing of the McKee Treaty (McKee Purchase). In 1914, the last of the Wyandot reserve lands had been sold to Settlers and payments from the government to compensate for the loss of the land stopped. Both events will be discussed in detail throughout this thesis.

## Chapter I – “Bathed their Bones with Her Tears”: Wyandot Beginnings (500-1636)

This chapter highlights historic Wyandot burial practices from the fourth century to the significant Feast of Souls in 1636. A survey of pre-contact burial sites provides the necessary foundation for a comparative analysis between Wyandot traditions before European encounters and the transformation of death practices in the nineteenth-century Wyandot of Anderdon community. Since the early beginnings of Wyandot culture in the fourth century, deathways have been a central focus in the development of their society. In relation to these burial practices, I argue that women were the main agents of emotion work during the pre-contact period. Alongside the evolution of Wyandot society over hundreds of years, women’s roles in burials evolved. This chapter attempts to trace these advances over time to understand the complex world Settlers entered into in the Great Lakes during the 1600s.<sup>105</sup>

Prior to contact, Wyandot deathways were elaborate and involved two main burial ceremonies and sites. These burial sites were village cemeteries and ossuary sites. Immediately following an individual’s death, he or she received a primary burial in the village cemetery located next to the village outside the palisaded walls. These burials were either in the ground, on scaffolds, or in bark huts.<sup>106</sup> Then, after a ten to twelve year period, all the individuals that had passed over that time received their secondary burial in the ossuary known as the Feast of Souls.<sup>107</sup> The Feast of Souls was the main burial ceremony in Wyandot society. This ceremony

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<sup>105</sup> There are no maps of all the different Wyandot pre-contact burial sites. Archeologist Ronald Williamson made a call for a graduate student to complete a project on mapping these sites. Williamson explains that although many of the excavation records are still available on these sites, some of the information has been lost due to inadequate excavation reporting and record keeping. Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Journal of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, no. 94 (2014): 43-44.

<sup>106</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 11.

<sup>107</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vol. X (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 279-281.

involved the entire Wyandot community where everyone came together to bury their dead communally to solidify and renew alliances within the Nation and sometimes outsiders.<sup>108</sup>

The term ossuary has varying definitions amongst archeologists that study Great Lakes Indigenous groups. Archeologist Walter Kenyon describes an ossuary as “a mass grave containing the disarticulated and randomly scattered bones of numerous people.”<sup>109</sup>

Archaeologists Grant Mullen and Robert Hoppa state that ossuaries are multiple, secondary interments.<sup>110</sup> Mary Jackes similarly argues that an ossuary is “a multiple burial in which most individuals are interred after natural or artificial disarticulation, and that, while the bones may be arranged by skeletal element, they are rarely retained in bundle containing recognizable individuals.”<sup>111</sup> Further, Crystal Forrest describes an ossuary as “a burial pit in which multiple individuals are interred in a secondary context and in which the remains have been mixed so that most individuals are unrecognizable.”<sup>112</sup> Although these definitions provide an understanding of ossuaries, they are missing a key aspect that the mixing of bones was intentional and placement of grave goods was due to complex spiritual beliefs. Modern Wyandots incorporate this aspect into their definition of ossuary burials, describing them as mass burials containing the carefully cleaned, re-wrapped bones, and spiritual essence of the Ancestors.<sup>113</sup> These spaces are cities of the dead where the deceased live together and the essence of their spirits becomes imbued into

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<sup>108</sup> Kathryn Labelle, “*Faire la Chaudière*”, The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636,” In *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 15.

<sup>109</sup> Walter A. Kenyon, *The Miller Site* (Royal Ontario Museum: University of Toronto, 1968), 2.

<sup>110</sup> Grant J. Mullen and Robert D. Hoppa, “Rogers Ossuary (AgHb-131): An Early Iroquois Burial Feature from Brantford Township,” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1992): 38.

<sup>111</sup> Mary Jackes “Complexity in Seventeenth Century Southern Ontario Burial Practices,” *Debating Complexity* (1996) in Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald F. Williamson, *Bones of the Ancestors: The Archaeology and Osteobiography of the Moatfield Ossuary*, (Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003), 92.

<sup>112</sup> Crystal Forrest, “The In-house Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site (AlGt-2): A Multidirectional Approach to Interpretation,” *Ontario Archaeology* 89, no. 90 (2010): 97.

<sup>113</sup> Judith Kukowski, Email Correspondence, March 14, 2019; Catherine Tammaro, Email Correspondence, March 11, 2019.

the land.<sup>114</sup> This thesis employs the term ossuary to describe the final deposit (secondary burial) of intentionally mixed, disarticulated remains and grave goods that marked significant community events like village relocation, the death of a leader, or a creation/renewal of alliances.

Within both cemetery and ossuary burials women performed three main roles. First, women constructed all the necessary goods for gift-giving and ceremony like food, weapons, smoking pipes, ceramics, fur robes, clothing, and jewellery. Second, women engaged in public acts of mourning such as crying on cue at funerals. Third, women processed and protected Ancestral remains. These roles related to their daily responsibilities in their communities like producing daily goods (clothing, food, tools, and weapons), overseeing and working community fields, and managing childcare. I argue that in these historic Wyandot burials, women's actions demonstrate that they overwhelmingly participated in emotion work. This work was crucial to the success and well-being of Wyandot peoples and allowed communities to function on a day to day basis and to heal during peak emotional events, especially in losing a loved one.

Scholars have been able to uncover so much information about pre-contact Wyandot society because of historical primary sources like the Jesuit missionary accounts called the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, missionary Gabriel Sagard's *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, and explorer Samuel de Champlain's works.<sup>115</sup> Using these substantial works, scholars can interpret the past because these sources provide insights into pre-contact Wyandot life as these missionaries were among the first Settlers to live with Wyandot peoples. These

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<sup>114</sup> Tamarro, Correspondence.

<sup>115</sup> See, Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976); Erik R. Seaman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2011); Kathryn Labelle, "Faire la Chaudière", The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636", in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2013); Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014).

missionary accounts have been supported by numerous archeological field studies that have uncovered hundreds of Wyandot burial sites surrounding the Great Lakes area that display material evidence of traditional deathways.<sup>116</sup> The sites discussed in this chapter act as examples of the trends found in Wyandot burials. I chose the following sites based largely on accessibility and amount of information available on each site.<sup>117</sup> These are not the only sites that contain elements of emotion work; however, they act as strong examples of the types of materials found in pre-contact Wyandot burial sites. Following historians Bruce Trigger, Erik Seeman, and Kathryn Labelle, I use traditional primary documents from the Jesuits and Sagard alongside archeological evidence to unravel the past. This information is then supplemented with archeologist John Creese's study on emotion work in pre-contact Wyandot societies to understand the emotional evidence represented in historical and archeological primary documents.

### Wyandot Women and Emotion Work

In pre-contact Wyandot society, emotion work and soul desires played a vital role in maintaining culture and health. As noted by John Creese, ethnographer Elizabeth Tooker argues

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<sup>116</sup> Some archeologists use primary historical documents to help interpret their findings in the field such as Walter A. Kenyon, *The Miller Site* (Royal Ontario Museum: University of Toronto, 1968); Heather McKillop and Lawrence Jackson, "Discovery and Excavations at the Poole-Rose Ossuary," *Arch Notes* 91-1 (February 1991): 9-13; Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald F. Williamson, *Bones of the Ancestors: The Archaeology and Osteobiography of the Moatfield Ossuary* (Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003); David Robertson, "The Hutchinson Site: A Place to Prepare for the Final Journey," *Ontario Archaeology* 77 (2004): 95-120; Crystal Forrest, "The In-house Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site (AlGt-2): A Multidirectional Approach to Interpretation," *Ontario Archaeology* 89, no. 90 (2010): 97-119; Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Journal of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, no. 94 (2014): 1-143. While other archeologists use archeological sources to analyze trends found within a set of sites like C. Churcher and W. Kenyon, "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries: A Study in Iroquois Demography," *Human Biology; an International Record of Research* 32 (1960): 249-273; Grant J. Mullen and Robert D. Hoppa, "Rogers Ossuary (AgHb-131): An Early Iroquois Burial Feature from Brantford Township," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1992): 32-47; Michael W. Spence and William A. Fox, "The Winona Rockshelter Burial." *Ontario Archaeology*, 53 (1992): 27-44.

<sup>117</sup> During many of the excavations of the hundreds of Wyandot burial sites discovered in the 1900s, sites and materials were destroyed, as well as some of the records lost or not stored properly.



that physical and psychological well-being were closely related in Wyandot societies; bad feelings or unsatisfied desires could lead to illness and sometimes even death. Historically,

Emotions glossed as grief, anger, resentment and selfishness were understood to stand in the way of successful social and political alliances. They were, accordingly, the target or pervasive material interventions in the form of grooming, adornment, smoking and gift-giving that were intended to shift the affective character of social relations and satisfy deep personal desires.<sup>118</sup>

Physical illness was viewed as a symptom of emotional neglect. This was especially true in the death or loss of loved ones when grief was so strong that emotional neglect could take over a person's wellbeing without proper attention or healing.

Emotional healing manifested in Wyandot communities in several ways including dancing, feasting, grooming, bodily adornment, smoking, gift-giving, sexual activity, and public presentation (hair and dress). These desires (dancing, feasting, grooming, etc.) were "soul desires" in which sometimes individuals, small groups, or the entire community would participate.<sup>119</sup> Creese argues that the need to sustain these desires was rooted in the traditional Wyandot belief of the *gonennoncwal*, the 'affectionate soul.' The *gonennoncwal* was the soul in relation to the things the soul desires.<sup>120</sup> Ignoring these inner desires led to illness, misfortune, and sometimes death.

To participate in these soul desires, the Wyandots relied on various community goods and tools. Women were typically the ones who produced these goods. Women constructed different

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<sup>118</sup> John Laurence Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Case," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2016): 15 & 17-20; Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians: 1615-1649*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 1964), 86-91.

<sup>119</sup> Often individual's soul desires would appear to them in dreams. See, Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 20.

<sup>120</sup> When a Wyandot individual experienced a need to fulfill their desires, he or she would often use the phrase *ondayee ihaton onennoncwat*, "that is what my heart says to me, that is what my appetite desires. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vol. X (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 140; Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 20.

weapons for warfare including arrows fledged with eagle feathers; wooden clubs, shields, and snowshoes; and animal gut bow strings. Women made pottery, an essential item for cooking and processing food for the village like berries, seeds, fish, deer, hemp, corn, beans, and squash. They participated in various forms of weaving such as reed mats to hang on lodge doors or sit on and reed or birch bark baskets to hold various items. During the winter months, women and girls made goods for hunting such as twine for fishing nets and snares. Women also fabricated clothing and jewellery made from various animal skins and beads.<sup>121</sup> Women encouraged Wyandots to use these tools in order to indulge in soul desires to maintain their emotional and physical wellbeing and promote positive feelings throughout the entire Wyandot confederacy. Without the women and production of these essential goods, Wyandots would not have been able to participate in emotion work and perform necessary emotional and spiritual healing through positive activities like gift-giving, adorning oneself, smoking, and feasting.

Wyandot women's production of necessary community goods such as the food for feasts, tobacco for ceremony, and clothing and jewellery for bodily adornment, connects directly to their emotion work. Women made sure individuals had access to survival tools (weaponry, clothing, and cooking equipment) and emotional healing tools (jewellery and ceremonial items like pipes). As individuals engaged or performed with these tools, women ensured that the community was creating memories and stories associated with their traditional territory, especially during times of significant events such as birth, death, and war that evoked fearful, ecstatic, and awe-inspiring emotions.

*Wampumpeag* (wampum) became a central aspect in burial ceremonies in seventeenth-century Wendake. Wampum is a tubular marine-shell bead with the principal function of

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<sup>121</sup> Lyal Tait, *The Petuns Tobacco Indians of Canada* (Port Burwell, Ontario: Erie Publishing, 1973), 110; Sagard et al., *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, 98, & 101-102.

encouraging and cheering-up individuals especially in traditional ceremonial, diplomatic, and commercial situations such as adoptions, condolence rites, and murder.<sup>122</sup> Wyandots believed that wampum served as a release to the grief brought on from losing loved ones.<sup>123</sup> Just like the majority of community goods and tools, women held the principal role of constructing wampum beads.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, women specifically decorated themselves and their clothing lavishly in wampum during and after the 1620s.<sup>125</sup> Typically, women used coloured porcupine quills, bone beads, and wampum to adorn their clothing and jewellery while they extracted oil from seeds for everyone's hair.<sup>126</sup> Women were central to the construction and manufacturing of the beads, as well as the construction of jewellery, belts, and bags. These beads provided emotional healing when Wyandots indulged in soul desires during times of intense grief because these items inspired positive feelings.

Using wampum, bone, and wood materials, women solidified feeling rules surrounding bodily adornment and positive well-being. From a young age, mothers and grandmothers encouraged young girls to participate in bodily adornment. Following the first few days of birth, the family pierced ears of female babies for jewellery.<sup>127</sup> Girls and women never took off their bracelets, collars, or earrings during public displays like dancing where clothing was not required.<sup>128</sup> Creese also noted that grooming and dressing the body were central to restoring health and emotional well-being because these objects sparked positive feelings.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Kathryn Labelle, "Faire la Chaudière", The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," In *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 3; Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 21.

<sup>123</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 21.

<sup>124</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 161 & 239.

<sup>125</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 21.

<sup>126</sup> Sagard et al., *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, 102.

<sup>127</sup> Tait, *The Petuns*, 43.

<sup>128</sup> Tooker, *Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 77.

<sup>129</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 21.

Simultaneously, women reinforced social norms that these objects should create positivity and healthy well-being established Wyandot feeling rules. Since bodily adornment was pertinent to community and personal healing (for both men and women) as an inner soul desire, grandmothers and mothers influenced their daughters to contribute to emotion work at a very early age. By passing on the traditional knowledge and feeling rules surrounding bodily adornment to their children, women ensured future generations of Wyandots positive ways of healing.

The influence of women's emotion work regarding deathways was not restricted to domestic spaces. Clan mothers often chose chiefs and headmen in preparation for engaging in war.<sup>130</sup> Women's agency in the political sphere was so formidable that it was even recognized by outsiders. More specifically related to emotion work and burial practices, women instigated and coordinated mourning wars, which was the most common reason Wyandots went to war. Mourning wars were at the very heart of emotion work. When a family member died, the head clan mother would call for a mourning war to compensate for her family's loss.<sup>131</sup> Upon deciding to go to war, women supported warriors with necessary goods including weapons and food supply (usually bags of cornmeal), which were essential to any successful campaign. This support aided in the upkeep and healing of Wyandot warriors during peak emotional events. More importantly, these wars allowed for community healing because they were a form of compensation for losing a loved one. Neglecting this act of compensation would allow grief, anger, and other negative feelings to takeover anyone effected by that particular death and

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<sup>130</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 2, 29-30.

<sup>131</sup> Most often mourning wars were the result of an inadequate gift being offered to the family of the deceased to compensate their loss. Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 33, & 36-37.

diminish their wellbeing. Women worked behind the scenes to ensure that family and friends were properly compensated for their loss to shift negative feelings and restore community health.

Emotional regulation allowed Wyandot communities to heal and provided guidance during peak emotional events, especially during times of loss. Using material objects and emotion, women established clear feeling rules throughout their community. To ensure future Wyandots with ways to respond to intense emotional experiences, women then passed on this knowledge to their children. As a response to traumatic or intense circumstances, women provided all the necessary goods, particularly wampum beads, for Wyandots to engage in soul desires such as ceremony, smoking, and adorning oneself. A large part of soul desires and healing was connected to gift-giving. Consequently, women organized mourning wars as direct forms of compensation for losing loved ones. These were the main ways women conducted emotion work in their pre-contact communities.

#### Early-Middle Woodland Period (0-800 A.D.): Corn and Matriarchy

The introduction of maize drastically changed Wyandot lifestyles as increases in food production resulted in larger communities. Corn transformed economics and socio-political structures as well as marked a shift from individual to communal values.<sup>132</sup> Burial sites present material evidence of some of the ways corn changed Wyandot deathways during the end of the Early Woodland Period. The Pointe-du-Buisson 5 site (c. 500 A.D.) illustrates the start of multiple burial practices in early Wyandot society, meaning more than one person would be

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<sup>132</sup> In the academic records different archeologists and anthropologists use slightly different time periods. I have used these specific timeframes and labelling following archaeologist Ronald F. Williamson. See, Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Journal of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, no. 94 (2014): 1-144; Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald F. Williamson, *Bones of the Ancestors: The Archaeology and Osteobiography of the Moatfield Ossuary* (Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003), 90.

buried in a single grave. This cemetery, located near Lake St. Louis (a widening in the St. Lawrence River), consists of many individual burials and some burials that contained two to three individuals, which perhaps represented nuclear family deaths.<sup>133</sup> Similar evidence is found at the Winona Rockshelter burial site (c. 830-860 A.D.) located in the Niagra Escarpment near Winona, Ontario.<sup>134</sup> The site includes the incomplete skeletons of an adult male, a young adult female, a child, an infant (all from the same biological community), and a single ancaster chert flake.<sup>135</sup> Significantly, dental analysis of the remains demonstrates signs of maize consumption.<sup>136</sup> Scholars have developed well defined theories on the connection between maize based societies and rise of female leadership.<sup>137</sup> After the adoption of maize horticulture and other cultigens, the Wyandot population severely increased, reinforcing the reliance on community fields and foods. Along with increased populations came competition over natural resources, which generated greater conflict and need for people to work together to create solid communities. Women were central to this organization as they oversaw the community fields that fed the growing population, and controlled birth rates as they implemented strategies to minimize pregnancies through lengthy nursing of the young.<sup>138</sup> This control laid the groundwork for women's active roles as leaders in emotion work and burial practices.

#### Early Iroquoian Period (800-1200 A.D.): Peace and Ceremony

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<sup>133</sup> Pfeiffer, et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 90.

<sup>134</sup> Michael W. Spence and William A. Fox. "The Winona Rockshelter Burial," *Ontario Archaeology*, 53 (1992): 27.

<sup>135</sup> Spence et al., "The Winona Rockshelter Burial," 27.

<sup>136</sup> Spence et al., "The Winona Rockshelter Burial," 38-39.

<sup>137</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976); Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014).

<sup>138</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 132-133.

The consistent use of maize between 500-800 A.D. marks the end of the Woodland Period and a transition to the Early Iroquoian Period. During the Iroquoian Period, many Wyandot villages were isolated and palisaded with five to six longhouses along the north shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.<sup>139</sup> These villages were likely matrilineal and relied on maize, fish, berries, and deer for sustenance. With minimal military threats and large gains from agricultural crops, Wyandot society grew and developed elaborate cultural, spiritual, social, and political customs. Burials reflect this transitional time period, with evidence of more elaborate and multifaceted funeral ceremonies taking place.

Wyandots, for instance, deliberately manipulated the bones of their kin before placing the bodies inside the grave. Another Wyandot feature of this period is the inclusion of these manipulated bones in ossuary burials. One of the earliest examples of the first ossuaries highlighting female authority and multi-faceted ceremonies is the Miller site (800-1000 A.D.). During the spring of 1958 outside of Pickering village (east of Toronto, Ontario), the Miller Paving Company discovered the site when they were determining where to pave.<sup>140</sup> Under the direction of Walter Kenyon, a small crew returned to excavate the site on 2 March 1958. The ossuary was three and a half feet deep and six feet wide. There were disarticulated remains of about thirteen individuals in the bottom of the pit: cremated remains underneath the bones that might have been kept in a container, although no evidence of a container was found; a newborn infant skeleton in the fetal position on its left side and the articulated bones of one hand and one foot along the eastern edge; an articulated left forearm in the northwest quadrant; along with several grave goods and rim sherds. There were two torsos placed on their backs with heads

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<sup>139</sup> Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 900-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 29.

<sup>140</sup> Walter A. Kenyon, *The Miller Site* (Royal Ontario Museum: University of Toronto, 1968), 2.

pointing north with five skulls in the pelvic girdles at the bottom of the pit. Along with these skulls, the crew excavated one bone harpoon, two sawn bone fragments, long-bones of a large mammal, four pectoral spines of a catfish, bones from two loons, and a small clam shell. The bones had been deliberately modified and thoughtfully placed inside the gravesite.<sup>141</sup>

Furthermore, the site contained many items of emotion work (weaponry, tools, and perhaps jewellery)—all items constructed and provided by women. These goods ensured the emotional healing of the community in a time of intense grief for the living and deceased participants, solidifying positive feeling rules surrounding gift-giving and bodily adornment. Lastly, this material culture enhanced the significance of the event for participating Wyandots by creating bonds and memories associated with the space.

The Rogers Ossuary (c. 1100 A.D.) signifies the important role communal burial had in the Early Iroquoian Period. In 1935 and 1938, Wilfred Jury from the University of Toronto excavated the Rogers Ossuary in the Grand River area south of Brantford, Ontario on Major Sydney Rogers' property.<sup>142</sup> This site represents a large communal burial that contained at least 28 individuals of all ages and sexes. Since only a portion of the site was excavated, archeologists suggested there are more individuals present at the site than the ones they found.<sup>143</sup> As Grant Mullen and Robert Hoppa propose,

the representation of all age groups in the sample, from foetal [sic] to old adult, indicated either accumulation of the dead over an extended time period or mass death through disease or warfare... While this might be attributed to a change from an annual to less frequent, event-associated custom, perhaps a result of the death of a leader or the movement of the village.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> See, Kenyon, *The Miller Site*, 2-3.

<sup>142</sup> Today this site lies under about one-hundred feet of landfill at the Brantford Landfill site. The collection of materials excavated is housed at the University of Toronto archives and became known as the Brantford Indian Collection in the 1960s. Pfeiffer, et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 101; Grant J. Mullen and Robert D. Hoppa, "Rogers Ossuary (AgHb-131): An Early Iroquois Burial Feature from Brantford Township," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1992): 32.

<sup>143</sup> Mullen et al., "Rogers Ossuary," 32-37.

<sup>144</sup> Mullen et al., "Rogers Ossuary," 37.



The Rogers site is significant because of its size; it is larger than any other ossuary before and during the Early Iroquoian Period. This could reflect the growing population of the Wyandot due to the adoption of a maize-dominant subsistence or the cooperation of a large number of individuals bonding over their dead relatives. With such a large population, ceremonies, including burials, became community events with elaborate orchestrations. Women were at the centre of these events, designing wampum, constructing jewellery, creating food, gathering medicines, and caring for Ancestral remains.

#### The Middle Iroquoian Period (C. 1290-1420 A.D.): Clan Mothers

At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Wyandot's population tripled from 8,000 to 24,000.<sup>145</sup> The population increase required the Wyandot to establish more formal structures for decision-making, political organizations, and domestic structures to survive.<sup>146</sup> Consequently, the fourteenth century marked the initial confederation of the Wyandot.<sup>147</sup> The Wyandot Confederacy coordinated even more complex burial protocols to focus on the community rather than singular families.

While government structures solidified, substantial population growth resulted in increased longhouse and village sizes.<sup>148</sup> The increase in population intensified agricultural practices because more food was needed to support larger groups of people. In addition, these sites were occupied longer, with an average of twenty to thirty years. These villages were occupied all year and were built around a multi-linear system where women worked together to

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<sup>145</sup> Warrick, *A Population History*, 244.

<sup>146</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 14.

<sup>147</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 1.

<sup>148</sup> Warrick, *A Population History*, 29, 141-142, and 182.

cultivate crops.<sup>149</sup> There were some fences and separate house clusters, which some scholars have suggested indicates the early signs of clan systems.

Historian Bruce Trigger argues that this growth necessitated the development of integration, conflict resolution, decision-making, and alliance building.<sup>150</sup> While communities developed political and economic systems, they simultaneously established social and cultural traditions strengthening emotion work in the Iroquoian culture pattern manifesting in smoking, bodily adornment, and burial rites.<sup>151</sup> By 1330, smoking pipes had achieved high popularity across the confederacy and bodily adornment became more abundant and elaborate.<sup>152</sup> Wyandots wore their hair long and often slicked with oil (especially girls and women).<sup>153</sup> Wyandots refined their burial practices by stepping away from familial private burial to community-wide events—a defining feature of this period.<sup>154</sup> Community-wide ossuary burials took place every twenty years and became the preferred method of interment of the dead.<sup>155</sup> Similar to previous centuries, women were highly involved in both the preparation for burial of bodies and goods for ceremony. As they emerged as Clan Mothers and community leaders controlling domestic spaces, they also became leaders in ceremonies providing guidance for individuals in appropriate responses to traumatic events.

Another distinction in these burial practices was the emergence of a primary burial before being interred in the ossuary. During the Middle Iroquoian period, deceased Wyandots received primary burial in the ground, on scaffolds, or in bark huts close to local villages. Then these

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<sup>149</sup> Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Journal of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, no. 94 (2014): 8-11.

<sup>150</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 11 and 93.

<sup>151</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 26.

<sup>152</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 26.

<sup>153</sup> Sagard, *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, 144.

<sup>154</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 11.

<sup>155</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 9; Warrick, *A Population History*, 29.

individuals were given secondary burial at the time of village relocation in an ossuary with many lavish grave goods and their community relatives. Since these spaces are domestic and close to or inside the longhouses, it is likely that the women were responsible for protecting these Ancestral remains, especially when the men were hunting, trading, or participating in warfare. Additionally, women often created the necessary goods, tools, and food required for their communities and important ceremonies.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, it is likely that the community, mainly women, protected and maintained these bodies between death and burial in the ossuary because women oversaw the spaces the bones were kept and spent most of their time in these spaces.

The Tabor Hill Ossuary (1250-1300 A.D.) reflects how increased population affected burial practices. In September 1956, the site was discovered during residential development in what is now Scarborough Township, Toronto. This site contained two ossuaries thirty-eight feet apart, one large (roughly four by three meters) and one small (approximately three by two meters).<sup>157</sup> Together, these ossuaries housed the remains of 523 secondary burials, some of which were bundle burials and cremations of all ages and sexes, and 1,325 artefacts.<sup>158</sup> Two separate ossuaries suggest that this was a place where two communities came together to bury their dead, perhaps solidifying or renewing an alliance.<sup>159</sup> As the population increased and their territory expanded, the Wyandot had intensified contact with neighbouring communities. To build and create relationships with their neighbours, the Wyandot used their most sacred ceremony (ossuary internment) tied to strong ancestral relationships to come together as a

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<sup>156</sup> Trigger states that women were responsible for processing food, sewing, and tending children while simultaneously attending to domestic fields. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 36-45; Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 11.

<sup>157</sup> C. Churcher and W. Kenyon, "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries: A Study in Iroquois Demography," *Human Biology; an International Record of Research* 32 (1960): 249 & 251; Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 102.

<sup>158</sup> Churcher et al., "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries," 251 and 253.

<sup>159</sup> Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 102.

unified group.<sup>160</sup> Women were instrumental in this alliance-building process in both the care of bones and grave goods, preparation of the food, and consultation with male leaders about allies.

The use of ossuaries in the fourteenth century reflects trends of community burial and inclusion of grave goods for the afterlife created through emotion work. Discovered in 1977 during the construction of a fence around a soccer field, the Moatfield Ossuary (1280-1320 A.D.) overlooked the Don River flood plain about fifteen kilometers from Lake Ontario.<sup>161</sup> It contained the remains of roughly eighty-seven people and a number of artefacts including: one ceramic pipe stem fragment, ceramic body sherds, a full ceramic pipe with a turtle effigy, and animal bones of deer, mouse, and bear.<sup>162</sup> There were several bundle burials arranged horizontally along the perimeter of the pit, several skulls placed in the center, and an arrangement of bones in-between the bundles and skulls. The bodies were in varying states of decomposition and displayed no signs of cut marks, which suggests natural decomposition (primary burial) before interment into the ossuary. Another significant aspect of this site, according to archaeologists Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald Williamson, is that the deceased were from several related communities, which shows community cooperation between separate villages and alliance-building in the 1300s.<sup>163</sup> This site demonstrates the growing complexity of Wyandot burial practices and women's relationships with the bones. The women's care for Ancestral remains extends beyond the funeral itself, including the time between primary and secondary burial. More significantly, bundle burials were becoming increasingly common.

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<sup>160</sup> Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2011); Kathryn Labelle, " "Faire la Chaudière", The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebort and Guillaume Teasdale (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2013).

<sup>161</sup> Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 6-7 and 19.

<sup>162</sup> Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 113; Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 21.

<sup>163</sup> Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 102, 144, & 335.

Women not only cared for these bundles until ossuary interment, but also constructed the animal skin bags for the bundles before intentionally positioning the bones inside.

A ceramic turtle pipe was discovered on the floor of the ossuary underneath the bones and grave goods. The turtle effigy on the pipe depicts the Wyandot creation story that the world was created on a turtle's back.<sup>164</sup> This demonstrates ways in which the Wyandot memorialized their traditions, embedding them in their cultural practices, and burials. Furthermore, the pipe provides proof of emotion work. Smoking tobacco in primarily clay pipes was a daily, sometimes religious, activity in Wyandot villages as "pipes were [the] ideal media for facilitating interpersonal attachments" to physical objects and were used politically as gifts.<sup>165</sup> As it was often the women's responsibility to construct the village pottery, it is likely that a woman (perhaps multiple) created this effigy pipe to record aspects of their history in physical objects and provide their dead with necessary tools for the afterlife. Recording aspects of their history and creating culturally significant objects further solidified the relationships between the Ancestors, the land, and the living Wyandots. Moreover, women are using emotions to regulate and denote feeling rules outlining appropriate, healthy responses to trauma ensuring their communities ways to overcome intense emotional experiences.

In the 1300s, there was an emergence of specialty sites dedicated to preparing souls for the final journey to the Land of the Dead. The Hutchinson site located in present day Scarborough, Ontario, for instance, contained two occupation areas each denoted by a single longhouse about 110 meters apart. The first longhouse was 28 meters long, 7.1 meters wide, contained two hearths, and had well-defined entrances with wind-breaker like structures. The second longhouse was 28.8 meters long and 7.7 meters wide, and sheltered six pits and a sweat

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<sup>164</sup> Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 334.

<sup>165</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 23 and 25.

lodge.<sup>166</sup> However, the walls were not as heavily fortified and the entrances were open. The arrangement of the interior features of the longhouses do not suggest that interior activity was formal or particularly orderly, which might indicate that the area was not occupied for extended amounts of time and was perhaps a seasonal site.<sup>167</sup>

Two clusters of features (the pits) and posts north of the second longhouse showed signs of intense use. Archeologist David Robertson argues that “this portion of the site seems to have been used for temporary burial of deceased members of the community and, perhaps, the completion of rites associated with their deaths or the handling of their remains.”<sup>168</sup> One of the pits was a temporary grave (115 cm long, 90 cm wide, by 12 cm deep) that contained over 80 bone fragments from at least one adult and two juveniles or the two large shallow pits that yielded over 200 bone fragments from at least one adult, a small adult or older juvenile, and one juvenile. One of the burials was the grave of an adult female who was accompanied by a ceramic smoking pipe with a barrel-shaped bowl. Other artifacts recovered from the site were tools associated with bone alterations like perforators, awls, and bodkins manufactured from animal bone such as a white-tailed deer, a dog, or racoon.<sup>169</sup> Robertson argues this specialty site could represent one of the earliest examples of special village location (like cemeteries) dedicated to housing the bodies until secondary ossuary burial.<sup>170</sup> Both the thoughtful bone modification and deliberate inclusion of the smoking pipe exemplify emotion work. Wyandots carefully processed Ancestral remains for burial because of the emotional attachments and memories associated with

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<sup>166</sup> Robertson, "The Hutchinson Site," 97, 100-102, & 117.

<sup>167</sup> Robertson, "The Hutchinson Site," 100-102 and 110.

<sup>168</sup> Robertson, "The Hutchinson Site," 102.

<sup>169</sup> A bodkin is a sharp, slender instrument for making holes; a blunt needle. "Bodkin," Merriam-Webster (Accessed May 05, 2019), <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bodkin>; Robertson, "The Hutchinson Site," 104.

<sup>170</sup> See, Robertson, "The Hutchinson Site," 104 & 106.

their Ancestors, as well as to initiate healing. Similarly, the ceramic pipe and memories/activities associated with smoking evoke positive feelings and personal wellbeing.

#### Late Iroquoian Period (1400-1500 A.D.): Violence

Warfare and violence typified fifteenth century Wyandot society.<sup>171</sup> At the same time, Gary Warrick estimates that by the mid-1400s the Wyandot population grew to 30,000.<sup>172</sup> The reasons for the increased violence could have been due to a variety of factors. The large population amplified pressure on community fields and access to resources causing groups to venture outside their territories. Violence could also have resulted from young warriors attempting to gain status in battle or by taking tools and goods from neighbouring communities during a raid.<sup>173</sup> This violence caused changes to Wyandot burials.

The Draper site located near West Duffins Creek in present-day Pickering, Ontario reflects the consequences of this period of conflict with its deliberate defensive precautions. The Draper site is a mid-late fifteenth century village that was heavily palisaded with three rows of walls.<sup>174</sup> The site was covered in scattered human bone and some of the in-house burials contained remains with projectile tips or signs of being scalped.<sup>175</sup> Another dimension of the Draper site was the large number of in-house burials. In times of high mortality, the community was not always able to have elaborate, lavish funerals or gather the necessary materials because of the constraints of war. In-house burials refer to alternative types of interment other than

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<sup>171</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 11.

<sup>172</sup> Warrick, *A Population History*, 11 and 185.

<sup>173</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 11 & 14.

<sup>174</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 20.

<sup>175</sup> There have been many different Wendat sites that contained in-house burial including: Antrex, Serena, Bennet, Myers Road, Dunsmore, Walkington 2, White, Draper, Mackenzie, Benson, MacPherson, Ball, Roebuck, Steward, Robitaille, Cahaigne, and Hood. The Draper site included a high number of in-house burials compared to these other sites. Forrest, "The In-house Burials," 97-98 and 102; Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 20.

community ossuary funerals, especially regarding infants, that usually takes place inside the confines of settlements, particularly longhouses on a scaffold or in the ground. The Draper site had fourteen in-house burials, twelve of which were children under three years old. The high number of in-house burials could represent a disruption to burials due to increased conflict and violence that occurred due to the population expansion. These in-house burials could also represent the establishment of the belief that not all souls were strong enough to make the treacherous journey to the Land of Souls and thus should not be included in the ossuary. The Wyandot believed that infants, young children, elderly, and those who died violent deaths could not travel to the afterlife; their souls remained in the villages and community fields. Burying infants and small children near pathways, roads, community fields, or other places of the domestic sphere was a practice to encourage their souls to impregnate Wyandot women walking by.<sup>176</sup> As the beliefs surrounding children's souls developed into the seventeenth century, women were critical to healing the friends and family of the deceased because lost children might be reborn into Wyandot society. Women were even more so intrinsically linked to in-house burials of juveniles and children since it was the women's duty to protect and maintain these spaces.

#### Late Pre-contact Period (1500-C. 1600 A.D.): The Wyandot Confederacy

As cultural, political, social, and economic protocols developed throughout the 1400s, violence between communities subsided and domestic life became arranged around large integrated villages. Social relations were structured around councils and clan systems with female leaders who often led decision-making and village planning. By the end of the sixteenth century, final political alliances formed to create the confederacy that Jesuit missionaries

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<sup>176</sup> Forrest, "The In-house Burials," 97, 99, & 113.



observed in the 1600s. Villages at this time were heavily fortified and sustained an average of 2,000 people in longhouses about 75 meters long. There was a high degree of trade between the Wyandot, Algonquins, and Iroquois (with European goods circulating as early as 1550). Village cemeteries, usually located adjacent to the villages, started to become more prominent in Wyandot society following the 1500s.<sup>177</sup>

The well-known Mantle site (1500-1530 A.D.), renamed the Jean-Baptiste Laine site, is an early sixteenth century site with enough longhouses to house over 1800 people at one time located in the town of Whitchurch-Stouffville, north-east of Toronto.<sup>178</sup> Although the assumed associated ossuary has not been found, Mantle has a cemetery adjacent to the village about forty meters away.<sup>179</sup> The excavation yielded over 18,000 artefacts. The cemetery was composed of thirty-seven burial clusters mainly containing adults with juveniles classified as primary inhumations (twenty-three burials); secondary inhumations (six burials); or bundle inhumations (five burials). Only a few grave goods were found in three of the clusters including a discoidal shell bead, a tubular bone bead in a left ear, and two bone beads in an individual's skull.<sup>180</sup> Although not many goods were recovered, these items directly relate to the soul desire of adorning oneself. If Wyandots rejected or neglected adorning themselves in both the physical and spiritual worlds, he or she would become unhealthy and most likely depressed. The beads were left with (and attached) to the deceased individuals because they would need these objects to engage in soul desires and healing in the afterlife.

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<sup>177</sup> The main Wyandot communities that came together at this time included the Rock, Bear, Cord, and Deer Nations with a few smaller groups that joined them at different periods as allies against the neighbouring Haudenosaunee. The Tionontati were part of this confederacy. These alliances have remained in-tact since their creation through to modern Wendat communities. See, Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 14-15, & 29.

<sup>178</sup> Jennifer Birch and Ronald Williamson, *The Mantle Site: An Archaeological History of an Ancestral Wendat Community* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2013), 1; Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 20-21.

<sup>179</sup> Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 20.

<sup>180</sup> Birch et al., 153-155.

By the 1550s, Wyandots preferred community ossuary burial. Reflecting this, the Poole-Rose Ossuary near Cobourg, Ontario has the remains of 300 individuals (including some bundle burials). At least 16% of the bones had cut marks on them, clearly demonstrating that they were processed (modified) before being interred.<sup>181</sup> The bones were all in different states of decomposition, which indicates that these were the bones of the dead over roughly a ten to twelve-year period. The soil deposit around the bones indicated that the bones were interred in a large singular community event.<sup>182</sup> Alongside the developments of Wyandot society in general, ossuary burial became elaborate and was the most common way Wyandot peoples cared for their dead. Women had key roles within these burials.

The role of women and their emotion work during this period is evidenced in several ways. First, the creation and wrapping of the bundles once an individual had died was a direct response to dealing with emotional trauma. The creation of the bundles began the healing process during a time of tremendous grief. Women took on the tough role of cleaning and processing the body on behalf of their family and friends so other Wyandots did not have to experience this deeply intense emotional experience and could maintain their overall wellbeing. This protection could sometimes last years. Second, the decade of care for Ancestral remains ensured the ease of their community's survival. While women focused on protecting the bones and preparing the bodies for funerals, men and children did not have to re-experience the loss and had time to hunt and participate in soul desires like smoking, feasting, dancing, and/or singing. Third, women continued their work in the construction of jewellery and adornment as

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<sup>181</sup> Cut marks on bones could be evidence of violent deaths. I argue that these marks clearly indicate cut marks for burial because individuals who died violent deaths did not join the others in the ossuary and were buried separately. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vol. IX (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959) 269 & 273. Pfeiffer and Williamson also denote the cut marks to be post-mortem in Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 107.

<sup>182</sup> Heather McKillop and Lawrence Jackson, "Discovery and Excavations at the Poole-Rose Ossuary," *Arch Notes* 91-1 (February 1991): 10.

well as gathering food and medicines for the feast. These items were significant for individuals in the afterlife but also for the living, who were gifting the materials as Wyandots saw gift-giving as a form of healing. All these items and actions contributed to the wellbeing of the Confederacy and those participating in the feast as jewellery, clothing adornments, and fine skins sparked positive thoughts and feelings. Combined, these practices allowed the Wyandot to renew their connection between the land and people through emotion work and burials.

#### Colonial Encounters (1609-1636 A.D.): Ossuaries and the Feast of Souls

The initial contact between European Settlers and the Wyandot Confederacy took place in 1609. By 1610, French Settlers and Wyandot had established trade partnerships that led to explorer Samuel de Champlain and his men wintering with the *Arendarhonon* (Rock Nation) along the St. Lawrence river.<sup>183</sup> At first, cultural interactions such as this changed little for the Wyandots.<sup>184</sup> But within a few decades French missionaries, including the Recollets and Jesuits, lived among the Wyandot, resulting in the spread of infectious diseases such as measles and smallpox. Throughout 1633-1640 a series of epidemics occurred that severely reduced the Wyandot population by two thirds. As more Settlers came to the area, Christian conversions became more common, especially during the 1640s in Attignawantan and Attigeeongahac villages after the establishment of the fortified Jesuit mission of Sainte-Marie.<sup>185</sup>

At the time of European contact, the Wyandot were organized into large villages. Village populations ranged from a few hundred to a few thousand people in size. These villages

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<sup>183</sup> Champlain was accompanied by French Recollect missionaries. The Recollets were an order of missionaries that developed out of St. Francis of Assisi's Franciscan Order established in about 1210. Champlain originally wanted the Jesuits as his first choice to bring Christianity to bolster relationships for the fur trade, but ultimately the Recollets expressed interest. Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014); 167-176; Warrick, *A Population History*, 30.

<sup>184</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*; Warrick, *A Population History*, 30.

<sup>185</sup> Warrick, *A Population History*, 30-31.

relocated approximately every decade, sometimes as a result of undesirable relations with neighbouring communities. Women successfully farmed village crops of fields of corn, beans, and squash (commonly known as “the three sisters”), while men hunted deer, constructed palisades, and established trading brigades. All of the work done to support and sustain the community was centered around multi-family matrilineal longhouses. Decision-making took place in village councils in which senior women such as clan leaders and/or Elders appointed male headmen. Much like the previous historic period, women still controlled the domestic spaces like the longhouse, the village fields, the cemeteries (and associated ossuaries), as well as worked behind the scenes in the political sphere. Women also continued to produce community necessities and raise children.<sup>186</sup>

Similarly, Wyandot burial protocols were highly developed and complex in this period. The most common type of burial was through the Feast of Souls ceremony. Jesuits remarked in the *Relations* that Wyandot burials were impressive and intricate stating, “you might say that all their exertions, their labors, and their trading, concern almost entirely the amassing of something which to honour the dead.”<sup>187</sup> Only on these special occasions would the treasures of the Wyandot Confederacy be displayed. These displays included: fur robes, bone jewellery, beaded bags, lavish axes, and other war weaponry—all items that were constructed by the women and young girls of the Confederacy. When someone fell ill and was near death, the Headman would call a village-wide farewell feast and the ill individual would indulge in the best food, smoke, and sometimes sing.<sup>188</sup> Following their death, the community would participate in two main

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<sup>186</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 18-19.

<sup>187</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vol. IX (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 265.

<sup>188</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 128.

burial events: primary inhumation (private funerals) and secondary inhumation (community ossuary burial).

Primary burial took place immediately following an individual's death. Over a three-day period, the family mourned their loved one and women prepared the body for the funeral.<sup>189</sup> Immediately following death, the women would wrap the individual in their finest clothing and place the body in a crouched, flexed position, inside fur robes on bark mats.<sup>190</sup> The women cared for the body, dressing/adorning and painting the individual, staying with the body alone until it was placed in the cemetery.<sup>191</sup> Meanwhile, the Headman announced the death to the community and called for a village-wide feast to honour the dead.<sup>192</sup> At these feasts many gifts were redistributed throughout the community as part of emotional healing to console people, as well as for the deceased for the afterlife including: wampum beads or collars, combs, gourds of oil, weapons like tomahawks, food, pipes, and pottery.<sup>193</sup> On the third day, the body was taken to the village ceremony and the funeral participants feasted.<sup>194</sup> In the village cemeteries, the deceased was buried in the ground in a bark tomb (sometimes marked by a small bark hut or shrine) or above ground on a wood scaffold, where the individual remained until the Feast of Souls.<sup>195</sup>

As extensions of the village space, women were responsible for the village cemeteries. The women cared for these spaces, and the bones (souls) of their relatives inside these spaces in the form of emotion work. A large part of this emotion work was public mourning on behalf of their families and communities to honour the deceased individual. For instance, women did not participate in any soul desires, did not bathe, wear wampum, clean or oil their hair, entertain

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<sup>189</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. IX, 269.

<sup>190</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 129.

<sup>191</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 129.

<sup>192</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. IX, 269.

<sup>193</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 130.

<sup>194</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. IX, 269 & 273.

<sup>195</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 129-130.

guests, or attend village feasts.<sup>196</sup> Instead, women ate cold food, cut off pieces of their hair, dirty their faces with charcoal, and sit in silence for days at a time.<sup>197</sup> In the death of children, women in the family mourned for at least a year.<sup>198</sup> Widows would lay on a mat for ten days after primary burial, and remarriage did not take place for at least a year. The women in the villages did not attempt any spiritual healing for a period of time following a person's death and used their emotional labour to mourn on behalf of their families to ensure efficient healing for their communities and honour the deceased. In addition to prepping the body for burial, women revisited the village cemeteries to care for these spaces just as they did for the longhouse and community fields.<sup>199</sup> Those who visited the graves were called *aikeonde*.<sup>200</sup> Continually visiting and maintaining these sites allowed women to create bonds and attachments throughout their traditional territory. Women were the main participants in primary burial through these acts of emotion work done on behalf of their communities including the time following the primary burial until the Feast of Souls.

Secondary burials were marked by the Feast of Souls, a community ossuary ceremony.<sup>201</sup> The Feast of Souls at Ossossané in 1636 (near present-day Ossossane Beach, Ontario) provides essential details of the complex nature of Wyandot deathways at the time of European contact. The ceremony that usually took place every ten to twelve years, was witnessed by the Jesuits, who were in fact invited to take part in the sacred burial. Jesuits Father Jean de Brébeuf left a detailed record of this renowned event. According to Brébeuf, the preparations for the feast

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<sup>196</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 133.

<sup>197</sup> In Wyandot society hair was only cut in times of great loss and sacrifice. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. IX, 273, 275, & 276; Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 133.

<sup>198</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. IX, 276.

<sup>199</sup> Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 133.

<sup>200</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. IX, 281.

<sup>201</sup> The Feast of Souls or Yandatsa Ehen (the Old Feast) ceremony has often been referred to as the Kettle, the Feast of the Dead, or *La fête des morts* in the historical records. Labelle, "Faire la Chaudière," 15.

began on the orders of the *par excellence* (Master of Ceremony).<sup>202</sup> The women and children retrieved the dead from the village cemeteries, covered them with their finest furs, and carried them to the ossuary on their shoulders. Once all the participants arrived to the host village, women took great care in preparing the food for the feast, and processing the body for interment stripping away any remaining flesh from the bones and re-covering the bodies in fine robes or new adorned fur bags. Meanwhile men, women, and children participated in smoking, dancing, singing, playing games, and gift-giving. Once the bodies were ready for burial, the feast took place. The following day, the villages gathered around the large burial pit and interred their loved ones and grave goods. Then the participants gave one another gifts and gathered for the ceremonial mixing of the bones by five or six people in the pit. After everything was placed inside the ossuary, the pit was covered with mats and bark, along with sand and wood.<sup>203</sup> This ceremony could take up to ten days. The burial contained over 1000 individuals with two clear bundle burials of a young adult and a second older person.<sup>204</sup> Many different grave goods were recovered from the site. Some of the grave goods included: shell beads, cylindrical wampum beads, stone projectile points, stone gaming pieces, a green serpentine pipe, a clay pipe, catlinite beads, fabrics, beaver skins, glad beads, bracelets, iron knives, copper kettles, a green wine glass stem, rings, and a birch basket. Ossossané signifies one of the last known ossuaries before the dispersal that occurred with the direct intent of forming alliances while giving proper burial rites to their kin.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. X, 279-281, 293-295, & 303-304.

<sup>203</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. X, 304.

<sup>204</sup> Pfeiffer et al., *Bones of the Ancestors*, 109.

<sup>205</sup> For further discussion on how the Wyandot used the Feast of Souls to build political and economic relationships see, Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2011); Kathryn Labelle, "Faire la Chaudière", The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636", in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebort and Guillaume Teasdale, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2013); Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not*

Missionary accounts of this ceremony reveal the vast and varied extent of women's emotion work in burials during this period. In addition to preparing the necessary tools and grave gifts for the burial seen in previous sites, seventeenth-century Wyandot women held the most important roles in this ceremony—caring for the bones (souls), cleaning the bodies in preparation for interment, and engaging in the deep emotional expression of crying. Once a Feast of Souls was called by the host village, the women retrieved their kin from the village cemeteries, so they could clean, wash, and strip the bones of any remaining flesh. Missionary Gabriel Sagard remarked,

The women who have to bring the bones of their relatives from the cemeteries for them, and if the flesh is not entirely destroyed they clean it off and take away the bones. These they wash and wrap up in fine new beaver-skins, with white glass beads and wampum necklaces, which the relations and friends contribute and bring saying, "Here, this is what I am giving for the bones of my father, my mother, my uncle, cousin, or other relative". And putting them into a new bag they carry with them on their backs, also adorn the top of the bag with many ornaments, with necklaces, bracelets, and other decorations.<sup>206</sup>

Women took great care in these tasks. This care of the Ancestors and their remains fulfills emotion work in multiple ways. Just as they had in previous centuries, women constructed jewellery and grave goods for their relatives (both alive and deceased) so Wyandots could engage in emotional healing in the Feast of Souls and in the afterlife. This care is also displayed in the way the women prepared the bones for interment. Disarticulating and washing the bones was a careful, methodical duty that women did on behalf of their living relatives to ease the passing of their loved ones.

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*Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014).

<sup>206</sup> Sagard, *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, 211-212.



Not only did the women take great care over preparing the bones for the journey to the afterlife, the women also wept over the souls as they cleaned the bones. A Jesuit recalled a woman partaking in this duty for her family,

I admired the tenderness of one women toward her father and children; she is the daughter of a Chief who died at an advanced age, and was once very influential in the Country; she combed his hair and handled his bones, one after the other, with as much affection as if she would have desired to restore life to him; she put beside him his *Atsatonowai*, that is, his package of Council sticks, which are all the books and papers of the country. As for her little children, she put on their arms bracelets of Porcelain and glass beads, and bathed their bones with her tears; they could scarcely tear her away from these, but they insisted.<sup>207</sup>

Through burials Wyandot women conditioned their communities towards their traditional tools/goods, spaces, and Ancestors. Deep emotional expression in the form of crying is what archaeologist John Creese would call political emotion work through orienting community behaviours towards people, places, and things.<sup>208</sup> As the women cried over their relative's souls, Wyandots involved in the burial developed an array of memories, attachments, and commitments to their Ancestors and their land. Combined, these peak experiences, associated attachments, and Ancestors created enduring connections between the Wyandots and their descendants.

Scholars contend that the Feast of Souls was the most revered ceremony of the early Wyandot people that brought Wyandots together to ensure the souls of their kin could safely travel to the afterlife.<sup>209</sup> Historian Georges Sioui (Huron-Wendat) asserts that the Feast of Souls represented the entire Wyandot way of thinking, that everything is interconnected and those

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<sup>207</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vol. X (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 293.

<sup>208</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 17.

<sup>209</sup> See, Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976); Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2011); Kathryn Labelle, "Faire la Chaudière", The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," In *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, edited by Robert Englebort and Guillaume Teasdale, (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2013).

participating desired to live in peace.<sup>210</sup> Erik R. Seeman looked at the Feast of Souls to understand how missionaries viewed and learned from the feast.<sup>211</sup> He argued that these burial practices acted as a platform for Wyandots and Christians to bond because “even though the two groups spoke different languages, they shared a common tongue based on the veneration of human remains and the centrality of mortuary practices” in their societies.<sup>212</sup> Similarly, Kathryn Labelle attests to the political and economic aspects of the Feast, demonstrating that Wyandots used the feast to solidify and renew alliances within the Nation as well as outsiders like the Anishinaabe and French Settlers.<sup>213</sup> In addition to creating peaceful relations, religious rituals and political alliances, the extensive evidence of considerable emotion work during the Feast like preparing material goods and food (especially jewellery made out of wampum), processing Ancestral remains, and publicly mourning, demonstrates that the ceremony was also the site of significant Wyandot healing.

Further, women used the Feast of Souls ceremony to help the Confederacy through times of tremendous loss. In both primary and secondary burial ceremonies, women were at the forefront taking on major responsibilities. Women prepared all the necessary goods for the feasts, prizes (for games), gifts, and ceremonies. During the ceremony, women held important roles as protectors over the souls and bones of their loved ones, which they cared for over a decade between each Feast of Souls. They also engaged in deep emotional expression during the funeral. Combined, these actions benefitted the Confederacy’s overall wellbeing and provided a positive way for Wyandots to respond to grief.

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<sup>210</sup> Sioui, *Huron-Wendat*, 146.

<sup>211</sup> Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*.

<sup>212</sup> Despite these similarities, Wyandot Christians and Settlers were not buried in any ossuaries with Traditionalist Wyandots. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 2.

<sup>213</sup> Labelle, “*Faire la Chaudière*.”

## Male Emotion Work

The burial at Ossossané also reveals the emotion work of Wyandot men before and during the initial years of contact with Europeans. Aside from participating in general emotion work activities (dancing, smoking, feasting, singing, etc.), men conducted emotion work during funerals as the Master of Ceremony.<sup>214</sup> Similar to the ways female leaders in the Confederacy exemplified emotional healing by organizing and conducting important ceremonies, the Master of Ceremony guided Wyandots through deep emotional trauma using funeral protocols.<sup>215</sup> In addition to Master of Ceremony, it was men who did the ceremonial mixing of bones before burial. To complete the community ossuary burial, five to six men ceremonially mixed the Ancestral remains and grave goods together.<sup>216</sup> By combining the bones and grave goods of loved ones, a symbolic contract was confirmed, renewing relationships within the Confederacy and solidification of alliances with outsiders.<sup>217</sup>

Together, pre-contact Wyandot men and women used emotion work to respond to peak emotional experiences and maintain the wellbeing of the confederacy demonstrating that the bodily health of the individual in Wyandot society was dependant on the affective labour of the wider allied collective.<sup>218</sup> While it is important to take men's emotion work into consideration, their labour remained marginal in comparison to the work of Wyandot women.

## Conclusion

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<sup>214</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. X, 279.

<sup>215</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 15

<sup>216</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. X, 279.

<sup>217</sup> Labelle, "*Faire la chaudière*," 10.

<sup>218</sup> Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus," 20.

This chapter clearly demonstrates that pre-contact Wyandot women heavily exercised their authority in burial protocols through varying processes of emotion work. Since the beginning of early hunter-gather societies in c. 500, Wyandot descendants actively developed their funerary customs. With the adoption of maize horticulture as the main source of subsistence by the 1000s, women became authorities over community fields and population control, creating a culture based on a matricentric social orders. With this newfound leadership, women continually exemplified emotion work practices during funeral proceedings well into the seventeenth century and the first years of European contact. A survey of burial sites reveals a consistent display of Wyandot women's emotion work in burial practices. Women engaged in emotion work to provide opportunities for their community to participate in soul desires by creating the items involved in ceremony, feasting, smoking, dancing, and adorning oneself. These items were vital to both living and deceased Wyandots to maintain their personal wellbeing, especially during events like death. Women were also given the honoured position of protecting and caring for the bones in between burials, which was fundamental in ensuring Wyandot connections to Ancestors, land, and community. The Feast of Souls of 1636 provides ample evidence to support these assertions, as it remains one of the most valued case studies of seventeenth century Wyandot burials and an ideal reference to compare further developments beyond the pre-contact period.

## Chapter II – Stories From Stone: The Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery (1790-1914)

This chapter begins by tracing the Wyandot migration from Wendake Ehen (the Georgian Bay homeland) to their relocation along the Detroit River in 1701. It describes the establishment of both the Anderdon Reserve and the Wyandot Cemetery in the nineteenth century and contextualizes these developments within Wyandot women's emotion work. Although preliminary observations of the Cemetery tombstones appear to depict a predominantly Settler-Christian space, further ethnohistorical analysis reveals that the Wyandot of Anderdon continued many of their pre-dispersal practices, including women's emotion work.

As the last physical monument of the reserve, the Cemetery highlights an extensive amount of information about the identities, values, and beliefs of the Anderdon community.<sup>219</sup> Moreover, material culture allows historians to engage in behavioral studies to understand the complex entanglement of relationships between the past, people, and objects they created, especially for cultures based in oral traditions.<sup>220</sup> Utilizing historians Kate Smith and Leonie Hannan's modern approach to material culture, I used the repetition method to understand the objects in the cemetery and explore a broad range of wider themes including gender and social organization.<sup>221</sup> The repetition method involves returning to the object multiple times,

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<sup>219</sup> Leonie Hannan and Sarah Longair, *History Through Material Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 1.

<sup>220</sup> There are three main ways material culture enriches history: (1) objects and artefacts complement traditional sources; (2) making historians ask new questions by including objects; (3) has led historians to new themes such as how people relate their emotions, tastes, dress, and so on related to the imagined and real world around them. Consequently, researchers engaging with material culture expand the boundaries of what does and does not constitute history. There are, however, some limitations to working with material culture when items are lost or damaged or the context surrounding the object/artefact is forgotten. See, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 3-9; Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture: A Students Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017); Kate Smith and Leonie Hannan, "Return and Repetition: Methods for Material Culture Studies," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XLVIII, no. I (2017): 43; Leonie Hannan and Sarah Longair, *History Through Material Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 22.

<sup>221</sup> Smith et al., "Return and Repetition," 43; Hannan et al., *History Through Material Culture*, 74.

experiencing it as new through multiple open-ended encounters.<sup>222</sup> Rather than re-examining the tombstones to reaffirm initial impressions, each time I observed the monuments I had new questions and new impressions, which is essential to develop critical, engaged understandings. My initial observations suggested a dominance of Christian patriarchy in the Anderdon community. With each subsequent analysis and comparison with documents from the Charles Garrad Collection and Church records, however, the cemetery revealed a complicated cultural matrix of syncretic and dualistic spirituality.

Material culture is particularly important regarding emotion work and understanding social behaviors. Similar to the ways in which political regimes shape acceptable bodily customs and dispositions, the tools and emotions people attach to objects influence social behaviours towards people, places, and things. For example, public displays of clothing, weapons, tools, pipes, and so on, are deeply rooted in distinct orders of person-definition and showcase aspects of the individual's culture. In this way, emotion acts as a vehicle for people to imprint power relations into relatively passive subjects/objects.<sup>223</sup> A material culture analysis rooted in repetition methodology of the nineteenth century Wyandot Cemetery indicates that although aspects of patriarchy and Christianity were adopted by the nineteenth-century Wyandot, women continued to be the main agents of emotion work during this period.

#### The Diaspora and the Western Wyandots

The group of Wyandots that eventually became known as the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation are the descendants of the Western Wyandot, who were forced to relocate from Georgian

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<sup>222</sup> Smith et al., "Return and Repetition," 43-44.

<sup>223</sup> See, John Laurence Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Case," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2016): 15-16.

Bay in 1649. These Wyandots travelled west towards their Nippissing and French allies in what would become known as Michilimackinac.<sup>224</sup> There, Wyandots settled separately from their European counterparts in a customary village made up of longhouses, fields, a palisade, and a chapel. The chapel points to the continued presence of Christian converts within the Wyandot diaspora. Historian Kathryn Labelle notes that the prospect of conversion was not new to these Wyandots. Wyandot communities brought Jesuits with them during relocations and continued to convert throughout their dispersal, especially those in the west who “balanced cultural compromise and identity preservation as they endeavored to both transform and maintain Wyandot traditions within the community.”<sup>225</sup> Essentially, during their time at Michilimackinac, the Wyandot formed what Labelle terms a “cultural matrix,” where both Wyandot and Christian practices existed in the space equally.<sup>226</sup> This inclusion of Christianity underscores syncretic practices among the Wyandot. Syncretism occurred when Wyandot and non-Wyandot customs came together (such as conversion), which created new hybrid practices exhibiting aspects from both cultures.<sup>227</sup> Alternatively, practices that remained separate and distinct from non-Wyandot customs represented dualism.<sup>228</sup> Both syncretic and dualistic practices existed in Wyandot life.

Christian influences did not erase Wyandot spiritual practices for the Western Wyandot. Records are replete with examples of syncretic and dualistic customs. For instance, at Michilimackinac during mass, Wyandots and Jesuits prayed and sang hymns in the Wyandot

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<sup>224</sup> Michilimackinac was an important military and trading station. Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia press, 2014), 83-89, & 91; "Biography – LAUMET, De Lamothe Cadillac, ANTOINE – Volume II (1701-1740) – Dictionary of Canadian Biography," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (accessed May 24, 2019), [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/laumet\\_antoine\\_2E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/laumet_antoine_2E.html).

<sup>225</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 81 & 84.

<sup>226</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 91.

<sup>227</sup> Susan Neylan, *The Heavens Are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 15.

<sup>228</sup> Neylan, *The Heavens Are Changing*, 15.

language while women performed dances with both Euro-Christian and Wyandot traditions in their longhouses.<sup>229</sup> One of these dances was known as the Bear Dance. The Bear Dance was a pre-contact healing ritual woman practiced, where the participants wore bearskins on their heads and wampum necklaces, in hopes of curing the ill individual. At the beginning of the ceremony, songs were performed in the nude. Later, the sick person joined the dance. Following the instructions of the ill person, the dancers growled and acted like bears whilst throwing items into the fire. Most of these traditional aspects continued after the dispersal and relocation to Michilimackinac; however, the first rounds of the dances were modified and no longer performed in the nude to adhere to Christian objections to nudity. These hybrid practices, along with their cultural capital (traditional regalia dress, wampum beads, ceremonies like the Feast of Squash, and dances such as the Bear Dance) provide evidence of dualism in the post-dispersal period.<sup>230</sup> The Bear Dance is a strong display of emotion work as a healing ritual, strictly performed by women. Participants were dressed in fine furs and wampum to promote positive feelings and emotions to heal the sick individual. This ritual also demonstrates the continuity of traditional Wyandot practices throughout the eighteenth-century as pre-contact ceremonies adapted in the dispersal. Using emotions, Wyandot women continued to connect their communities to each other, sacred spaces, and significant events.

## The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation

### *Homeland(s)*

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<sup>229</sup> Before the adoption of Christianity, many Wyandot dances were traditionally performed nude or showed sexual acts; however, when Wyandot communities began to inhabit Euro-Christian settlements, many of these dances were modified. Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 92-94.

<sup>230</sup> Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 177. For more information on the Michilimackinac community see, Kathryn Magee Labelle, "The West: The Country of the People of the Sea," in *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 83-98.



At the turn of the seventeenth-century, French authorities were attempting to secure the lands around what would become the Anderdon Reserve along the Detroit River (near present-day Detroit and Windsor). Following official French policy, French Settlers did not recognize Indigenous claims of ownership to any North American lands and began to establish themselves throughout the region.<sup>231</sup> Similar to the Wyandot, Settlers considered the entire Detroit River region one large community, establishing households on both sides of the river.<sup>232</sup> French governor Antoine Laumet de La Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, highly encouraged Indigenous settlement to the area with active participation in the fur trade and “invited” groups to settle in the area.<sup>233</sup> According to Cadillac, the Wyandots received the invitations. Then after councils, the Wyandots decided to uproot their settlement at Michilimackinac and relocate to Detroit. Several Indigenous communities had previous knowledge of the area and actively used the region as hunting grounds.<sup>234</sup> Historian Guillaume Teasdale argues that it is highly unlikely that French Settlers would have been able to establish any kind of settlement along the river without the approval of Indigenous people living in the area.<sup>235</sup> Settlement for Indigenous refugees was more easily done. Consequently, Wyandots arrived and settled on both sides of the Detroit River with villages near Gibraltar, Michigan and others near Sandwich, Ontario.<sup>236</sup> The Wyandots were not alone. The Miami from Green Bay, the Ojibwa and Mississauga from Sault

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<sup>231</sup> Guillaume Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance: The French Presence in the Detroit River Region, 1701-1815* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2019), 9.

<sup>232</sup> French Settlers referred to the region as *le Detroit* meaning “the strait.” Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 3.

<sup>233</sup> Melody Richardson, “They Came from Everywhere: Aboriginal Tasted Area Resources Long Ago,” *The Windsor Star*, 08 May 1992, François Baby House Collection, François Baby House Museum and Archives, Windsor, Ontario, F13.

<sup>234</sup> Charles Garrad Private Collection, Anderdon Cemetery File, Toronto, Ontario, 43; Susan Warrow and Danny Shultze, “Elder Interview: Judith Pidgeon Kukowski,” interview, Wyandot of Anderdon Nation: An Indigenous People of Turtle Island, November 08, 2015, (Accessed March 29, 2019),

[http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page\\_id=996](http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page_id=996); Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 11.

<sup>235</sup> Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 12.

<sup>236</sup> Warrow et al., “Elder Interview: Judith Pidgeon Kukowski.”

St. Marie, and the Ottawa and Potawatomi from Lake Michigan—all found refuge in the area.<sup>237</sup> By the summer of 1701, the site had become an established hive of geopolitical power and Fort Detroit was officially founded.<sup>238</sup> In 1750, the Ottawa and Wyandot settled on the south side of the Detroit River, with a small Wyandot village on the Belle River and another that inhabited the lands from what is now Michigan's Huron River to Essex County River Canard with the council house in Amherstburg.<sup>239</sup>

The Seven Years War (1756-1763), the American Revolution (1765-1783), and the War of 1812 (1812-1815) re-shaped the Wyandot settlement in significant ways. Following the Seven Year's War, Detroit became a British stronghold rather than a French one. The result was a sharp mandate by the British government to clear the land for British settlement and agriculture.<sup>240</sup> Unlike their French counterparts, the British recognized Indigenous claims to lands.<sup>241</sup> To solidify plans for settlement, the Royal Proclamation was signed on 9 May 1763 stating that Settlers had to engage in treaty-making with Indigenous peoples before establishing communities.<sup>242</sup> Consequently, the British began to devise treaties with First Nations in the area as was required by law. These treaties established Indigenous settlements that could integrate

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<sup>237</sup> Richardson, "They Came from Everywhere," F13.

<sup>238</sup> Following French King Louis XIV, Cadillac had established a fur-trading post called Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit. This later was called Detroit. He governed the region until 1710. Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 18-19; Karen L. Marrero, "Women at the Crossroads: Trade, Mobility, and Power in Early French America and Detroit," in *Women in Early America*, Thomas Foster, Carol Berkin, and Jennifer Morgan eds. (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 170.

<sup>239</sup> Richardson, "They Came from Everywhere," F13.

<sup>240</sup> There is a Historic Site and Monuments Board of Canada plaque commemorating this event in Memorial Park Blenheim, Ontario (about an hour and a half from Amherstburg). This site was designated a historical site on May 28, 1931. Following this, there were two plaques erected. The original plaque contained dated language denoting the Wyandots as Huron. This plaque was later updated to contain the proper names and still exists in the park.

Richardson, "They Came from Everywhere," F13; "McKee's Purchase National Historic Event," Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, Parks Canada (accessed May 05, 2019), [https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1183](https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1183).

<sup>241</sup> Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 13.

<sup>242</sup> Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 43.

into the British policy aimed at organizing Upper Canada into counties made-up of townships.<sup>243</sup> Continuing treaty negotiations that began with the Niagara treaties of 1781 and 1784, British officials and the Wyandots signed the McKee Treaty in 1790 which created two reserves in Essex County known as the Huron Church Reserve (later Sandwich) and Anderdon (See A.6).<sup>244</sup>

After the American Revolution, the Detroit River region was divided between the United States and Britain. Following the Treaty of Paris (1783) the USA claimed the north shore (present-day Michigan), while Britain claimed the south shore (present-day Windsor) of the community. Although colonial conceptions of territorial borders divided the region on a map, the Wyandot community itself was not immediately separated from one another. For decades people living in the area regarded the north and south shores as one Wyandot community. Not only did both French and Wyandot people have relatives on both sides of the river, Detroit remained the main economic hub for the region. Additionally, the Royal Proclamation continued to shape the way Settlers acquired land from Wyandots throughout the Detroit, Michigan and southern Ontario regions well into the nineteenth-century.<sup>245</sup> These relationships and community political, economic, and social systems took decades to change.

Not long after, Wyandots engaged again in battle as Americans and British Canadians clashed in the War of 1812. Wyandots made strategic choices in allyship during this period, choosing to split their support between the two sides to remain pragmatic and flexible.<sup>246</sup> Support for the British was mostly from those in Michigan, who moved to Anderdon led by Chiefs

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<sup>243</sup> Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 75.

<sup>244</sup> See A.6; Richardson, "They Came from Everywhere," F13; Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 76 & 77.

<sup>245</sup> See, Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance*, 54, 72, & 115-116.

<sup>246</sup> Historian Andrew Sturtevant argues that Detroit Wyandots used this strategy quite often in colonial wars. Different factions of settlements had their own crucial roles but came together to act as a political whole. The Detroit Wyandots relied on this strategy throughout the American Revolution. Andrew Sturtevant, "Over the Lake: The Western Wendake in the American Revolution," in *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience, 1650-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 36, 51-53.

Roundhead, Splitlog, and Warrow. Roughly 400 Wyandots accompanied Tecumseh and General Brock to help obtain the surrender of Detroit on 15 August 1812.<sup>247</sup>

Threats against the Detroit River Wyandot, including their land, did not cease after the War of 1812. The old Chiefs had a council meeting at Chief Splitlog's house.<sup>248</sup> At this council, aside from the traditional dance and feast, conversation focused on the future of the community. Those Wyandots who chose to support the Americans and lived in Michigan territory were subject to the Indian Removal Act of 1830.<sup>249</sup> Simultaneously, the Anderdon Reserve was reduced to 7,770 acres in 1836 despite Wyandot petitions.<sup>250</sup> By 1842, roughly 800 individuals left for so-called Indian Country (Kansas) taking many of the wampum belts and parchments with them.<sup>251</sup> Meanwhile, Wyandots on the British Ontario side faced more treaties and land cessions, as well as the Act of Enfranchisement (1857), enabling Settlers to purchase Ontario lands from Indigenous peoples.<sup>252</sup> Throughout the 1800s, Wyandot of Anderdon lands continued to be bought and sold to Settlers. To compensate the community for the surplus of land cessions, the government began payments to Anderdon Wyandots in 1884.<sup>253</sup> Eventually the Anderdon Wyandots (under Chief Joseph White) decided to terminate their band status in 1892.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Richardson, "They Came from Everywhere," F13 & F14.

<sup>248</sup> Charles Garrad, Anderdon Cemetery File, 44.

<sup>249</sup> On 28 May 1830 Thomas Jefferson signed the Indian Removal Act that authorized the president to negotiate Indigenous removal to federal lands near the Kansas-Oklahoma border. This removal act is commonly known in the US as the Trail of Tears as many Indigenous people and their communities died during relocation. John S. Blackman, *Oklahoma's Indian New Deal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 54; Stan Hoig, *Beyond the Frontier: Exploring the Indian Country* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 13.

<sup>250</sup> Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 515.

<sup>251</sup> Thirty of these individuals belonged to the Anderdon Reserve in Ontario. Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

<sup>252</sup> Teasdale, *Fruits of Perseverance* 73. For a detailed description of all the land cessions and documented deeds of sale see, Laurie Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township 1701-1914," (1988), TH – 48158 AMICUS, no. 9297468.

<sup>253</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 516.

<sup>254</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 516.

Anderdon Wyandots made choices like this in a deliberate way and were not pawns of the Settler community during removal or enfranchisement.<sup>255</sup> Historian Laurie Leclair argues that during this process Anderdon Wyandots adapted and negotiated to achieve their goals through councils, intermarriage, adoption of Settler practices like language and appearance, and becoming Canadian citizens.<sup>256</sup> By 1914 the reserve had dissolved, as the remaining lands were sold to Settlers stopping government payments.<sup>257</sup> Many families remained near Detroit and continued to sustain the area as prominent farmers and business men.<sup>258</sup> Despite the loss of reserve lands, Wyandots stayed and continued their traditions while protecting the Cemetery.

### *Spiritual Transitions: Christianity and the Wyandot*

In 1727, the Wyandots living near Detroit sent a list of requests to Montreal that included an appeal for a missionary to be sent to the community.<sup>259</sup> Consequently, French missionaries arrived in the territory in an attempt to Christianize the Indigenous people. In North America there were two main ideologies of proper conversion methods. Some French priests followed the French state policy of assimilation called “Francisation” where Indigenous peoples would become “Frenchified” through exposure to French customs, language, and Roman Catholicism.<sup>260</sup> Although there were many policies geared towards Frenchifying Indigenous peoples to completely transform to French policies, there were also French priests who wanted

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<sup>255</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 516.

<sup>256</sup> Leclair, “The Huron-Wyandottes,” 2 & 83-86.

<sup>257</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 516.

<sup>258</sup> Garrad, Anderdon Cemetery File, 44.

<sup>259</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515; John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), 75.

<sup>260</sup> To “Frenchify” meant complete cultural transformation to French customs. See, Robert Michael Morrissey, “The Terms of Encounter: Language and Contested Visions of French Colonization in the Illinois Country, 1673-1702,” Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale, eds. *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815* (Michigan State University Press, 2013), 2; Marrero, “Women at the Crossroads,” 163.

Indigenous peoples to adopt Christianity “on their own terms, and quite literally in their own terms.”<sup>261</sup> Some Jesuits adapted to local Indigenous cultural practices, specifically language, to create authentic Christianity in Indigenous contexts, especially in areas where French Settlers were trying to solidify themselves.<sup>262</sup> By using syncretic practices centered around language, these priests believed that they would convert Indigenous peoples while simultaneously “civilizing” them.<sup>263</sup> These opposing conversion ideologies were present in Anderdon where some missionaries followed Frenchifying policies, while others attempted synchronicity with Wyandot practices to convert Wyandot peoples to Christianity. Many of the missionaries who came to Anderdon learned portions of the language, and were sometimes adopted into clans.

The first mission, Bois Blanc, founded near Amherstburg was unsuccessful and quickly abandoned.<sup>264</sup> In 1748, however, *ondechra8asti* (Father Armand de la Richardie) went to live with the Wyandots where he developed strong ties to the Deer and Porcupine clans.<sup>265</sup> Through positive relations with the Wyandots, Richardie established the first permanent settlement for Euro-Christians in the Detroit/Windsor area that he called L’Assumption de la Pointe de Montreal du Detroit or “the Mission of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin among the Hurons.”<sup>266</sup> Missionary *Sarenhes* (Nicholas Degonnor) arrived in 1743 to aid Richarchie and was adopted into the Striped Turtle clan, but only remained for one year due to illness.<sup>267</sup> In 1746, *horonhiae’te* (Pierre Potier) arrived in his place.<sup>268</sup> Potier focused on learning the Wyandot language and recorded a vast amount of information including baptisms, marriages, deaths, and

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<sup>261</sup> Morrisey, “The Terms of Encounter,” 2.

<sup>262</sup> Morrisey, “The Terms of Encounter,” 2 & 5.

<sup>263</sup> Morrisey, “The Terms of Encounter,” 5.

<sup>264</sup> “They Came from Everywhere: Windsor Historically a Place of Refuge,” *The Windsor Star*, May 8, 1992, F1.

<sup>265</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 76-77 & 235-236.

<sup>266</sup> “Windsor Historically a Place of Refuge,” Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario, F1.

<sup>267</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 89.

<sup>268</sup> Robert Toupin, *Les Écrits De Pierre Potier* (Ottawa: Les Presses De Université D’Ottawa, 1996), 9; Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 89.

some notes on houses.<sup>269</sup> As more French settlers came to the area and began attending the Assumption Mission, a church was created for Wyandots and the parish of Assumption was canonically erected in 1767.<sup>270</sup>

French officials eventually set up a permanent mission for the Anderdon Wyandots. On 1 May 1800, Quebec Bishop Pierre Denaunt established several St. John the Baptist missions including the Amherstburg and Malden Township missions where the pastor of Assumption had authority. Denaunt visited the following year and negotiated the purchase for lands on Bathurst Street, Amherstburg for the Malden mission, which was completed in the autumn of 1802. That same year parochial records for the parishes highlighted both Euro-Christians and Indigenous people, with specific reference to the Anderdon Wyandots.<sup>271</sup>

By the 1820s, the missions were quite successful and attracted many converted Wyandots. At this time Father Joseph Crèvier was given jurisdiction over the Assumption missions. Christianity had become so dominant in the area that in twenty years the mission grew to 500 people. Due to the increased membership, Crèvier built a second church on Bathurst Street, 30 feet long and 9 meters wide (large enough to hold roughly 200 people).<sup>272</sup>

In late May 1828, Bishop Macdonell of Kingston, Ontario appointed Father Louis J. Fluet to be the pastor at Assumption parish. To accommodate the growing number of people involved and formalize the new parish as a more permanent structure, a larger church was built in 1834. The Wyandots donated 115 tons of stone for this church from their rock quarry in Anderdon

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<sup>269</sup> Unfortunately, the Potier manuscripts discussing moods, difficulties, failures, triumphs, and so on, have been lost. Toupin, *Les Écrits De Pierre Potier*, 9.

<sup>270</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

<sup>271</sup> Today these records are housed at the Diocese of London Church Archives in London, Ontario. See, Michael Power and Daniel J. Brock, *Gather up the Fragments: A History of the Diocese of London* (London: Diocese of London, 2008), 195.

<sup>272</sup> By 1827 the mission had grown to 600 people. Power et al., *Gather up the Fragments*, 195.

contributing to the completion of the Church the following January of 1844.<sup>273</sup> Many Anderdon Wyandots were converts and supported the church through donations and involvement in Christian ceremony.

Benjamin Slight was a prominent Methodist missionary in Anderdon from 1834 to 1836. Slight revered the Wyandots for their intelligence, understanding of life affairs, knowledge of arts and agriculture, as well as skills in reading, writing, and art. During his assignment, Slight recorded names of Wyandot leaders (including some that fought in the War of 1812) and wrote the Wyandot petition refuting the Ojibway claim to the reserve to Sir Francis Bond Head in 1836.<sup>274</sup> Just as their Ancestors had done in the 1600s and throughout the diaspora, the Anderdon community used their Christian relationships to their advantage such as gaining support in contested land claims.

The close relationship between the Anderdon Wyandot and missionaries provides evidence of historical continuity. Just as Wyandots in Wendake and Michilimackinac had engaged with Christianity and European traditions, those living in the Detroit River region developed a cultural matrix where both Wyandot and non-Wyandot practices existed. Despite attempts from authorities to “Frenchify” the Wyandots, missionaries received traditional names and continued to observe traditional Wyandot practices throughout their daily lives. Meanwhile, the Wyandots used their Christian relationships to benefit and solidify the Anderdon community in the Detroit area helping to construct buildings and monuments.

### *Wyandot Women*

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<sup>273</sup> See, Power et al., *Gather up the Fragments*, 196.

<sup>274</sup> See, Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 109.



Key to the nineteenth-century colonial project were Indigenous women who continuously had to negotiate their positions within a new colonial world. Similar to the missionaries, these women were also performing syncretic and dualistic practices regarding Christianity. As Indigenous peoples faced more hardships from encroaching Settlers, colonialism, and warfare, their numbers were increasingly diminished, especially the men who were more so participating in warfare.<sup>275</sup> As a result, some women were drawn to converting to Christianity as a means to marry Settler men in the area. Conversion was particularly useful to those facing the American removal policies, who could use it as “a means of accommodation rather than transformation.”<sup>276</sup> Although they were converting to Christianity, these women were not losing their power, authority, or traditional practices. Historian Karren Marrero argues that Indigenous women held pivotal positions of authority in their communities and in French European operations like commerce and trade just as they had done in their pre-contact communities. Marrero explains how Indigenous women, even those married to Settlers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, continued to practice their own ways of life in child rearing, trade, agriculture, clans, and politics because Indigenous women “possessed authority and freedom of movement at every level of their society” and participated in many activities that French women did not.<sup>277</sup> Just as pre-contact Indigenous women exercised their authority, built cultural practices and established societal rules, nineteenth century Wyandot women were leaders and Clan Mothers throughout their Detroit/Windsor territory. Women effectively maintained their historic roots and incorporated French customs when they saw benefits and opportunities.

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<sup>275</sup> Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 23.

<sup>276</sup> Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, 102.

<sup>277</sup> Marrero emphasizes that many Indigenous women had to participate in these activities because their men were gone at different times throughout the year for war or hunting. Marrero, “Women at the Crossroads,” 160-167, 170, & 174-175.

## The Wyandot Cemetery: Creating Space

The exact details surrounding the establishment of the Wyandot Cemetery remain unknown. While answers to questions such as when and how this burial ground came into existence are unclear, there are extensive records pertaining to other aspects of its development, providing a window into the early years of its existence. The cemetery is located on the Canadian side of the Detroit River (which was within the boundaries of the Anderdon Reserve).

Descendants of the Anderdon Wyandots estimate that roughly 450 Wyandots are buried in this sacred space.<sup>278</sup> Today, the cemetery is located at 968 Hwy 18, Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario and is open to the public. Along the highway the cemetery is marked by a large iron and stone gate that reads: “Wyandot Indian Cemetery” with a historical plaque behind it. The cemetery contains several trees and a small single chain fence surrounding the front. On the east side of the cemetery, the land is divided by a private home. On the west side, the cemetery is marked by Angstrom Park. Although there are indications of earlier burials, the first recorded burial is the renowned Wyandot Chief Joseph White’s mother, 90-year-old Margaret Deyanlete, on 29 April 1856.<sup>279</sup> Only some of the burials can still be seen in the cemetery. Most individuals remain in unmarked graves as many people were buried without tombstones. Today, roughly twenty stones remain, some of which have endured severe damage.

## Reflections of a Patriarchal Society: Change

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<sup>278</sup> Jacqueline Smrke, “Natives Bid To Restore Band Status,” *The Windsor Star*, July 15, 1997, in *Walking Through Windsor/Essex* (accessed April 27, 2019), <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/377>.

<sup>279</sup> Ontario Genealogical Society Cemetery Transcriptions: Essex County, Anderdon Twp., MS 451, Reel 66, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

As Settlers, Christianity, and colonial governmental policies continued to shape the Wyandot of Anderdon community, men took on more prominent roles in burial spaces and religious ceremonies like baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Nineteenth century missionaries favoured men, which is reflected in church records. The St. Jean the Baptiste Registry demonstrates several distinctions in the missionary records highlight the incorporation of patriarchal values in the Anderdon community. During the 1800s, female names were not recorded first, but were recorded following their husband's names.<sup>280</sup> This remained consistent throughout the nineteenth century. Furthermore, male names appeared first in both the records of the parent's names and sponsor's names if applicable.<sup>281</sup> Throughout the century some missionaries even went so far as to record women by their husband's names in both baptisms and funerals. For instance, Mrs. Moyan, Charlie Moyan's wife, sponsored the baptism of Mary Leslie, a twenty-four-year-old Wyandot woman, on 14 October 1891. Yet her first name was not included. This is also true for other women such as Mrs. Joseph Warrow, buried on 23 August 1889, leaving her first name and any matrilineal ties a mystery.<sup>282</sup> These omissions show the emphasis on the importance of patrilineal family ties at the time. Whereas prior to contact, Wyandots identified with their female kin and clan names, individuals are now identifying with their male family.

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<sup>280</sup> Diocese of London's Archive. St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1802-1828; Diocese of London's Archive. St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1829-1845; Diocese of London's Archive. St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1845-1852; Diocese of London's Archive. St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1853-1856; Diocese of London's Archive. St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1874-1899.

<sup>281</sup> Sponsors were other leaders in the ceremonies. Specifically, sponsors appear in the baptism records indicating that these positions are likely similar to that of a Godparent. Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*; Sacramental Register, 1802-1828; Diocese of London's Archive. St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1829-1845; St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1845-1852; St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1853-1856; Sacramental Register, 1874-1899.

<sup>282</sup> St. John the Baptist, Amherstburg, Sacramental Register, 1874-1899.

The material culture of the cemetery seems to depict a society that privileged men. Leading male members of the community had the largest stand-alone tombstones, some of which can still be seen in the cemetery today. The best example of this is Mondoron - Chief of the Wyandots - Joseph White's stone (See A.7).<sup>283</sup> His other relatives are buried nearby (See A.8 and A.9).<sup>284</sup> White's stone is by far the largest surviving stone in the cemetery indicating the shift to valuing and memorializing male Wyandot leaders, rather than Clan Mothers who had formerly elected them. Male privilege is further demonstrated in the size of White's last name demonstrating patrilineality, rather than matrilineal ties.

Another noteworthy aspect of these tombstones is the Christian iconography scattered throughout. This included Joseph White's and his nearby relative's tombstones that both have a cross erected at the very top representing Christian traditions (See A.7 and A.8).<sup>285</sup> These symbols are supported with Christian text on the bottoms of the tombstones. For instance, the inscription under Josephine White's name reads,

Darling mother our footsteps guide  
Remain with us from day to day  
Hark we hear the angels calling mother dear for you have passed away.<sup>286</sup>

Angels were not the only references to Christianity inscribed on people's tombstones. Other individual's grave markers made references to the Lord and Heaven such as Alexander Clarke's wife's whose stone reads "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord" or Beatrice's whose reads "Sleep sweet child for thy place is in heaven."<sup>287</sup> Much of the script on the stones has become

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<sup>283</sup> Mondoron Chief Joseph White was the individual who sold the remaining wampum belts after many Wyandots were removed to Kansas in the 1840s. These four belts are now in a museum in England. See A.7; Garrad, Anderdon Cemetery File.

<sup>284</sup> See A.8 and A.9.

<sup>285</sup> See A.7 and A.8.

<sup>286</sup> Lil Splitlog and Yvonne Gibbs, 1981, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Anderdon Cemetery File, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>287</sup> Splitlog et al.

illegible, but many of the cross symbols can still be seen throughout the grave markers today. Together, the iconography and the Christian inspired inscriptions demonstrates the dualism within the Cemetery. Christian traditions emphasized in the iconography and script existed in the space quite separately and distinctly from Wyandot customs. Rather than blending with non-Christian symbols, the crosses remained strictly Christian.

Some women were afforded tombstones, but the nature of these monuments continues to reflect a seemingly patriarchal society. Female leaders had their own tombstones; however, female names were written significantly smaller than the other text on the tombstones, showcasing their husbands' names instead. This is apparent in Margaret Splitlog's (1865-1884) tombstone that clearly emphasizes her husband's name William Hunt written directly in the middle of the monument with Margaret's name much smaller above (See A.10).<sup>288</sup> Although the majority of the physical tombstones no longer exist, recordings of some of the tombstones before they were destroyed demonstrate this pattern of patrilineality. Prior to contact Wyandots identified by their matrilineal clans (including males who were adopted into their mother's or wife's clan). However, in the nineteenth century, male tombstone transcriptions do not reference any other familial ties and female tombstones always reference their male family whether it be a father or husband.<sup>289</sup> These tombstones emphasizes a significant shift from Wyandots showcasing their matrilineal ancestry to identifying with their patrilineal heritage.

Families were often buried together in sections of the cemetery, sometimes even sharing tombstones—all demonstrating their male lineage revealing further change in matricentric systems of authority. These groupings occurred in different areas of the cemetery. The Warrow and the White families are excellent examples highlighting influences of patriarchy. On the

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<sup>288</sup> See A.10.

<sup>289</sup> Ontario Genealogical Society Cemetery Transcriptions, Anderdon Township.

north-west side of the cemetery, the Warrows were buried together with a plot for three Warrow men: Joseph Warrow (1808-1868), William Warrow (1837-1872), and Felix Warrow (1845-1873).<sup>290</sup> The White family held two substantial tombstones, one for Clayton (1869-1888), Robbie (1877-1886), Archie (1871-1887), Josephine (1845-1890), and Genevieve (1875-1891) (See A.8 and A.9) and another for Peter M. (1847-1878), Beatrice (1876-1881), and Eugene Oswald (1874-Unknown).<sup>291</sup> Both sets of familial tombstone's display the men's names in the largest sized text. Together, the names, size, and placement of the tombstones represent evidence that significant changes had occurred since European contact as men became the heads of families and households and dominated the sacred space of burial grounds.

#### Beyond the Grave: Wyandot Continuity

Despite the tombstones, other sources indicate that for the most part, the nineteenth-century Wyandot of Anderdon Nation maintained many of their traditional practices. Wyandots continued to speak their traditional language, for instance.<sup>292</sup> Wyandots also continued to live in traditional bark houses with rounded-roofs modeled after customary longhouses.<sup>293</sup> These homes could support nineteen individuals whereas the smaller dwellings tended to house outsiders and others who were not born into the culture (usually adopted members).<sup>294</sup>

Social organization using clan systems remained intact throughout the colonial period. John Steckley has done extensive work on the subject providing evidence of the continuation of clans in the eighteenth century. Steckley underscores the five basic characteristics of Anderdon

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<sup>290</sup> Ontario Genealogical Society Cemetery Transcriptions, Anderdon Township.

<sup>291</sup> There were also several other White tombstones near-by. Today these tombstones have received quite a bit of damage making most of the stones illegible. See A.8 and A.9; Charles Garrad Private Collection, Cemetery File, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>292</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 109.

<sup>293</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 2.

<sup>294</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 2-3 & 95.

clan systems: One, clans were grouped around the female line following the mother's name; Two, individuals received clan names that were continually revived or resuscitated (both male and female names); Three, clans were exogamous, meaning that a person must marry outside their clan; Four, all had some recruited members (partly out of the need to survive the diaspora); and last, clans were organized into traditional phratries of Deer (*hontaxen* or *hontaken*), *hatinnion,en* (Turtle), and *hannaarisk8a* (Wolf).<sup>295</sup> These clan systems were dynamic social groups that enabled women to maintain their leadership and provide stability throughout the diaspora and during the reserve period of the Anderdon Wyandot.

Steckley further explains the seemingly overt Christian and patriarchal nature of the cemetery in that in actuality, the majority of Wyandots were probably buried without Christian services because often Wyandots did not wish to have Christian proceedings at their funerals.<sup>296</sup> Furthermore, many Christian ceremonies went undocumented before Father Potier arrived and began his missionary work in 1746.<sup>297</sup> Steckley observed in early missionary writings that most of the sponsors/hosts were clan members and, more significantly, women. He noted that “rituals of mourning was [sic] definitely women’s work among the Wyandot of the eighteenth-century.”<sup>298</sup> Despite the onslaught of Christianity and the associated patriarchal attitudes, Wyandot women actively maintained clan systems and familial ties while securing their authority in domestic spheres like the community longhouses, fields, and village cemeteries. This resiliency is shown throughout different aspects of Wyandot burial practices.

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<sup>295</sup> The Wyandot name for the Deer Phratry appears in many different forms in the historical record. These names were taken from Steckley’s linguistic analysis of Jesuit Pierre Potier who lived among the Wyandot during the late 1700s. Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 28-50.

<sup>296</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 126-127; Garrad, Anderdon Cemetery File; Al Roach, “Reflections from an Indian Burial Ground,” September 1985, in *Walking Through Windsor/Essex* (accessed March 1, 2019), <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/379>.

<sup>297</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 127.

<sup>298</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 126.

Nineteenth-century Anderdon Wyandots still believed that the souls of the dead traveled to the Land of the Souls in the Skyworld to be with Aataentsic.<sup>299</sup> Since Wyandot continued to travel to the Land of Souls, the deceased individuals needed the necessary belongings for participating in the afterlife. Consequently, feasting and gift-giving remained central components in burial ceremonies.<sup>300</sup> Gifts were given both to the deceased and to relatives of the deceased. In Anderdon during 1885, several bodies and their grave goods became exposed due to erosion. The erosion revealed that individuals were buried with a variety of items like swords, silver pins, magnets, rifles, earrings, and epaulettes.<sup>301</sup> Although individuals were buried in Settler coffins, the historic practice of providing the deceased with the necessary belongings for the afterlife had not disappeared. These items were vital for the wellbeing of both living and deceased Ancestors.

Traditional naming systems and the names themselves continued to be passed on through ceremony. The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation preserved these names as they were an important part of Wyandot deathways.<sup>302</sup> Not only did certain names belong to each clan, but names were gendered.<sup>303</sup> In addition, taking on certain names required the individual who received it to live up to the expectations or characteristics of the previous namesake. These names were sacred and were only passed down through a traditional naming feast that contained an abundance of food and gifts for participants and community members.

Names were intimately connected to burial practices and deathways. According to Jesuit observers, Wyandots had several reasons for resuscitating names:

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<sup>299</sup> Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 131.

<sup>300</sup> Wyandot of Anderdon Annual Green Corn Feast and Annual Meeting, Fairhaven Township, August 2018.

<sup>301</sup> Unfortunately, this information was uncovered when several individuals, who discovered the original eroded bodies, returned to the cemetery with a large party the following Saturday and Sunday evenings to dig up other bodies. Some of these individuals included James Gibb, Thomas Robidoux, and B. Brett. See, "Unearthing Human Bones," 1.

<sup>302</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 29.

<sup>303</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vol. XXII (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 287 & 289.



It has often been said that the dead were brought back to life by making the living bear their names. This is done for several reasons,—to revive the memory of a brave man, and to incite him who shall bear his name to imitate his courage; to take revenge upon the enemies, for he who takes the name of a man killed in battle binds himself to avenge his death; to assist the family of a dead man, because he who brings him back to life, and who represents him, assumes all the duties of the deceased, feeding his children as if he were their own Father—in fact they call him their Father, and he called them his children... Mothers or relatives who love a son, or a daughter, or any of their kindred, cause such persons to be resuscitated, through a desire to see them close by them,—transferring the affection that they felt for the deceased to the persons that take their names.<sup>304</sup>

Names demonstrated ancestral and clan/community relationships. Resuscitating names allowed for a shared community memory of passed Ancestors and cultural preservation from generation to generation. Since the person receiving the name was expected to demonstrate the characteristics associated with that previous owner, passing down these names relayed cultural traditions and values.

#### Emotion Work: The Eliza Splitlog Case Study

Nineteenth century Wyandot women continued to conduct the emotion work of the previous generations. Just as their pre-contact Ancestors had done centuries before, women ensured proper emotional healing for Wyandots during times of grief and preparing the body for the funeral ensuring safe travel to the Land of Souls. This is not to say that some aspects were not altered. Rather than receiving a primary burial in the village cemetery before secondary internment in a large community ossuary, individuals were buried once in their own graves inside the Anderdon cemetery. Many aspects of Anderdon burials were European customs such as the use of coffins and incorporation of Christian prayers, symbols, and rituals. Still, the cultural matrix present at Michilimackinac was maintained at Detroit, allowing for dualistic and

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<sup>304</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. XXII, 289.

syncretic practices to continue and, most significantly, the ongoing emotion work of Wyandot women.

The funeral of the nineteenth century Wyandot woman Eliza Splitlog delivers important insight into the nature of Wyandot burials during this period. On Sunday morning, 28 September 1884, sixty-five-year-old Eliza passed away in Wyandot territory. The proud daughter of Wyandot Chief John Barnett and his wife Hanna, Eliza died a Christian. Immediately after her death, her entire community prepared for the funeral and feast. Wyandot men were appointed to dig the grave and build a fire that burned over four days after the funeral.<sup>305</sup> Simultaneously, leaders in the community began preparations for an elaborate feast, which would occur ten days after Eliza's burial. Wyandot women prepared the necessary goods for the farewell feast. Women who belonged to the death house where Eliza died bruised themselves in grief and conducted traditional Wyandot ceremonies.<sup>306</sup> Influenced by Settler practices, the women lit candles and covered all the pictures and mirrors in black cloth.<sup>307</sup> The candles were lit to symbolize the soul of the deceased returning from the cemetery.<sup>308</sup> The pictures and mirrors were covered so that individuals, especially family members of the deceased, did not focus on their

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<sup>305</sup> The source does not say who appointed these men. The men could have perhaps been chosen by the family of the deceased or community leaders. Velma Nieberding, "The Miracle of Cayuga," Anderdon Cemetery, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>306</sup> The death house refers to the house of the individual that passed away. Bruised refers to the women hitting themselves hard enough to bruise their skin. The source does not go into more detail about exactly what these traditional Wyandot ceremonies entailed alongside the Christian blessings. See, Nieberding, "The Miracle of Cayuga."

<sup>307</sup> It is not clear where the origins of covering photographs and mirrors in black cloth came from. However, sources do demonstrate that this practice was used throughout Germany and England by Christian and Jewish people for similar reasons. Nieberding, "The Miracle of Cayuga"; Albert Goldbrath, "Worlds," *New England Review* (1990-), 15, No. 4 (1993); Maurice Lamm, "The Jewish Way in Preparing the House of Mourning," *Judaism*, May 22, 2005 (accessed May 06, 2019), [https://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/aid/281594/jewish/The-Jewish-Way-in-Preparing-the-House-of-Mourning.htm](https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/281594/jewish/The-Jewish-Way-in-Preparing-the-House-of-Mourning.htm); Bridget Quinlivan, "Victorian Mourning Rituals Tightly Scripted," Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, January 1, 2012 (accessed June 24, 2019), <https://www.hsqac.org/victorian-mourning-rituals-tightly-scripted/>; "19th Century Mourning Practices (Revised)," *Passion for the Past: Thoughts and Social History for the Living Historian*, January 01, 1970 (accessed June 24, 2019), <http://passionforthepast.blogspot.com/2011/07/19th-century-mourning-practices-revised.html>.

<sup>308</sup> Lamm, "The Jewish Way in Preparing the House of Mourning"; Quinlivan, "Victorian Mourning Rituals Tightly Scripted"; "19th Century Mourning Practices (Revised)."

appearance and soul desire of adorning themselves, allowing for a time of mourning.<sup>309</sup> During her funeral ceremony Eliza received both Catholic burial rites such as prayers and a Christian tombstone, alongside Wyandot blessings and ceremonies.<sup>310</sup>

These practices clearly demonstrate the dualism of nineteenth-century Wyandot burials. Settler religions like Christianity were not able to erase Wyandot belief systems or burial protocols, but rather co-existed equally in the space. Women used traditional concepts of emotion work to manipulate Christian practices through syncretism like covering the mirrors in cloth. Drawing on their pre-contact understandings of soul desires, women covered mirrors in black cloth to mourn on behalf of their families and provided their kin with opportunities to heal. Women also used Settler goods like candles to bring their deceased Ancestor's soul back to the death house after the funeral ceremonies, similar to the way they kept the longhouse fires lit after the Feast of Souls in the 1600s. Alongside Christian-style tombstones, coffins, and symbols, Wyandots received Christian blessings. Female authority and maintenance in death spaces was not diminished after contact but rather re-organized. Although it may appear on the surface that Wyandot women were participating in mainstream Settler burial practices, Eliza's burial emphasizes how women enacted agency and continued many aspects of their traditional concepts of emotion work using Settler religious practices.

In some cases, traditional practices were not blended at all and remained separate and distinct from Settler protocols such as preparing the body for the funeral, organizing the feast, and having Wyandot blessings during funerals. Throughout the nineteenth century, Wyandot women maintained historic emotion work in funeral ceremonies such as arranging the funeral

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<sup>309</sup> Lamm, "The Jewish Way in Preparing the House of Mourning"; Quinlivan, "Victorian Mourning Rituals Tightly Scripted"; "19th Century Mourning Practices (Revised)."

<sup>310</sup> Nieberding, "The Miracle of Cayuga."

home, bruising themselves in grief, organizing the farewell feast, as well as preparing and maintaining the body. Just as they had done in the 1600s, women did not participate in soul desires and rather engaged in intense public mourning. While they prepared the body for the funeral, women conducted sacred ceremonies to ensure the healing of the household and safe passage of the deceased to the Land of Souls. Following pre-contact Wyandot protocols, nineteenth-century women prepared the necessary goods for the farewell feast. This feast continued to be a particularly important event for the community providing an opportunity for Wyandots to engage in their soul desires (feasting) and respond positively to the grief brought on by the loss.

It is significant to note that the majority of this emotion work was done by the women. Despite colonial and Christian attempts to thwart female influence and power in Wyandot communities since Settler arrival in North America in the 1600s, nineteenth-century women maintained their unique role within deathway practices. Women continued to produce vital goods for burial ceremonies as well as conduct these ceremonies. Moreover, women engaged in emotion work specifically to guide Wyandots through intense emotional experiences like difficult relocations, relegation to reserves, and Eurocentric government policies, to keep individuals from falling into deep emotional neglect.

#### Male Emotion Work

The record of Eliza Splitlog's burial gives little indication of the ways in which men conducted emotion work at this time. While missionaries made specific reference to the way pre-contact Wyandot men mixed bones and acted as Master of Ceremonies, observations about Eliza's burial mainly describes the work of women. One aspect of male emotion work that is

reminiscent of pre-contact deathways was that Wyandot men were appointed to dig the grave and prepare a fire to burn for four days after the funeral.<sup>311</sup> Although Wyandot men in the 1800s are no longer mixing bones and grave goods, they continued to be responsible for organizing their Ancestor's resting spaces. This large silence suggests that women continued to do the majority of emotion work.

## Conclusion

Throughout the reserve period (1790-1914), the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation experienced many changes. At first glance, it would seem that Settler land acquisition and missionary zeal transformed the Anderdon community into a seemingly predominant Christian and patriarchal society. Certainly, material culture analysis and baptismal records emphasize the leadership and privilege of Wyandot men. Yet upon further investigation it becomes clear that pre-contact practices had not been erased or forgotten. Wyandots continued their traditional social organization through clan systems and family segments, which is also emphasized by the cemetery tombstone groupings. Deceased individuals received elaborate funerals to ensure safe passage to the Land of Souls. Once interred into the cemetery, Wyandots watched over the bones and memorialized Ancestral souls with traditional naming ceremonies.

This chapter underscores the innovative and complex ways that Wyandots responded to traumatic experiences and loss like the death of a loved one. During these times of emotional trauma, Wyandots came together over emotion work activities like feasting, smoking, and dancing to spark positive healing throughout the Nation. Most significantly, ethnohistorical analysis reveals that despite colonial influences and patriarchal power shifts, Wyandot women

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<sup>311</sup> Nieberding, "The Miracle of Cayuga."

continued to conduct emotion work at Anderdon. When a person in the community passed away, Anderdon women came together to prepare all the necessary goods for the feast and burial ceremony just as their Wendake Ancestors had. Following Wyandot traditions, female family members of the deceased took care and responsibility over preparing the body for the funeral.

### Chapter III – Stories Beyond Stone: Protection and Revitalization

This chapter examines Wyandot women's emotion work and deathways after the termination of the Anderdon Reserve in 1914. Although the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation ceased to exist according to the Canadian government, Wyandot women actively used emotion work to protect traditions and sacred spaces like the Cemetery and to initiate community healing in the wake of targeted removal policies. Evidence suggests that Wyandot emotion work did not diminish with the termination of their reserve, but rather strengthened it as modern Wyandots and their allies attempt to protect and revitalize the Anderdon community.

#### Katie Quoqua and Mary McKee

In 1806 the Wyandot war Chief Quoqua built a log cabin along the shores of the Detroit river. This home held extra meaning for the Chief as his daughter, Catherine (Katie) To-mah-me Quoqua was born there. Despite sentimental attachments to the cabin, the Chief accepted another property on the Huron River, after his involvement in the War of 1812. It was then that the Governor of Michigan granted Quoqua a river lot for a term of fifty years.<sup>312</sup> Unfortunately, the Chief did not see the term through. After only two years, Chief Quoqua died. He was buried nearby with a headstone to mark his grave. The Chief's daughter, Katie, remained in the cabin however, defending her father's grave from encroaching Settlers with a loaded shotgun.<sup>313</sup> This act of protection is highly reminiscent of pre-contact women who frequented the village

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<sup>312</sup> Charles Garrad, *Mary Mckee (1838-1922)*, Research Bulletin No. 41, North York, Ontario: Petun Research Institute, July 2013, 3.

<sup>313</sup> Relatives of the Quoqua family visited the site in 1912 when a new house and barn were built. Apparently, Indigenous visitors came to the site as late as the 1920's and 30's. The headstone was removed from the property when the area was developed into a cemetery. The headstone was incorporated into a monument, a concrete replica of a teepee, for the last Wyandots before the 1842 American removal. This monument still stands in the Willow Metropark. Garrad, *Mary Mckee*, 3; Gerald Wykes to Mrs. Splitlog, 16 December 1987, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario.

cemeteries to maintain their Ancestor's resting places and bones between ossuary burial, further reiterating the centrality of burial spaces to Wyandots. Following pre-contact social norms and feeling rules, funerals and the associated soul desires like feasting, smoking, singing, dancing, and gift-giving acted as a positive form of healing. Women continued to oversee these actions, regulate emotions, and protect Ancestral remains. Without these bones and burials, Wyandots could not engage in funeral ceremonies, renew their relationships, and heal from traumatic loss.

Katie's passion to protect Wyandot gravesites was passed on to her daughter, Mary McKee (1838-1922). Reluctant to leave her father's grave and the family cabin, but fearful of forced relocations to Indian Country with the American Indian Removal Act of 1830, Katie and Mary left the cabin and settled among their Wyandot of Anderdon kin. Mary learned a great deal from her mother during her formative years. Like her mother, Mary became known as one of the most prominent healers among the Detroit River Wyandot, relying mainly on traditional Wyandot medicinal practices.<sup>314</sup> Through their work restoring and maintaining community well-being, these women sustained traditional knowledge. This emotion work was a direct response to traumatic historical events that provoked intense emotional responses throughout the Wyandot Nation. Women used traditional knowledge, ceremonies, and sacred spaces to heal their communities during these turbulent times.

Speaking about women's emotion work through interviews with the French-Canadian ethnographer Marius Barbeau, Mary further contributed to the protection and preservation of Wyandot history and culture. During their visits, Mary gave Barbeau details concerning

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<sup>314</sup> Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 133.



traditional knowledge, material culture, songs, and oral histories.<sup>315</sup> Mary's involvement with Barbeau represents one way Wyandots conducted emotion work in the twentieth century.

In 1915 Mary sold Barbeau some of her mother's possessions (all made by women), each of which highlights different aspects of emotion work. The "piece of leather" measuring 32 by 27 cm that Katie hand-crafted using traditional Wyandot tanning practices exemplifies the complex relationship between women and material culture.<sup>316</sup> Women used objects to teach their daughters emotion work practices such as tanning methods for creating numerous items for soul desires. Mary Greyeye's elm bark tray for preparing food and dried corn underscores how Wyandot women prepared all the necessary goods for their community's survival and sacred ceremonies.<sup>317</sup> Mary also donated her own items including ornamental leggings and bundles containing traditional medicines like tobacco, "Indian Hemp," spicewood twigs, and bass-wood bark.<sup>318</sup> Mary also showed Barbeau many of her food processing tools and how to use them, for example how to pulverize sugar.<sup>319</sup> Continuing her mother's legacy, Mary employed her emotion

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<sup>315</sup> Charles Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1915); Charles Marius Barbeau, *How the Huron-Wyandot Was Saved From Oblivion* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, Incorporated, 1949); Charles Marius Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives in Translations and Native Texts* (Ottawa: Canada Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1960).

<sup>316</sup> Piece of Leather, 1911 or earlier, 111-H-71, Kathryn Quoqua, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>317</sup> Elm Bark Tray, 1911 or earlier, 111-H-308, Mary Greyeyes, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>318</sup> Leggings, 1911 or earlier, III-H-86 a-b, Mary McKee, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Brasswood Bark Bundle, 1911, III-H-73, Mary McKee, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Spicewood Twig Bundle, 1911, III-H-74, Mary McKee, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Indian Hemp, 1911, III-H-183, Mary McKee, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Tobacco, 1911, III-H-182, Mary McKee, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>319</sup> Photograph of two kettles belonging to Mary McKee, 1912, 19906, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Photograph of a spatula belonging to Mary McKee, 1912, 19905, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Photograph of Mary McKee with a mortar, pestle, and baskets, 1912, 19944, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Photograph of Mary McKee showing the process of pulverizing sugar, 1912, 19946, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Photograph of Mary McKee holding a wooden vessel, 1912, 19952, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Photograph of four wooden spoons, 1912, 19960, Marius Barbeau Fonds,

work mediating material objects for soul desires like creating ornamental leggings and medicine bundles for gifts and ceremony, then preserving these items until she transferred them to Barbeau. The act of transferring these items to Barbeau illustrates Mary's motivations to preserve Wyandot culture and history for her descendants just as her Ancestors had done for thousands of years.

Mary's desire to maintain traditional aspects of Wyandot identity is further reiterated in her interactions with Barbeau as he remarked that Mary was one of the last Wyandots to speak the language.<sup>320</sup> Mary divulged information on ancient Wyandot customs surrounding winter stories, the origin story, and Settler encounters.<sup>321</sup> Interacting with Barbeau was a way for Mary to preserve Wyandot culture, which was fundamental for future generations. Without these items or knowledge of how to create cultural objects, Wyandot descendants would not have this way to initiate community healing.

Mary McKee's tombstone reads: "Mary Tarema McKee, April 8, 1838 [to] June 11, 1922. Granddaughter of Wyandot Chief Quoqua, Mary was a keeper of traditions during turbulent times."<sup>322</sup> Turbulent times called for a return to traditional protocols. Mary and her mother responded to the colonial threats against their community through emotion work. Both generations of women constructed the necessary goods for soul desires, which were vital to emotional healing and wellbeing. Moreover, these women fulfilled their roles as traditional leaders taking active steps to protect their Ancestral homelands, deathways, and burial spaces.

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Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada; Photograph of a wooden mortar for corn, 1912, 19948 LS, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>320</sup> Barbeau, *How the Huron-Wyandot Was Saved From Oblivion*, 231; Barbeau, *Huron Wyandot Mythology*, xi.

<sup>321</sup> Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, xi, 5, 40, 59, 287; Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 49.

<sup>322</sup> Garrad, *Mary Mckee*, 15.

Catherine Tammaro and Judith Pidgeon Kukowski

Faith Keepers have a long history among the Wyandots. There were different kinds of Faith Keepers (often referred to as shamans in the historical record) who performed specific roles like healers, ceremonial leaders, religious consultants, and battle advisors.<sup>323</sup> This was strictly a female appointed position.<sup>324</sup> At their core, Faith Keepers are emotion workers. Every clan had a Faith Keeper to hold periodical festivals, make arrangements for celebration, deliver spiritual discourse when advisable, and conduct ceremonies.<sup>325</sup> Furthermore, Faith Keepers were responsible in overseeing people's behaviors and reporting any wrong-doing to council members.<sup>326</sup> All of these actions exemplify emotion work because they contribute to positive forms of healing and overall well-being. Despite its popularity and significance in the pre-contact era, there is no record of Faith Keepers during the reserve era.

Significantly, the modern Wyandot Confederacy appointed Catherine *Taąme'sre*<sup>?</sup> Tammaro (1948-) from the Speckled Turtle Clan as the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation Faith Keeper on 17 June 2017.<sup>327</sup> Her position reflects the core aspects of traditional Wyandot Faith Keepers, despite their modern context. Catherine acts as a ceremonial leader, a spiritual consultant, political advisor, and mental healer.<sup>328</sup> Acting on behalf of the modern Wyandot community, Catherine is an activist for burial sites, continually advocating for their protection and advising on cultural protocol in these sacred spaces. This recognition and responsibility is

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<sup>323</sup> Bill Twatio, "First Nations: Shamans, Warriors & Counting Coup: although written records are lacking, there is evidence that warfare was a constant way of life in North America long before the arrival of the Europeans," *Canadian Periodicals Index* (2009).

<sup>324</sup> Personal Correspondence, Kathryn Labelle (September 4, 2018).

<sup>325</sup> John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), 182.

<sup>326</sup> Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 182.

<sup>327</sup> Catherine Tammaro to Kathryn Labelle, Email Correspondence and Ceremony Invitation, May 03, 2017; Catherine Tammaro, "Catherine TAMMARO ART/DESIGN," Catherine TAMMARO ARTDESIGN RSS (accessed June 14, 2019), <http://catherinetammaro.com/>.

<sup>328</sup> Tammaro to Labelle, Correspondence.

not new to Catherine. Her emotion work pre-dates her appointment as a Faith Keeper. For instance, alongside other members of the Taiaiaiko'n Historical Preservation Society in Toronto, Ontario, Catherine advocated for the protection of the High Park burial mounds that were threatened by BMX bikers in 2012.<sup>329</sup> Catherine uses her role as a Faith Keeper to protect the Ancestors and sacred spaces like the Wyandot Cemetery.<sup>330</sup>

Catherine participates in emotion work overseeing and guiding coming-of-age ceremonies to create the enduring connections between individuals, their social identities, places, events, and objects, just like pre-contact and Anderdon Reserve women did. One important ceremony that Catherine oversees is the traditional naming ceremony where community members receive their Wyandot names, which takes place at the yearly Anderdon gathering called the Green Corn Feast.<sup>331</sup> Catherine not only organizes and conducts the ceremony, she works carefully preparing the individual's Wyandot name.

Elder and tribal genealogist Judith "Judy" *Kwendaenton* (she hears the great voice) Pidgeon Kukowski also uses emotion work for the modern Wyandot of Anderdon Nation.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Taiaiaiko'n Historical Preservation Society, "Request to Stop BMX/Skills Park in High Park by THPS, FOSM and Six Nations Grandmothers," Protecting High Park Burial Mounds, September 20, 2012 (accessed April 27, 2019), <https://taiaiakon.wordpress.com/2012/09/19/request-to-stop-bmxskills-park-in-high-park-by-thps-fosm-and-six-nations-grandmothers/>; Catherine Tamaro, "Haudenosaunee Sites of Cultural Importance Damaged in Toronto's Largest Park," Rabble.ca, March 11, 2011 (accessed May 06, 2019), <http://rabble.ca/news/2011/03/haudenosaunee-sites-historical-and-cultural-importance-damaged-torontos-largest-park>.

<sup>330</sup> Wyandot of Anderdon Annual Green Corn Feast and Annual Meeting, Fairhaven Township, August 2018.

<sup>331</sup> The Green Corn Feast is a yearly gathering just outside of Detroit, Michigan where all members of the Anderdon Nation come together to celebrate their Ancestors and heritage with cultural activities like the fireside sharing circle and Women's Circle, sacred ceremonies, and a feast. The Women's Circle was created by Tamaro in 2012 with the help of council members Judith Pidgeon Kukowski, and Susan Warrow, to build community and provide a safe space for Anderdon women. Not only does the sharing circle connect Anderdon women to one another, the Green Corn gathering brings together the community and allows members to renew their relationships with each other, the land, and the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. "Green Corn Feast – Michigan," Wyandot of Anderdon Nation (accessed May 26, 2019), [http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page\\_id=121](http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page_id=121); Catherine Tamaro, Email Correspondence, June 13, 2019.

<sup>332</sup> *Kwendaenton* comes from her Ancestor Catherine Jean dit Vien (*Nnendaenton* meaning "she sees the great voice"). Following historic Wyandot ways of living she is reawakening the spirit of her ancestor by acting in accordance with traits of Catherine Jean. Susan Warrow and Danny Shultze, "Elder Interview: Judith Pidgeon

Judy was born in 1945 and learned most of her Wyandot ancestral history from her grandfather Joseph “Archie” Pigeon of the Deer Clan as a young adult.<sup>333</sup> Her grandfather taught her traditional Wyandot practices, referring often to his wife, Judy’s great-grandmother Lucy.<sup>334</sup> Lucile “Lucy” Young spent many hours relaying Wyandot pipe smoking practices and histories to her grandson (Judy’s father) in the Wyandot language. Once Judy was old enough to understand the significance of these teachings, her grandfather passed on Lucy’s knowledge of ceremonies like smudging and smoking. After her grandfather’s passing, Judy’s grandmother continued the teachings including lessons on Wyandot customs like making strawberry tea, connecting with nature to understand sustainability, and the importance of thinking beyond oneself. As an adult, Judy has passed on these teachings to her children, as well as the larger Wyandot community. They are the legacy of pre-contact Wyandot emotion work. Using Judy’s knowledge, Anderdon Wyandots are able to heal and promote positive feelings and wellbeing through smoking, smudging, and the use of traditional medicines.

Rather than creating wampum or adornments like her Ancestors, Judy conducts genealogical research for the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. Judy uses traditional knowledge from the community in collaboration with colonial archives and accounts to uncover forgotten aspects of Wyandot culture and kinship.<sup>335</sup> Similarly to Catherine’s emotion work, Judy’s

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Kukowski," interview, Wyandot of Anderdon Nation: An Indigenous People of Turtle Island, November 08, 2015, (accessed March 29, 2019), [http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page\\_id=996](http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page_id=996).

<sup>333</sup> Archie’s son, Clyde Archie Pidgeon, was Judy’s father. Clyde’s generation changed the spelling of the name from Pigeon to Pidgeon. Judith Kukowski, Email Correspondence, May 08, 2019.

<sup>334</sup> Lucy was the daughter of William Young and Catherine Laforet born on 16 April 1858. She was baptized at St Jean the Baptiste in Amherstburg when she was two years old. Her mother Catherine was the daughter of war chief *Kionkonen*, also known as Mathias Laforet, of the Porcupine Clan and *Charaki* (Marguerite Warrow) of Deer Clan. Warrow et al., "Elder Interview: Judith Pidgeon Kukowski"; Kukowski, Email Correspondence.

<sup>335</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, also known as *Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France*, is a 71-volume series of French missionary entries, who lived amongst the Wyandot throughout the 1600 and 1700s originally written in French, Latin, and Italian. These entries were printed annually and sent to France. The documents contain vast amounts of information as they chronicled the lives of the missionaries and Wyandot they lived with. The USA Tribal Rolls are a collection of census rolls that contains various information on individuals

emotion work relates to a labour steeped in community well-being. Since contact between Indigenous and Settler societies, Indigenous people across North America have experienced cumulative waves of trauma and grief (i.e. disease, reserves, forced removals, Eurocentric policies/laws, residential schools, etc.), that have remained unresolved and neglected for generations.<sup>336</sup> This trauma has become deeply embedded in the collective memory of Indigenous societies affecting physical, economic, cultural, social, and psychological wellbeing.<sup>337</sup> Judy's research is therefore a critical tool in countering colonial trauma and restoring Wyandot culture and customs. Historic trauma takes generations to heal and the Wyandot are no exception.<sup>338</sup> As a society ravaged for centuries by disease, dispersals, and colonial conquest, modern Wyandots struggle to piece together past cultural practices and familial ties. Judy attempts to re-connect the past with the present, and, more importantly, bring together her family and community. This emotion work is vital to the healing of this historic trauma.<sup>339</sup> In this way, Judy's work is an extension of ancient Wyandot traditions with the same goal of healing her community in response to intense emotional experiences. These actions help bring Wyandots together, guide Wyandots through peak emotional events, as well as preserve traditional knowledge.

#### Male Emotion Work: Ted Warrow and Charles Garrad

Similar to pre-contact and reserve era Wyandot society, modern emotion work is not exclusively a woman's domain. Ted Warrow and Charles Garrad are a testament to this. Modern

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and communities such as name, age, sex, occupation, location, and so on. Warrow et al., "Elder Interview: Judith Pidgeon Kukowski."

<sup>336</sup> Cynthia C. Wesley-Esquimaux and Magdalena Smolewski, "Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing," *The Aboriginal Healing Foundation* (Anishinabe Printing: Maniwaki, 2004): III.

<sup>337</sup> Wesley-Esquimaux et al., "Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing," III.

<sup>338</sup> Wesley-Esquimaux et al., "Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing," IV.

<sup>339</sup> Wesley-Esquimaux et al., "Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing," 6 & 8.

Wyandot men have engaged in the custom to carry out emotion work by connecting Wyandots to their sacred spaces like the Anderdon council fire and Cemetery to heal their communities in response to historical trauma. Although this type of work was traditionally done by women prior to contact, Wyandot men have drawn on their Ancestral emotion work teachings for the benefit of their communities in the twentieth century. Rather than engaging in their traditional types of emotion work as master of ceremony, ceremonially mixing the bones and grave goods together during funerals, preparing the gravesite, and maintaining the burial fire, contemporary men continue the legacy of Wyandot women to preserve sacred spaces where intense emotional experiences took place.

### *Ted Warrow*

In 1999, Ted Warrow was acting as interim Chief of the Anderdon Wyandots for his father, who had recently passed.<sup>340</sup> At the time, Anderdon was composed of 80 members predominantly living in the United States—many of whom were working to trace their Indigenous history.<sup>341</sup> Warrow remembered his father teaching him aspects of Wyandot culture and traditional lifeways. He also remembered his father restoring the original council fire that was located in a swampy area near Anderdon and River Canard. Warrow stated that the 1833 surrender of the Cemetery was illegal, and it should not remain under government control. Warrow specified, “We’ve gotten to the point where we’re ready to stand up and fight for our rights... We are hoping that we can get some land claims—at least some of the islands (in the Detroit River) where there hasn’t been any development. We’d like to restore a traditional

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<sup>340</sup> Jacqueline Smrke, “Natives Bid to Restore Band Status,” *The Windsor Star*, July 15, 1997, in *Walking Through Windsor/Essex* (accessed April 27, 2019), <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/377>.

<sup>341</sup> In the newspaper article Warrow had estimated that there were at least 500 to 1200 Anderdon descendants in North America. Smrke, “Natives Bid to Restore Band Status.”

council fire which is established on sacred ground.”<sup>342</sup> As a direct response to the Cemetery being taken by the government, Warrow continued to pursue this mandate throughout his position as Chief, highlighting that although historically it was mainly women who took on the responsibility of protecting sacred sites, modern Anderdon men have taken up the task as well. Although men are conducting this emotion work, they are doing do with the same goals as the women—positive, appropriate responses to historical trauma that initiate healing. In this case, Warrow used the strategies of his Ancestors to preserve the Cemetery and council fire because these spaces are integral to Anderdon histories, ways of knowing, and, most importantly, healing.

### *Charles Garrad*

Mary McKee’s honorary adopted cousin and Wyandot ally, Charles Garrad received teachings from her family and participated in emotion work throughout the twentieth century to protect the Wyandot Cemetery as Settler colonialism continued to threaten the space.<sup>343</sup> Garrad advocated on behalf of modern Anderdon relatives as well as Wyandot Ancestors in the Cemetery by confronting Settlers trying to demolish the Cemetery and replace it with a public park. In addition, Garrad acted as Oklahoma Nation’s tribal historian for matters surrounding the Cemetery. Similar to the effects of Warrow’s emotion work, Garrad’s protection efforts were critical in sustaining a relationship between the Wyandots, their Ancestors, and their sacred spaces.

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<sup>342</sup> See, Smrke, “Natives Bid to Restore Band Status.”

<sup>343</sup> Garrad was a adopted member of the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma adopted by Cecilia (Cecile) Wallace, a respected senior matron whose grandmother, Mary Williams Walker, was Mary’s cousin. This adoption took place in 1975. Garrad was also later adopted into the Wyandot Nation of Kansas in 1999. This adoption took place during one of the many ceremonial proceedings during the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the dispersal. During the ceremony he was given the name *Sayonniondetha* meaning “he leads them home.” Kassandra Hanslep, *Charles Garrad, Sayonniondetha*, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario, 1 & 3; "Charles Garrad," Wyandotte Nation: Preserving the Future of Our Past (accessed May 06, 2019), <https://www.wyandotte-nation.org/community/tribal-profiles/special-friends/charles-garrad/>.



Twentieth century Settler perceptions of the Cemetery have been steeped in superstition. Settlers feared the Cemetery going as far to publish newspaper articles about sightings of multiple Wyandot ghosts sitting on the tombstones and wailing during the night.<sup>344</sup> This kind of fear fed local desire to use the remaining reserve lands for urban development. Around the mid-1900s, the neighbouring Protestant Wyandot Cemetery (located about 100 meters east along Essex Road 10, the Middle Side Road) was destroyed and a private school was built on top of the lands. The school building is now a private home in Windsor, leaving no remaining physical evidence of this cemetery.<sup>345</sup>

Wyandot community members were not consulted during the negotiations surrounding any of their cemetery spaces. Today, the government holds the remaining Wyandot Cemetery lands in trust to the Anderdon Wyandots.<sup>346</sup> During the early 1980s discussions surrounding the acquisition of the lands began between regional conservation authorities and members of the Wapole Island First Nation. At these negotiations, a council suggested that the Cemetery be combined with a nearby park known as Angstrom Park. This new park would contain a rock shoreline, a drainage ditch pouring into the Detroit River, walkways, a picnic shelter, viewing deck, an interpretive center, and a parking lot with eleven spaces, totaling approximately 2.5 acres.<sup>347</sup>

Although the park council easily gained support from neighbouring households, there were several obstacles for the project. First, the proposed park needed a great deal of financial support. The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources agreed to \$10,000, which was used to hire

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<sup>344</sup> “Ghosts at Wyandotte Cemetery,” *Amherstberg Echo*, April 1, 1932, in *Walking Through Windsor/Essex* (accessed March 1), 2019, <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/386>.

<sup>345</sup> Al Roach, “Reflections from an Indian Burial Ground,” September 1985, in *Walking Through Windsor/Essex*, accessed March 1, 2019, <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/379>.

<sup>346</sup> Doug Firby, “Indian Graveyard Eyed as Park Site,” *Windsor Star*, May 23, 1981, Anderdon Cemetery File, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>347</sup> See, Firby, “Indian Graveyard Eyed as Park Site.”

engineers. After no further supports were offered, the park council assumed all responsibilities and gained some funds from 23 Essex region municipalities following the advice of the Essex Region Conservation Authority.<sup>348</sup> However, there was an overall lack of funding for the project. Secondly, since the Cemetery is protected under The Department Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (formerly the Department of Indian Affairs) the council had to negotiate with Canadian government representatives to acquire the land. After negotiations began, Indian Affairs spokesperson Gordon Walker stated that the Department was acting on behalf of the Indigenous owners but was going to consult Wapole Island's Chief, Williamson Tooshkenig. Tooshkenig raised concerns, not that the park was being constructed, but that walkways should not be constructed over Ancestors' graves.

Doug Firby, a journalist for the *Windsor Star*, heard about the project and wrote an article about the situation on 23 May 1981. He stated that after six months of negotiations with the federal government, the park council voted to abolish the project.<sup>349</sup> Since the government held the Cemetery lands in trust for the Wyandots, the council was not able to complete the park. Garrad read Firby's article and took up the task of ensuring that the park project remain closed indefinitely. He contacted Firby acting on behalf of the Anderdon Wyandots living in Oklahoma and Kansas. Garrad wrote that this cemetery belonged to the descendants living in Oklahoma, Kansas, Michigan, and Ontario.<sup>350</sup> In addition, Garrad included arguments that focused on the ways in which the Cemetery showed evidence of a lack of maintenance by the Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>351</sup> Further to the letter to Firby, Garrad wrote to the park project managers and the

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<sup>348</sup> This cost sharing was possible under the Metro Windsor Waterfront Study of 1976 that recognized this area as "regionally significant." See, Firby, "Indian Graveyard Eyed as Park Site."

<sup>349</sup> See, Doug Firby, "Plans Dropped for a Park Beside Cemetery," *Windsor Star*, November 27, 1981, Anderdon Cemetery File, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>350</sup> Charles Garrad to Doug Firby, correspondence, May 26, 1981, Anderdon Cemetery File, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>351</sup> Charles Garrad to Doug Firby, correspondence.

engineers who proposed the idea.<sup>352</sup> Garrad also contacted the Oklahoma Wyandotte chief, Phillip Peacock. Garrad informed Peacock of the situation, describing the cemetery as “this quiet, beautiful and holy spot is all that remains of the former extensive Wyandotte lands in the Detroit River area, where the Wyandottes were once the dominant Tribe.”<sup>353</sup> Despite Settler attempts to destroy the Cemetery and desecrate Wyandot Ancestral remains, Garrad helped to stop the continuation of attacks on the Cemetery. Just as other modern Anderdon members (Catherine, Judy, and Ted), Garrad has participated in emotion work to protect Ancestral burial sites to promote positive feelings that spark patterns of community healing.

Garrad’s advocacy for the Anderdon Cemetery demonstrates a similar emotion work to Chief Warrow. That is not to say that all actions to preserve culture of contemporary men, or Wyandots more generally, is emotion work. However, the actions to protect burial spaces is emotion work because deathways and emotional regulation are intricately connected in Wyandot society. Moreover, these sites in particular contain the elements of peak experiences that mark important events in Wyandot history. For these men, the sites were a means to maintain connections with traditions such as Wyandot deathway practices and preserve community healing for future generations.

#### Seven Generations: The Six Points Site

Some aspects of emotion work among the Wyandot of Anderdon in the twenty-first century have become a community affair. The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation Six Point Project near Woodhaven, Michigan is such an example. The project is a collaborative effort between

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<sup>352</sup> Charles Garrad to Chief Phillip Peacock, correspondence, May 28, 1981, Anderdon Cemetery File, Charles Garrad Private Collection, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>353</sup> Charles Garrad to Chief Phillip Peacock, correspondence.

Indigenous and Settler stake holders to create an educational and cultural space for the Wyandots (see A.11).<sup>354</sup> Leaders in this important initiative include Wyandot of Anderdon members: Grand Chief Ted Roll, Second Chief D’Arcy Tamaro, Family Chief Susan Warrow, with the support of Judith Kukowski, and Catherine Tamaro. In addition, Bob Grese, the Chair of Ecosystem Management from the University of Michigan, John Hartig, the Manager for Detroit River International Wildlife Refuge, and Scott Bentley, Superintendent–River Raisin National Battlefield Park are also coordinating the project.<sup>355</sup>

This space will fulfill several tribal and educational needs that seek to result in community healing through emotion work. Some aspects of the site will be available to the public, while others, such as the spiritual and cultural longhouse, will remain private for exclusive use by the Wyandot. Traditional buildings of the site, like the longhouse, will provide safe spaces for spiritual and cultural gatherings.<sup>356</sup> Significantly, Six Points will also include a space for repatriated Ancestral remains.<sup>357</sup> Including an area for repatriated remains allows Wyandots to reconnect with their Ancestors and the past emotion work that went into the original burial. Mourning, healing, and memorializing as a means to recover and preserve former traditions of burials will be an important aspect of this emotion work. Following pre-contact

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<sup>354</sup> See A.11.

<sup>355</sup> Jessica D’Alfonso, “Wyandot of Anderdon Nation reveals conceptual layout for Six Points property in Gibraltar,” Wyandot of Anderdon Nation in conjunction with the University of Michigan: School of Natural Resources and Environment, April 15, 2019 (accessed May 27, 2019), [http://www.thenewsherald.com/news/wyandot-of-anderdon-nation-reveals-conceptual-layout-for-six-points/article\\_b72aac66-5ec1-11e9-8705-5ff8f61aed05.html](http://www.thenewsherald.com/news/wyandot-of-anderdon-nation-reveals-conceptual-layout-for-six-points/article_b72aac66-5ec1-11e9-8705-5ff8f61aed05.html).

<sup>356</sup> Other aspects include: a museum and a log cabin for tribal offices (reminiscent of the housing the Anderdon Wyandots used in the 1800s); an educational village to accompany the public museum; and a large community center to hold up to 200 people for large gatherings like the Annual Green Corn Feast. The Anderdon Green Corn Feast is a yearly gathering for Wyandots from not only the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, but from across the modern diaspora. Currently, the Feast takes place in Woodhaven, Michigan in August and will later take place at the Six Points site. At this gathering Wyandots organize public activities such as the picnic and awards ceremony, and council announcements, as well as private activities like the Women’s Circle. The Anderdon Green Corn Feast also hosts the sacred naming ceremony where Wyandot individuals receive traditional Wyandot names from the Faith Keeper and leading council members. D’Alfonso, “Wyandot of Anderdon Nation.”

<sup>357</sup> D’Alfonso, “Wyandot of Anderdon Nation.”

Wyandot deathways, this space acts as a temporary primary burial site where Wyandots can protect and care for Ancestral remains before secondary reburial. Similar to the nineteenth-century burial of Eliza Splitlog, Wyandots will be able to honour the Ancestors with both traditional and non-traditional ceremonies or blessings. Using this space, Anderon Wyandots will be able to participate in emotion work through community healing and deep emotional expression effectively connecting their communities to each other, sacred spaces, and Ancestors.

## Conclusion

Generations of Anderdon Wyandot women have conducted emotion work to protect Wyandot sacred spaces. This is reflected in the actions of key women like Katie Quoqua and Mary McKee, whose emotion work led to the critical preservation of Wyandot culture during turbulent times. These women kept guard of burial sites and Wyandot land. Burial spaces also provided the necessary goods and opportunities for Anderdon Wyandots to continue to participate in soul desires. These soul desirers could take on many forms such as smoking, feasting, gift-giving, ceremony, and bodily adornment. For instance, Mary actively participated in the soul desires of bodily adornment and gift-gifting, which is reflected in her interactions with Marius Barbeau as she gifted him handmade body decor.

The work of Katie and Mary has informed the emotion work of modern Wyandot relatives. Faith Keeper Catherine Tammaro brings her community closer to the Ancestors through the sacred naming ceremony that takes place annually at the Green Corn Feast. Similarly, Elder and tribal genealogist Judith Kukowski preserves Wyandot smoking ceremonies and maintains ancestral kinship ties through her research. Together, Tammaro and Kukowski use

emotion work strategies to promote healing in their communities and address centuries of historic trauma induced by colonial encounters.

Men continue to conduct emotion work, as well. Men like Chief Ted Warrow and Charles Garrad are good examples of the ways men have protected and preserved Wyandot sacred spaces. Their work has focused specifically in the preservation and creation of cultural landscapes. Wyandot Chief Ted Warrow listened to his father's teachings when he chose to fight for rights to the Wyandot Cemetery and the original council fire. Charles Garrad was inspired by Wyandot lessons of sacred and spiritual traditions, which led him to protect the Cemetery from being turned into a park in the 1980's. The activism of both Warrow and Garrad are deeply rooted in emotion work and preserving sacred spaces for future generations of Wyandots. Without these sites, the opportunity for emotion work becomes difficult as Wyandots are not able to initiate community healing or engage in soul desires like maintaining Ancestral remains and conducting sacred ceremonies.

Together, modern Wyandots have continued to conduct emotion work with the same goals as their Ancestors. Modern Anderdon leaders continue to provide opportunities for their community to come together and engage in soul desires such as ceremony, feasting, and smoking. Moreover, emotion workers still engage in this responsibility to ease and benefit their community while simultaneously promoting positive feelings and emotional wellbeing. This emotion work led to the protection of historic sacred spaces such as the Wyandot Cemetery and the creation of new ones like the Six Points site.

## Conclusion

On 26 May 1953, Canada's Historic Sites and Monuments Board erected a plaque that recognized the Anderdon Wyandots for their contributions to British military efforts. The plaque reads, "Near this spot the ancient Council House of the Wyandot Indians (descendants of the early Hurons), consistent allies of the British during the War of 1812. Many of the tribe are buried in the cemetery nearby."<sup>358</sup> The Board later revised the plaque so that it included more information on the significant Wyandot presence in the area. The final version is now located inside the entrance of the Wyandot Cemetery (see A.1), it reads:

This area was once the home of the Wyandot, remnants of the Huron, Neutrals, and Petuns who were dispersed by the Iroquois in the 1640's. Some eventually reunited and settled along the Detroit River, where they became known as the Hurons of Detroit, or Wyandot. After the fall of New France, the Wyandot became supporters of the British during the American Revolution although many remained neutral in the War of 1812. In the 1840's a number of the Wyandot were moved to a reserve in Kansas while others stayed to help develop this region.<sup>359</sup>

This plaque acts as a reminder to the long complex history of the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. Interestingly, although the plaque is located within the fence of the cemetery, there is little mention of the site itself or its contested past. Rather, the plaque underscores Canadian military conquests and the Wyandot's involvement in colonial wars. Put another way, the plaque demonstrates that Settlers have continued the narrative of destruction accentuated in early Wyandot scholarship.<sup>360</sup> The glaring silence of acknowledging the modern Wyandot community, as well as the significant contributions beyond military battles, perpetuates a vanishing Indian

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<sup>358</sup> "Wyandot (Hurons) National Historic Event," Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, Parks Canada (accessed May 06, 2019), [https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1175](https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1175).

<sup>359</sup> See A.1; Country Rd. 20 (Front Rd. N.) and Country Rd. 10, Amherstburg, Ontario is the exact location of the plaque. "Wyandot (Hurons) National Historic Event."

<sup>360</sup> Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians: 1615-1649* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 1964); Conrad E. Heidenreich, *The Huron: A Brief Ethnography* (Toronto, Ontario: York University Press, 1972); Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976).

myth that has allowed the government to neglect and ignore the Cemetery and the Wyandot people.

This thesis draws attention to important aspects that the Cemetery plaque, and current scholarship, do not. It has attempted to understand the complex relationship between Wyandot women and burial spaces through their emotion work from pre-contact Wendake to the modern Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. The results of this study demonstrate that Wyandots continued practicing emotion work to enable community healing, provide soul desires, and create bonds to traditional spaces. Burial spaces are particularly important in emotion work as these sites encompass all aspects of this concept. First, deathways are centered around soul desires and activities like smoking, dancing, feasting, and sacred ceremony to promote healing during times of peak emotional experiences such as trauma, grief, and anger. Second, the funerals themselves paired with the act of physically interring the bones of the Ancestors into the land, creates enduring relationships between modern Wyandots, their Ancestors, and homelands. These traditions and spaces are the ways in which the Wyandots heal from the loss of loved ones. In the Anderdon Wyandot context, both modern women and men engage in this work to promote healing across the Anderdon Nation.

An overview of Wyandot women, burial practices, and emotion work with a focus on the nineteenth-century Wyandot Cemetery supports what other scholars have found to be true in the seventeenth century—Wyandots did not assimilate into Christian-European society, nor did Wyandot women succumb completely to patriarchal authority. This research showcases the agency of Wyandot women as they navigated through nineteenth and twentieth century Settler societies. Wyandot women worked behind the scenes constructing the tools and goods of the Confederacy so Wyandots could preserve their culture. Just as their Ancestors had done,



nineteenth century Wyandots relied on their emotion work to overcome historic trauma caused by colonialism.

This thesis also contributes methodologically, as it exposes new insights that could only be attained through an ethnohistorical and community-engaged project. First, building on previous ethnohistorical works by leading Indigenous scholars like Keith Carlson and Kathryn Labelle, my research demonstrates the importance of comparing Settler style sources with Indigenous perspectives. With triangulation between Wyandot and non-Wyandot sources, this project illustrates a narrative of agency as opposed to victimhood and colonial dominance. Second, observing many aspects of syncretic and dualistic occurrences was only possible through investigating pre-contact Indigenous life, the scholarship of which is mainly archeological and anthropological. Finally, my community-based research is a model that supports reciprocity and mutual respect. This approach allowed for invaluable experiential learning and access to unique and often overlooked sources. Contributing to the growing body of scholarship that values Indigenous perspectives, this approach provides another example of the ways historians and communities can collaborate to create decolonized projects.

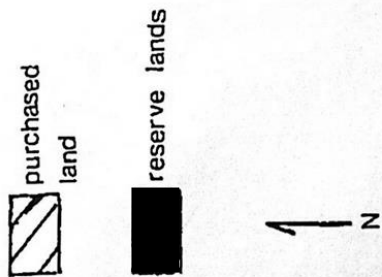
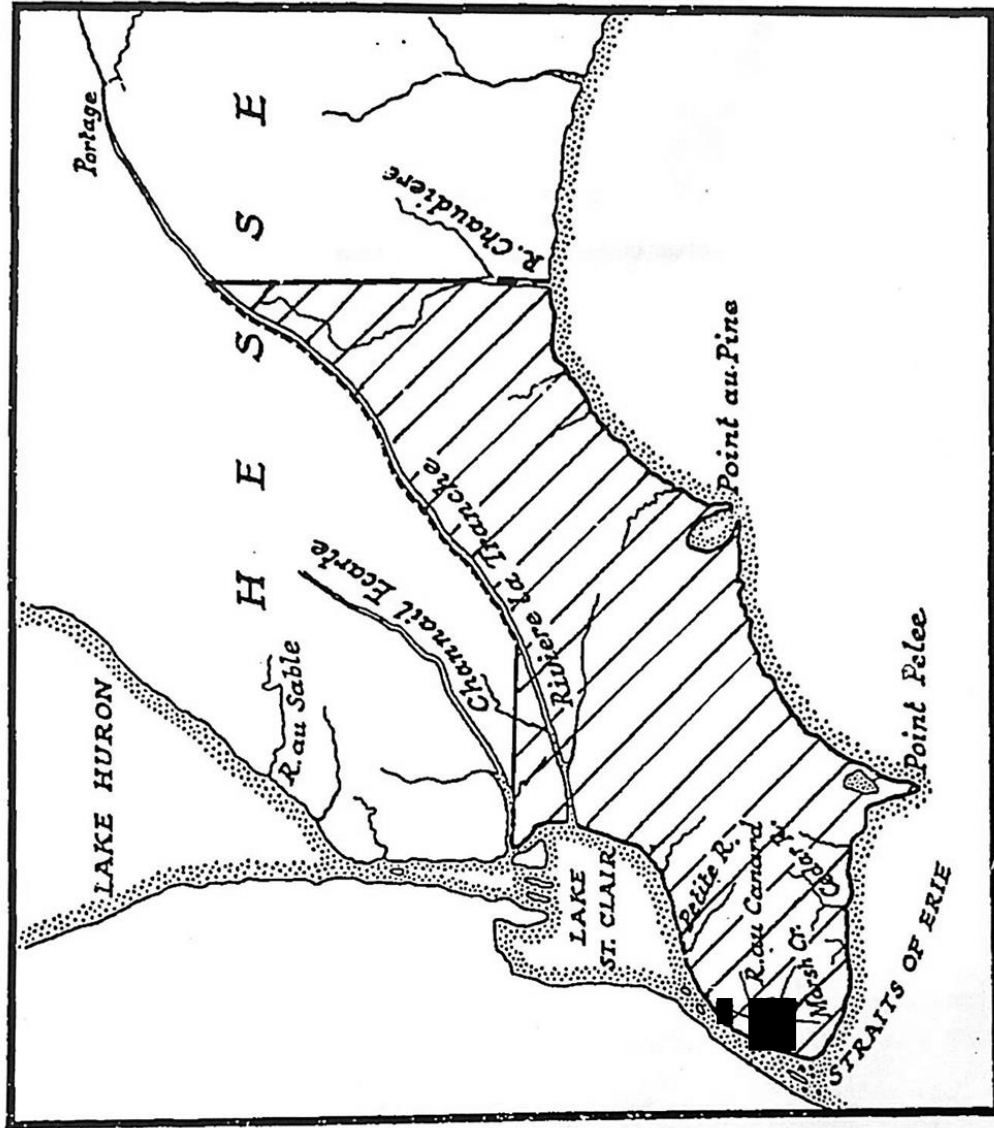
## Appendix



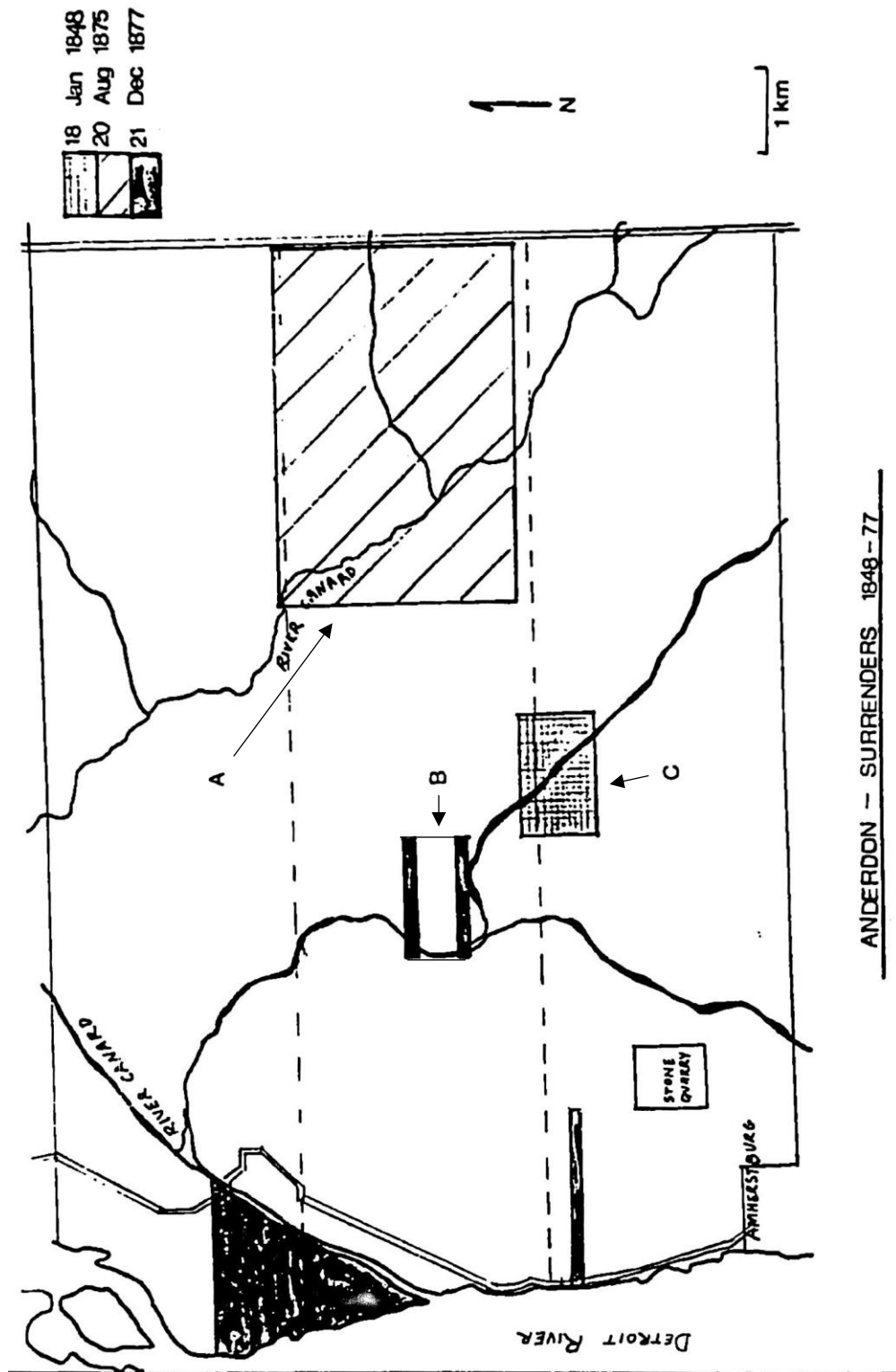
*A.1: Mckelvey Kelly, Wyandot Indian Cemetery Gate, photograph (August 2018). The entrance to the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery located at 968 Hwy 18, Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario. In the right of the photo is a historic plaque that Canada's Historic Sites and Monuments Board erected to recognize the Wyandot's involvement in the development of the region.*



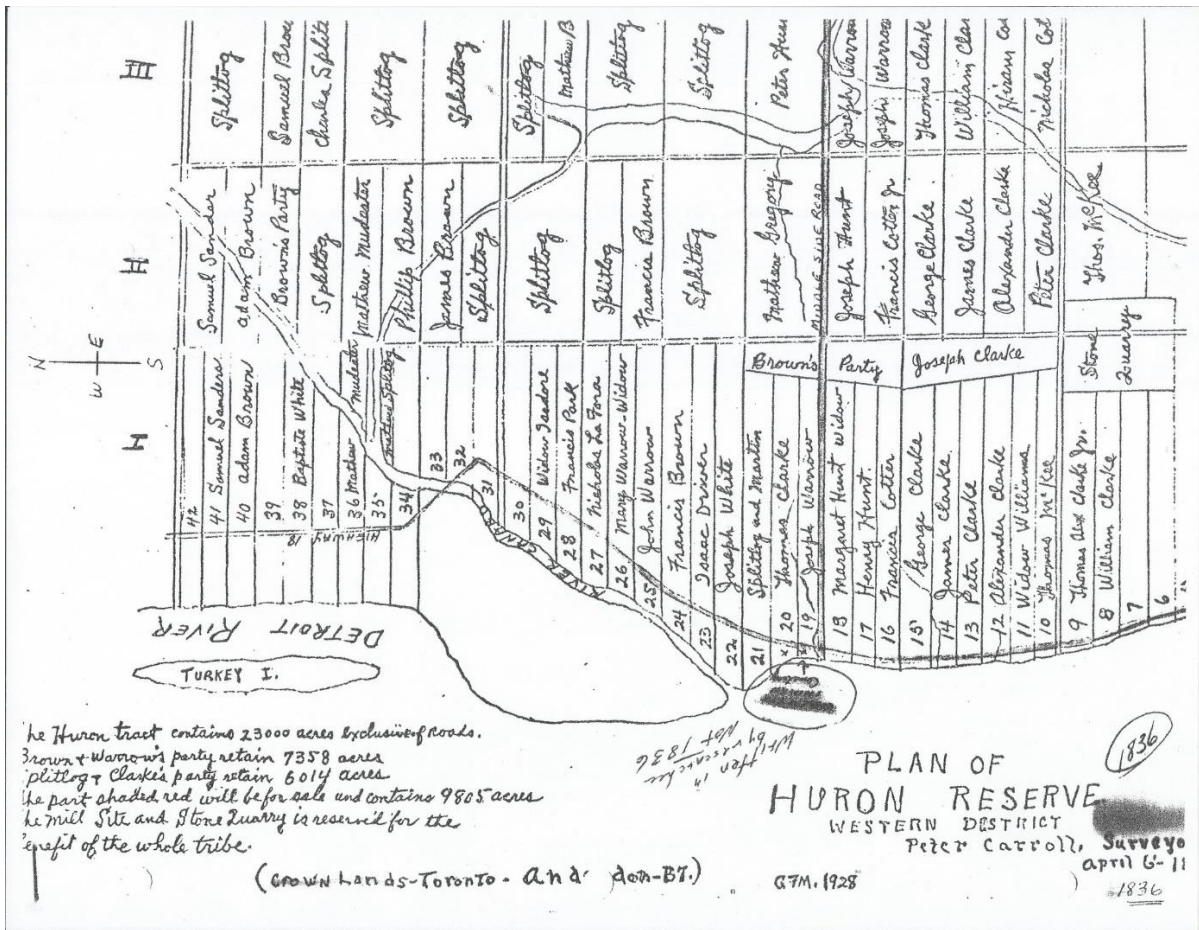
A.2: Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 12. A map of the original Wyandot Country showing the distribution of Wyandot and other tribes in the lower great lakes area, c. 1630.



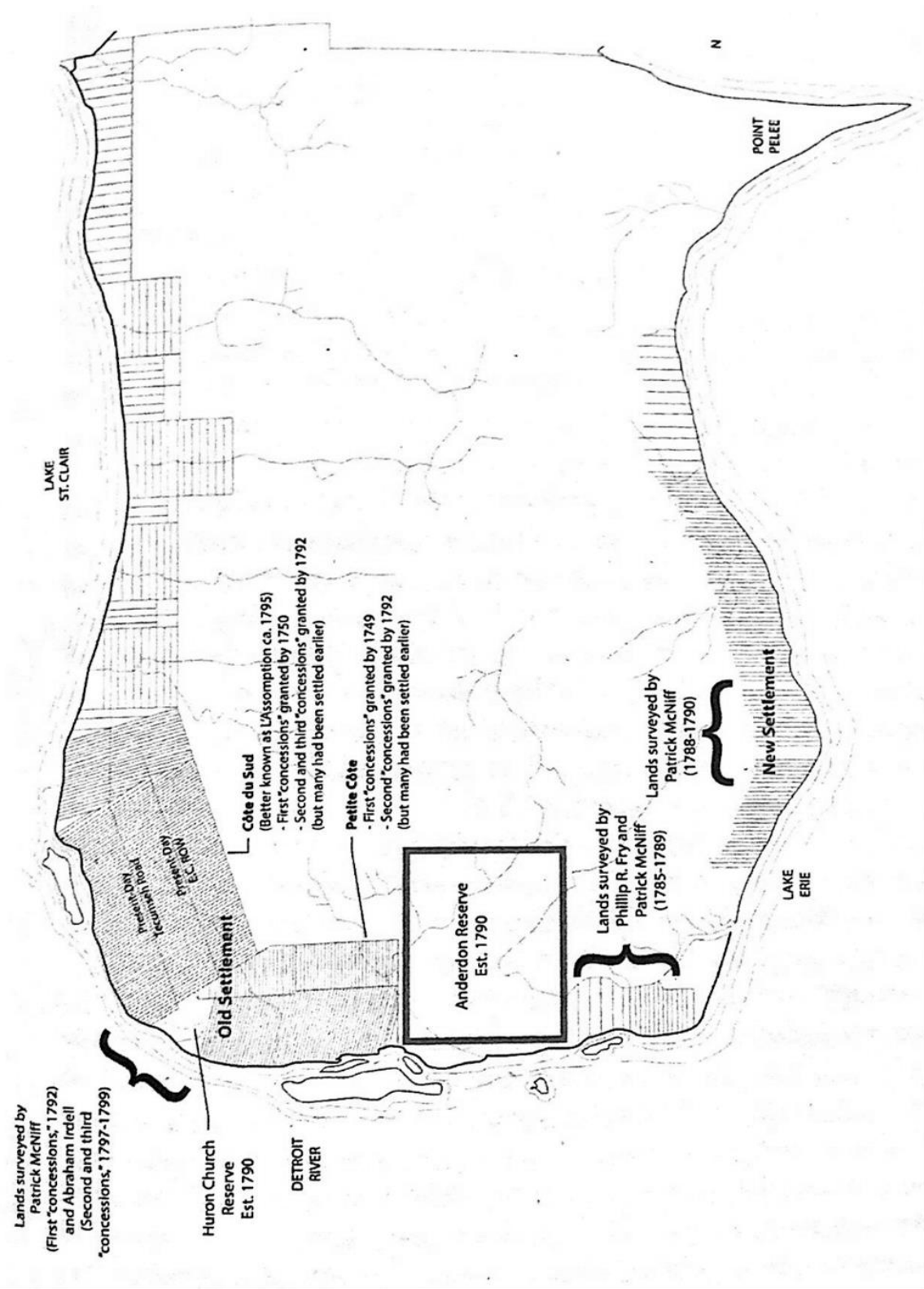
A.3: Laurie Leclair, "McKee Purchase, 19 May 1790," in "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 88. A map representing the McKee purchase on 19 May 1790 that established the Anderdon Township.



A.4: Laurie Leclair, "Anderdon Surrenders, 1848-1877," in "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," 91. A map demonstrating three separate surrenders of Anderdon lands on 18 January 1848, 20 August 1875, and 21 December 1877.



A.5: Peter Carroll, "Map of the Western District of the Huron Reserve," Walking Through Windsor/Essex, April 1836 (accessed 27 March 2018), <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/394>. A map of the original 1780 Anderdon Reserve and land plots, their owners, and tallies the land for sale. The cemetery is located along the shoreline of the Detroit River in Essex County, Ontario underneath plots 20 and 19.



A.6: Guillaume Teasdale, "Map of Essex County, 1795," in *Fruits of Perseverance: The French Presence in the Detroit River Region, 1701-1815* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2019). Map outlining the layout of the Windsor region after the McKee Purchase in 1790.



A.7: Mckelvey Kelly, Mondoron Chief of the Wyandottes Gravesite, photograph (August 2018). The tombstone of Chief Joseph White, born 19 January 1808, died 28 February 1880. White was buried inside the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery located at 968 Hwy 18, Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario.





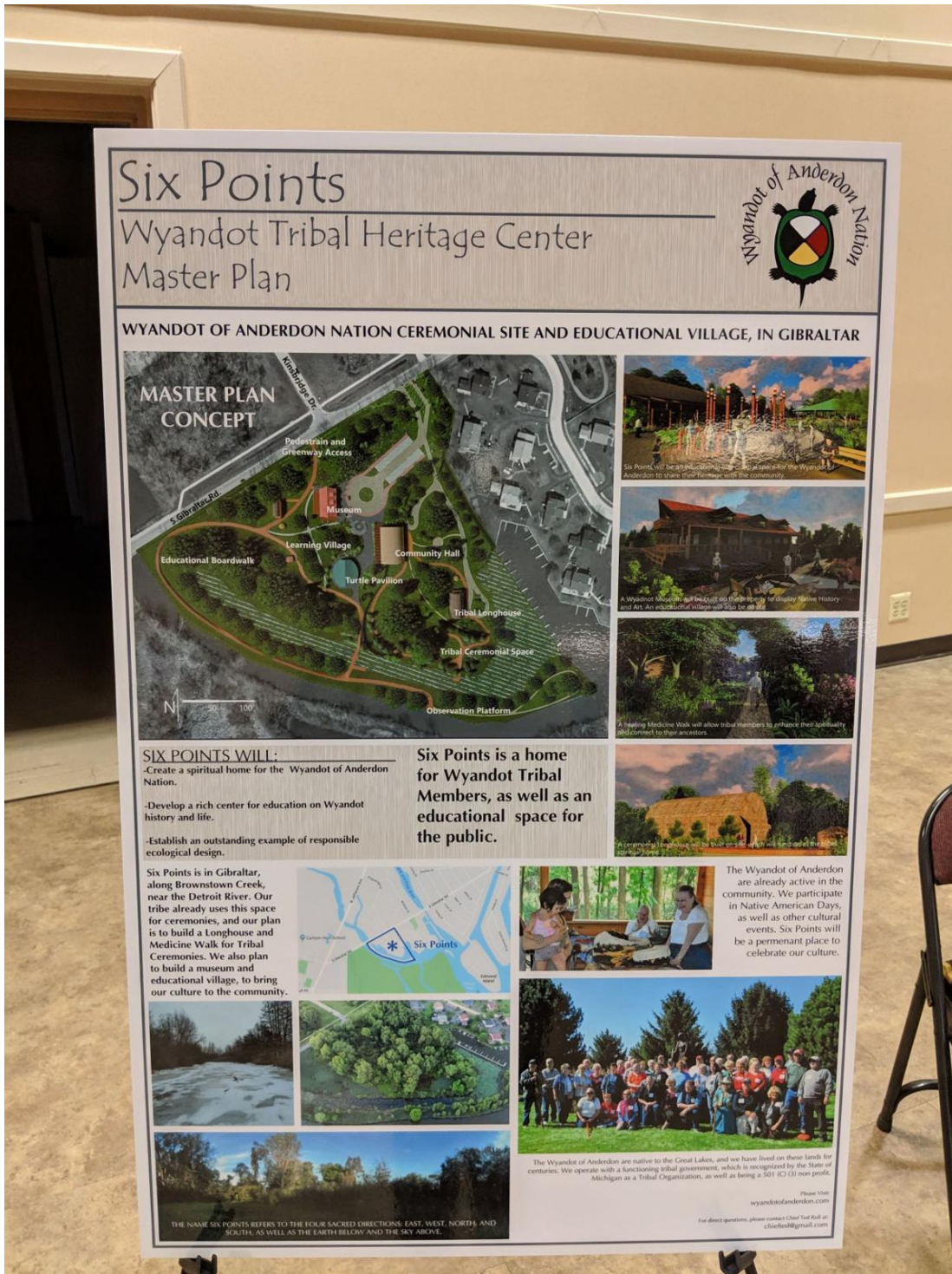
A.8: Mckelvey Kelly, Josephine White and White Family Gravesite, photograph (August 2018). The tombstone of the White family. The east side includes Josephine and Alex's sons: Clayton, died 1 February 1888, died 19 years, 5 months, and 15 days; Robbie, died 19 October 1886, aged 9 years, and 26 days; and Archie, died 1 April 1887, aged 16 years, 10 months, and 27 days. The north side includes Josephine, beloved wife of Alex White, died 13 August 1890, and Genevieve, daughter of Josephine and Alex, died 6 September 1891.



A.9: "Peter White 1879," *Walking Through Windsor/Essex*, accessed May 29, 2019, <http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/document/414>. Front side of a White family gravesite. This side memorializes Peter M. White, died 31 December 1878, aged 28 years. The north side is engraved with Beatrice, died 16 March 1881, aged 5 years, and 5 months. The south side is engraved with Eugene Oswald, born 13 January 1874.



*A.10: Mckelvey Kelly, Margaret Splitlog Gravesite, photograph (August 2018). The tombstone of Margaret Splitlog, died 27 May 1818, aged 19 years. Splitlog was buried inside the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery located at 968 Hwy 18, Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario.*



A.11: Jessica D'Alfonso, "Wyandot of Anderdon Nation reveals conceptual layout for Six Points property in Gibraltar," *Wyandot of Anderdon Nation in conjunction with the University of Michigan: School of Natural Resources and Environment*, April 15, 2019 (accessed May 27, 2019),

[http://www.thenewsherald.com/news/wyandot-of-anderdon-nation-reveals-conceptual-layout-for-six-points/article\\_b72aac66-5ec1-11e9-8705-5ff8f61aed05.html](http://www.thenewsherald.com/news/wyandot-of-anderdon-nation-reveals-conceptual-layout-for-six-points/article_b72aac66-5ec1-11e9-8705-5ff8f61aed05.html). Photograph of the master plan for the Six Points site.

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