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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Articles

William Engelbrecht, Sean Hanrahan, Roderick B. Salisbury
Perforator and Graver Use in an Iroquoian Village 1-30

Francis Scardera and David Moyer
Seneca Lake Rock Art: The Perils of Iconographic Misrepresentations 31-59

William Fox
The Susquehannock Connection 60-66

Tributes

Larry Hauptman, Reflections by Terry Abrams 67-68

Cover Photo Credit : Terry Abrams

Master List of Programs 69-149

Perforator and Graver Use in an Iroquoian Village

William Engelbrecht, Sean Hanrahan, Roderick B. Salisbury

Abstract

Perforators and gravers are chipped stone tools that are poorly defined in the archaeological literature and have not been given adequate attention. We discuss 116 specimens from the Eaton site, a multi-component site containing the remains of a mid-sixteenth century Iroquoian village. Perforators are used to create holes in soft material like deerskin and bark. While bone awls are usually assumed to have been used for this purpose, few bone awls were recovered from Eaton, suggesting that chipped stone perforators served as a functional alternative. Gravers are used to groove or gouge materials, especially materials of medium hardness like wood, bone, and antler. When one considers the importance of perforating deerskin for sewing, perforating bark sheets for building, and the working of wood, bone, and antler, it is apparent that chipped stone perforators and gravers had an importance at sites like Eaton that has not been realized.

Introduction

A total of 116 stone tools with a pointed projection or spur were recovered from the Eaton site, a multi-component site located in West Seneca, New York (Figure 1). It was intermittently occupied from the Late Paleoindian through the early nineteenth century (Roets et al. 2014; Smith et al. 2010). The major component is an Iroquoian village dating to the mid-sixteenth century. Eaton was the subject of 17 summer archaeological field school excavations conducted between 1975 and 2000. A total of 257 2-m² units were excavated and all soil from these units was either sifted using quarter inch mesh or was subject to flotation. These excavations resulted in the recovery of a large quantity of chipped stone tools and 335,433 pieces

of lithic debris. Given the large quantity of debris, it is possible that not all specimens with a spur were identified, though all flakes with a dimension greater than one half inch were carefully examined and 3,085 utilized flakes were identified. This number does not include utilized flakes with a notch or the utilized flakes making up some of the specimens in this study. Since most of the culturally diagnostic material is Iroquoian, it is assumed that most of the chipped stone tools with projections were used by the Iroquoian villagers.

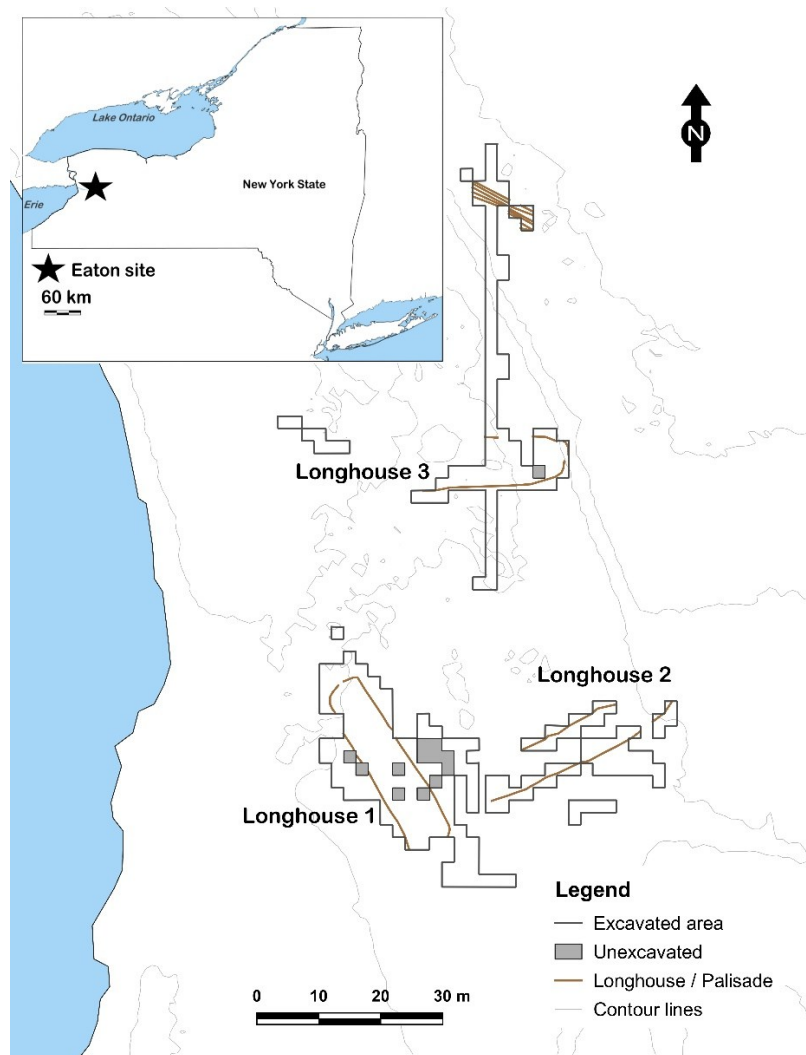


Figure 1. The Eaton site.

Archaeologists use a variety of type names for chipped stone specimens with a projection (spur) including awls, borers, burins, gravers, gouges, perforators, and piercers. The name used typically varies depending on the region where the specimens were found and the cultural period to which they belong. In the past this was done for culture historical purposes, but modern dating techniques render this practice unnecessary (Tomášková 2005). An unfortunate legacy of using multiple names for this type of stone tool is that it limits comparisons between stone tool assemblages from different areas and time periods.

From a survey of the literature in which either the term perforator or graver is used, it is apparent that the terms tend to be used interchangeably, even though their implied function is different. For example, Nero (1957) describes a site in Wisconsin with a large proportion of gravers but then states that many were likely used for perforating in activities like sewing or tattooing. Lynott (1975:123) observed that the terms perforator and graver are used differently in the Americas and Europe.

In a recent study Engelbrecht and Hanrahan (n. d.) provide criteria to distinguish between perforators and gravers. The criteria focus on the morphology of the projection measuring both the distal angle and perimeter. The distal angle was measured with the specimen laid flat on a goniometer and the perimeter was measured with dental tape wrapped around the projection 4 mm from the tip. A use wear analysis was then performed on 30 specimens representing a range of projection forms. They were placed in either the perforator or graver category based on an assessment of their dominant wear pattern. Perforators have a greater incidence of edge serrations while gravers evidenced greater morphological change on the distal end and upper lateral edges, including more intense edge polishing and edge rounding (see Figures 2 and 3 in Engelbrecht and Hanrahan n.d. for illustrations). Thirteen specimens with a sharp, thin projection

were found to have perforation use wear. Seventeen specimens with a range of projection forms were found to have graver use wear. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate specimens with perforator and graver use wear respectively. A detailed use wear analysis of each of the 30 specimens is presented in the *Eaton Chipped Stone Tool Use Wear Collection* on the Digital Archaeological Record (tDAR), <https://core.tdar.org/collection/71221/eaton-chipped-stone-tool-use-wear> (tDAR).



Figure 2. Perforators. Top row tool numbers (left to right): 1602, 1628, 1631, 1049, 1577. Middle row: 1609, 1593, 1611, 1600, 940. Bottom row: 1617, 1591, 1381, 1035, 1596.



Figure 3. Gravers. Top row tool numbers (left to right): 1013, 1587, 1603, 1572, 1386. Bottom row: 1565, 921, 1031, 956, 1053

Since specimens with graving use wear have a morphology that overlaps with specimens with perforation use wear, it is not possible to differentiate the functions of perforating and graving solely based on the form of the projection. Indeed, a specimen with a narrow sharp projection could be used as either a perforator or graver. As Tomášková (2005:105) notes, specimens exhibiting multiple types of use wear would not be expected to correlate with a specific morphology. In Figure 3 (specimens with graver use wear), tool 1356 (top row, far right) and tool 921 (bottom row, second from left) are perforators given our criteria. This is because tool use is a separate question from that of tool typology (Andrefsky 1998, Odell 1981). To use modern analogies, you can break up a chunk of ice with a screwdriver or scrape frost from a car windshield with a credit card, but the tools used are not an ice pick or ice scraper. To provide a consistent measure with which to classify specimens, Engelbrecht and Hanrahan (n. d.) propose that specimens with projections with a distal angle of 40 degrees or less and a perimeter

of 20 mm or less be termed perforators and those with greater dimensions be termed gravers. Using these criteria, the sample of chipped stone specimens with projections from the Eaton site consists of 68 perforators and 48 gravers. For a detailed listing of the location and attributes of these specimens, see Eaton Chipped Stone Perforators and Gravers, <https://core.tdar.org/dataset/497107/eaton-chipped-stone-perfortors-and-gravers>. Typing perforators and gravers in a consistent manner will facilitate comparing assemblages from different sites described by different investigators.

Perforator and Graver Function

Perforators create holes in soft material. While bone or copper awls or even thorns can be used to do this, stone perforators are often used in societies lacking metal needles (Bates et al. 2022; Calvo et al. 2019; Doyon et al. 2023; Gilligan et al. 2024; Judge 1973; Maika 2012; Miller and Logan 2016; Sherwood and Forssman 2004; Vaughan 1985:491). To create holes in material that is of medium hardness or greater, drills are used. Drills typically have a chipped stone bit that is biconical or diamond shaped in cross section. While some drills were used functionally as perforators (Engelbrecht et al. 2023; Miller and Redmond 2016; Smallwood et al. 2020) most were not. Drills are typically hafted to a shaft which is rotated by twirling between the hands or rotated by mechanical means using devices such as a strap drill, bow drill, or pump drill. At Eaton, 81 whole drills and 115 drill fragments were recovered and described (Engelbrecht 2023; Engelbrecht et al. 2023).

Perforation of soft materials typically involves a pushing motion which is often accompanied by a twisting or semi-rotary action. Experiments suggest that it is difficult to perforate relatively soft material using a stone perforator without twisting (de la Foret 2016; Maika 2012:132). Twisting is reflected in the smoothing and polishing of edges. Additionally,

micro-fracturing and subtle scalar scarring often occur during these twisting motions, especially on tools with thinner edges. Quinn et al. (2008:161-162) found that the sharpest perforators in a Neolithic site were likely used on material like leather. Alternatively, hide would need to be placed on a hard surface and then a stone perforator and hammer used to punch a hole. Recent experiments by Doyon et al. (2023) argue for the effectiveness of striking dihedral burins with a soft hammer to produce holes in hides.

Gravers are used to groove or gouge materials. Grooving and gouging involve unidirectional pushing motions. Experiments suggest that graver tips used in a pulling motion tend to break (Nero 1957; Maika 2012:31). Burins have a chisel-like edge which is used to groove or gouge materials though narrow sharp burins can be used to punch holes in soft material as well. Burins are formed by the removal of a small flake (burin spall) to form a graving edge. While burins are often thought of as a tool, not all burins have evidence of use wear (Stefaňsky 2007; Vaughn 1985). The creation of a burin by the removal of a burin spall is better viewed as a reduction technique rather than a tool type (Barton et al. 1996; Kay and Solecki 2000; Tomášková 2005). We argue that specimens termed burins should be placed in either the perforator or graver category.

Comparison of Perforators and Gravers

a. Use on materials

While different kinds of wood, antler, and stone vary in hardness, this study uses three broad categories of hardness: soft (plant materials, meat, hides, skins, bark), medium (wood, bone, antler) and hard (stone). Of the 13 perforators in the use wear study, seven were used on soft materials with four more used primarily on soft and possibly medium resistance materials.

Only two perforators were likely used primarily on medium resistance materials. Five of the 17 gravers were used on soft material, eight were used primarily on soft material and possibly medium resistance material, and four were used on medium resistant material. No specimen appeared to have been used on hard material.

b. Reduction stage and mass

Of the 116 specimens in this study, 50 are unifacial flakes, 6 are blades, 45 are bifaces, and 15 are cores or core fragments. Using the criteria for defining perforators and gravers described above, there was little difference in the relative percentages of flakes, blades, bifaces and cores between these two tool types. Thirty-three of the 45 bifaces were reworked projectile points or projectile point preforms. Engelbrecht (2014, 2015) argues that unnotched triangular projectile points were commonly brought back to the site embedded in meat and then discarded which would have made them available for reuse. A total of 2,115 triangular points or triangular point fragments were recovered from the field school excavations. The 15 cores or core fragments support the suggestion of Nowak and Wolski (2015) of a dual function for some cores as perforators or gravers.

The mean mass for perforators is 3.35 gm while that for gravers is 8.09 gm, a significant difference $t(114) = 4.09, p < .0001$, even though there was overlap between the ranges (perforators 0.5 – 25.4 gm, gravers 0.6 – 38.5 gm).

c. Tip Cross Section

Fifty-seven specimens had a tip roughly triangular in cross section. These specimens tended to have a narrower tip angle (mean = 30.9 degrees) than those with a non-triangular cross section ($N = 59$, mean = 33.8 degrees) $t(114) = -1.56, p = .06$. There was not a significant relationship between perimeter of the projection and the type of cross section. Among the 116

specimens, 37.5% (37 out of 68) of perforators and 41.7% (20 out of 40) of gravers have triangular cross sections, also not a significant difference.

d. *Hafting*

Specimens were judged to have been formerly hafted based on the morphology of the opposite end of the tool from the projection, typically the proximal edge. Twenty-one of these specimens were judged to have been hafted. These tended to have a tapered shape opposite the projection, were thin, or had shallow notches on opposite lateral edges well beneath the projection (Rots 2010). Of the 21 specimens believed to have been formerly hafted, 15 were perforators (22% of all perforators) and 6 were gravers (12.5% of all gravers). Thus, while the percentage of perforators that were previously hafted was nearly twice that of gravers, only 18% of the total number of specimens in this study were believed to be formerly hafted. Many of those specimens judged to be handheld were wide at the proximal end to facilitate gripping. Alternatively, the edge opposite the projection was flat, allowing pressure to be exerted more easily. Specimens believed to be handheld ($N = 67$) weighed more (mean = 6.99 gm) than specimens judged to have been hafted (mean = 3.38). This was a statistically significant difference, $t(86) = 2.026, p = .023$. Specimens for which hafting was uncertain or that had missing, or damaged proximal edges were not considered in this tabulation.

e. *Breakage*

Twenty-seven of the 116 specimens (23%) were broken. Thirteen of the broken specimens were perforators and 14 were gravers, so perforators and gravers broke at approximately the same rate. The mean thickness of broken specimens was 5.85 mm versus 7.47 mm for whole specimens. This difference was statistically significant: $t(114) = 1.98, p = 0.049$.

Since broken specimens missing the projection would be unrecognizable, it is likely that the percentage of broken specimens is under reported.

Eren et al. (2013) suggest that on Paleoindian sites spurs are mostly intentionally created though at times may be the result of an accident such as breakage. The same is likely true at Eaton. Breakage may also have been due to perforators or gravers being struck with a hammer to facilitate perforating or gouging. The fact that thinner stone perforators/gravers from Eaton broke more frequently than thicker ones is consistent with patterns of breakage of other categories of chipped stone tools from the Eaton site (see Table 1). Triangular point refits were thinner than whole points (Engelbrecht 2015:762; broken unifacial flake scrapers, side scrapers, and endscrapers were thinner than whole specimens (Engelbrecht et al. 2021:2) and broken drill bits were thinner than whole drill bits (Engelbrecht 2023:5). That thinner specimens break more frequently than thicker specimens should not come as a surprise, but it is phenomenon seldom documented.

	Whole	Broken	Significance (t test)
Madison Points	4.2 N = 516	3.7 N = 113 (refits)	$p > .001$
Non-Iroquoian Points	7.7 N = 33	7.2 N = 39	$p = .10$
Drill bits	4.6 N = 82	4.1 N = 118	$P = .01$
Sidescrapers	7.6 N = 63	6.9 N = 49	$P = .13$
Flake scrapers	7.6 N = 129	6.3 N = 84	$P = .01$
Endscrapers	11.1 N = 133	10.2 N = 80	$P = .14$
Perforators/ Gravers	7.47 N = 89	5.85 N = 27	$P = .05$

Table 1. A comparison of the mean maximum thickness in millimeters of whole and broken tools.

f. Distribution

Post molds revealed the major portions of three longhouses and a section of palisade that marked the northern edge of the Iroquoian village (see Figure 1). Most artifacts were recovered from the plowzone. While these would have been moved from their original position, previous distribution studies of material at Eaton have indicated that patterning of Iroquoian artifacts relative to features remains present (Engelbrecht 1994; Poplawski et al. 2012; Salisbury and Engelbrecht 2018).

The 257 excavation units at Eaton were designated as being inside (28%), partially inside (20%) or outside (52%) longhouses. The 116 specimens were randomly distributed across these units. Fifty specimens found in inside or partial units were also randomly distributed between longhouses. When the specimens were placed in the perforator or graver category, it was found that these tools were similarly randomly distributed, as were broken specimens (Figure 4). An examination of the distribution of previously hafted and handheld specimens indicated that both classes were randomly distributed between inside, partial, and outside units.

Longhouse 3 exhibited an anomaly in that it had more unifacial flake perforators and graters than expected based on the number of units excavated (L.H. 1 = 8, L.H. 2 = 4, L.H. 3 = 11, $\chi^2 = 5.65$, $p = 0.059$). Another departure from a random distribution is that there were six perforators and no graters associated with the northern palisade (between 78N and 84N). These units contained relatively few artifacts except for a high proportion of utilized flakes relative to lithic debris (Poplawski et al. 2012).

The mean maximum width and length of whole specimens, thickness, and mass of specimens was compared between inside, partial, and outside units using the ANOVA statistic.

Partial units (encompassing a longhouse wall) were found to be associated with specimens having the greatest means (see Table 2). The greater width of specimens in partial units was most significant ($p = .09$) followed by length ($p = .12$). The difference in width of specimens recovered between partial and outside units was found to be statistically significant using a two-tailed t test ($t = 2.01$, $df = 80$, $p = .047$).

Means	Inside Units N = 33	Partial Units N = 17	Outside Units N = 66	ANOVA
Maximum Width	18.87 mm	23.35 mm	18.81 mm	f ratio = 2.40 $p = .09$
Maximum Length	33.09 mm	38.16 mm	31.77 mm	f ratio = 2.16 $p = .12$
Mass	4.25 gm	7.43 gm	5.29 gm	f ratio = 1.32 $p = .27$
Thickness	6.79 mm	8.18 mm	6.97 mm	f ratio = 0.84 $p = .43$

Table 2. A comparison of the dimensions of perforators and gravers in units inside, partially inside, and outside longhouses.

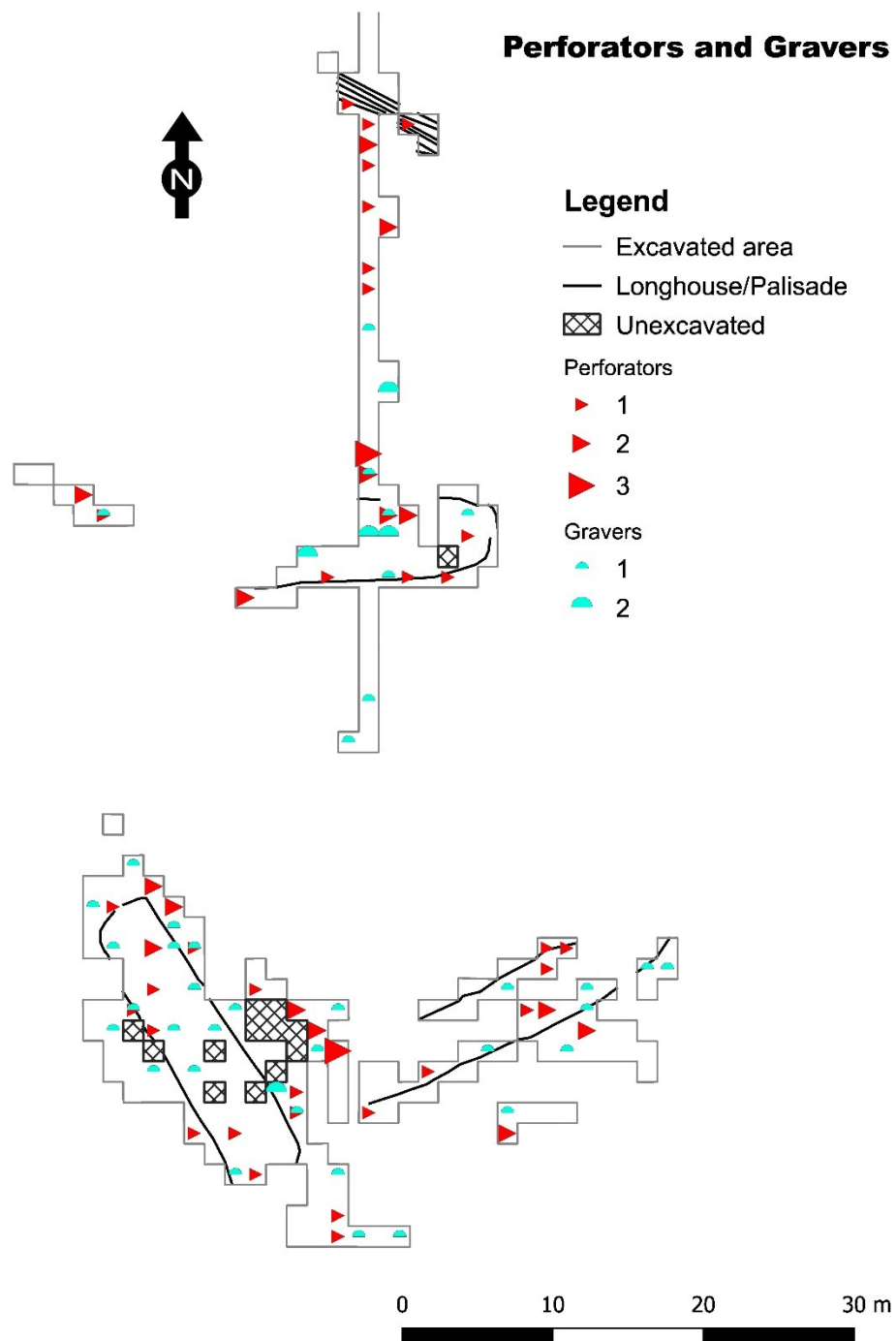


Figure 4. Distribution of perforators and gravers

Discussion

The use wear analysis of 30 specimens indicated that both perforators and gravers were used primarily on soft materials with some harder material such as wood, bone or antler possibly worked, especially by gravers. No specimens studied were used on hard materials. Since the most common artifacts recovered from the site are harder materials (stone and ceramics) little direct evidence of perforating and graving exists. Few objects with holes were recovered and these holes appear to have been drilled (Engelbrecht et al. 2023). An incised steatite pipe bowl and a carved moose antler object (possibly a hoe) were recovered from the site (Figures 5 and 6). The groove on the pipe bowl and the shape of the moose antler object could both be the result of graver use. However, the pipe bowl could have originated elsewhere, as the material is not local and there is evidence on Iroquoian sites for the exchange of pipes (Kuhn and Sempowski 2001).



Figure 5. Steatite pipe bowl



Figure 6. Moose antler object

Small holes needed to be made in deerskin for sewing since Native North American groups south of the arctic did not use eyed needles for sewing deerskin (Osborn 2014:49). Rather, sinew was pushed through the holes. Based on a population estimate of 445 inhabitants of the Eaton Iroquoian village and additional estimates of between 1,473 and 2,275 deer skins needed for clothing this population every year (Engelbrecht 2014:362), a 20-year village occupation would have seen around 40,000 deer skins perforated. While this figure is admittedly speculative, it illustrates the importance of deer skin perforation for sewing, a topic which is rarely mentioned.

It is commonly assumed that bone awls were used for perforating hides and skins. This is likely true of St. Lawrence Iroquoian sites in northern New York and Ontario where numerous bone awls have been recovered but few stone tools (Gates St.-Pierre 2007; Jamieson 2015).

However, only three polished bone awls and four possible bone awls have been recovered from Eaton even though faunal remains were abundant though fragmented (Pipes 2009a, 2009b). This suggests that some other tool served the function of bone awls on the site. The sharp angle of perforators as defined in this paper would spread skin and bark fibers apart which would minimize tearing (de la Foret 2016). As Hughes (1990:353) notes, skin responds to pressure by stretching rather than breaking, so a sharp point which concentrates force is necessary.

The triangular cross section of nearly half of the perforators and gravers would facilitate perforating deer skin. Among the Nenets who live in the Russian arctic, needles that are triangular in cross section are preferred for sewing hide (Usenyuk-Kravchuk et al. 2020.). A tapered triangular-shaped tip tears hide less than a tool with a round tip (de la Foret 2016; Usenyuk – Karchuk et al. 2020). The Chukchee also prefer triangular needles (Bogoras 1909:223) and Hatt (1969:21) states that all arctic peoples prefer needles with three edges. A triangular shape is used for modern pointed gloves or wedge needles used for leather and rigging needles used for canvass (Anonymous 2022). Triangular cutting needles are used in surgery for suturing (Dart and Dart 2017).

It is reasonable to suppose that bark was repeatedly perforated by sixteenth century Iroquoians. The Iroquois made extensive use of bark (Beauchamp 1905) with elm bark barrels, trays, and canoes being stitched (Morgan 1962:366-369). Typically, bark sheets on longhouses are described as overlapping and being held in place by a framework of vertical poles and horizontal split saplings (Figure 7). However, as Williamson (2004:147) observes of Iroquoian longhouses, "...there could have been many structural designs through time and space." Descriptions of perforated bark sheets lashed to longhouse structures are infrequent and tend to be from the eighteenth century or later. Lafitau (1977, 2:22) mentions that doors in the longhouse

were “...moveable sheets of bark hung from above.” Beauchamp (1905:97) cites Loskiel’s late eighteenth-century observation of houses covered in basswood bark which was sewn on with hickory cord. Morgan (1962:317-318) notes that red elm or ash bark sheets were fastened to the sides of longhouses with bark rope while the bark on the roof was stitched to the framework.



Figure 7. Reconstructed longhouse at Tawiscaron, now demolished. Photo courtesy of Ronald F. Williamson.

J.V. Wright (1995:18) lashed bark sheets to the framework of the Nodwell longhouse reconstruction with basswood cordage. Lafitau (1977, 2:19-20) mentions pieces of wood with crooked ends spaced regularly along the edge of the roof to secure the bark sheets. Michael Galban (personal communication, 2024), site manager at Ganondagan, suggests that bark sheets were hooked onto these thereby necessitating holes. Galban also suggests that the exterior framework of poles holding the bark in place must have been lashed to the interior frame which would also require perforating the bark.

Since perforations would have been placed along the top of a bark sheet, they would have been hidden by an overlapping sheet making them invisible to European observers from outside. This could be the reason early European observers did not mention bark sheets being tied to the frame. Whether all bark sheets were lashed to the framework is not known but at least some bark used in longhouse construction must have been perforated.

Poplawski et al. (2012) argue that bark sheets were used in palisades to create a visual barrier. If so, these bark sheets would need to be lashed to the inner part of the palisade framework which would necessitate their perforation. Support for this hypothesis at Eaton comes from the presence of perforators near the palisade and the absence of gravers. There was also a high proportion of utilized flakes to debris in the palisade units but few other tools (Poplawski et al. 2012) suggesting perforators and utilized flakes were used in the construction and maintenance of the palisade. Utilized flakes could also have been used to cut both bark and cordage.

Iroquoians made extensive use of wood for artifacts. Beauchamp (1905) lists many items including bows and arrows, javelins and spears, lacrosse sticks, war clubs, hafts for adzes and

axes, canoes (bark and dugout), ladders, toboggans, snowshoes, dishes/bowls, ladles, bread turners, corn meal stirrers, wooden mortars and pestles, cradles, and masks. While axes and adzes would have been used for roughly shaping wood, a tool for finer woodworking would be a chipped stone graver. Maika (2012:116) reports that gravers were most often used on wood in Paleoindian sites in Ontario. The use wear study indicated that 12 of 17 gravers from Eaton were used on soft to medium (N = 8) or medium (N = 4) resistance materials. The most likely material is wood, given the ubiquity of wooden items in Iroquoian culture.

Many of the gravers in this study weighed more than perforators and a heavier tool would facilitate the greater use of force for gouging or shaving harder materials like wood or antler. This supposition differs from a study by Bates et al. (2022) which found no clear association between size of the tool and the material on which it is used. Gravers and perforators believed to have been formerly hafted weighed less than those believed to have been non-hafted. Hafting lighter tools which were necessarily smaller would provide a better grip with which to apply force, though these were a small subset of all perforators and gravers. In a study of 50 Paleoindian gravers, Maika (2012:92) found that 8 or 16% were likely formerly hafted, close to the 18% of specimens believed to have been previously hafted at Eaton.

The largest perforators/gravers (in terms of width, mass, and length) tended to be found in units which encompassed longhouse walls. Wilk and Schiffer (1979:533) argue that larger objects tend to move away from an area where people frequently walked. Schiffer (1987:127) refers to the concentration of larger objects along walls as “woogleys.” Endscrapers from Eaton followed a similar pattern with whole endscrapers recovered from partial units being longer, wider, and weighing more than those in inside or outside units (Engelbrecht et al. 2021:9). Flake scrapers from partial units were less reduced (i.e. they had a sharper angle) suggesting they had a

potentially longer use life (Engelbrecht et al. 2021:9, 13). This suggests that some tools may have fallen from side platforms while being used and were not recovered. These data also support previous studies indicating that spatial patterning of stone tools relative to Iroquoian longhouses is preserved on the site.

The degree to which Iroquoian longhouses may have differed in terms of the activities performed within them is unclear. Longhouse 1 had a greater density of drills and drill fragments per excavation unit than the other two longhouses (Engelbrecht et al. 2023:5-7). On the other hand, whole and broken endscrapers (a unifacial tool) had a greater density in Longhouse 3 as did broken unifacial side scrapers (Engelbrecht et al. 2020; 2021). The present study revealed a greater density of perforators and gravers made from unifacial flakes in Longhouse 3. So, the predominance of unifacial tools in Longhouse 3 holds for all unifacial tools studied to date.

However, when one considers all perforators and gravers, not just unifacial ones, they are randomly distributed between the three longhouses. As mentioned earlier, these tools were also randomly distributed throughout the village except the palisade. Since most appear to have been non-hafted and such tools were likely discarded where they were used (Keeley 1982), we conclude that perforators and gravers were in use throughout the village in both indoor and outdoor settings.

Maika (2012:123) has characterized gravers as produced by expedient technology and by extension this characterization would fit perforators. We agree with this assessment of the technology. Expedient tools are generally viewed as tools that are easily produced. Their morphology is variable, and they tend to be used for a specific task and then discarded (Andrefsky 1998:30). This would be expected where adequate supplies of toolstone exist and time to manufacture the necessary tool is anticipated (Nelson 1991:64). Expedient tools are therefore

viewed as more characteristic of sedentary, rather than highly mobile societies in which individuals transport formal tools they may need (Andrefsky 1998:214; Parry and Kelly 1987; Stemp et al. 2021). In addition to being curated, formal tools go through a series of production stages and are consistent in shape (Andrefsky 1998:30).

Nelson (1991) presents a nuanced discussion of expediency which considers several factors, but there is a tendency among some researchers to assume a simple dichotomy between expedient and formal tools. Based on the perforators and gravers in this study, we argue that the dichotomy between expedient and formal tools is a dubious one. Specimens in this study have characteristics of both expedient and formal tools. While their production may be termed expedient, the projection is a design requirement characteristic of a formal tool. The post projection morphology is variable, consisting of a flake, blade, core, core fragment, or repurposed bifacial tool. Such variability is typical of expedient tools. Since hafting requires time and effort, the relatively low percentage of both perforators and gravers that appear to have been formerly hafted argues for the expedient nature of these tools. However, the presence of use wear on the specimens suggests repeated use and curation, especially with wear that comes from use on soft material like deerskin or bark.

All 30 specimens from Eaton that were analyzed for use wear indicated some multi-functional use. Furthermore, 24 of the 116 specimens had morphology on the lateral edge suggesting their use as knives or scrapers in addition to their functions of perforating or graving. So, specimens might be used for a variety of tasks rather than just a single task at hand, the latter being more typical of expedient tools. It is also likely that perforators and gravers were curated considering their relatively low number relative to other tool categories, the general lack of

functional alternatives (i.e. bone awls), and the repeated need for perforating and graving functions in an Iroquoian village.

Summary and Conclusion

It is not possible to compare the relative proportion of perforators and gravers from Eaton with similar sites due to the varying classification of similar specimens. Terminological inconsistencies also prevent meaningful comparisons between sites worldwide. We therefore urge the use of a uniform typology for chipped stone tools with projections and suggest the criteria of a distal angle of 40 degrees or less and a perimeter of 20 mm or less for perforators. We identify specimens with either wider distal projection angles or greater projection perimeters as gravers. However, it should be understood that specimens classified as perforators and gravers were not always used for these functions. While conducting use wear analysis on individual specimens is a more reliable way to infer function, it is not practical when dealing with large assemblages.

We cannot prove exactly how and on what materials the specimens in this study were used, but they were widely distributed across the excavated portion of the village. When one considers the likely tasks of individuals living in a mid-sixteenth century Iroquois village, creating holes in deer skins for sewing must have been critical. The low number of bone awls recovered from excavations at the Eaton site suggests the use of chipped stone perforators as functional alternatives. Lashing bark sheets to longhouse and palisade frameworks would have required holes. The ubiquity of wood as a material and the necessity of shaping it into useful objects implies the extensive use of woodworking tools such as chipped stone gravers.

The relative paucity of chipped stone perforators and gravers relative to most other stone tool types argues for the repeated use and curation of these tools even though they are commonly regarded as expedient. Indeed, we question the utility of the dichotomy of expedient versus formal tools with respect to perforators and gravers. While these tools are often given short shrift in archaeological analysis, we argue that at the Eaton site they played an important role for the ancestral Haudenosaunee in constructing their world.

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Seneca Lake Rock Art: The Perils of Iconographic Misrepresentations

Francis Scardera & David Moyer

Abstract

The interaction between Haudenosaunee rock art and modern “tourist-centric” images creates a complex narrative of cultural confusion and iconographic misrepresentation. While modern recontextualized renderings draw public interest and appeal to sightseers, they simultaneously obscure and distort Indigenous iconography. Central to this discussion are two rock art sites within the Seneca Lake Cluster¹. The *Painted Rocks* site has been popularized through the addition of iconographic misrepresentations that may have been superimposed on surfaces that once exhibited traces of earlier indigenous pictographs. This superposition of imagery complicates assessments of authenticity. In marked contrast, the nearby *Excelsior Glen* site features what appears to be a series of unmodified Haudenosaunee red ocher² pictographs. By situating both forms of expression within the same landscape and documenting them systematically, this study aims to clarify the distinctions between authentic Indigenous pictographs, some of which may extend back to Pre-Contact times, and modern embellishments, thereby establishing a clearer historical timeline.³

The research further examines how rising levels of site visitation, some of it amplified by social media, have coincided with an increase in vandalism at rock art sites. In response, this study identifies the urgent need for conservation initiatives that safeguard and systematically document pictographs, which constitute rare and fragile links to the past. As part of this stewardship effort, DStretch image-enhancement software was applied to high-resolution digital photographs to both record and preserve fading images, as well as to reveal pictorial elements that are no longer discernible to the unaided eye.

¹ In accordance with heritage protection protocols and to safeguard the integrity of these sensitive cultural landscapes, precise GPS coordinates have been deliberately withheld. Only general locational references, those already available in the public domain, are provided to prevent unauthorized visitation and further vandalism.

² The term “red ocher” is used here in a generic, comparative sense to describe the pigmentation observed on the rock art panels. Neither of the two sites has undergone formal compositional analysis to confirm whether the red pigment is, in fact, red ocher.

³ The following paper forms part of an ongoing study first introduced by the authors at the **New York State Archaeological Association Annual Conference** (April 12–14, 2024, Oswego, New York) and subsequently at the **Conference on Iroquois Research** (October 18–19, 2024, Oneida, New York).

1. Introduction

Landforms and Lifeways: Geographical Context of Rock Art in Iroquoia

Perhaps reflecting its size, there is no single indigenous term or placename that captures the full richness of Seneca Lake's cultural context. The lake is known by several Seneca names, many of which appear to reference nearby villages rather than the lake itself, including *Ga-nun-da-sa-ga.t* (*Ganûndase?ge?*) (Morgan, 1851). This designation is also among those applied to *Kanadaseaga*, a dominant Seneca village located on both sides of the creek bearing the same name, which was destroyed during the 1779 Sullivan Expedition. Another variation can be found in Augustus Porter's 1791-92 survey of the Phelps and Gorhams Purchase (1788), which included the western half of Seneca Lake, and was identified as *Canondesago* (Schwartz, 2001). As the largest and deepest of the eleven glacially formed lakes that comprise the Finger Lakes region in western New York State, it stretches approximately 61 kilometers (38 miles) along its north-south axis with a maximum depth of about 188 meters (618 feet) (New York State Department of Environmental Conservation [NYSDEC], n.d.). The inclusion of gorges and tributary valleys extends the network of rock-walled coastlines, thereby augmenting the watershed's archaeological potential for rock art and other culturally modified landscape features.

Drawing on evidence of pre-contact occupation documented well before the advent of systematic archaeological surveys (Beauchamp 1900; Parker 1920) and corroborated by firsthand accounts from the Sullivan–Clinton Campaign, the historical record describes sizeable fruit orchards, particularly in the valleys surrounding Seneca and Cayuga Lakes. As Parker noted, “Long before the Revolutionary War they had, in many places, extensive orchards of apples, peaches and plums” (Parker 1968:94). These observations help explain the continued local use of “Peach Orchard” as a reference point near present-day Hector (Parker 1920:694), located on the same shoreline as the rock-art sites discussed here. Similarly, “Peachtown” commonly refers to Chonodote, an eighteenth-century Cayuga village on the eastern shore of Cayuga Lake near modern-day Aurora. To fulfill its mandate, the Sullivan Campaign of 1779 destroyed Haudenosaunee villages and systematically felled numerous apple and peach orchards. More than half a century later, Morgan observed that “many of the old trees in the Indian orchard are still standing and yield fruit, although partially girdled at the time” (Morgan 1851:425). Taken together, these records attest to the area's sustained cultural activity and the region's distinctive microclimate—conditions that continue to sustain a thriving vineyard industry today.

The gorges and glens of the region—most notably Watkins Glen, now a State Park—have attracted visitors for more than a century. Their dramatic landscapes were popularized and romanticized in nineteenth-century periodicals (Harper's Magazine 1871; Lytle 1874:45). Notably, these early accounts also include some of the earliest references to Excelsior Glen, although none make mention of pictographs or rock art within the Seneca Lake basin.

Despite abundant archaeological evidence confirming a long-established Indigenous presence, depictions of rock art in the Finger Lakes region remain remarkably scarce. Where such sites do occur, they offer valuable insight into Indigenous cultural expression and territorial identity. Pictographs are frequently interpreted as markers of ceremonial activity, commemorations of significant events, or delineations of territorial boundaries. Within Iroquoia, the use of red ocher, though not exclusive to the northeast, emerges as a particularly distinctive attribute. This situates the Seneca Lake pictographs within a broader regional tradition, suggesting long-term cultural continuity.

Nevertheless, given the depth and duration of Indigenous occupation, the rock art record in this area appears disproportionately limited, if not entirely underrepresented. The apparent “absence” of rock art in the Northeast should not be regarded as evidence of an actual paucity of such cultural landscape features. Rather, it reflects longstanding disciplinary biases and entrenched assumptions that have obscured or diverted systematic research attention away from the region. Often characterized as lacking rock art, the Northeast has been overlooked in scholarly discourse, resulting in the underrepresentation of Indigenous heritage (Lenik 2002 and Scardera 2015).

Today, modern graffiti and natural erosional degradation further threaten the preservation of these rare sites. The interplay between authentic rock art and its touristic counterparts adds yet another layer of complexity to the study, interpretation, and protection of both sites.

2. Historical Context and Literature Review of Seneca Lake Rock Art

The Tale of Two Sites: Painted Rocks and Excelsior Glen

Indigenous pictographs remain exceedingly rare in the Northeast, particularly in western New York (Lenik 2002, Moyer 2019, & Scardera 2015). Rendered in red ocher, the pictographs at Seneca Lake represent one of the few verifiable surviving examples of a limited yet significant corpus within Iroquoia. Inventories compiled by Hough (1851, 1853, 1854, and 1880), Beauchamp (1900), and Parker (1920) were among the earliest to document such sites. However, their records were limited to rudimentary illustrations and, in one case, a single photograph, offering only modest descriptive detail.

Although none of these authors explicitly referenced the Seneca Lake pictographs, their work significantly advanced scholarly awareness of the broader distribution of rock art across the Northeast. In particular, references to red ocher pictographs, often characterized by vertical linear motifs, throughout Iroquoia provide an important comparative framework for interpreting the Seneca Lake sites within a wider Indigenous cultural and symbolic landscape. Similar expressions have been documented at Black Lake, where early accounts (e.g., Hough 1853; Parker 1920) and more recent syntheses (e.g., Lenik 2009; Scardera 2005, 2015) describe comparable pigment use and motifs. Together, these studies reinforce the interpretation that the Seneca Lake pictographs formed part of a shared, or at least regionally connected, pictographic tradition.

The toponym *Painted Rocks* fits within the regional pattern of naming places associated with landscapes exhibiting Indigenous markings. Comparable examples include the towns of *Painted Post*, New York (Moyer 2019), located approximately 20 mi (30 km) southwest, and *Picture Rocks*, Pennsylvania, approximately 78 mi (125 km) south of the study area.

The proximity of the two Seneca Lake sites may have contributed to occasional confusion in the historical literature, leading to the misattribution of their respective significance. This paper attempts to disentangle these distinctions while also recognizing the strong likelihood that a cluster of rock art sites remains undocumented across the Finger Lakes region. The use of the term “cluster” is intentional, reflecting the argument that the two Seneca Lake sites should be understood not in isolation but as components of a broader constellation of rock art localities.

1. Painted Rocks

The Painted Rocks⁴ panel, a well-known tourist attraction since at least the mid-nineteenth century, features pictographs reportedly “touched up by white men in 1929” (*Democrat and Chronicle*, July 25, 1982:5B). Using postcard imagery to document the evolution of the rockface (Figures 1 and 2), the panel appears to have undergone additional retouching and alterations at several points over the past century.

⁴ The name Painted Rocks is not unique to the Seneca Lake locality; a similarly named site exists along the Mohawk River near Amsterdam, New York, also associated with red ocher pictographs (Lenik 2002, Scardera 2015).

The year “1929” is the most frequently cited date for the modern renderings, which also corresponds with the sesquicentennial commemoration of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. While not listed among the formal 150th-anniversary events (Smith 2023), this activity may have been an informal or entrepreneurial initiative that occurred alongside the larger celebrations. Notably, 1929 also marked the onset of the Great Depression, an event that profoundly curtailed regional tourism. Watkins Glen, however, underwent a modest revival during the 1930s through infrastructure and conservation initiatives associated with President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s *New Deal* programs.

Reconstructing the chronological sequence of imagery at this site is therefore challenging. While these modern interventions clearly reflect a tourist-focused reconstruction, the possibility should not be dismissed that the overpainting may conceal or follow the outlines of earlier Indigenous pictographs beneath. A 1907 article appearing in the *Democrat and Chronicle* (December 26, 1907:4) confines the time sequence by suggesting that the pictographs predate the War of 1812 and may represent a response to the 1779 Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. John Corbett infers that first-hand military accounts by officers and their superiors frequently include detailed descriptions of Indigenous presence and defining cultural activity across the landscape. They make no mention of pictographs—an omission that further deepens the ambiguity surrounding both the age and authenticity of the present Painted Rocks (Corbett 1907). Although the precise date when organized tour boats first included the Painted Rocks on their itineraries is unknown, such excursions were well established by the late nineteenth century. Among the earliest documented outings were those aboard the *Langdon* under Captain H. A. Wisner in 1868⁵ (The *Yonkers Gazette*, July 18, 1868: 2).

The rise of tourism on Seneca Lake was not an isolated phenomenon but mirrored broader regional developments. Watkins Glen, for example, opened to the public in 1863 as a privately operated attraction that soon became a popular resort destination before its eventual incorporation as a New York State Park in 1906. Two years later, Captain Philip Burton Palmer inaugurated a regular sightseeing route, which he operated until his death in 1949. At the height of his operations, the success of his venture is reflected in his slogan: “[departures] every hour on the hour from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.” (*Democrat and Chronicle*, July 25, 1982: 5B). For forty-one years, “his talks, filled with rich Indian lore and the history of the region, were of great interest to his passengers” (*Democrat and Chronicle*, September 12, 1949: 38).

⁵ At the time of writing, 1868 remains the earliest documented reference to Painted Rocks; however, earlier mentions may yet come to light.



Figure 1. A 1937 postcard depicting Painted Rocks (Card #7A-H1395).

Postcards, commonly produced as promotional souvenirs, also serve as a valuable medium for documenting historical events and capturing the evolution of cultural landscapes. According to the *Curt Teich Company Dating Guide for Postcards*, the production code 7A-H1395 corresponds to the year 1937 (Figure 1). This linen-finish edition is among the earliest pictorial depictions of the site and confirms that the supplementary imagery had already been incorporated onto the rock panel. This particular card bears a 1948 postmark, demonstrating that the distribution and circulation of such illustrated materials often extended well beyond their original year of issue. It features Capt. Palmer's Stroller IV, whose maiden voyage took place in 1934, three years prior to the designated printing date. The refurbished vessel continues to operate under the same name at the time of writing.

A subsequent postcard, bearing the code 5C-K352, dates to 1955 and features the caption: "Painted Rocks, drawings made by Iroquois Indians during Revolutionary War days" (Figure 2). Notably, this later version introduces an American flag into the composition. The evolution of the panel imagery appears to progress vertically upward, possibly to accommodate larger, multi-deck vessels, thereby positioning the pictographs at eye level for optimal photographic viewing. Similarly, anecdotal references suggest that comparable modifications were made at the Palisades Rock Art site along the St. Lawrence River to appease tourists (Haddock and Durham 1895:39). Lastly, the late 1940s and early 1950s also coincide with the introduction of Polaroid's instant camera technology, which offered tourists immediate photographic gratification and fueled the growing popularity of personalized visual documentation of iconic destinations.

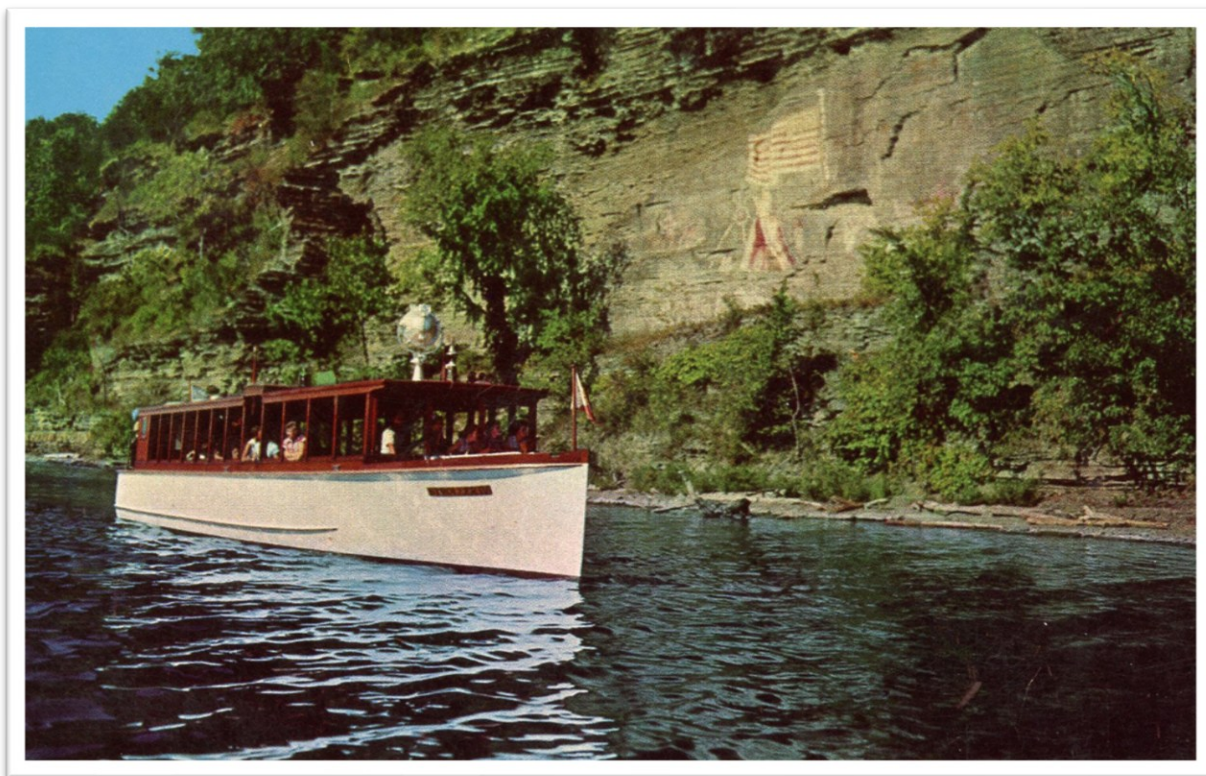


Figure 2. A 1955 postcard of Painted Rocks with the addition of the American Flag (Card #5C-K352).

The depiction of tipis is iconographically inconsistent with Haudenosaunee lifeways, suggesting a romanticized or generalized portrayal of indigenous life rather than an authentic representation. Even if the artists had instead superimposed culturally appropriate imagery—such as an eighteenth-century wooden-cabin-style longhouse—its inclusion would still be atypical, as Haudenosaunee rock art typically features canoes, linear anthropomorphic figures, and symbolic motifs rather than architectural forms such as dwellings. In contrast, the depictions of the canoe and horse accurately represent two principal modes of transportation characteristic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries among the Haudenosaunee.

The scale of the figures—significantly larger than those observed at known Haudenosaunee rock art sites—appears intentionally exaggerated, likely to enhance visibility for tourists viewing or photographing the panel from passing vessels. The addition of the American flag may reflect an expression of post–World War II patriotism. At the same time, the chromatic shift from earthy red ochre tones to brighter, multicoloured hues signals a clear departure from the monochrome palette that typifies Haudenosaunee rock art. Compare Figures 1, 2 and 4.

Among neighbouring Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Wabanaki Confederacy, a historical narrative developed at Sebago Lake in Maine that parallels interpretive patterns observed at the Seneca Lake rock art sites, where Indigenous presence was subsequently reframed through Euro-American storytelling (Lenik 2011; Anick 2020). The rock feature known as Frye’s Leap became tied to a popular story about

Captain Frye, who, according to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century tourist accounts, escaped pursuit by Indigenous people, often described in exaggerated and racialized terms, and had the event commemorated with painted imagery on the rock face for steamboat visitors (Figure 3). As an additional layer of entertainment,

The steamboat company hired college students to live in a tent on top of the rock. When a boatload of passengers passed near the cliff, they would don Indian costumes, perform a “whooping” Indian war dance, and fire a rifle into the air to entertain the traveling vacationers (Lenik 2011:6).

Such appropriations stand in clear contrast to the authentic Indigenous pictographs, highlighting the tension between commodified colonial narratives and genuine Indigenous cultural expression. As at Seneca Lake, the original pictographs are not all located at the promoted feature itself, but rather a short distance away, accessible by a brief paddle, on the rock walls of a nearby cove.



Figure 3. Postcard of Frye's Leap Rock circa 1900-8 (Card #1656)



Figure 4. Painted Rocks – Photo taken from Stroller IV, October 14, 2019 (Francis Scardera)

2. Excelsior Glen

Located within one of Seneca Lake’s southern glens, the Excelsior Glen pictographs exhibit no evidence of modern retouching or post-Contact iconography, thereby reinforcing its candidacy for the study of authentic Indigenous rock art. In contrast to the conspicuous, commodified imagery of the Painted Rocks, the earth-tone pictographs at Excelsior Glen are visually more subdued but largely unaltered, offering a rare glimpse into an undisturbed Haudenosaunee visual tradition within the same regional landscape.

The earliest known modern reference to the site appears in a Cayuga Trails Club (CTC) Newsletter dated Sunday, June 19, 1966. The account notes that “Leader Julie Stellrecht led 39 adults and 8 children” to the location, where participants observed “pictures of Indians, canoes, and deer in faded red paint” (CTC Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 7, July 1966). Nearly sixty years later, the surviving imagery consists primarily of faint linear traces and diffuse red pigment discolorations. Hikes through Excelsior Glen were not restricted to club members; they were also publicized in local newspaper advertisements (Figure 5).

Sunday Hike Is Scheduled

WATKINS GLEN — The hike to be conducted Sunday under the auspices of Cayuga Trails Club will feature a meeting in Excelsior Glen near the foot of Seneca Lake.

Here various local people who have been among those to excavate Indian relics and skeletons at the site or assist in the official identification of Indian markings on the wall will talk about these experiences.

Excelsior Glen, located near the foot of Burdett Hill on the northeasterly approach to Watkins Glen, has a high waterfall which, although only a few yards from the main highway, escapes notice because

of the twisting nature of the ravine.

After the session in the Glen, hikers will explore the north and south rim of the gorge, in some cases following the trail originally created by the Indians who used the ravine mainly for a hunting camp where canoes would be safely stored with easy access to the lake.

The hike is open to the public. Those interested in joining CTC should meet at 1:30 p.m. in Atwater's Super Duper parking lot, on W. Seneca St. or at 2:30 p.m. at the Glen. Parking is available along the shore of Seneca Lake near the spot where Excelsior Glen empties into the lake.

Figure 5. Cayuga Trails Club promoting Excelsior Glen hike (The Ithaca Journal, Thursday, October 16, 1969: 9)

The newsletter also notes that pigment samples were taken for analysis by the State Archaeologist, to rule out the use of lead-based paint. In the November issue of that same year, Club President Mr. Elkins provided a brief update: "Gas chromatography and Indian pictographs—Mr. Bechuman is tracking down the authenticity of the Indian pictograph (WLL of June 26). A problem arose in the contamination of the pigment scrapings by the underlying rock" (*CTC Newsletter*, Vol. 6, No. 11, November 1966). Three years later, another entry noted that burials had allegedly been excavated near the glen roughly twenty-five years earlier by local Boy Scouts, including CTC member Jimmy Teemley (*CTC Newsletter*, Vol. 9, No. 11, November 1969) (Figure 6). Boy Scout groups had reportedly been visiting the site since the 1920s and 1930s (Bell 2005: 30–31)—approximately the same period during which the Painted Rock panel appears to have been repainted or "refreshed." Collectively, these accounts demonstrate that the Excelsior Glen site was well known locally and regularly frequented.

REPORT OF OCTOBER WALK, LOOK AND LEARN TRIP

Shades of the Indian pre-Iroquois past hovered over Cayuga Trails Club hikers on Sunday, October 19, when a record-size group from Watkins Glen, Bath, Cayuta, Burdett, Bristol and Ithaca followed Jimmy Teemley of Burdett down into Excelsior Glen below the first falls where Jimmy and a friend, as young Boy Scouts 25 years ago, dug up four Indian skeletons on the Indian trail under rocks which still bear painted Indian signs. This discovery started a chain of investigation, reported by Barbara Bell, involving state archeologists. The paintings in the Glen are authentic, it seems.

Figure 6. Excerpt from Cayuga Trails Club (CTC) Newsletter, Vol. 9, No. 11, November 1969

The State Archaeologist mentioned in the Cayuga Trails Club (CTC) Newsletter was never identified by name in any of its proceedings but confirmed that “The paintings in the Glen are authentic, it seems.” (Figure 6). A 1961 newspaper article, predating the hiking club’s involvement, reports that residents of Watkins Glen had contacted Town Historian Barbara Bell about pictograph sightings in the area. Shortly thereafter, on October 23 of the same year, Robert E. Funk, then described as a “junior scientist in the archaeology department” of the New York State Museum, visited the site (*The Ithaca Journal*, November 10, 1961; *Elmira Star-Gazette*, November 12, 1961: 4). Based on Funk’s long-term association with the museum, it is likely that he was the same archaeologist later referenced in the 1966 CTC newsletters.

These references suggest that Funk examined both the Excelsior Glen and Painted Rocks sites. While unable to establish a definitive chronology for the latter, he expressed strong skepticism regarding any Indigenous association, concluding that “there was no Indian connection whatsoever.” His interpretation of the Excelsior Glen site, however, was more measured; he proposed that the “artists might even have been pre-Iroquois” (Bell 2005:30–31). The outcome of Funk’s study remains unclear; he did not register either site with the State of New York or assign them New York State Museum site numbers, as might be expected. The Painted Rocks site was not officially registered until 1992, but classified as a Pre-Contact archaeological site despite its more recent origins. The Excelsior Glen locality was not registered as an archaeological site until 2024 as part of the current investigation. At the time of registration, the authors were unaware of Funk’s involvement, but they continue to search the New York State Museum archival records for additional information. A detailed site form, along with photographs, maps, and supplementary material associated with this project, is housed electronically with the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation via its Cultural Resources Information System (NY-CRIS) and is available to other researchers.

Summary Table

Attributes	Painted Rocks	Excelsior Glen
Rock formation	Flat panel – limestone and shale laminae	Concavity of staggered limestone and shale layers whose formation predates the pictographs. It could qualify as a rock overhang, which in turn may have protected the red ocher markings from weathering.
Color	Multi-color	Red ocher (not tested)
Direction - Facing	West	North
Evidence of retouching	A tourist stop on Seneca Lake False cultural representation Modern rendition (1929 and c. 1955)	No modern “re-touching”
	Between 1779 and 1812 May also contain a Pre-Sullivan Campaign or Pre-Contact images.	Pre-Contact (?)
Earliest Text Reference	c. 1868 - The Yonkers Gazette	c. 1920-30s – Barbara Bell (2005)
Earliest Cartographic Reference	??	Excelsior Glen appears on the 1901 USGS topographic map, but no reference to rock art. Horton’s Creek – former name.
Earliest Known Pictorial Representation	1937 postcard	c. 1920-60s photos (unconfirmed)

3. Methodology

Site Survey and Documentation

This preliminary documentation also included recording environmental and geological variables, such as natural exfoliation, mineral staining, and biological growth, all of which can obscure or alter the appearance of pigment residues over time. Only non-intrusive investigative methods were employed during this study.

Much of Seneca Lake is characterized by steep, stratified walls composed primarily of Devonian shale from the Genesee Group and the Tully Limestone, interbedded with layers of siltstone, sandstone, and limestone (Geological Map of New York, 1970). With limited access to larger uniform panels, these sedimentary strata provide smaller flat surfaces, but also offer distinct linear advantages, like the ruled lines of a copybook⁶, serving as natural canvases for both painting and engraving. The research team conducted a comprehensive photographic survey using high-resolution digital imagery and telescopic poles to document fine surface details from multiple vantage points.

Aerial imaging using a compact drone was also attempted. However, the dense canopy and narrow corridor along much of the glen restricted visibility, ultimately limiting the drone's utility for close-range imaging of the rock surfaces.

To complement traditional photography, advanced image enhancement techniques were applied with the DStretch plugin in ImageJ, which is widely used in rock art analysis. This non-destructive method amplifies subtle color variations invisible to the unaided eye, allowing for the detection of pigment traces and the more precise delineation of faint motifs. The resulting imagery provides a baseline record to support future monitoring and conservation initiatives, while a supplementary photo-mosaic inventory of modern graffiti documents the cumulative effects of human visitation.

Collaborative Approach

This study was conducted in partnership with the Seneca Nation (Keepers of the Western Door) under the auspices of the *Onöhsagwë:de' Cultural Center* (Seneca-Iroquois National Museum) and the Seneca Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO), Hayden Haynes, ensuring Indigenous participation throughout the research process and in the preparation of this and subsequent publications and presentations. Permission to access the Excelsior Glen site was granted by the Cargill Salt Company, the property owner that also provides public access to the hiking trails.

⁶ The term “copybook,” or the metaphor of the rock face as a lined canvas, is intended as a visual description rather than a cultural interpretation. Modern graffiti clearly follows the natural strata as though they were lines on paper; however, it remains uncertain how the creators of the pictographs perceived or engaged with these geological forms. Care must therefore be taken not to impose modern conventions of writing and spatial organization on past lifeways.



Figure 7. Non-enhanced image of Panel 1 showing red vertical lines (David Moyer).

4. DStretch Results - Site Analysis and Findings

Authentic Pictographs

DStretch was applied exclusively on the Excelsior Glen site—an unaltered yet increasingly threatened rock art locality. The pictographs documented here display stylistic traits consistent with established Haudenosaunee rock art traditions, including linear and curvilinear forms that appear intentionally integrated with the natural contours of the rock surface. Haudenosaunee oral traditions and ethnographic accounts, however, suggest that communities periodically revisited places of significance, where Indigenous practices of “renewal” or symbolic reapplication of the images could occur (Scardera 2015). Their lack of modern symbols or retouching, combined with their weathered and mineral-stained condition, provides strong evidence of authenticity. These characteristics distinguish Excelsior Glen from modified panels elsewhere in the region, most notably the Painted Rocks.

The pictographs at the Excelsior Glen Site can be grouped into four discrete panels based upon their relative proximity to one another. Panel 1 is the most intact of the pictographs occurring at the site and consists of a series of vertical lines made using a bright red pigment (Figure 7). The vertical lines on Panel 1 extend to adjoining rock faces and can be further divided into three subpanels as shown in Figure 8. Panel 1A includes seven vertical lines, while the adjoining Panel 1B to the left is less distinct, but contains at least ten additional vertical lines. Panel 1C occurs below the other panels and consists of

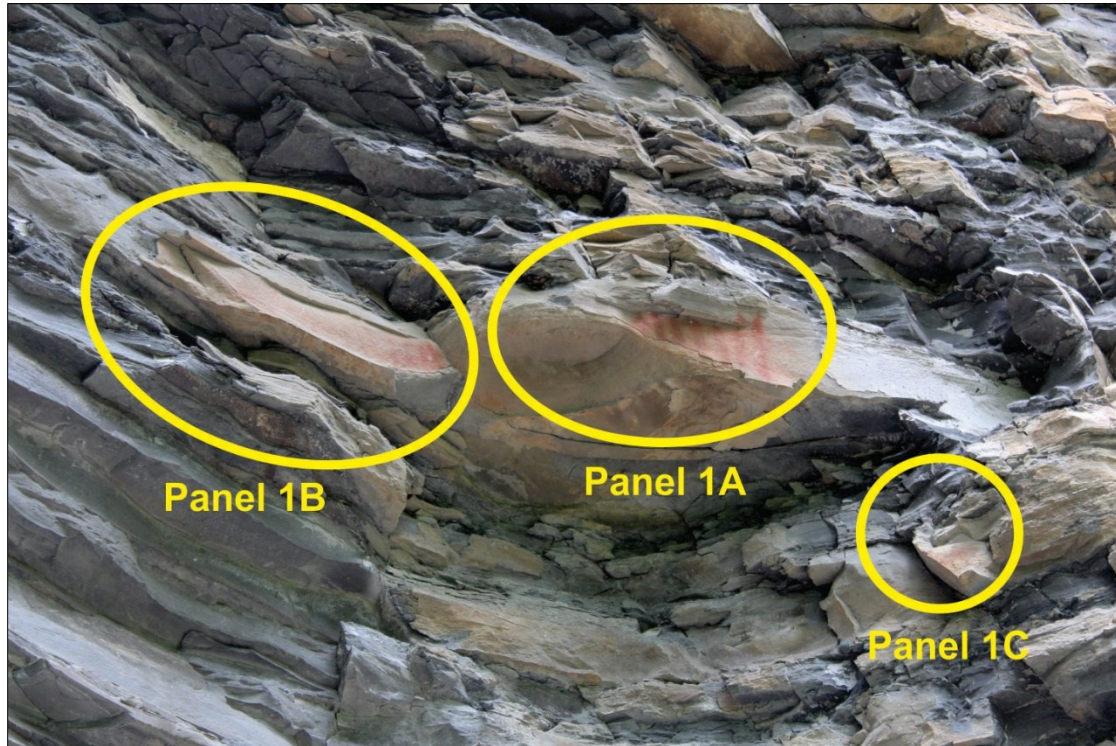


Figure 8. Panel 1 showing the location of the three subpanels mentioned in the study (David Moyer).

a single curved line. Their relative orientation suggests that Panels 1A and 1B may be the upper part of the same image, which has exfoliated or been removed. Panel C occurs at a different orientation on a different rock face and may not be directly associated with the other two subpanels.

Panel 2 is located below and to the east of Panel 1C and appears to consist of a single diagonal line (Figures 9 and 10). Subsequent analysis of our photographs using the DStretch filter shows that this diagonal line continues to extend farther east onto an adjoining rock face (Figures 11 and 12). The images in this area are less distinct, likely due to weathering caused by the south-facing exposure of the rock face. As a result, the image in Panel 2 may have been initially larger and more complex than the single diagonal line easily discernible today. Additional analysis of this area may help to clarify some of the more faded and clouded images.

Panel 3 is situated along a wide rock face below and to the east of Panel 2. This rock face consists of alternating layers of limestone and shale, with most of the visible imagery occurring on the wider, more resilient limestone (Figure 13). The images in Panel 3 are less distinct, although discrete lines and shapes can be discerned using the DStretch program (Figure 14). Panel 3 is situated approximately 1.5 meters (≈ 5 feet) from the current ground surface, and as a result, has been more heavily impacted by recent vandalism (Figures 15 and 16).



Figure 9. Non-enhanced image showing the diagonal line at Panel 2 (David Moyer).

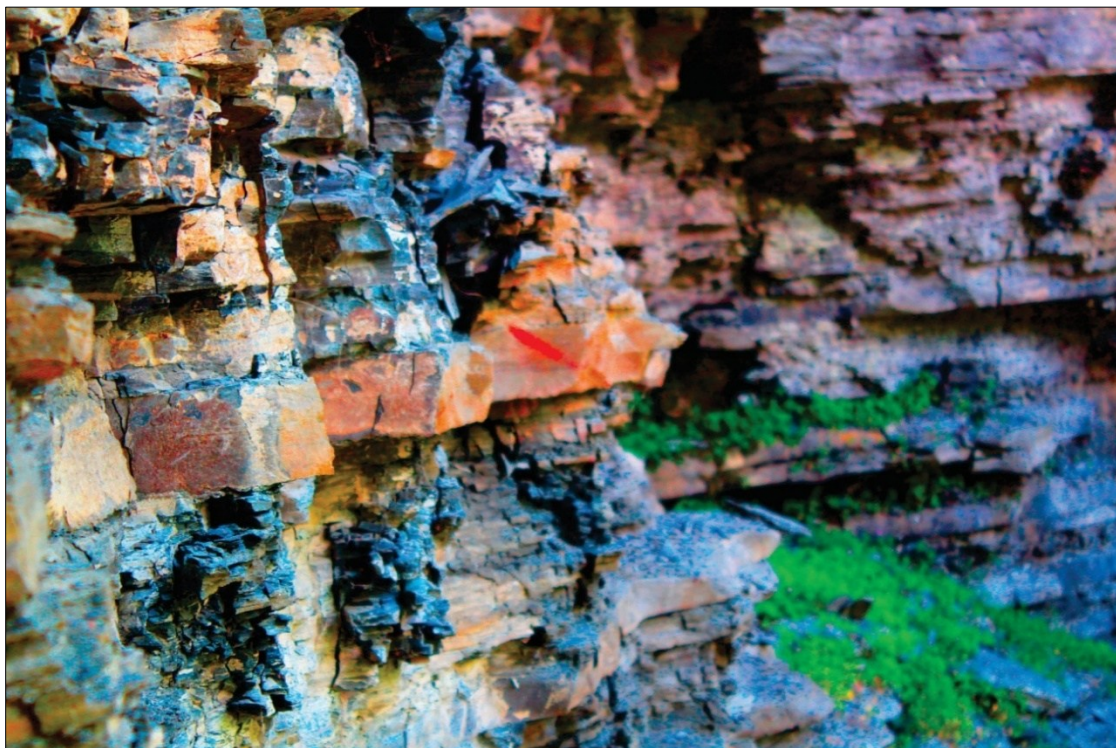


Figure 10. Panel 2 using the DStretch LAB filter with the diagonal line clearly visible (David Moyer).



Figure 11. Non-enhanced image of Panel 2 (David Moyer).

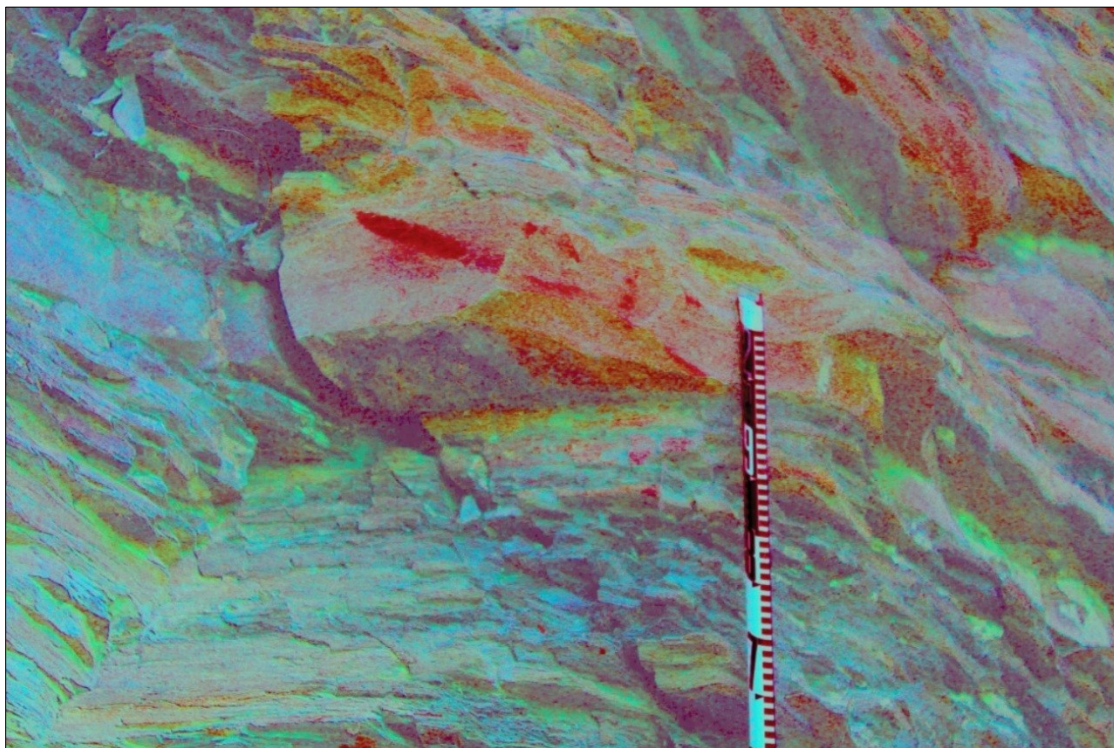


Figure 12. Photograph of Panel 2 using DStretch with the LRE filter (David Moyer).



Figure 13. Non-enhanced image of Panel 3 showing alternating bands of shale and limestone (David Moyer).

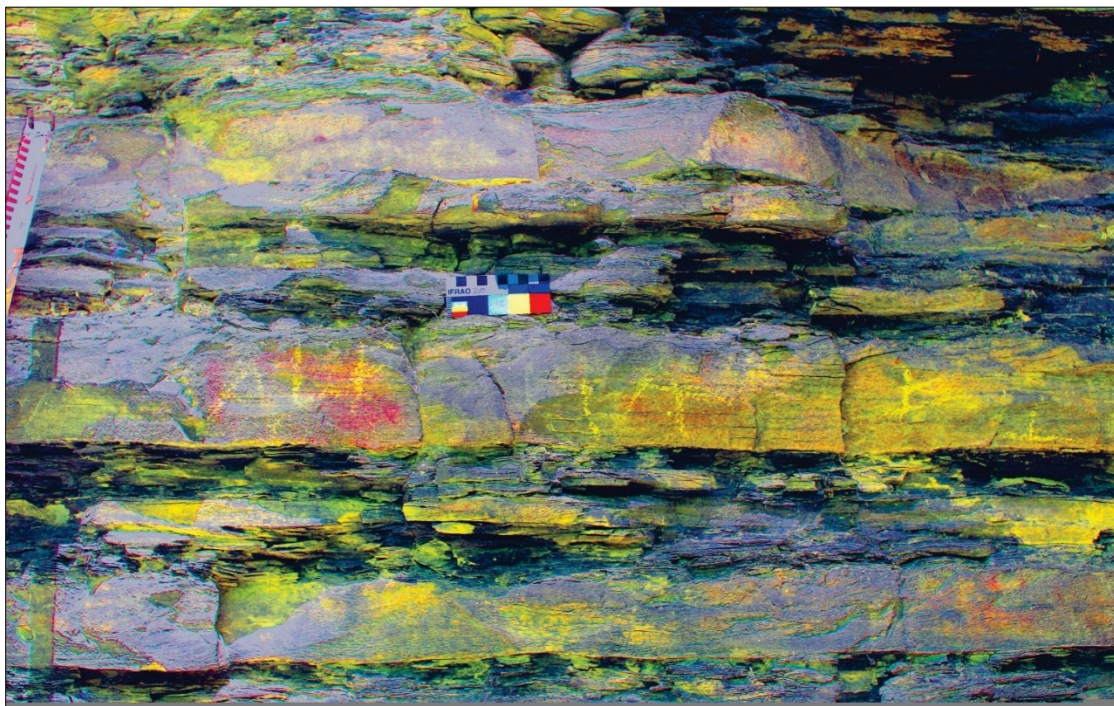


Figure 14. Panel 3 showing pictographs in red and lichen and recent graffiti in yellow using the DStretch LDS Filter (David Moyer).



Figure 15. Non-enhanced image of a section of Panel 3 (David Moyer).

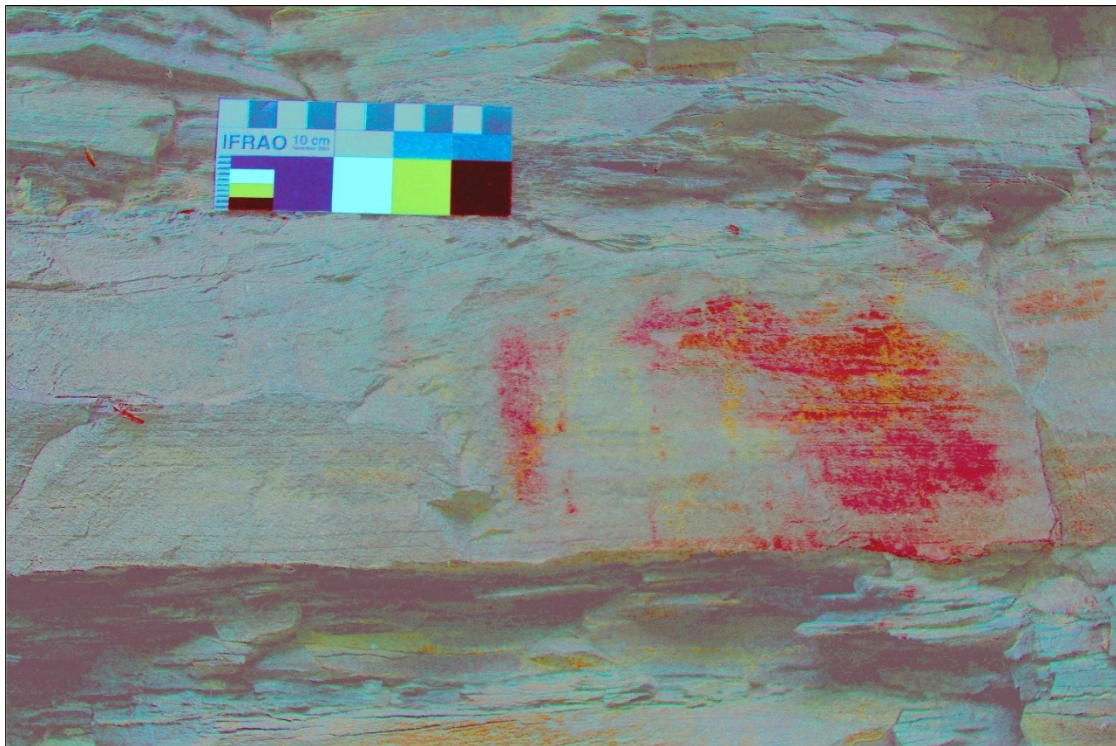


Figure 16. Section of the pictographs in Panel 3 using the DStretch LRE filter (David Moyer).



Figure 17. Non-enhanced image of the pictographs at Panel 4 (David Moyer).



Figure 18. Panel 4 using the DStretch YBG filter (David Moyer).

Panel 4 is located below Panel 1 and to the west of Panel 3. This panel consists of three distinct horizontal lines as well as a third, small dot or circular image located to the west on an adjoining rock face (Figures 17 and 18). No additional evidence of pictographs was noted in the immediate vicinity,

although additional photography and analysis may also find that this panel is larger than it initially appeared.



Figure 19. Modern graffiti located on a nearby rock face (Francis Scardera).

Environmental and Human Threats

Although the site holds considerable cultural and historical importance, it remains vulnerable to both environmental and human impacts. Increased foot traffic and occasional acts of vandalism, such as graffiti and minor surface incisions, have obscured portions of the original pictographs, complicating efforts at documentation and interpretation (Figure 19). Natural rock exfoliation, intensified by seasonal freeze–thaw cycles and broader climatic fluctuations, also poses challenges to long-term preservation. Collectively, these factors highlight the importance of continued monitoring, community education, and the development of targeted conservation strategies to help protect this rare example of Haudenosaunee rock art within the Finger Lakes region.

On October 20, 2023, during a periodic field visit, a large fragment of Panel 1 was found to have detached from the rock face and was lying upside down on the ground below (Figure 20). The fragment was photographed in situ and carefully removed (Figure 21). Upon consultation with the property owners (Cargill), the fragment containing the pictographs was donated to the *Onöhsagwë:de’ Cultural Center* (Seneca-Iroquois National Museum), where it currently resides. The loss of these significant pictographs underscores the fragile nature of the rock face and the importance of ongoing monitoring and site stewardship.



Figure 20. A portion of Panel 1 found broken and lying in situ at the base of the rock face (David Moyer).



Figure 21. Fragment of pictograph Panel 1 after being retrieved in the field (David Moyer).

5. Discussion

The presence of pictographs along the Seneca Lake shoreline, particularly near Excelsior Glen, invites consideration of why this particular location, among the many glacially carved valleys of the Finger Lakes, may have held enduring cultural significance. Several strands of historical and environmental evidence suggest that the site's importance may derive from its close relationship to water-based subsistence, ritual practice, and travel networks, but we must also consider the Haudenosaunee perspective of these waters (Rippeteau 2025). Although the following examples remain anecdotal, each provides a potential avenue for further investigation.

Prior to the 1913 construction of Route 414 and the associated culvert works, the mouth of the glen, where the creek entered the lake, appears to have been an active fishing locality. A report in the Schuyler County Chronicle (April 13, 1911:5) describes Thomas Horton⁷ using a windlass to operate large seines for “catching carp with nets” at Glen Excelsior. This passage attests to a strong, recurring seasonal fishing tradition in the area, one that may, at least symbolically, relate to the placement or meaning of the pictographs. Ed Lenik's research on rock art along the Susquehanna River identified comparable patterns. These petroglyph traditions associated with spring fishing stations suggest that the Seneca Lake pictographs may also be connected to seasonal resource gathering or aquatic-life-related ceremonial activities (Lenik 2002:201).

An accompanying article in the Schuyler County Chronicle (September 25, 1913:5) notes that Horton had altered the “top of the first fall” to supply water for the “flume of the Still House.” Although no reference to pictographs appears in this account, it underscores the extent of early twentieth-century intervention in the glen's natural flow—activities that may have obscured or destroyed earlier cultural features.

Seneca Lake is also well known for its extensive underground salt deposits; however, Haudenosaunee incorporation of salt into their diet appears to be a comparatively recent Post-Contact development. Their awareness of locations across Iroquoia where the mineral could be procured, however, is well documented (Waugh 1916:150-52 and Parker 1968:57). Environmental observations from the late nineteenth century also highlight the distinctive microclimatic and ecological conditions surrounding the site. John Corbett (Democrat and Chronicle, February 25, 1904: 7) recorded that even during the severe winter of 1885, when Seneca Lake froze “from shore to shore,” areas near the Painted Rocks and Big Point (now Salt Point) remained open water.

Anecdotal evidence of indigenous awareness of salt as a form of “natural bait” throughout the Finger Lakes is well attested. Parker (1920) enumerates multiple archaeological sites across western New York associated with salt fields, salt meadows, salt springs and salt licks. Certain species were particularly attracted to these mineral-rich environments; passenger pigeons (*Ectopistes migratorius*), now extinct

⁷ Excelsior Glen has also been identified as Horton's Glen or Horton's Creek. (Schuyler County Chronicle, 1912 and 1913).

for more than a century, were known to congregate in large numbers in salty fields. In describing hunting practices for this species, Mitchell, quoting Peter Kalm, links it explicitly to the Onondaga⁸:

"The Savages in Onondaga had built their huts on the sides of this salt field, and here they had erected sloping nets with a cord attachment leading to the huts where they were sitting: when the Pigeons arrived in Swarms to eat of this salty soil, the Savages pulled the cords, enclosing them in the net, and thus secured the entire flock" (Mitchell 1935: 119).

Passenger pigeons were a seasonal food of considerable importance to the Seneca (Schorger 1955:134–135), who referred to the species as *jäh' gowa'-son'on*, interpreted by Fenton and Deardorff (1943:291) as meaning "big breads."

The anthropogenic extinction of the passenger pigeon therefore represents not only a biological loss, but also the disruption of long-standing cultural, subsistence, and ceremonial relationships. This significance endures in contemporary practice: modern Seneca dancers continue to perform the *Pigeon Dance*, a cultural expression that preserves communal memory of the passenger pigeon and reflects the enduring relationship between Seneca ceremonial life and the natural world⁹.

To date, no historical documentation has been identified that directly references Seneca use of, or knowledge of, salt derived specifically from Seneca Lake. Nonetheless, the mineral-rich shoreline may have functioned as a natural deer mineral lick, or more commonly known as a salt lick, attracting game to the area—an ecological pattern that would not have gone unnoticed by the Seneca or other groups traversing the lake.

Although the wall panels differ markedly in morphology, they share the same geological substrate—layered Devonian shale interbedded with limestone and sandstone. Painted Rocks presents a relatively flat exposure, but modern modifications may have further levelled the surface. Excelsior Glen, by contrast, is concave and may be classified as a shallow overhang, though it does not display the attributes of a "lived" rock shelter. The placement of pictographs within its interior suggests that the formation predates the paintings and may have contributed to their longevity by providing some degree of protection from the elements. However, aside from anecdotal finds reported by hikers and club scouts, no artifacts or other cultural materials associated with this feature were identified during this research.

Lastly, a principal feature drawing visitors to Excelsior Glen is the approximately 20-foot waterfall, located only metres from the rock panels yet sufficiently distant that the panels are not directly affected

⁸ Some confusion may arise from the similarity between the terms Onondaga and Onöndowa'ga:. The Seneca refer to themselves as Onöndowa'ga: (also rendered O-non-dowa-gah), meaning "People of the Great Hill" or "Great Hill People." Despite the similarity in spelling and pronunciation, Onöndowa'ga: is the Seneca autonym and should not be confused with Onondaga, the name of another Haudenosaunee Nation.

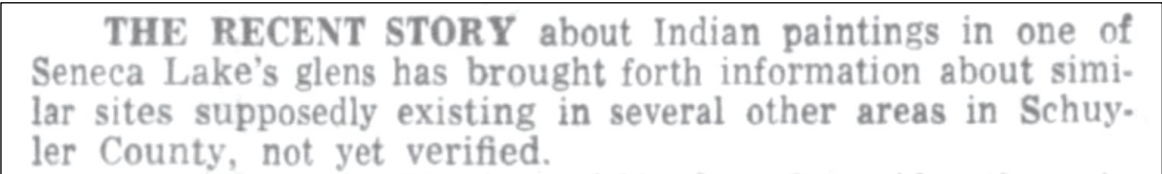
⁹ The *Pigeon Dance* was performed by the *Seneca Dancers* at the 77th Conference on Iroquois Research, held in Allegany (Salamanca), New York, on October 15, 2022.

by the waterfall's spray. While many well-known waterfalls in the region bear names derived from Haudenosaunee languages, any direct cultural association with this specific feature remains unconfirmed. Although such a connection is tempting to assert, it is presently supported only by anecdotal evidence. Nevertheless, this proximity warrants consideration, as waterfalls are widely understood within Haudenosaunee cultural frameworks to be spiritually significant (Rippeteau 2025).

Taken together, these accounts situate the Seneca Lake pictographs within a dynamic intersection of ecology, subsistence, and local tradition. While definitive connections between the pictographs and specific fishing or ritual practices remain unproven, the convergence of ethnographic analogy, historical documentation, and environmental context suggests that this locality was both symbolically charged and economically significant. Future interdisciplinary work integrating archaeological and Indigenous knowledge perspectives will be essential to better understand how such rock art sites functioned within the lived cultural landscapes of the Finger Lakes.

6. Conclusion

The Excelsior Glen and Painted Rocks sites illustrate the broader methodological challenges of distinguishing original Indigenous imagery from subsequent modifications, emphasizing the need for systematic documentation and proactive conservation of Northeastern rock art before further deterioration occurs. A brief follow-up to the 1961 newspaper reports aligns with the findings of the present study, suggesting that additional, as yet undocumented, rock art sites may exist throughout the Finger Lakes region (Figure 22). The authors hope that the study contributes to a growing effort to protect and honor these expressions of Indigenous presence—Haudenosaunee imagery that continues to shape our understanding of place, memory, and identity across the Finger Lakes landscape.



THE RECENT STORY about Indian paintings in one of Seneca Lake's glens has brought forth information about similar sites supposedly existing in several other areas in Schuyler County, not yet verified.

Figure 22. Potential for more rock art in the Finger Lakes area (Elmira Star-Gazette, Sunday, November 19, 1961:4)

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CTC Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 11, November 1966

CTC Newsletter, Vol. 9, No. 11, November 1969

The Susquehannock Connection

William Fox

Introduction

Researching a paper concerning 1649 events in Wendake, the writer studied as many Haudenosaunee and Wendat mid-seventeenth century projectile point collections as available at a variety of curatorial institutions. The resulting narrative will be presented in a forthcoming publication; however, one Wendat site assemblage stood out as unique. In fact, it is so far unique among all Ontario Iroquoian sites, despite the thousands of points recorded since 1970 (Fox 1972). Review of projectile points included in the Ben Taylor collection donated by his wife to the Huronia Museum in June of 1947 included two triangular points and two end scrapers of Pennsylvania jasper (see Figure 1). The accession card indicates that “these were collected on the Newton and Dutton farms in Tay Tp.”. Hunter (1900: 66) identifies a massive village site on the farm of Chas. E. Newton, Esq. as “The Probable Site of St. Ignace II”; however, it was later commemorated by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board with “a cairn and tablet” and identified as the mission site of St. Louis (Jury and Jury 1955, Foreword). Four chert points derived from Jury’s excavation of the St. Louis village were recorded in 2024 at the Museum of Ontario Archaeology, and Jury (1955: 19) also reports finding “73 reddish-pink chalcedony flakes and 103 quartzite flakes...”. It should be noted that glass beads included in the Taylor donation are diagnostic of Glass Bead Period 3b (Fox et al. 2023), consistent with a 1640’s Wendat mission site.

The Historical Record

Those familiar with the records of New France are aware of the 17th century alliance between the Wendat and Susquehannocks or Andaste (Kent 1984) against the Haudenosaunee. This relationship is first mentioned by Champlain regarding Brulé’s trip to the town of Carantouan in 1615 to invite the Andaste to join in an attack on the Haudenosaunee (Champlain 1929: 213-214). They agreed to send 500 warriors, as requested, to assist in Champlain’s attack, but arrived too late to participate and returned to Carantouan with Brulé (Ibid: 217) (Figure 2). This international alliance is reported by the Jesuits in 1647, who also note “that there are still found in the Huron country people from their district” (Thwaites Vol. 30: 253). The close relationship is echoed in the following excerpt from Volume 33 of the Jesuit Relations.

“ANDASTOE is a country beyond the Neutral Nation, distant from the Huron country about one hundred and fifty leagues in a straight line to the Southeast, a quarter South, from the Huron country, that is, Southward, a little toward the East; but the distance that

has to be traveled to reach there is nearly two hundred leagues, owing to detours in the route. Those people speak the Huron language and have always been the allies of our Hurons (see Figure 2). They are very warlike, and in a single village they count thirteen hundred men capable of bearing arms.

At the beginning of last year, 1647, two men of that Nation came here, deputed by their Captains to tell our Hurons that, if they lost courage and felt too weak to contend against their enemies, they should inform them, and send an Embassy to Andastoé; for that object.

The Hurons did not miss this opportunity. Charles Ondaaiondiont, an excellent Christian of long standing, was deputed as the head of that embassy; and he was accompanied by four other Christians, and by four infidels. They left here on the thirteenth of April, and reached Andastoé; only at the beginning of June.

The harangue delivered by Charles Ondaaiondiont on his arrival was not long. He told them that they came from the Land of Souls, where war and the terror of the enemies had desolated everything; where the country was covered only with blood; where the cabins were filled only with corpses; and that they themselves had only enough life remaining to come to ask their friends to have pity on a country that was drawing near its end. After that, he displayed the most valuable rarities of this land, which the Hurons had brought as presents for them; and they said that in these was the voice of their expiring country.

The reply of the Andastoeronnon Captains was, in the first place, to deplore the calamities of a country that had suffered so great losses; then they added that tears and regrets for the past were not the remedy for those evils, but that the course of those misfortunes must be arrested as soon as possible.

After a number of councils, they deputed Ambassadors to the Enemies of our Hurons, to beg them to lay down their arms, and to think of a lasting peace, which would not hinder the trade of all these countries with one another.

The Andastoeronnons who were deputed to the Hiroquois had not yet returned to Andastoé on the fifteenth of August; nevertheless, Charles Ondaaiondiont was anxious to depart, that he might bring to this country, before winter, information of the decision reached by the Andastoeronnons in the matter. He therefore left one of his companions at Andastoé, to be a witness of all that should occur, and returned with the remainder of his suite, arriving here only on the fifth of October.

The Sonnontoueronnons (Seneca) who, early in the Spring, had received information of this embassy of our Hurons lay in wait for them on their return; but Charles suspected this, and avoided their ambushes by making a wide circuit through the woods by devious paths, and by crossing almost inaccessible mountains; this compelled him on

his return to perform in forty days, with inconceivable fatigue, a journey that had occupied him ten days, in going from the Neutral Nation to Andastoé.” (Thwaites Vol. 33: 129-133).

Discussion

One of the first references to the Susquehannocks, including their armament, is in Captain John Smith’s 1606 description of a warrior, as follows: “His arrows were five quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white cristall-like stone, in form of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long.” (Skinner 1938: 46) - an accurate description of the predominately quartz arrowpoints recovered from 17th century Susquehannock sites. As illustrated in Figure 3, the remainder of the arrowpoints on Susquehannock sites were manufactured from grey cherts and the yellow and red variants of locally quarried Pennsylvania jasper.

But, what of the scrapers illustrated in Figure 1? They speak of domestic activities, perhaps including hide/pelt preparation, not the direct taking of lives, whether faunal or human. The 1647 Jesuit observation concerning “people from their district” (Thwaites Vol. 30: 253) does not specify gender. This ambiguity is supported by Susquehannock style and Susquehannock-like ceramics identified on 17th century Wendat village sites (Bursey: 2025).

Pennsylvania jasper artifacts are extremely rare on Ontario archaeological sites, occurring sporadically in assemblages from Paleo times (Ellis et al.: 2023) through to the Middle Woodland on sites such as Ault Park on the St. Lawrence (Pihl: 2017). Four jasper artifacts from one site is most unusual and their presence on a Jesuit mission site was unexpected. Their potential association with such dramatic events as described above would not be immediately obvious. Were it not for the fortuitous Jesuit records, the presence of these pieces would simply be an interesting anomaly within the general pattern of exotic chert biface tools characteristic of 17th century Wendat assemblages (Fox 1979: 86). On the other hand, the archaeological evidence provides geographic specificity; it grounds the historical narrative in space and time, illustrating once again that archaeological evidence can speak to the veracity of notoriously biased European perspectives and limited understanding of the Indigenous world in which they operated (Fox 2023).

Acknowledgements

This narrative could not have been constructed without access to the Taylor collection and notes at the Huronia Museum, courtesy of manager Genevieve Carter. She “went the extra mile” by digging into 20th century hand-written accession records to confirm the provenance of the subject artifacts. Access to the Jury collection artifacts from his St. Louis mission site excavation was provided by Heather Hatch, collections manager

at the Museum of Ontario Archaeology. The author also wishes to thank Janet Johnson and James Herbstritt of The State Museum of Pennsylvania, Section of Archaeology, for facilitating access to their 17th century Susquehannock collections and particularly Dr. Herbstritt for confirming the author's identification of the St. Louis mission site jasper arrowpoints and scrapers and providing references which broadened the author's understanding of the Susquehannock.

The excellent cartographic contribution in Figure 2 is once again courtesy of Andrew Stewart, while the Figure 1 composite was created by John Howarth Photography. Information concerning the distribution of Susquehannock-like ceramics across Wendake was provided by Jeff Bursey, and finally, the evolution of this paper has benefited from decades of dialogue with the "archaeological sage of Huronia", James Hunter.



Figure 1: Pennsylvania Jasper Arrowpoints and Scrapers from the Wendat St. Louis Mission Site. Photos by W. Fox, enhanced by John Howarth Photography.

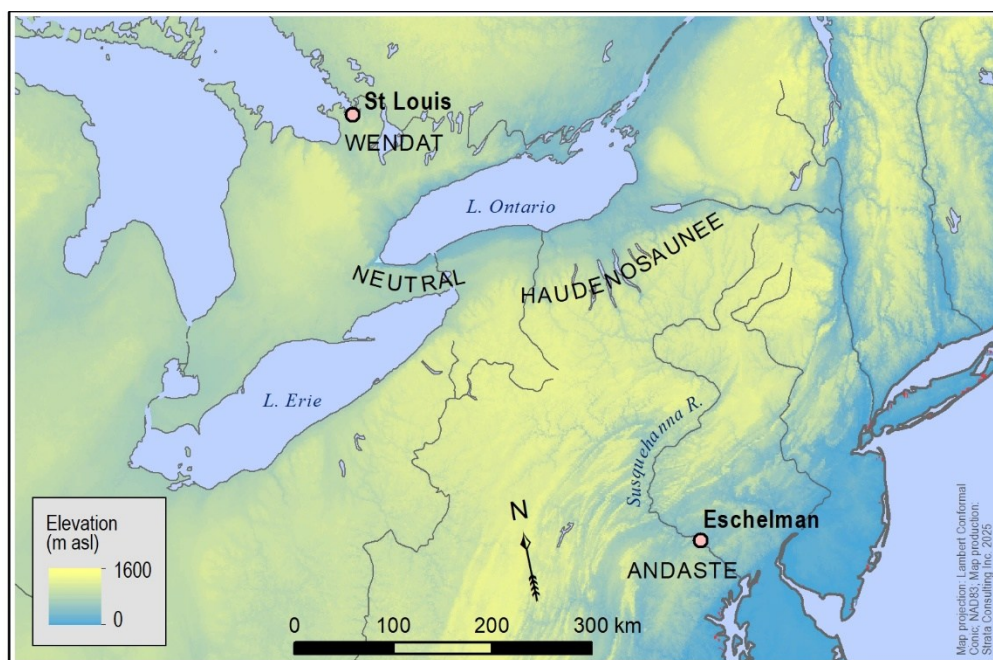


Figure 2: Charles Ondaaiondiont's Trip. Map produced by A. Stewart.



Figure 3: Susquehannock Arrowpoints from the 17th Century Eschelma Site. Photo by W. Fox.

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Larry Hauptman, reflections by Terry Abrams

I don't recall exactly when, but I first met Larry Hauptman at the Iroquois Conference sometime in the early 2000s, when it was still at the Rensselaerville Conference Center. A few years later, in 2007, as president of the Tonawanda Reservation Historical Society, I asked him to come to Tonawanda to speak as part of the 150th commemoration of the treaty of 1857, where the Tonawanda Seneca purchased their homeland back from the Ogden Land Company.

Larry had by then written several books about the history of the Haudenosaunee, so he was the logical choice. He readily agreed, and the talk was well attended. Larry had said at that point that he had promised his wife Ruth that he wouldn't write any more books. He broke that promise when the research he did for that talk became *The Tonawanda Senecas' Heroic Battle Against Removal: Conservative Activist Indians*. He subsequently wrote at least four more books. Each time it was because he felt obligated to relate the history of the Seneca, Oneida and other Haudenosaunee people as they knew it.

In his preface to the Tonawanda history, Larry wrote :

"In 1974, at the encouragement of Dr. William N. Fenton and at the invitation of Cephas Hill, a Seneca elder, I was invited to the Tonawanda Indian Reservation. Realizing that the Great Depression's generation was rapidly dying off, I hoped to combine interviews with my archival research on the 1930s. Eventually, this work was to lead to the publication of my book *The Iroquois and the New Deal* in 1981. . . Since then I have visited this community once or twice a year, spending time with elders . . . I have had the privilege of learning from Tonawanda Senecas themselves."

From the beginning, Larry understood the importance of fieldwork, even for historians (Perhaps especially for historians). he was always encouraging of my own research and was always suggesting possible topics of Seneca history that we should write ourselves.

Larry felt very profoundly that he owed his career to the Haudenosaunee people and willingly would help out wherever he could. Consequently, he placed himself in a difficult position when he testified as a witness for the Oneida land claims case. As a professor at SUNY New Paltz, he was a state employee, and they did not look kindly on this. Larry however, felt obligated to speak the truth, and relay the facts, regardless.

Over the years, Larry had endeared himself to us, and we considered him a good and true friend. He regularly attended the Peter Doctor Memorial Scholarship dinner, as

well as Remember the Removal, commemorating the loss of land at Allegany due to the construction of the reservoir.

A few years ago, Larry once again came to Tonawanda to give a talk at the Longhouse. A relatively small, but appreciative crowd attended. Larry as always gave credit to the younger Haudenosaunee people on the work they did on their own behalf. He repeatedly gestured over to the audience, complimenting “Sean” for his efforts. The rest of us were confused by this, and finally my cousin Christine, who worked at the tribal office said, “Who are you talking about? That’s not Sean. His name is Scott.” Mortified, Larry apologized profusely. At the end of his talk, Larry once again praised Scott -using his correct name this time - for the work he was doing. Slyly, Christine replied “Scott? Or Sean?” This broke everybody up, and as we all laughed, Larry ruefully shook his head and said, “Seneca humor.” At this point, after forty years, Larry was well acquainted with Indian humor, and accepted the joke gracefully.

The last time I saw Larry was in June of 2025, and it was unexpected. It was at the New York History Conference at the State Museum in Albany, and he was receiving the Patricia Bonomi Award for Excellence in New York History. This was not announced as part of the program previously, although it was obviously planned. I was delighted to see him, and naturally glad for him to be receiving this well deserved accolade. This delight was sadly tempered when he informed me that he had esophageal cancer, and was not anticipating living much beyond that summer. We talked over lunch, although he could not eat much, he was still the same, always interested in whatever new research I was working on. I must also point out he was always happy to introduce people to each other, knowing that collegiality was a vital part of learning.

The conference organizers came to remind him of the time, although we continued talking, because, as Larry said, they couldn’t start without him. Finally, they came and insisted that he had to go, so we made our way to the auditorium. Larry’s speech was gracious as always, and I cannot express strongly enough how grateful I was, and am, to have known him, and to be able to call him my friend.

<https://www.copelandhammerl.com/obituaries/Laurence-M-Hauptman?obId=48820913#/obituaryInfo>

Meetings of the Conference on Iroquois Research

1. 1945, Oct. 26-28 Red House, N.Y.
2. 1946, Oct. 4-6 " "
3. 1947, Oct. 24-26 " "
4. 1948, Oct. 8-10 " "
5. 1949, Nov. 17 New York, N.Y. (Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture at the 48th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association)
6. 1950, Oct. 5-7 Red House, N.Y.
7. 1951, Oct. 5-7 " "
8. 1952, Oct. 10-12 " "
9. 1955, Oct. 14-16 " "
10. 1956, Oct. 26-28 " "
11. 1957, Oct. 11-13 " "
- 1958, Nov. 20 Cherokee-Iroquois Symposium at the 57th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.
12. 1959, Oct. 16-18 Red House, N.Y.
13. 1960, Nov. 4-6 New Haven, Conn.
14. 1961, Oct. 13-16 Hamilton, Ont.
15. 1962, Oct. 12-14 Albany, N.Y. (Joint meeting with the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference)
16. 1965, Oct. 15-17 Glens Falls, N.Y.
17. 1966, Oct. 21-23' Raquette Lake, N.Y.
18. 1967, Oct. 13-15 Rensselaerville, N.Y.
19. 1968, Oct. 18-20 " "
20. 1969, Oct. 17-19 " "
21. 1970, Aug. 28-30 Peterborough, Ont. (Joint meeting with the Algonquian Conference)
22. 1971, Oct. 1-3 Rensselaerville, N.Y.
23. 1972, Nov. 1-3 " "
24. 1973, Oct. 12-14 " "
25. 1974, Oct. 11-13 " "
26. 1975, Oct. 10-12 " "
27. 1976, Oct. 1-3 Albany, N.Y.

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|-----|---------------------------|--|
| 28. | 1977, Oct. 7-9 | Rensselaerville, N.Y. |
| | 1978, April 5-8 | Cherokee-Iroquois Conference, Cherokee, N.C. |
| 29. | 1978, Oct. 13-15 | Rensselaerville, N.Y. |
| 30. | 1979, Oct. 11-14 | Albany, N.Y. (Joint meeting with the American
Society for Ethnohistory) |
| 31. | 1980, Oct. 10-12 | Rensselaerville, N.Y. |
| 32. | 1981, Oct. 9-11 | " " |
| 33. | 1982, Oct. 8-10 | " " |
| 34. | 1983, Oct. 7-9 | " " |
| 35. | 1984, Oct. 12-14 | " " |
| 36. | 1985, Oct. 11-13 | " " |
| 37. | 1986, Oct. 3-5 | " " |
| 38. | 1987, Oct. 2-4 | " " |
| 39. | 1988, Oct. 7-9 | " " |
| 40. | 1989, Oct. 13-15 | " " |
| 41. | 1990, Sept. 21-23 | " " |
| 42. | 1991, Oct. 4-6 | " " |
| 43. | 1992, Oct. 2-4 | " " |
| 44. | 1993, Oct. 1-3 | " " |
| 45. | 1994, Sept. 30-
Oct. 2 | " " |
| 46. | 1995, Oct. 6-8 | " " |

**1971 Conference on Iroquois Research
The Institute on Man and Science
Rensselaerville, New York
October 1–3**

FRIDAY

5:00 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace: Weathervane

6:30 p.m. Dinner at the Weathervane

At the Guggenheim Pavilion

8:30 p.m. Welcome—Introduction and Announcements

Regna Darnell: Iroquois Treaty

Etiquette (read by Mike Foster)

Einhorn: "A Glimpse at Mohawk Ritual in 1970."

SATURDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00 a.m. Gunther Michelson: Mohawk Dialects and their History

9:40 a.m. Roy Wright: Linguistic Light on Iroquoian Prehistory

10:30 a.m. Coffee

11:00 a.m. Mike Foster: Speaking in the Longhouse at Six Nations Reserve

12:30 p.m. Lunch

2:00 p.m. Barbara Graymont and William Wyckoff: A Note on the Tuscarora Language

3:00 p.m. Coffee

3:30 p.m. Floyd G. Lounsbury: Categories of Verbal Aspect in Oneida and Other Matters

5:00 p.m. Very Little Water Society Meeting to Honor the Medicine

6:30 p.m. Dinner

8:30 p.m. Jack Frisch: Some Mohawk Color Terms

8:50 p.m. James V. Wright: A Mid-18th Century Iroquois Site

SUNDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00 a.m. Marian White: Iroquois Sites in the Vicinity of Cayuga Lake

9:30 a.m. Karl Sider: Jefferson County Iroquois

10:00 a.m. Audrey Brulett: Seneca Residential Segregation Patterns During the Reservation Period

11:00 a.m. Coffee

11:30 a.m. Volunteer Papers. Open for discussion or volunteer papers.

12:30 p.m. Lunch

ADDENDUM

FRIDAY EVENING

Gordon Day: *Iroquois Expedition against the Pennacooks – 1663*

**1972 Conference on Iroquois Research
The Institute on Man and Science
Rensselaerville, New York
November 3–5, 1972**

FRIDAY

5:00 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace: Weathervane

6:30 p.m. Dinner at the Weathervane

8:30 p.m. Welcome – Introduction and Announcements: William Fenton

Papers

1. Gunther Michelson: Upstreaming Bruyas
2. Hope Isaacs: Orenda Among the Tonawanda Seneca: A Report on an Ethnographic Cognitive Study
3. Jack Frisch: The Mohawk Vocabularies of C. C. Trowbridge

SATURDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

Symposium on Iroquoian Linguistics (Chair: Floyd Lounsbury)

9:00 Marianne Williams: Word Order in Tuscarora

9:20 Nancy Bonvillain: Mohawk Noun Incorporation

9:50 Michael K. Foster: Key Performative Verbs in Longhouse Speeches

10:30 Coffee

11:00 Hanni Woodbury: Onondaga Noun Incorporation

11:20 Wallace Chafe: Iroquoian Pronominal Prefixes: Comparisons and Implications for Historical Relations among the Tribes

12:30 Lunch

2:00 Roy Wright: On the Identity of the Nation du Chat (Eries)

2:30 Symposium on the Northeastern Volume of the Handbook (Chair: William Sturtevant)

- Bruce Trigger: Economic and Social Aspects of the Development of Iroquoian Culture
- Elizabeth Tooker: New Strategy for Iroquois Culture History

3:30 Coffee

1972 Conference on Iroquois Research

5:00 p.m. Very Little Water Society Meeting

6:30 p.m. Dinner

8:30 p.m. Ives Goddard: The Tribes of Lower Michigan on the Lost Huron Map of 1640

Floyd Lounsbury: Material Artifacts in Oral Tradition

SUNDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00 Marian White (with James Pendergast): Laurentian Archaeology

11:00 Coffee

Open for Discussion or Volunteer Papers

12:30 p.m. Lunch

IROQUOIS RESEARCH CONFERENCE

11/3/72–11/5/72

Residents

Gordon M. Day
Mrs. Gordon M. Day
Barbara Graymont
Hazel Hertzberg
William Engelbrecht
Earl R. Sidler III
Wallace L. Chafe
Mr. Chafe
Mr. Pendergast
Mrs. Pendergast
William Fenton
Mrs. William Fenton
Floyd Lounsbury
Mrs. Floyd Lounsbury
Mrs. Geurer
Marianne M. Williams
Nancy Bonvillain
Hanni Woodbury
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Jack A. Frisch
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Charles Gehring
Charles Gillette
Stanley Smith
James Herrick
Mr. Callamer
Mrs. Callamer
Mrs. Arthur Einhorn
Jennifer Chatfield
Andrea Lurie
Philip Cole (*handwritten – added*)

**1973 Conference on Iroquois Research
The Institute on Man and Science
Rensselaerville, New York
October 12–14, 1973**

FRIDAY

5:30 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace: Weathervane

6:30 p.m. Dinner at the Weathervane

8:30 p.m. Welcome – Introductions & Announcements: William Fenton

Presentations

1. Jack Campisi – Factionalism, Belief Systems, and Boundaries among the Oneida of the Thames
2. Denis Foley – Political Mythology Past and Present at Six Nations Reserve: a preliminary report of field work
3. James Herrick – Field Work on Iroquois Medical Botany
4. William Wykoff – Juglans Nigra: distribution

SATURDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

Symposium on Language and Culture (Chair: Marianne Williams)

9:00 Wallace Chafe – Contrary Evidence for the Position of Cayuga within Northern Iroquoian

10:00 M. K. Foster – The Oral Composition Process

10:30 Coffee

11:00 Marianne Williams – An Orthography for Mohawk

11:20 Roy Wright – Orthography and Iroquoian Languages

12:30 Lunch

2:00 Sally Weaver – The Depth of the Elective Movement at Six Nations Reserve

Betty Tooker – The Baptist Mission at Tonawanda

3:30 Coffee

1973 Conference on Iroquois Research

4:00 p.m. Conference for Authors of N.E. Volume

5:30 p.m. Cocktails

6:30 p.m. Dinner

8:30 p.m. Volunteered Papers with Slides. Earl Sidler: "Support for Sagard"

SUNDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00 a.m. Symposium on Agriculture and Iroquois Society (Chair: James Wright)

David Keenlyside & David Stothers – Initial Appearance of Corn Agriculture

James Fitting – The Retreat from Agriculture: The Huron Economy and Social Organization in the Late 17th Century

11:00 Coffee

William Engelbrecht – Factor Analysis

12:30 Lunch

1974 Conference on Iroquois Research
The Institute on Man and Science
Rensselaerville, New York
October 11-12-13

FRIDAY

5:30 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace: Weathervane

6:30 p.m. Dinner at the Weathervane

8:30 p.m. Welcome, introductions, announcements: William Fenton

Presentations

1. Larry Hauptman: Seneca Factionalism in the late nineteenth century
2. Denis Foley: The Great Law and the Good Message: an ideological synthesis
3. Jeanette Collamer: A pictorial ethnography of the Senecas: the paintings of Ernest Smith in the Rochester Museum
4. A volunteer topic

SATURDAY

8:00 a.m. Breakfast at the Weathervane

9:00 a.m. Symposium on Cayuga language and culture

1. Wallace L. Chafe: The Relation of Cayuga to the other Iroquoian languages

9:30 a.m. 2. Harian White: Cayuga Prehistory

10:00 a.m. 3. William Engelbrecht: Cayuga Ethnohistory, with Notes by Roy Wright

10:30 a.m. Coffee

11:00 a.m. 4. Marianne Mithun Williams: Concerning the special relations between Cayuga and Tuscarora

11:20 a.m. 5. Blair Rudes: Problems with the Andaste Hypothesis

11:40 a.m. 6. William Fenton: Anomalies in Cayuga clan and council structure

12:30 p.m. Lunch at the Weathervane

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

- 1:30 p.m. Hope Isaacs: The Notion of Balances among the Tonawanda Seneca
- 2:00 p.m. Jack Frisch: The Iroquois in Alberta: or the Pursuit of the Voyageurs to 55° N. L. (Grand Prairie), being a compilation of the travels of the author
- 3:00 p.m. Group Discussions of Special Topics

A, Second Languages and Linguistics

1. Hanni Feurer: Mohawk Questions and Answers
 2. Clifford Abbott: The Oneida Project
- 3:30 p.m. 3. Jack Campisi: The Oneida Project-II
Coffee 4. Michael Foster: Terlay's Onondaga Dictionary of Cayuga

B, National Indian Movements as they affect research. Hazel Hertzberg and others.

- 4:30 p.m. Take a walk
- 5:30 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace
- 6:30 p.m. Dinner
- 8:30 p.m. "A precise date for a complicated institution: an exercise in spurious accuracy," or "A new probable date for the League." By "He-lost-a-bet,"

SUNDAY

- 8:00 a.m. Breakfast
- 9:00 a.m. Earl Sidler: Utilization of Natural Food-stuffs
James Wright: A final Statement on the Mid-fourteenth Century Nodwell Site, Bruce County, Ontario
- Volunteer papers and reports
- 11:00 a.m. Coffee
- 12:30 p.m. Luncheon

1978 Conference on Iroquois Research

The Institute on Man and Science
Rensselaerville, New York

October 13, 14, 15

FRIDAY

- 5:30 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace at the Weathervane
- 6:30 p.m. Dinner at the Weathervane
- 8:30 p.m. Welcome and Introductions: William N. Fenton
- James Axtell: "Last Rights: The Christianization of Native Funerals in Colonial North America"
- Laurence M. Hauptman: "The Seneca Arts Projects in Historical Perspective"

SATURDAY

- 8:00 a.m. Breakfast at the Weathervane
- 9:00 a.m. James Bradley: "Patterns of Trade in the 16th Century: Europeans and Onondaga"
- 9:30 a.m. James A. Clifton: "Ontario Iroquoian Sociopolitical Structure: An Analysis of Four Wyandot Villages in 1747"
- 10:00 a.m. Ives Goddard: "Agreskwe, A Northern Iroquoian Deity"
- 10:30 a.m. Coffee break
- 10:45 a.m. William N. Fenton: "The Internal Composition of the Deganawidah Myth Based on a Content Analysis of Nine Major Versions"
- 11:15 a.m. Reginald Henry and Marianne Mithun: "Cayuga North and South: Cultural and Linguistic Comparisons between Ontario and Oklahoma"
- 11:45 a.m. Christopher H. Plant and Mark Letcher: "The Tonawanda Seneca and their Neighbors: A Comparative Analysis for the Year 1875"
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch at the Weathervane

SATURDAY

- 1:30 p.m. Francis Jennings: "The Newberry Library's Project for a Documentary History of the Iroquois"
- 1:45 p.m. Michael K. Foster: "Upstreaming Iroquois Treaty Speeches from Contemporary to Past Sources"
- 2:15 p.m. Mary Druke: "My Father and I Shall Risk Together:-- We Are the Same"
- 2:45 p.m. Stephen F. Auth: "Peace, Power, and Presents: Delaware-Iroquois-English Relations between the Treaty of Easton and Pontiac's War"
- 3:15 p.m. Coffee break
- 3:30 p.m. Blair Rudes: "Sack Vocabulary Revisited"
- 4:00 p.m. Adele Hast: "Mapping Iroquois History"
- 4:30 p.m. Jack Campisi: "Tribes and Tribulations"
- 5:30 p.m. Cocktails on the Terrace
- 6:30 p.m. Dinner at the Weathervane
- 8:30 p.m. Zena Pearlstone Mathews: "Iroquois Figurines"
- George R. Hammell: "Iroquois Combs and Wooden Smoking Pipes"
- Christina Johannsen: "Modern Iroquois Arts and Crafts"

SUNDAY

- 8:00 a.m. 12:30 p.m.
- 9:00 a.m.
- 9:30 a.m.
- 10:00 a.m.**
- 10:30 a.m.
- 10:45 a.m.
- 11:15 a.m.

Breakfast at
the
Weathervane

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terpretation"

Jack A. Frisch: "Lewis H. Morgan as an Advocate"

E11sabeth Tooker: "How Morgan Irote the League"

Coffee break

Denis Foley: "Questions Concerning Native American
Criminality"

Earl Sidler: {title to be announced)

Lunch at the Weathervane

1979
ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON IROQUOIS RESEARCH

Friday, October 12: 2:00 - 5:00 PM
Room A

A HALF CENTURY OF IROQUOIAN RESEARCH
Elisabeth Tooker (Temple) Chair

William Sturtevant (Smithsonian Institution)
Elisabeth Tooker (Temple University)
Wallace Chafe (UC Berkeley and Wellesley College) ..
Hazel Hertzberg (Teacher's College, Columbia University).
James Wright (National Museum of Man)
Bruce Trigger (McGill University)

Saturday, October 13: 9:00 AM (Note program change)
Room A.

ROUNDTABLE ON IROQUOIAN LINGUISTICS
Wallace Chafe (Berkeley and Wellesley) and Marianne Mithun (SUNY Albany)
Organizers

Saturday, October 13: 2:00-5:00 (Note program change)
Room A

IROQUOIAN ARCHAEOLOGY SYMPOSIUM: THE ST. LAWRENCE IROQUOIS
James Bradiey; (Mass) and James Pendergast (National Museum of Man)
Organizers

2:00 Current Arthur C. Parker Fellowships in Iroquois Research.
Charles Hayes (Rochester Museum and Science Center)

2:15 Introductory Comments. Bruce Trigger (McGill)

2:30 Definition of St. Lawrence Iroquois Material Culture

North of the St. Lawrence James Pendergast (National Museum of Man)

South of the St. Lawrence Earl Sidler (Buffalo)

3:30 Dispersal of the St. Lawrence Iroquois

Into Huronia Ramsden

Into Iroquoia James Bradley

ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON IROQUOIS RESEARCH

1981

Friday, October 9

5:30 Cocktails on the .terrace

6:30 Dinner

8:15 Opening Remarks: William N. Fenton

'The Schoharie Museum of the Iroquois Indian', Christine
Johannsen

Film: 'The Seneca' by Ron .I!egel

Saturday, October 10

8:00 Breakfast

9:00 Lewis Henry Morgan Symposium: Elisabeth Tooker, chair

'Morgan's Legacy to Iroquois Studies and to American
Ethnology', William N. Fenton

'Lewis Henry Morgan's Study of Iroquois Socio-Political
Organization and Religion', Elisabeth Tooker

Coffee

'Lewis Henry Morgan and the Language of the Iroquois', Wallace
Chafe

'More on Lewis Henry Morgan', Hazel Hertzberg

12:30 Lunch

2:00 Lewis Henry Morgan Symposium, continued: George Hamell, Chair

'The Morgan Collection in the New York State Museum', Charles
Gillette

'The Morgan Collection in the Rochester Museum', Richard Rose
Coffee

3:30 'William Beauchamp's "Antiquities of Onondaga"', James Bradley

'The Significance of Artifact Traits in Jefferson County,
New York', James Pendergast

'The Place of the In-Situ Theory in Iroquoia', William Starna
and Robert E. Funk

5:30 Cocktails on the terrace

{3:30 Dinner

8:15 'Metaphor in Oneida', Cliff Abbott

'The Methodology of Art History', Iena Pearlstone Mathews

Film: 'Mohawk Basketmaking' by Frank Semmens

Sunday, October 11

8:30 Breakfast

9:30 'Through the Great Black Doorway: Transformation at the
Thieeshold', George Hamell

'An Eighteenth Century Oneida Letter', Cliff Abbott

Coffee

Discussion

12:00 Lunch

Annual Conference on Iroquois Research

October 11-13, 1985

Friday

5:30 Reunion on the terrace

6:30 Dinner

Evening Program: Wally Chafe, Chair

8:00 Opening Remarks: William N. Fenton

8:15 The Power of Print in the Eastern Woodlands: Jim Axtell

8:45 In their Own Backyard: The 'Foreign' Mission to New York,
1810-1860: Chris Miller

9:15 Changes in Iroquois Adoption, 1789-Present: A Preliminary
Survey: Jim Lynch

Saturday

8:00 Breakfast

Early Morning Program: Floyd Lounsbury, Chair

9:00 Interpreters as Cultural Brokers among the Iroquois, 1740-
1778: A Preliminary Research Report: Nancy Hagedorn

9:30 Native Orthography: Reg Henry

10:00 We Say it Backwards in Cherokee: Janine Scancarelli

10:30 Coffee

Late Morning Program: Mary Druke Becker, Chair

10:45 Some Notable Seneca Kin Relations: Betty Tooker

11:15 The Indian Gansevoorts: Barbara Graymont

11:45 League and Confederacy in the Colonial Period: Daniel Richter

12:30 Lunch

Early Afternoon Program: Gordon Day, Chair

- 1:45 From Stanwix to Canandaigua: National Policy, States' Rights,
and Indian Land: Jack Campisi
- 2:15 The Other Morgan in Seneca History: George Abrams, Hazel
Dean-John, and Larry Hauptrr=
- 2:45 Relocation as Process: The Allegany Seneca after Kinzua Dam:
Joy Kolb
- 3:15 Trace Element Analysis of Iroquois Ceramics: Bob Kuhn
- 3:45 Coffee

Late Afternoon Program: Bill Englebrecht, Chair

- 4:00 Update on the Mohawk Valley Project: Dean Snow
- 4:30 Approaching Mohawk Political and Economic History: A
Perspective from Kanawata:ke: Dave Guldenzopf
- 5:00 **A Non-destructive Approach for Archaeological Investigation:**
Magnetometer Survey on Mohawk Sites: Mary Schwarz
- 5:30 Reunion on the terrace
- 6:30 Dinner

Evening Program: Hanni Woodbury, Chair

- 8:00 The Condolence Paradigm: Bill Fenton
- 8:30 Music Culture and Aesthetics: An Introduction to SPINC:
Michael Sam Cronk
- 9:00 Music and Singing as Levels of Meaning in Iroquois Culture:
John Gizzi
- 9:30 Excellence in Iroquois Arts: Two Carvers: Chris Johannsen

Sunday

8:30 Breakfast

Early Morning Program: Fritz Jennings, Chair

9:15 The Significance of the New Danckaerts Extract to Iroquois
Studies: Robert Grumet

9:45 Arthur C(urtis) Parker and the Vanishing Seneca: George
Hamell

10:15 A Model of Iroquoian Slavery: Bill Starna and Ralph Watkins

10:45 Coffee

Late Morning Program: Jim Pendergast, Chair

11:00 Shell Bead Evidence from Archaeological Sites in the Seneca
Region of New York State: Lynn Ceci

11:30 The 1985 Salvage Excavations: The Keffer Site: A Preliminary
Report: Bill Finlayson

12:00 Lunch

Conference on Iroquois Research

The Rensselaerville Institute

October 3-5, 1986

Friday

5130 Reunion on the terrace

6130 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8100 William N. Fenton I "Welcome at the vk>odsedge¹¹

8115 James Bradley! "Evolution of the Onondaga Jhdians1 Accommodating Change"

8145 Frederick stefon I ¹¹l'he Thomas lhdian School¹¹

Saturday

8100 Breakfast

Saturday morning program

9100 Charles Gearing and William starnal ¹¹l'awagonshi1 The Final Chapter"

9130 Marie-Laure Pillette I "Cannibalism, Torture, and Sacrifice a The Ambiguous and Paradoxical Relation of the Iroquois to Their War Captives During the 16th and 17th Centuries"

10100 John Demos1 "Life and Death in Early caughtnawaga1 An Exercise in l'oquois Demography"

10130 Coffee

10145 James Axtell: "Were lhdian Conversions !!2!!!. □? A View from the Northeast¹¹

11115 George Hamell1 ¹¹l'he Wemples of WSmpsville: Cultural Mediators Extraordinaire"

11145 Diane Rothenberg: "Property and People: lhheritanoe as Adaptation"

12130 umoh

Saturday afternoon program

- 10:00 Dean Snow! "Mohawk Architectures A Guide for Longhouse Developers"
- 2:00 William Fox! "Ceremonies of the Ontario Iroquois! An Archaeological Perspective"
- 2:30 Ian Kenyon! "An Archaeological View of the Grand River and Oneida of the Thames Iroquois in the 19th Century"
- 3:00 Coffee
- 5:30 Reunion on the terrace
- 6:30 Dinner

Saturday evening program

- 8:00 James Bradley and George Ramella "Ivory in Iroquoia"
- 8:30 Christina Johannsen! "The Iroquois Doll"
- 9:00 Dolores Elliott! "Art of the Seventh Generation: Iroquois Symbols on Canvas and Paper"

Sunday

- 8:30 Breakfast
- 9:30 Michael Foster, "The Contribution of Iroquoian Linguistic Studies to Iroquoian Culture History"
- 10:00 Jane Scahill! "Archaic Pronominal Prefixes in Cherokee"
- 10:30 Coffee
- 11:00 William Cook! "Some Observations on Proto-Iroquois Suffix Morphology"
- 12:00 lunch

Conference on Iroquois Research

The Hesselgrave Institute

October 2-4, 1987

Friday

Registration on the terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

7:00 William N. Fenton: "Uncovering the Council Brand"

8:15 John C. Ewers: "Beyond the Covenant Chain"

9:30 Mary A. Dozoretz: "The Tendencies of Schoharie: Here Today, Gone Tomorrow?"

10:00 Robert C. Grinnell: "Between Two Cultures: Molly Brant and Her World"

9:30 Margaret M. Hill: "Mythology, Ethnology, Archaeology, and 'Seneca' Origins"

Saturday

8:00 Registration

Friday morning program

9:00 In Situ Workshop

Micahel C. Foster: "Linguistic Aspects of the In Situ Hypothesis"
Debra Shaw: "Archaeological Aspects of the In Situ Hypothesis"
John C. Ewers: "Ethnological Aspects of the In Situ Hypothesis"

10:30 Coffee

10:45 General Discussion

11:00 Lunch

:3aturday afternoor1 program

1::10 William Cook: "'Some Notes on Aspect in Cherokee and Northern
1 roquo:i<.1n"

/.:00 Hcq lfonry: "Is Native faanguage Literacy Important in the Efforts
of Isan<Jua□Jl' Rctention:>"

/.: JO Coff'ec

Wi.cLi0llilCy 1,onlc;lwp

Clifford Abbott: "Mainframe Database for Oneida''
Wc1llace Chdfe: "i'roblems in Iroquoian Lexicography"
l\arcn Michelson: "A Mohawk Dictionary Using dBase"
Mdri anno Mi thun: "Dictionaries and 'ltheir Users "
1l,rnni Woodbury: "Ononduga Dictionary"

Dir;cussants: Morrie Abrams, Alberta Austin, Midge Dean,
Michael roster, Floyd Lounsbury, Janine Scancarelli

Heunion on tile Lcr-race

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f:00 Martha l,. sempowski, Lorraine l. Saunders, and Gian Carlo Cervone:
"Early llir;toric Scncc,1 Settlement Patterns"

H:JO William A. Starna: "New York Indian Land Claims and State Policy''

9: 00 Joy Kolb: "'Glllosts of Broken Hearts: The Legacy of Kinzua Dam
for the 1980's"

9: J() James Axtell: "'The Scholar's Obligations to Native Peoples"

Sunday

B:'JO Breakfast

:iund.iy morning Pr-oqr.;1m

'): 10 Wo1:kshops <'<J11Li11ued

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Conference on Iroquois Research

The Rensselaerville Institute

October 7-9, 1988

Pddily

S: 7:00 Union on the terrace

G: 7:00 Dinner

Pridily evening program

7:00 William N. Fenton: "Uncovering the Council Brand"

8:15 William A. Starna: "Educating Indians in New York State:
A Perspective from the SUNY System"

9:00 Frederick J. Stefan: "Orphans, Scandals, and Reforms: The
Thomas Indian School in the 1890s"

9:00 William N. Fenton: "Return of Wampum Belts to Six Nations
from MAI-HF"

Saturday

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday morning program

9:00 James Pendergast: "1987 Excavations on the McKeown Site"

9:30 Claude Chapdelaine: "Current Research on the St. Iroquoians:
Investigating Cultural Variability"

10:00 Robert J. Hasenstab: "Warfare and Tribes, Chickens and Eggs:
Models of Iroquoian Social Evolution"

10:30 Coffee

10:45 Francis Jennings: "New and Old Goals of the Grand Council"

Panel discussion: Jack Campisi, Laurence Hauptman, and
William Starna

12:30 Lunch

Saturday afternoon program

- 1:30 George R. Hamell: "The Dragon of Discord, Village Relocation, and Ossuary Burial"
- 2:00 James Pendergast: "The Identity of the Massawomecke and their Role in Introducing European Material into Iroquois"
- 2:30 Janine Scancarcilli: "Another Look at a 'Primitive Language'"
- 3:00 Coffee
- 3:30 Karin Michelson, Hanni Woodbury, and Michael Foster, organizers: Workshop on Iroquoian Dictionary Entries
- 5:30 Reunion on the terrace
- 6:30 Dinner

Saturday evening program

- 7:00 Gail Landsman: "Portrayals of the Iroquois in the Woman Suffrage Movement"
- 8:30 Alan G. LaFlamme: "Ethnic Identity of Reservation and Urban **Senecas**"¹¹
- 9:00 Joseph A. Francello: "Seneca Individualism: A Lesson in Cultural **Guidance**"¹¹

Sunday

- 9:30 Breakfast

Sunday morning program

- 10:00 Workshops
- 10:30 Coffee
- 12:00 Lunch

Conference on Iroquois Research
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 13-15, 1989

Friday

5:30 Reunion on the terrace
6:30 Dinner

Friday evening program

8:00 Welcome: William Fenton: Uncovering the Council
Brand
8:15 William Starna: New York state Indian Law: A
Report
8:30 William Sturtevant: Study of L.H. Morgan's Museum
Collections: Progress Report
9:00 Terry Barnhart: Ephraim George Squier and the
Archaeology of Western New York
9:30 William Fenton: Frank Speck's Anthropology

Saturday

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday morning program

9:00 James Pendergast: Rethinking the Disappearance of
the St. Lawrence Iroquoians
9:30 James Bradley: Panther's Tails and Basque
Earrings: The Form of Contact in 16th Century
Iroquoia.
10:00 Nancy Hagadorn: According to the Custom of the
Indians: Iroquois Interpreters and the
Development of Forest Diplomacy, 1690-1750
10:30 Coffee
10:45 Daniel Murphy: What's in a Name?: William
Johnson's Land and Hendrick Peter's Lace Coat
11:15 Joseph Francello: John Abeel, Dutch Trader and
Father of Cornplanter
11:45 Russell Judkins: The Jesse Cornplanter Papers at
SUNY College at Geneseo
12:30 Lunch

Saturday afternoon program

(lui-1-fu□CtV1..i □
1:30 Donald Grinde: Iroquois Political Philosophy and
the Evolution of the U.S. Government
2:00 discussion
2:45 Coffee

3:00 Linguistics Session - Chaired by Floyd Lounsbury

Wallace Chafe: From h to Aspiration: Evidence for
a Phonological Change Shared by Seneca and
Cayuga

Marianne Mithun: "wa-"

Janine Scancarelli: Generic Subject: The Cherokee
o- Prefix

Clifford Abbott: Politeness in Oneida

Archaeology Session - Chaired by Dean Snow

James Pendergast: sixteenth Century Voyages to the
New World That May Have Been the Source of
European Material Excavated in Iroquoia

Robert Grumet: Present and Prospective National
Historic Landmark initiatives Involving
Iroquois Sites

5:30 Reunion on the terrace

6:30 Dinner

Saturday evening program

8:00 Reg Henry: Is the Tree of Peace Really Pine?

8:20 Christina Johannsen: Tonawanda: 20th Century
Photographic Essay

8:40 Sally Roesch Wagner: Matilda Joselyn Gage and the
Iroquois: A Suffragist/Indian Alliance

9:00 Joy Bilharz: The Political Roles of Iroquois Women

9:20 Larry Hauptman: The Bucktails stop Here

Sunday

8:30 Breakfast

Sunday morning program

9:30 Linguistics Workshop - Chaired by Michael Foster,
Hanni Woodbury, and Karin Michelson:
Iroquoian Base Dictionaries, Phase II
Archaeology Workshop - Chaired by Dean Snow,
Dating Diagnostic Trade Goods

10:30 Coffee

10:45 Workshops continued

12:00 Lunch

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
September 21-23, 1990**

FRIDAY

5:30 Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8:00 William Fenton: "Uncovering the Council Brand"

8:15 MaryDruke: 'Comment on 'Mohawk'/'Mohawks''

8:30 Daniel Richter: "The Six Nations in a Euro-American World: A Look at the 1730s and 1740s"

9:00 Thomas Abler: "The Micmac Mission and the Mohawk: Silas T. Rand's Journeys to Upper Canada"

SATURDAY

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday Morning Program

9:00 Marianne Mithun: "Agents and Patients"

9:30 Wallace Chafe: "Word Order in Seneca"

10:00 Discussion

10:30 Coffee

10:45 Michael Cardy: "Pierre Pouchot and the Iroquois"

11:15 Jan Wojcik: "Influence on the Iroquois Oral Tradition: Is Grinde Right?"

11:45 Discussion

12:30 Lunch

Saturday Afternoon Program

- 1:30 James Pendergast: "Susquehannock-French Trading Relations Prior to A.O. 1608"
- 2:00 Dean Snow: "The Incursion Hypothesis: Matrilocal Residence and Iroquois Origins"
- 2:30 Discussion
- 3:00 Coffee
- 3:15 Harry Robie: "KinsWp Terms as a Means of Regulating Social Distance in Iroquois Councils"
- 3:45 Elisabeth Tooker: 'An Analysis of KinsWp Terminology in Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan'
- 4:15 Discussion
- 5:30 Reunion on the Terrace
- 6:30 Dinner

Saturday Evening Program

- 8:00 Reg Henry: "Is the Tree of Peace Really a Pine Tree?"
- 8:30 William Sturtevant: "Feathers"
- 9:00 Raymond Fogelson: "The Iroquois at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition"

SUNDAY

- 8:30 Breakfast

Sunday Morning Program

- 9:30 Joy Bilharz: "Educational and Employment Needs of the Seneca Nation: A Cooperative Proposal for an Educational Opportunities Center"
- 10:00 Alan LaFlamme: "Impact of Lease Negotiations on Seneca-White Relations in Salamanca, NY"
- 10:30 • Coffee
- 11:00 Christina Johannsen: "Iroquois Pottery in the 20th Century"
- 11:30 Joseph Francello: "The Seneca Woman in Colonial Times"
- 12:00 Lunch

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaer Tille Institute
October 4-6, 1991**

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00	William N. Fenton:	Welcome at the Woods Edge
8:15	Announcements:	Dean Snow Elisabeth Tooker Christina Johannsen
8:25	Blair A. Rudes:	Webster on the Iroquois
8:30	Arthur Einhorn:	Return of the Wampum Belts
8:50	Elisabeth Tooker:	Eagles and Arrows
9:20	Barbara Graymont:	J.N.B. Hewitt
9:40	T.R. Trautmann and R.H. Barnes:	L.H. Morgan and North American Kinship Types

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Dean Snow:	Archaeological Evidence for an Iroquoian Incursion around AD 900
9:20	Daniel K. Richter:	Crossing the St. Lawrence to the Promised Land: Religion and Politics in the Iroquois Migrations of the 1670s
9:40	Nancy Hagadorn:	"Faithful, Knowing, and Prudent:" Andrew Montour as Interpreter and Cultural Broker, 1740-1772
10:00	Christopher Densmore:	New York Quakers Among the Oneida, Brotherton, Stockbridge, and Onondaga, 1795-1840
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Larry Hauptman:	Lives of Quiet Desperation
11:20	Frederick J. Stefon:	Some Thoughts on the Closing of the Thomas Indian School
11:40	William A. Starna:	Law, Government, and Cultural Politics at Akwesasne
12:00	William Sturtevant:	Seneca Ritual Friendship

12:30 *Lunch*

Saturday Afternoon Program

- 1:30 **Archaeology Workshop**
 1:30 Robert Funk and Robert Kuhn: The Mohawk Klock and Smith Sites.
 1:55 Martha Sempowski: A Possible Explanation for a Shift in Burial Orientation Among the Early Historic Seneca
 2:20 Bill Engelbrecht: The Case of the Missing Iroquoians: Jefferson County, New York
 2:45 *Coffee Break*
 3:00 James F. Pendergast: Discussion of Archeological Evidence of the Massawomeck
 1:30 **Linguistics Workshop**
 Jamne Scancarelli: Eighteenth-century Cherokee: DeBrahm's Vocabulary
 Wallace Chafe: Aspects of Information Flow in Seneca
 Marianne Mithun: The How and Why of Word Order in Iroquoian Languages
 Karin Michelson: Oneida Locatives
 Floyd Lounsbury: Report on current research
 4:30 Workshop on J.N.B. Hewitt
 5:30 *Reunion 011 the Terrace*
 6:30 *Dinner*

Saturday Evening Program

- 8:00 **Francis Jennings,:** **Iroquois Migrations**
 8:20 Ronald LaFrance: Haudenosaunee Yardsticks of Measure
 8:40 Regna Darnell and Lisa Valentine: Native Discourse Structures in English: Iroquoian vs. Algonquian
 9:00 Joan Gleason Fickett: Falling Through the Cracks
 9:20 Christina Johannsen: Faces of the Iroquois (Video).

SUNDAY

- 8:30 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

- 9:30 **Linguistics Workshop**
 9:30 Randy Valentine: Kenotsine: On My Face. A Computerized Interactive Teaching Device for Mohawks
 10:00 Carol Cornelius: The Firedragon: How Misinterpretation of a Word Perpetuates Misunderstanding
 10:30 *Coffee Break*
 9:30 **Ethnology Workshop**
 9:30 Jan Wojcik: The Voice of Authority in the Iroquois Creation Story
 9:50 Joseph Francello: Seneca Clan Structure and Meaning: Do We Make Too Much of It?
 10:10 Joe Keegan: The Politics of Alcoholism - A Study of the Akwesasne Partridge House

10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>
10:50	Open Discussion
12:00	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 2-4, 1992**

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion of the Tell Tale*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00	William N. Fenton	Welcome at the Woods Edge
8:15	Announcements:	Dean Snow Elisabeth Tooker Christina Johannsen
8:20	Harry Robie	Karl May Finally Gets to Meet a Red Man
8:40	Jack Campisi	Indian Country
9:00	Patrick J. Crowe	The Eclipse That Never Was

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Robert Kuhn	Mohawk-St. Lawrence Iroquoian Relationships in the Sixteenth Century
9:20	James Pendergast	The Disappearance of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians: Friends and Foes
9:40	Dean Snow	The Mahew Village Sequence and (AT LAST) the Measurement of Demographic Collapse in the Seventeenth Century
10:00	Joe Brondao	Iroquois Attacks Against Fur Brigades, 1600-1701: Myth and Reality
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Jan Grabowski	"Diplomatic Immunity": French Justice and Native Crime in Montreal, 1660-1760
11:20	William Starna	The 1750 Journals of Conrad Weiser and Daniel Claus
11:40	Colin Calloway	Oquaga and the American Revolution
12:00	Carl Benn	The Grand River Iroquois and the Crisis of Alliance, 1812-1813
12:30	<i>Lunch</i>	

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30 Staff Current Issues in Iroquoian Linguistics

2:30 *Coffee Break*

3:00 Marianne Mithun What is Polysynthesis?

3:15 Open discussion J.N.B. Hewitt on Polysynthesis

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Saturday Evening Program

8:00 Joy Bilharz Christian Cornplanters: The Allegany Mission Church

8:20 Chris Jocks The Conflict at the Pines: Implications for the Study of Religion

8:40 Jan Wojcik Iroquois Publications of Iroquois Myth

9:00 Regna Darnell Southwestern Ontario Iroquoian Speakings in English

SUNDAY

8:30 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:30 Robert Grumet Northeast Historic Contact National Historic Landmark Theme Study Update

9:50 Dorothy Larson Ethnohistory and Oral History Methodology

10:10 Joan Gleason Fickett Side by Side: A Modern syncretism

10:30 *Coffee Break*

11:00 Earl Sidler The Ego and!

11:20 Joseph Francello A Child of the Forest: Young Cornplanter Grows Up Along the Genesee

11:40 General discussion

12:00 *Lunch and Departure*

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 1-3, 1993**

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reullion on the Te"ace*

6:30 *Dilller*

Friday Evening Program

8:00	William N, Fenton:	Uncovering the Fire, Eulogy for Sally Weaver,
	Michael Foster:	Eulogy for Gordon Day,
8:15	Dean Snow:	Announcements,
8:30	James Pendergast	A Hypothesis Which Would Explain Why Iroquoians were Matrilineal.
9:00	Robert S. Grumet	Final Report: Northeast Historic Contact National Historic Landmark Theme Study
9:30	Marshall Becker	River Indians Along the Hudson: Cultural Boundaries and Political Interactions with the Five Nations,

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Donald Smith	A Brief Query,
9:05	Barbara Graymont	Hewitts's Cherokee Manuscript.
9:10	William C, Sturtevant	Stray Number Systems.
9:40	Floyd Lounsbury	To be announced,
10:00	Patrick J, Crowe	Inner-Iroquoian Pronominal Prefixes.
10:30	Coffee Break	
11:00	Gary Snyder	Trade and Prestige Seeking in 16th and early 17th Century Mohawk Society,
11:30	Bob Kuhn	Recent CRM Contributions to Iroquois Archaeology,
12:00	Merle Richards	Living Literacy.

12:30 *Lullch*

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Lisa Valentine	Cultural continuity in English Discourses: A Comparison of Iroquoian and Algonquian Public Discourses.
2:00	Rand Valentine j7,uc.,<_, ll/u, '-□u_	Mohawk Language Support Material Development: Grammars, and DavidMar-acle'Curricula, Texts and Computerized Pedagogy.
2:45	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
3:15	<i>Roi LJ(u;j(;R(</i>	Current Topics in Iroquoian Linguistics
5:30	<i>Reunion 011 the Terrace</i>	Y□,<,L,d l:ll
6:30	<i>Dinner</i>	

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	Donald B. Smith	Fred Loft and the Birth of the League of Indians of Canada.
8:30	Annemarie Shimony □ -r	Ideological Adaptations of the Hereditary Chiefs at Six Nations.
9:00	DJJrQ!hy.La_rson.'	I(oq□ois•Ethnohistory and Otp.lJlistl1JY•Meth6dology.
9:30	Christopher Jocks /) ,rl. I	Gender Roles in the Contemporary Interpretation of Longhouse Religious Imagery.

SUNDAY

8:30 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:30'	Bruce Johansen	New York SED Curriculum: The Politics of Writing History.
10:00	Donald A. Grinde, Jr.	The Iroquois and the Creation of America Public Culture.
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00		Open Discussion
12:00	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>	

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
September 30-October 2, 1994**

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00	William N. Fenton D. Snow & E. Tooker Wallace Chafe	Welcome at the Woods Edge Announcements Appreciation of Alberta Austin
8:20	Conrad E. Heidenreich	Were the Iroquois Out of Beaver by 1640?
8:40	J. Brandao & W.A. Starna	The Peace of 1701: The Triumph of Iroquois Diplomacy
9:00	Jack Campisi	Treaty of Canandaigua and Frontier Diplomacy
9:20	Duane King	Mysteries of Henry Timberlake's Memoirs

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	William N. Fenton	A False Face Clydeside
9:20	Nancy Shoemaker	Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood
9:40	Christopher Densmore	Red Jacket and the Missionary: The Reuse of Indian Rhetoric in Religious Dialogue in the Early Republic
10:00	Donald B. Smith	How Paul A.W. Wallace Came to Write <i>The White Roots of Peace</i> (1946)
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Neal Salisbury	Southern New England and the Origins of "Mohawks"
11:20	Nancy L. Hagedorn	"To Cultivate a Good Understanding": Interpreters as Agents of Cultural Exchange and Amalgamation in Eighteenth-Century New York
11:40	Marshall J. Becker	Susquehannock Among the Oneida: Cultural Survival
12:00	Tony Wonderley	The Main Oneida Village in 1780: Households, House Forms, and House Goods

12:30 *Lunch*

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30 Peter Denny Archaeological Correlates for Iroquoian and
Siouan

1:50 Dolores N. Elliott Otsiningo: From Prehistory to the Present

2:10 Kathleen M.S. Allen Fieldwork at the Carman Site, A Cayuga Iroquois
Village

2:30 *Coffee Break*

3:00 Archaeology Workshop and Linguistic Workshop

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Saturday Evening Program

8:00 Joy Bilharz Monumental Differences

8:20 Russell A. Judkins That Sinking Feeling: Genesee Valley Heritage

8:40 Arthur Einhorn The Eastern Indian in Hollywood Film

SUNDAY

8:30 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:30 James Schaefer Gambling Impacts: Minnesota Research-New
York Implications

9:50 Takeshi Kimura On Genealogy of the Iroquois Cosmogony

10:10 Regna Darnell How Elders Speak in English: An Iroquoian-
Algonquian Contrast

10:30 *Coffee Break*

11:00 Theresa McCarthy Language, Identity, and Generational Continuity at
Six Nations

11:20 Bruce Lawrence The Use of the Term 'Christian' in Internal and
External Definitions of Identity

11:40 Lisa Philips Valentine An Ethnographic Exploration of a Contemporary
Narrative Song

12:00 *Lunch and Departure*

Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 6-8, 1995

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00 William N. Fenton Welcome at the Woods Edge

Floyd Lounsbury William Sturtevant Wallace Chafe Elisabeth Tooker Marianne Mithun Dean Snow	Brief comments
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Dean Snow Elisabeth Tooker	Announcements
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8:30 Harry Robie Sweet Savage Loves

8:50 Arthur Einhorn & Thomas Abler Bonnets, Plumes, and Headbands in Benjamin West's Painting of Penn's Treaty

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00 Donald Smith Concerning Deskaheh (1861-1925)

9:10 Robert Grumet Earliest American National Historic Landmark Theme Study (brief announcement)

9:20 William Starna Examining Indian-Dutch Social Relations

9:40 Corinna Dally-Starna Beyond Beauchamp: Reyjsiting the Morayjans Among the Iroquois

10:00 Laurence Hauptman The State's Men, the Salvation Seekers, and the Seneca: The Supplemental Treaty of Buffalo Creek, 1842

10:20 *Coffee Break*

11:00 Brian Gilley Seneca-Cayuga Research Questions

11:20 Neil Funk-Unrau The Negotiation of Sovereignty: A Framework for the Analysis of Negotiations Establishing the Ganienkeh Community

11:40 Bruce Lawrence The Position of Women in the Oneida Church

12:00 Ann Morton L.H. Morgan and the 3-Age System

12:30 *Lunch*

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Special Session on the Kahkwas	
	Wallace Chafe Floyd Lounsbury James Pendergast	The Kahkwas in Seneca Legend The Kaahkwa Synonymy Discussion
2:45	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
3:10	Bill Wykoff	AtrahKwachronon, Awenrehronon, Eriechronon, and Other Misplaced Iroquoians
3:20	William Green	Strange and Erie Things: Longhouses along the Savannah River
5:00	<i>Reunion on the Terrace</i>	
6:30	<i>Dinner</i>	

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	Louis Roper	Negotiating the Cultural Divide: Priests, Indians, Historians, and the Jesuit Relations
8:20	Chris Densmore	Whose Red Jacket?: Making Sense of Seneca Factionalism in the 1820s
8:40	Theresa McCarthy	Understanding Factionalism at Six Nations: Ancient Prophecies and Contemporary Perspectives

SUNDAY

8:30	<i>Breakfast</i>
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Sunday Morning Program

9:30	Regna Darnell	Iroquoian and Algonquian Definitions of Band, Tribe, and Community
9:50	Radha Moldover	Iroquois Colonial Relations and the Emerging Nation-State: A Case Study in the Consolidation of Administrative Power
10:10	Gary Snyder	Internal Divisiveness in the Iroquois Confederacy: Fact or Fiction?
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Takeshi Kimura	On the Texts of the Gibson-Hewitt Version of the Onondaga Cosmology
11:20	David Maracle	Mohawk Language Course and Program Development
11:40	Patrick Crowe	Northern Iroquoian Glottochronology and Archaeology
12:00	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>	

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 4-6, 1996**

FRIDAY

5:30 Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8:00 William Fenton: Welcome at the wood's edge

Memoria:

For:

Annemarie Shimony
William A. Ritchie
Ronald La France
Leon Shenandoah
Donald Rumrill
Ted Whitney

By:

Floyd Lounsbury
William Fenton
William Starna
Art Einhorn
Dean Snow
Richard Hosbach

Announcements:

Dean Snow
Elisabeth Tooker

8:30 Dan Richter: Pocahontas and Tekakwilha: Alternative narratives

8:50 Christopher Densmore: Red Jacket: Pine Tree Chief or sub-sachem?

SATURDAY

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday Morning Program

9:00 William Starna: Conrad Weiser among the Iroquois

9:20 Christine S. Patrick: 'This book was never made for Indians:' Iroquois responses to Protestant missionary activity before the American Revolution

9:40 Joy Porter: Freemasonry and American Indian identity: Arthur C. Parker, 1881-1955

10:00 Larry Hauptman: Ditches, defense and dispossession

10:20 *Coffee Break*

11:00 Donald Smith: Six Nations (Grand River) and Ojibwa relations in nineteenth century Ontario

11:20 Joe Brandao: Epidemics and disease among the Iroquois to 1701

11:40 **Louise Johnston:**

The
history and
meaning of
"Covenant"
in the
Two
Row
Wampum
and
Silver
Covenant
Chain

12:00	George Abrams	Salamanca to Soho: New data on the Salamanca lease	<i>substitution</i>
12:30	<i>lunch</i>		
1:30	Wallace Chafe:	Do speakers of Iroquois languages think differently?	
1:50	Bruce L. Pearson:	Barbeau's Wyandotté texts	
2:10	Frederick Muscavitch:	Informal Wisconsin Oneida language in transition	
2:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>		
3:00	Regna Darnell:	Multivocality and voice in Alanis Obomsowin's "Kahnésatake: 270 years of resistance"	
3:20	Christina Johannsen:	Iroquois Arts II	
5:00	<i>Reunion on the Terrace</i>		
6:30	<i>Dinner</i>		

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	Gerald F. Reid:	An 'Ill-feeling which is yet burning:' Nativism, nationalism, and factionalism among the <i>Kanien'kehaka</i> of Kahnawake, 1880-1920
8:20	Regina Hanison:	Rhetorical use of the Great Law of Peace at Kahnawake; A measure of political legitimacy in a Mohawk community
8:40	Sheila Staats:	"The Great Peace: The Gathering of Good Minds." CD-ROM project

SUNDAY

8:30 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:30	Ellis McDowell-Loud <i>and</i> :	The Cortland County weir
9:40	William C. Sturtevant:	Pictures of longhouses
10:00	James V. Wright:	12:00 <i>lunch and Departure</i>
10:20	William Engelbrecht:	
10:40	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Richard Hosbach:	
11:20	Dean Snow:	
11:40	Discussion	

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Longhouse
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time Northern Iroquoian population movements since AD
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Iroquoians as housekeepers: A
revisionist perspective

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**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 2-4, 1998**

FRIDAY

5:30 Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8:00	William Fenton: Dean Snow Michael Foster	Welcome at the Woods'-edge Announcements Tribute to Jake Thomas
8:20	Raymond Fogelson	Fried Wampum
8:40	Jose Brandiio	Iroquoisie: A 17 th Century Ethnography

SATURDAY

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Wallace Chafe	Tribute to Floyd Lounsbury Participants: Clifford Abbott, Wallace Chafe, Harold Conklin, William Fenton, Bryan Gick, Marianne Mithun, Fred Muscavich, Francene Patterson and William Sturtevant
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10:30 Coffee Break

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11:00	Blair Rudes	The Language of Tuscarora Adaptation to the Iroquois
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11:20	William Engelbrecht	Did Early Iroquoians Practice Arrow Sacrifice?
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11:40	Christopher Densmore	A Talk at Buffalo Creek, 1793: Two Misidentified Group Portraits
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12:00	Richard Hosbach	Iroquois Pediatrics Viewed in the Light of 20 th Century Medicine
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12:30 Lunch

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Jack Campisi and William Starna	The Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768: A Reappraisal
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1:50	Louise Johnson	Sir William Johnson and the Mohawks of Kanesatake: Peace, Neutrality, and Condolence in a Time of War
2:10	Carl Benn	Iroquois External Affairs, 1807-15: The Crisis of the New Order
2:30	Coffee Break	
3:00	Lawrence Hauptman	The Seneca Nation of Indians v. Harrison B. Cheisty [Cheistie]: An Analysis
3:20	Gerald Reid	Kahnawake's Council of Chiefs, 1840-1889
3:40	Regna Darnell	Continuities in Americanist/Iroquois Research
5:00	Reunion on the Terrace	
6:30	Dinner	
Saturday Evening Program		
8:00	Marianne Mithun and Wallace Chafe	Presentation
8:10	Martha Sempowski	The Metaphor of the Iroquois Longhouse: Its Role in the Expansion of the League
8:30	Alec Brian Deer	How the Condolence Ceremony Manifests Itself Today
8:50	Mary Dmke-Becker	Analyzing Data On Iroquois Names

SUNDAY

8:30	Breakfast	12:00	Lunch and departure
9:30	Jack Ericson		
9:50	John Ferguson		
10:10	Heriberto Dixon		
10:30	Coffee Break		
11:00	Tony Wonderly		
11:20	William Finlayson		
11:40	Denis Foley		

S	s Census Project Hendrick
u	Who?
n	Reclaiming the Past: Eastern Siouan
d	
a	The Development of Anthropomorphic Imagery in Ceramic Decoration, c. 1500-1640
y	Middle Iroquoian Communities in the Crawford Lake Area of Southern Ontario
M	
o	Research Update : Mohawk Valley, Past and Present
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**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 1-3, 1999**

FRIDAY

5:30 Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8:00	William Fenton: Dean Snow	Welcome at the wood's edge Announcements
8:20	Peter Eisenstadt	Encyclopedia of New York State
8:40	Art Einhorn	Just What is a Mohawk Haircut?
9:00	George Abrams	The Marchand Execution

SATURDAY

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Robert Kuhn	A New Approach to Dating the League of the Iroquois
9:20	Heriberto Dixon	From Shamokin to Coreorgonel
9:40	Karim Tiro	A 'Civil' War? Rethinking Iroquois Participation in the American Revolution
10:00	Gerald Reid	The Kahnawake Chiefs and Band Membership in the 1880s
10:20	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:20	Tom Abler	A Mohawk Subaltern Among the Cameronians: The Brief Life of Peter Johnson
11:40	Lawrence Hauptman	Daniel Bread: A Preliminary Study of Oneida Leadership, 1800-1848
12:00	Randy John	Willie C. Hoag: Machiavellian Politician
12:30	<i>Lunch</i>	

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Regna Darnell	Oral and Written Forms of Ritual Discourse
1:50	Cliff Abbott and Herbert Lewis	An Oneida Manuscript Discovery: WPA Part II
2:10	Bruce Pearson	Pronominal Prefixes in Wyandotte
2:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
5:00	<i>Reunion on the Terrace</i>	
6:30	<i>Dinner</i>	

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	William Fenton	The Little Water Society - A summary
8:20	Richard Hosbach	Iroquois Pediatrics as Viewed in the Light of 20th Century Medicine: Part II - Nutrition
8:40	Neal Keating	Framing the History of Iroquois Painting

SUNDAY

8:30 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:30	Robert Gorall	Traces of Lewis Henry Morgan
9:50	Jolene Rickard	Beadwork in Iroquois Life: Crossing Borders
10:10	Denis Foley	Seven Dancing Boys and Our Grandmother the Moon: The Iroquois Lunar Calendar
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
12:00	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>	

**Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 6-8, 2000**

FRIDAY

5:30 Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8:00 William Fenton: Welcome at the wood's edge
Dean Snow: **Announcements**

8:20 Edward Knoblauch Encyclopedia of New York State

8:40 Joy Porter Native America and the State of American History

9:00 Bryan Gick Multiple Lexicons in the Oneida Creation Story: An
Antiinterlinearizational Attempt

SATURDAY

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday Morning Program

9:00 Joe Brandao The Map of Iroquoia and of Iroquois Hunting Territory

9:20 Neal Keating Pictures of Hell: Visual Contestation between the Jesuits and the Iroquois
in the 17th and 18th centuries

9:40 Jon Parmenter Eighteenth Century Iroquois Demography

migration *St. Lawrence*
Ohio

10:00 Gerald Reid Longhouse Development in Kahnawake, 1920-1940s

10:20 *Co/Jee Break*

11:00 Daniel Honyoust Is Parker's Model Still Valid?: Iroquois & Multiculturalism

11:20 Ellis McDowell-L. Indian Mascots and the Onondagas' Response

11:40 Jordan Kerber Involving Native Americans in Archaeology: Cooperation between Colgate
University and the Oneida Indians Nation of New York

12:00 Donald Smith Important Evidence: Nineteenth Century

12:30 *Lunch*

Saturday Afternoon Program

Iroquois Names Panel 1:30-4:30 (Coffee Break at 2:30)

Panel Participants: Michael Foster, Chair
Marianne Mithun
Wally Chafe
Hanni Woodbury
Blair Rudes
Gunther Michelson
Clifford Abbott
Karen Michelson
Roy Wright

Panel Topics:

- Orientation to Placenames: Written Forms, Sounds, and General Structure (Mithun)
- Clear and Not-so-clear etymologies of Iroquois Placenames in New York State (Chafe)
- Naming Places: From Diversity to General Acceptance (Woodbury)
- Interpreting Early Huron, Wyandot and Tuscarora Place Names (Rudes)
- Images in Mohawk Personal Names (G. Michelson)
- Oneida Personal Naming Practices Past and Present (Abbott)

5:00 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	George Abrams	The Marchand Execution, Part II
8:20	Bruce Pearson	The Seven Stars: A Wyandotte Tale
8:40	Tony Wonderly	The Good Twin

SUNDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:20	Richard Hosbach	Coins from the Duchy of Mantua on New York Iroquois Sites
9:40	Heriberto Dixon	Suponi Presence at Cayuga Lake: ca. 1784-1800
10:00	Robert Gorall	Monuments to the Iroquois
10:20	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Denis Foley	Fort Orange and the Fur Trade
11:20	Adriano Santiemma	The Cosmological Structure of the League of the Iroquois
12:00	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>	

Conference on Iroquois Research
The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 5-7, 2001

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00 William Fenton Welcome at the wood's edge

 Mary Drake Becker Announcements

 Larry Hauptman Announcements

8:40 Neal Keating Iroquois Representations, circa Y2Kl

9:00 Thomas Abler He Rode with Custer: An Iroquois at the Little Bighoun

SATURDAY

8:00 Breakfast

Saturday Morning Program

9:00 JoeBrandiio The Qjibwa-,roquois War Reconstructed

9:20 Axel Utz Changing Group Identities in Mohican and Lenape Communities,
Mid-18th Century

9:40 Tony Wonderly Where the Earth Opened: What Hope Allen Learned About Oneida
Folklore, Kenwood, 1925

10:00 Herbert Lewis Wisconsin Oneida and Iroquois Culture

10:20 *Coffee Break*

11:00 Ute Ferrier Iroquois Land Transactions in New York State

11:20 Peter Whiteley *Panel On Cayuga Indian Land Claims Case*
Conflicts Over Cayugaland

11:40 Larry Hauptman *Panel On Cayuga Indian Land Claims Case*
Reprecussions of The Cayuga Case

12:00 Heriberto Dixon *Panel On Cayuga Indian Land Claims Case*
Courtroom Dynamics

12:30 *Lunch*

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Randy John	Fishing and Hunting for Sovereignty
1:50	Gerald Reid	Wampum Theft and the Kahnawake Longhouse in the 1920's
2:10	Bruce Pearson	Barbeau in Oklahoma: 40 Stories in 140 Days
2:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
5:00	<i>Reunion on the Terrace</i>	
6:30	<i>Dinner</i>	

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	Film	Great Law of the Iroquois, Pat Ferrero, Director
8:15	Film	Iroquois Women, Pat Ferrero, Director
8:30	Film	Skywalkers, Pat Ferrero, Director
8:45	Film	Urbao Identities, Pat Ferrero, Director

SUNDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:00	Ellis McDowell-Loudan	An Update on Native American Mascot Issues
9:20	William Engelbrecht	Towards a Long Term View of Iroquois Land Use
9:40	Richard Hosbach	Comparison of the Architecture of Two Prehistoric and One Early Proto-Historic Oneida Longhouses
10:00	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
11:00	Dennis Foley	Haudenosaunee: The Mourning and Condolence Installation Rituals
11:20	Phil Vao Riper	Haudenosaunee Frumkeit?
12:00	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>	

Conference on Iroquois Research

SUNDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:00 Dennis Foley

William N. Fenton and the Chiefs'
Delegation: Repatriating the Condolence
Materials

9:20 Neal Keating

Iroquois Art History: Problems and Goals

9:40 Chris Alcantara

Certificates of Possession and Six Nations: A
Potential Solution to the Aboriginal Housing
Crisis on Reserves in Canada

10:00 *Coffee Break*

10:20 David L. Preston

The Texture of Contact: European and Indian
Settler Communities on the Iroquoian
Borderlands, 1720-1780

10:40 James Paxton

The Myth of the Loyalist Iroquois: Joseph
Brant and the Invention of Tradition

11:00 Jon W. Parmenter

Living on the Edge: An Outsider's View of
the Impact of the International Boundary at

Akwesasne

12:00 *Lunch and Departure*

**The 111.11. and Meeting Place
Rensselaerville Institute
October 4-6, 2002**

Program

FRIDAY

5:30 Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 Dinner

Friday Evening Program

8:00 William Fenton

Welcome at Wood's Edge

8:20 Mary Druke Becker

Announcements

8:40 Dean Snow

The Mohawk Longhouse in 1500

9:00 William Engelbrecht

Defensive Advantages of Longhouses

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breafast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Rose Rudnitski	Rising Up: The Salmon River Boycott
9:20	Ellis McDowell-Loudan	Expanded Perspectives on Native American Mascot and Symbol Use by Non-Native Americans
9:40	Regna Darnell	Five Nations Studies at the University of Western Ontario
10:00	Theresa McCarthy	Haudenosaunee Clan Research and the Reconstruction of Traditional Haudenosaunee Identity
10:20	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
10:40	Randy John	Iroquois at Carlisle
11:00	Sally McLendon	Carlisle Indian School 1910-1916: As Seen Through the Records of Two Students Who Met and Fell in Love There
11:20	Marilyn Irvin Holt	Thomas Indian School in the Context of Orphanages/Boarding Schools
11:40	Eve Smith	The Relationship of Family Ties to Successful Adult Lives of Thomas Indian School Children, 1895-1943
12:00	Marlene Johnson	12:15 Kay Olan

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Dolores Elliott	200 Years of Iroquois Beadwork
1:50	Martha Sempowski	Spiritual Transformation: As Reflected in Late Prehistoric Effigy Pipes from Western New York
2:10	Kathleen Allen	Current Archaeological Research on the West Side of Cayuga Lake
2:30	Jordan Kerber	Digital Imaging of Select Oneida Artifacts in the Longyear Museum of Anthropology, Colgate University
2:50	Coffee Break	
3:10	Anthony Wonderley	Tue Eldest Medicine: Red Osier Dogwood in Iroquois Folklore and Mythology
3:30	Blair Rudes	The Earliest Description of an Iroquoian People: The Spanish Among the Tuscaroras Before 1521
3:50	Bruce Pearson	Cultural Insights from Barbeau's Wyandotte Narratives
4:10	James Folts	In the Shadow of the Confederacy: Munsee Delawares in the Upper Susquehanna Region
5:00	Reunion on the Terrace	
6:30	Dinner	
	Saturday Evening Program	
8:00	Anthony F. C. Wallace	Cornplanter's Talk: An Iroquois Map of Time
12:30	lunch	Answers Questions on Her Experiences at Thomas Indian School

Kanatsiohareke Mohawk
Language Program:
Carlisle in Reverse

8:20 Larry Hauptman

8:40 Michele Dean Stock

9:00 Lori Quigley

Tue Iroquois Origin
of Caitlin's Indian
Gallery

The Seneca-Iroquois
National Museum: 25"
Anniversary and Beyond

Utilizing Constructivist
Strategies to Teach Seneca
Language and Culture

SUNDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:00 Ernest Benedict Akwesasne: Unknown to Historians

9:20 Robert Spiegelman In Sullivan/Clinton's Wake: What's Remembered and What's Forgotten, or How and Why Its Scholarship That Matters

9:40 Keith Jamieson Mohawk Ideals, Victorian Values

10:00 Joyce King & Brenda Lafrance Haudenosaunee Protocol and Protection of the Natural World

10:20 **Discussion**

10:40 *Coffee Break*

11:00 Laticia McNaughton An Examination of the Nature of "Otgont" **Beings and Their "Orenda" as Seen in** Variant Versions of the Iroquois Creation Epic and Iroquois Stone Giant Stories

11:20 Regna Darnell

12:00 Discussion

11:40 Bruce Pearson

12:15 *Lunch and Departure*

Conference on Iroquois Research

The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 1-3, 2004

Program

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00 Ernest Benedict Ohenten Kariwatekwen

8:10 Barbara Graymont At the Woods Edge

8:30 Mary Druke Becker Announcements

Contemporary
Decisio'l!/#@king &
Traditional Subsistence
Strategies

Iroquoian for Dummies

8:50	Art Einhorn & Marshall Becker	A Case of Pox and Wampum
9:00	Kathryn Muller	The Evolution and Renewal of the Two Row Wampum
9:20	Discussion	

SATURDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Saturday Morning Program

9:00	Salli Benedict	Approaches in Gathering Akwesasne History
9:20	Jonathan Parmenter	Reconsidering Iroquois Border Crossings: 1672-2002
9:40	Gerald Reid	Haudenosaunee Nationalism and the Development of the Paul K. Diabo Case
10:00	Discussion	
10:20	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
10:40	Dean Snow	Assessing New Evidence on Iroquoian Origins
11:00	Donald A. Smith	Carpenter Brook Revisited: Early Late Woodland Ritual Practice at Watery Places and Its Implications for Archaeology
11:20	Beth Horton & Christina Rieth	Technological Attribute Analysis of Ceramic Sherds from the Late Woodland Bailey Site, Onondaga County, NY
11:40	Francis Scardera	The Lost Squier Site
12:00	Discussion	
12:30	<i>Lunch</i>	

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Kurt Jordan	Postcolumbian Longhouses in New York State
1:50	Andrew Miller	Iroquois-Abenaki Relations, 1680-1730
2:10	Reg Good	Admissibility of Testimony from Non-Christian Indians in British Colonial Municipal Courts
2:30	Karim Tiro	"We Wish To Do You Good": The Quaker Mission to the Oneidas, 1795-1800.
2:50	Discussion	
3:10	<i>Networking, Break-Out</i>	
5:00	<i>Reunion on the Terrace</i>	
6:30	<i>Dinner</i>	

Saturday Evening Pl'Ogram

8:00	Jack Ericson	Asher Wright and the Seneca Mission Press: Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus
8:20	Mark Nicholas	"So We Wish the Reservation Be Divided": Power, Authority, Reservation Autonomy, and a Quaker Schoolhouse at Allegany, 1816-1825
8:40	Jill Kinney	Joseph Elkinton's School at Allegany and the Training of Native Teachers
9:00	Lori Quigley, Rick Hill, Mary Todd, & Barry White	Teaching Preschoolers Seneca Language: Effects on Cognitive and Social Development

9:20 Discussion

SUNDAY

8:00 *Breakfast*

Sunday Morning Program

9:00 Christine Patrick "When the Calamity of the War Came"

9:20 Peter Jemison Sullivan-Clinton Tales of the Survivors

9:40 Robert Spiegelman The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign and its
Geo-Politics

10:00 Discussion

10:20 *Coffee Break*

10:40 Herbert Lewis Wisconsin Oneidas Recall Life in Indian
Boarding Schools

11:00 James Costello The Haudenosaunee Environmental
& Brenda Lafrance Process: Combining Traditional
Knowledge with Contemporary
Environmental Protection

11:20 Brian Rice Journeys in the Land of the Peacemaker: A
Preparatory Methodology for Writing a
Traditional Dissertation on the
Rotinonshonni

11:40 Discussion

12:15 *Lunch and Departure*

Conference on Iroquois Research

The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
September 30-October 2, 2005

Program

FRIDAY

5:30 *Reunion on the Terrace*

6:30 *Dinner*

Friday Evening Program

8:00 Mary Druke Becker Welcome and Announcements

8:20 Ernest Benedict Three Bare Words

8:40 Regna Darnell Iroquoianists and the Iroquois Conference

9:00 Denis Foley Travels with Bill: 1988-2003

9:20 Discussion

SATURDAY

Saturday Morning Program

8:00	Bre	
9:00	Antlll11□\W'<lllderley	Sky Dancers and Bear Chasers: What (If Anything) Does Haudenosaunee Star Lore Mean?
9:20	Frai.m bil'era	Evidence for Rock Art in Iroquoia
9:40	Jamis; F<ll!w	Records on the Iroquois in the New York Sme Archives-Preservation and Digitization Projects and Research Opportunities
10:00	Discil. \$.sjffi	
10:20	CoJlee Brems	
10:40	Kathryn Mlllll!ler	The Haudenosaunee Kaswentha Ethic: From the Great Peace to Early European Contact
11:00	Bruie M@.iw	First Nation British/Crown Tradition: Mutual Respect and the Covenant Chain
11:20	Timothy Wllliig	Diplomatic Turning Point in the West: The Ohio Confederacy and the Six Nations
11:40	Mark Nişli@fas	A Crisis in Hunting and Warring: Allegany Seneca Manhood, 1780-1800

Saturday Afternoon Program

1:30	Neal Keating	A Tuscarora Graduate of Samuel Kirkland's Hamilton-Oneida Academy?
1:50	Laurence Hauptman	The Two Worlds of Dinah Jones [1774?-1883]
2:10	Carl Benn	Victorian Warriors: Mohawks in Egypt 1884-85
2:30	Gerald Reid	"It is Our Custom": Kahnawake's Council of Clan Chiefs in the Late 19 th and Early 20 th Centuries
2:50	Kathryn Merriam	Mr. Hewitt and Mrs. Kellogg
3:10	Discussion	
3:30	Networking, Break-Out	
5:00	Reunion on the Terrace	
6:30	Dinner	

Saturday Evening Program

8:00	Lori Quigley, Mary Todd, & Barry White	Senecalmmersion Camp Assessment
8:20	Bruce Pearson	Stories as Language and Teaching Tools
8:40	Terry Abrams & Audrey Potter	Elisabeth Tooker's Tonawanda Genealogies

12:00 DiscuHil)jj

12:30 *Lun*□*h*

9:00 Discussion

CONFERENCE ON IROQUOIS RESEARCH

The Conference Center
The Rennselaerville Institute
October 6, 7, & 8, 2006

FRIDAY

5:00 - reunion on the terrace

6:30 - Dinner

FRIDAY EVENING PROGRAM

8:00 • Thanksgiving address with Ernest Benedict
Welcome at the Woods edge and announcements

Moderator Larry Hauptman

8:30 - **DENIS FOLEY & BARBARA GRAYMONT**

Remembering Mary

9:00 - **NANCY HAGEDORN**

A Very Good Sort of Woman and an Extraordinary Interpreter: Rebecca Kellogg Ashley, Missionary Interpreter Among the Iroquois. The study of missionary interpreters such as Rebecca Kellogg Ashley, who was active among the Iroquois at Stockbridge and Oquaga, provides a glimpse at a vital arena of cultural exchange through cultural mediators whose presence often remains largely invisible in the formal records of other cultural interactions.

SATURDAY MORNING

8 AM - Breakfast

Moderator - William Engelbrecht

9:00 • **ELLIE MCDOWELL-LOUDAN**

Is the Otselic Weir Iroquoian? Evidence for and against identifying the weir in SE Cortland County, NY as one built and used by the Haudenosaunee is evaluated.

9:30 - **LISA MARIE ANSELM**

Northern Iroquoian Use of Copper-Based Metals. This paper will address the manufacturing techniques used and the foris created from European-introduced smelted copper-based metals by Northern Iroquoian (Wendat, Haudenosaunee-Seneca, Susquehannock) metalworkers during the Early and Middle Contact Periods;

10:00 • **TONY WONDERLEY**

Symbolism in Iroquoian Pottery: New Evidence from Oneida Country
Around 1550, widely distributed decorative elements were amalgamated into new humanoid imagery on ceramics of the central Iroquois and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians'

10:30 • Coffee Break

11:00 • **FRANCIS SCARDERA**

Archaeological Queries: An Open Discussion of Unique Artifacts

11:30 • Research Reports, Queries

11:45 • Lunch

Moderator: Anthony Wallace

1:00 • **EDWARD COUNTRYMAN**

Reading the English Treaties, Hearing Haudenosaunee Voices. I will explore how Haudenosaunee people learned English desires and defended their own interests.

1:30 • **RICK MONTORE**

Sovereigns of the Soil. Joseph Brant, Deskaheh and the Haldimand Deed of 1784

2:00 - ROBERT SPIBGELMAN

A.C. Flick, Sullivan's March and the Empire State. Notes toward a recovery and appreciation of NYS Historian A.C. Flick's view that Sullivan's march was undertaken more to found an "inland empire" than to punish Iroquois misdeeds.

2:30 - CHRISTINA JOHANNSEN HANKS

William N Fenton Research Fund and the Iroquois Indian Museum Research Collection.
Scenes of Iroquois Communities and events from WN Fenton Photo Collection

3:00 - Research Updates, Queries

Dolores L. Elliott

Jay Levensen

3:30-Break

SATURDAY EVENING

5:00 - Reunion on the Terrace

6:30 - Dinner

Moderator Barbara Graymont

8:00. JOY BILHARZ

After Asher; The Emergence of Laura Wright. This is an examination of Laura Wright's activities after the death of Asher, especially her relationship with William P. Letchworth

8:30 - KEVIN WHITE

Contextualizing the Published Narratives of the Iroquois Cosmologies - I intend to illustrate why each version of the published narratives of the Iroquois Cosmologies needs further study based on contextualizing each version.

SUNDAY MORNING

8:00 - Breakfast

Moderator -Nancy Hagedorn

9:00 - ERICA JAMIESON AND REGNA DARNELL

Standpoints from the Caledonia Reclamation Site. Ms. Jamieson is interviewing members of her community to tell the story of recent events at Caledonia.

9:30 - THERESA MCCARTHY

Factionalism as Meta-narrative: Contemporary Critical Anthropology at Six Nations of Grand River. This paper will assess the relevance and legitimacy of scholarly and community based understanding of "factionalism" relative to historic and current circumstances of Six nations peoples at Grand River and more broadly.

10:00 - MICHAEL TAYLOR

A Proposed Model of Contemporary Iroquois Economy. A view on how the Iroquois have "kept up with the Jones" using contemporary modes grounded in historical contexts of economies.

10:30 - Coffee Break

11:00 - KWINN DORAN

The Cradle of Globalization: Infrastructure Development and Haudenosaunee - US Conflict in the Greater NYS Region 1950-1965

11:30 - RICHARD ZANE SMITH

Introducing Wyandot Culture and Language to the Children at Wyandotte Elementary School. Using waterdrum, puppets, traditional stories and songs, the children learn some Wyandot numbers, sentence structure, pronunciation,

and a cultural perspective.

12:00 - Lunch

CONFERENCE ON IROQUOIS RESEARCH

The Conference Center
The Rensselaerville Institute
October 5, 6, & 7, 2007

FRIDAY

5:00 - reunion on the terrace

6:30 - Dinner

FRIDAY EVENING PROGRAM

8:00 - Welcome at the Woods Edge - Barb0i-a Gro1y,uont

Announcements - Dolores Elliott

Mike Tarbell - Baseball's League of Nations: A tribute to native American Baseball Players,
Iroquois Indian Museum

Art Einhorn - A Question Posed

Moderator: Joy Bilharz

8:30 **LARRY HAUPTMAN**

"The United States - Tonawanda Seneca treaty: reflections on its 150th Anniversary"

In November of this year, The Tonawanda Senecas will mark the 150th anniversary of the U.S. - Tonawanda Treaty. The paper focuses on the roles of the Council of Chiefs and the Clan mothers in securing justice for the Tonawanda Senecas, 1838-1857.

9:00 **TERRY ABRAMS**

"The Freeman Johnson Collection at the Rochester Museum and Science Center"

Chief Freeman Johnson (1887-1969) was a Tonawanda Seneca & Wolf Clan Sachem active in Iroquois society

9:30 **Future Plans for Iroquois Conference - A Discussion**

Led by Larry Hauptman and Dolores Elliott

SATURDAY MORNING

8 AM - Breakfast

Moderator - Ellie McDowe/1-Loudan

9:00 **GERALD REID**

"Renew Our Fire: The Hereditary Council Movement at the bay of Quinta in the 1880's ". This paper examines efforts by members of the Bay of Quinta (Tyendinaga) community to re-establish a council of hereditary chiefs in the 1880's and early 1890's

9:30 **JOY BILHARZ**

"To preach the gospel in public ... and discharge other pastoral duties": the Wrights and the American Board. An examination of the educational ideas of Asher and Laura Wright in the context of 19th Century social welfare reform.

10:00 **KWINN DORAN**

"Intellectual Threads: Eli Parker, Lewis Morgan, and August Boeckh" This paper seeks to contextualize Parker's and Morgan's writings by exploring influences on and similarities between their works and that of August Boeckh, a Berlin Scholar whose historical views seemingly complimented and/or influenced Parker and Morgan.

10:30 - Coffee Break

11:00 STEPHEN FEELEY

"Postwar Reconstruction of the Tuscarora World." Although Tuscaroras are best known for coming north to become the "Sixth Nation" of the Iroquois, in the wake of the Tuscarora War (1711-1713) many of their number also navigated a treacherous and contentious course between the competing interests of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia governments.

11:30 BARBARA GRAYMONT

"The J.N.B. Hewitt Project: The Final Chapter". This will elaborate on Betty Tooker's and my many years of research on Hewitt and discuss and illustrate certain aspects of Hewitt's life, with color slides and Tuscarora reservation map.

12:00 GRACE WOO

Questions raised by the Six Nations Application for Membership in the League of Nations

12:30 - 1:30 Lunch

Moderator: Denis Foley

1:30 JAMES FOLTS

'The "Wyoming Massacre" Revisited'. Contemporary documents indicate that captured militiamen were tortured and killed after the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, partly verifying the legend of the "Wyoming Massacre"; the battle and its aftermath exemplify the motives and methods of Iroquois warfare.

2:00 ROBERT SPIEGELMAN

"Mapping Onondaga: The Almighty Grid and Indian Removal". An analysis of the relationships between the Van Schaick expedition ('1779), the Dewitt Survey (1791), and westward expansion in early New York State.

2:30 REGNA DARNELL

"Collaborative Ecosystem Health Models in Southwestern Ontario". The paper will describe ongoing work in the Thames Valley watershed and St. Clair River (including Oneida Reserve) and the community collaboration models being developed with local health and environmental professionals.

3:00 MARSHALL BECKER

"Wampum of the Oneida Indian Nation., Inc" The two wampum cuffs now held by the Oneida Indian provide evidence for their origins among the Wendat (Huron) and for their use.

3:30-5:30 **ARCHEOLOGY WORKSHOP** with Martha Sempowski and Bill Engelbrecht

SATURDAY EVENING

5:30 - Reception Celebrating the Publication of William N. Fenton's Memoirs.

Sponsored by University of Nebraska Press

6:30 - Dinner

Moderator Larry Hauptman

8:00 DEBORAH HOLLER

Work in progress by D. Holler and A.F.C. Wallace: An examination of the roles of women as archetypical of the feminine principle in Haudenosaunee spiritual life, leadership and environmental restoration.

8:30 MICHAEL TAYLOR

"Making Miss Chief: Gender in the Construction of the Noble Savage at the University of Illinois". In

1943, at the University of Illinois, the Noble Savage male team mascot was taken over by a woman who performed as Princess Illiniwek.

9:00 **KATHRYN LAVELY MERRIAM**

"Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith: Ka-tci-tci-sta-kwast Greeting" Letters from Iroquois country: a lady anthropologist writes about her work and her adventures in the early 1880's

SUNDAY MORNING

8:00 - Breakfast

Moderator - Dolores Elliott

9:00 **ED COUNTRYMAN**

"The Iroquois and the Origins of the American Revolution". I'm taking part in an AHA panel in January 2008 on the origins of the revolution; I'll try out my ideas for that.

9:30 **DENIS FOLEY**

"Notes on the Iroquois and the Emerging American Empire"
Origin of Condolence Council and the Iroquois and the Erie Canal

10:00 **BRUCE PEARSON**

Because of the close connection between language and culture, familiarity with traditional stories can help preserve both.

10:30 - Coffee Break

11:00 **BRIAN RICE**

"Anishnabe and Rotinonshonni Traditions About the St. Lawrence Iroquoians". My paper will utilize both oral and written traditions from the Anishnabe and Rotinonshonni as to what happened to the St. Lawrence Iroquoians.

11:30 **GRANVILLE GANTER**

"Red Jacket, Tradition, and Public Relations".

This paper examines some of the problems characterizing Red jacket (Sagoyewatha) as a traditional speaker, particularly after the War of 1812

12:00 - Lunch

Inside this issue

Articles

William Engelbrecht, Sean Hanrahan, Roderick B. Salisbury 01-30

Perforator and Graver Use in an Iroquoian Village

Francis Scardera and David Moyer 31-59

Seneca Lake Rock Art: The Perils of Iconographic Misrepresentations

William Fox 60-66

The Susquehannock Connection

Tributes

“Larry Hauptman” by Terry Abrams 67-68

From the Archives: Master List of Conference Programs 1945-2007 69-149

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