

# IROQUOIA

The journal of  
the Conference on Iroquois Research

Volume 6, October 2020



Maxine Crouse Dowler and Dr. William “Bill” Fenton

Beadwork Frame by Sam Thomas

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# 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

1945-1975

## 2020 marked the 75th anniversary of the Conference on Iroquois Research.

To adapt to the unprecedented challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic, the semisesquicentennial celebrations and the annual presentations were streamed online for the first time in its history.

Furthermore, this issue (Volume 6) of *Iroquoia*, the first digital-only issue, also marks an adaptation to current trends.

The conference was founded by Charles E. Congdon, Merle Deardorff and William N. Fenton at Red House in 1945.

As an homage to the roots of the conference, the 75th anniversary events were scheduled to be hosted in Salamanca. While the much-anticipated pilgrimage to "Seneca Country" has been delayed, in the interim, the conference continues to leverage its online presence to draw a wider range of researchers from as far away as Europe.

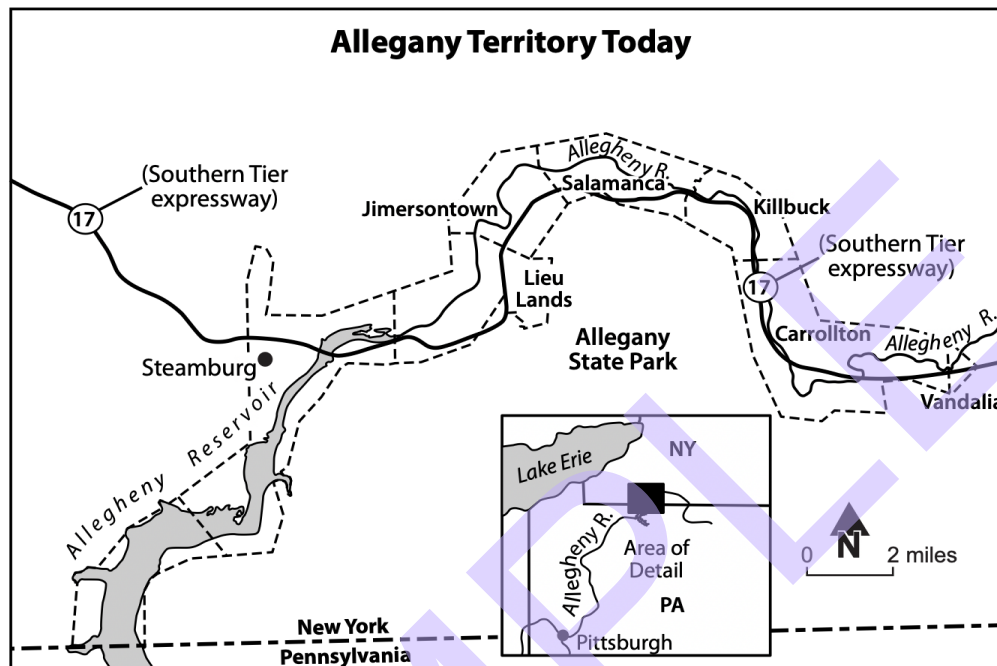
From its first informal encounters at the Allegany State Park administrative building in Red House, the conference location and venues have changed over the last three quarters of a century, but the focus and spirit of the conference continue to burn brightly.

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# “No Place at the Table’: The Seneca Nation and the Creation of Allegany State Park”\*

Laurence M. Hauptman , SUNY Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History, SUNY New Paltz



MAP BY JOSEPH STOLL Credit Line: Joseph Stoll

- An abridged version of this paper was delivered at the virtual Conference on Iroquois Research, October 16, 2020. The author would like to thank the following for their assistance in the preparation of this article: Jane Verostek, archivist at the Moon Library, SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry; Kathryn H. Leacock, curator of collections at the Buffalo Museum of Science; Dr. James Folts, archivist at the New York State Archives; Cynthia Van Ness, director of library and archives, Buffalo History Museum Library; Rebecca Bowen, archivist at the Seneca Nation; Joseph Stoll, cartographer in Syracuse University’s Department of Geography; Dr. Nancy Herter of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation; Dr. Randy John, professor emeritus of sociology at St. Bonaventure University; and Martin Seneca, Jr., former counsel and legal advisor to the Seneca Nation who first suggested this research.

Since the 2020 Conference on Iroquois Research was scheduled to be held at Red House in Allegany State Park to commemorate where the original 1945 Conference on Iroquois Research was held, I decided to revisit some of my past research related to the park. I was also motivated by my visit to the park in September 2019. At that time, after perusing the available pamphlets at park headquarters, I found no information about the Seneca Nation except for a pamphlet on its casino/hotel on Allegany Territory. Surprisingly, there was no information on the Senecas’ nearby Onöhsägweide’ Cultural Center that opened in August, 2018.

One pamphlet entitled, *Allegany State Park; Guide and Map to New York State's Largest State Park* (2019), one widely published and distributed by OPRHP/Cattaraugus County, stated: "The Quakers were the first European settlers in Western New York, *previously the domain of the Seneca Indians.*" [*emphasis mine*] The pamphlet never mentions that the Senecas **still** reside next door to the park!

The year 2021 is the 100th anniversary of the act that established Allegany State Park. The 65,000-acre park is the largest one administered by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation [OPRHP]. The park includes portions of the towns of Carrollton, Cold Spring, Elko, Great Valley, Red House, Salamanca, and South Valley, New York and borders the Seneca Nation's Allegany Territory on the north, west, and east. It is opened year round and approximately 1.5 million visitors enter the park to bicycle, camp, fish, hike, hunt, picnic, pursue nature study, ride horses, cross country ski, snowmobile, snowshoe, and swim.<sup>1</sup> Importantly, the park is located in southern Cattaraugus County, right in the region of the oil and gas rich Marcellus Shale, a layer of porous rock 6-8,000 feet below the surface that stretches over three states.<sup>2</sup> Although the creation of the Allegany State Park was sold to the public as a way to protect the environment, educate about the wonders of nature, and provide for the expansion of recreational opportunities for western New Yorkers, the decline of forest resources and the decline of the price of oil played major factors in its creation.

Despite the park's location adjacent to the Allegany Territory, state and local officials never consulted the Seneca Nation about the original creation of the park and its development that followed. Indeed at times, the Senecas were viewed and treated as trespassers in their own historic territory. For centuries they camped, hunted, fished, gathered plants for medicinal use, and even buried their dead there; nevertheless, park officials too often ignored Senecas concerns and/or trampled on tribal sovereignty by imposing numerous regulations. Moreover, Senecas in the past were arrested for fishing without state licenses on their former lands that became the Allegany State Park, even though the federal Treaty of Big Tree of 1797 clearly recognized their continuing right to do so.<sup>3</sup> In other areas, the Seneca Nation found itself at odds with local and state park administrators. Robert Moses as head of the New York Council of Parks, along with some members of the Allegany State Park Commission in the 1930s and 1940s, advocated the building of the Kinzua Dam project, that took 10,000 acres of Seneca Territory, and promoted the construction of the Southern Tier Expressway, that



created a 25-mile swath through the Allegany Reservation.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, state and local park officials were resistant to Indian land claims, including one involving Cuba Lake, that was finally resolved in 2005.<sup>5</sup>

The United States Department of the Interior supported the creation of the park. Despite the fiduciary role of the Interior Department to federally recognized American Indian nations such as the Seneca Nation, its officials never considered whether the park's Indian neighbors wanted it. Stephen Mather, a businessman who helped found the National Park Service in 1916 and who became its first director, actually played a role in the creation of Allegany State Park.<sup>6</sup>

The National Park Service and American Indian nations have long been at odds including over “boundary lines, land claims, rights-of way, hunting and wildlife management, grazing permits, water rights, employment preference, craft sales, cultural interpretation, sacred sites, and the disposition of cultural artifacts, entrance fees, dams, the promotion of tourism, commercial regulation...”<sup>7</sup> Almost all of these same issues have erupted over the years between Seneca Nation officials and New York State park officials.

In the establishment of Allegany State Park in 1921 and the expansion of the park, the Senecas were ignored, perceived as inconsequential to the overall park planning, and/or viewed as colorful entertainment for vacationers. In a tourist brochure published just after the park opened, Henry R. Francis, Professor of Recreation at the State College of Forestry in Syracuse and the first Executive Secretary of Allegany State Park, described the wonders of park. Francis emphasized that children visiting the park would find the Allegany Reservation next door, a place of delight. They would have the opportunity to see real Indians “making bows and arrows for the youngsters and teaching them how to use it.”<sup>8</sup> Later in 1931, a geographical study made by the New York State Museum concluded that the Senecas contribution to the park was merely “to supply workers on roads and buildings or occasionally in the hayfields” and that the reservation “does not particularly influence the park itself.”<sup>9</sup>

Almost from the beginning, Senecas have been employed in the park, but none in major administrative roles. From the mid and late 1930s, George Heron and Johnson Jimerson, working for the CCC, built cabins, thinned the forest, planted trees, built bridges, and put in guard rails along the roads of the park. At approxi-

mately the same time, Sadie Rohlman helped plant trees and make other major improvements to the park working in federal government work relief programs during the New Deal years. Later, Amos Johnny John, the father of Richard Johnny John, and Newton Pierce were also employed to maintain and improve the park.<sup>10</sup> From the 1970s onward, Seneca storytellers such as the late Duce Bowen, provided talks about the supernatural related to Indian oral traditions at campfire events held in the park.<sup>11</sup>

Although there were others involved in bringing the park about, Albert Thomas Fancher, the Republican boss of Cattaraugus County, is generally considered the “father” of Allegany. Indeed, his residence is the site of the current park headquarters at Red House. However, the push for the creation of the park came from other quarters as well, including from three faculty members at the State College of Forestry in Syracuse, two Progressive reformers influenced by Theodore Roosevelt’s concern for conservation, Robert Moses, who was then ascending to his role as New York State’s powerbroker, and even from advocates of eugenics. Fancher had served in the New York State Legislature in the last days of the nineteenth and into the first decade of the twentieth century, but most of his political dealings were hidden from public view. He had made much of his personal fortune in petroleum strikes in the Indian Territory and in southwestern New York and later sold off his South Penn Oil Company to John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil. He was also the “furniture king” of Western New York, employing hundreds of workers in his Salamanca factory and throughout the region.<sup>12</sup>

Fancher was no friend of the Senecas. For decades, he and his cronies, James Whipple, a former state assemblyman from Salamanca and New York State Commissioner of Forestry, Fish and Wildlife, and Congressman Edward Vreeland, who was president of the largest bank in the city, had plotted to gain title for the numerous white lessees on Seneca lands on the Allegany Indian Reservation. Whipple gathered support for this move in Albany and his assembly committee had investigated the so-called “Indian Problem” in 1888 and 1889. Vreeland sponsored legislation in Congress to allot Seneca lands and allow his white constituents the opportunity to buy out the Senecas.<sup>13</sup> On December 15, 1902 before the House of Representatives, Vreeland made his motivation quite clear: “I represent 8,000 people upon these reservations; who hold ninety-nine year leases from these Indians, and who want to get a title to their lands.”<sup>14</sup> Although Vreeland’s bills were to gain support in Congress between 1902 and 1906, they were never to be enacted into law.



SAMPLE

# **Beadwork and Border Lines: Kahnawà:ke Women Craftworkers and the Assertion of Rotinonshiónni Border Crossing Rights in the Late Nineteenth Century**

Gerald F. Reid, Sacred Heart University

## Introduction

In early October of 1898 forty-four women from the Kanien'kehá:ka community of Kahnawà:ke wrote to the U.S. Congress expressing concern about a threat to their economic livelihood and asserting Rotinonshiónni border-crossing rights (Figures 1 and 2, note 1). Identifying themselves as those “whose livelihood is the making and selling of beadwork and Indian novelties,” the women noted that until recently they had crossed the international border into the United States free from any duties on the “wares of [their] manufacture.” The beadworkers expressed concern that duties newly-imposed by Congress had placed them in “poorer circumstances.” Stressing the difficult situation in which they found themselves, they petitioned the members of Congress to restore their pre-existing “privilege” by relieving them of the duties now levied on the craftwork they sold in the United States. The names of the petitioners followed, listed in two neat columns of twenty-two names each, all in Kanien'kéhah, all handwritten in a single script, and each marked with the “x” of its owner. Their simple two-page petition opens a window into several poorly-understood dimensions of life in this community at the turn of the twentieth century. These include the nature of the local economy and its links to a wider regional and international system, the transnational dimension of Kahnawà:ke's economic life, the economic activities and political activism of women in the community, and the persistence of traditional political authority on the reserve a decade after it had been officially abolished by federal Indian policy. And, perhaps most importantly, the action of the forty-four women may represent the first step in modern times of Rotinonshiónni people asserting their border-crossing rights based on the Jay Treaty of 1794, an issue that would become a touchstone of Rotinonshiónni political activism in the 1920s and 1930s and which continues to reverberate in Rotinonshiónni communities today.

## Kahnawà:ke and Beadwork

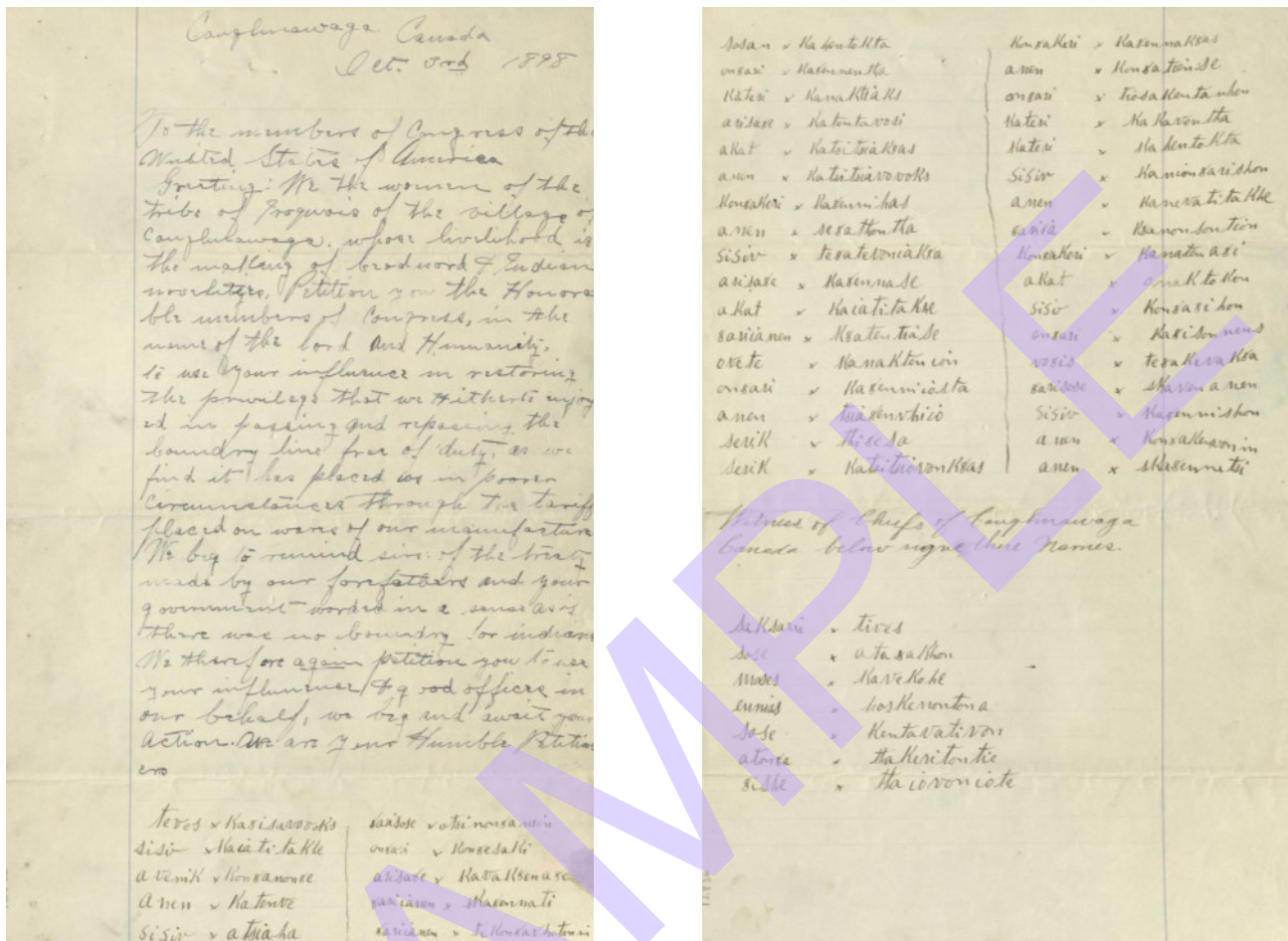
Kahnawà:ke is located on Kanien'kehá:ka territory in Quebec on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, approximately ten miles from the city of Montreal. The community was established in the late seventeenth century with the migration of Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks, and Hurons to land on the St. Lawrence opposite the island of Montreal, which had become the site of a Jesuit mission and small French farming community. The land, which was part of a 40,000-acre grant from French king Louis XIV to the Society of Jesus in 1680, was long known to Kanien'kehá:ka people as "Kentake" ("at the meadow"). Over the course of several decades the Native community at Kentake relocated upriver a number of times and became increasingly Kanien'kehá:ka in its population, language, and culture. In 1716, with a population of about 1000, the community re-established at its present location and renamed itself "Kahnawà:ke" ("at the rapids"). In 1762 the British Crown recognized Native title to the land at Kahnawà:ke, but as a reserve and mission, it was administered in the community's name by colonial authorities, the Society of Jesus, and local priests. A century later the population had risen to about 1,700, while mismanagement, squatting, and illegal land sales had reduced the land base of the reserve to about a third of its original size (note 2).

Begun as a traditional Rotinonhsiónni farming and hunting community, during the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Kahnawà:ke evolved economically to incorporate European agricultural methods, crops, and livestock and commercial ties with the surrounding and growing Euro-Canadian communities. In addition, there was significant involvement in the fur trade, in particular as *voyageurs* employed by French and British fur trading companies. By the mid-1800s, with a growing population, land scarcity, and a decline in fur trade activity, the local economy moved toward increased reliance on wage labor, with men often employed in logging, freighting, and piloting boats on the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers. By the 1890s, with the industrial and urban transformation of the Canadian economy in full swing, high steel ironwork emerged as an occupation and over the next several decades became a principal source of employment for Kahnawà:ke men and income for their families (note 3).

With the shift to a wage labor economy, craftwork provided an additional source of income for families in

**Figure 1:** Petition of the “Iroquois Women of Caughnawaga” to the U.S. Congress on October 3, 1898.

Source: “Iroquois Women of Caughnawaga Letter, October 3, 1898,” MS12836, Manuscript and Special Collections, New York State Library. Image courtesy of New York State Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany New York.



**Figure 2:** Text of the Petition of the “Iroquois Women of Caughnawaga” to the U.S. Congress on October 3, 1898.

Caughnawaga Canada  
 October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1898

To the members of Congress of the United States of America

Greetings: We the women of the Tribe of Iroquois of the village of Caughnawaga, whose livelihood is the making of beadwork & Indian novelties, Petition you the honorable members of Congress in the name of the lord and Humanity, to use your influence in restoring the privileges that we hitherto enjoyed in *passing and re-passing the boundary line* free of duty, as we find it has placed us in poorer circumstances through the tariff placed on wares of our manufacture. We beg to remind sirs of the *treaty Made by our forefathers and your Government worded in a sense as if there was no boundary for Indians*. We therefore again petition you to use your influence & good offices in our behalf, we beg and await your

Action. [emphasis added]

We are your Humble Petitioners.

Kahnawà:ke. By the mid-nineteenth century the production of beadwork, moccasins, snowshoes, and baskets for sale in Montreal was already well established. Little is known about the organization of craftwork in Kahnawà:ke at this time, but if it was similar to craft production in other Rotinonhsiónni communities, it was a cooperative enterprise, with women engaged principally in *making* the crafts in the home on the reserve and men engaged principally in *selling* the crafts away from the home off the reserve. By the late nineteenth century, Native crafts, beadwork in particular, produced in Indigenous communities like Kahnawà:ke was in growing demand among Euro-American, Euro-Canadian, and European consumers eager for a taste of the “primitive” and “vanishing” North American Indian. Some of this craftwork was sold at wild west shows and Indian exhibitions, where Native entertainers wore outfits decorated with beadwork, conducted beadwork demonstrations, and marketed pre-made beaded items. Increasingly, the principal markets for Rotinonhsiónni crafts and beadwork were tourist destinations, such as Montreal, Quebec City, and a variety of localities in New York State, including Lake George, Saratoga Springs, and, in particular, Niagara Falls. The demand for authentic, Rotinonhsiónni-produced “curiosities” at Niagara Falls was so great that local vendors served as middlemen who bought beaded pieces and other wares from craftspeople in Kahnawà:ke, Ahkwesáhsne, Kanehsetà:ke, and Grand River in Quebec and Ontario and the Seneca reservations in New York State and sold them to the throngs of American, Canadian, and European tourists. Produced from velvet, velveteen, cambric, chintz, oil cloth, cotton, wool, and silk and, in Kahnawà:ke, decorated in the Kanien’kehá:ka style with gold, amber, and green beads, the most popular beaded items were pin cushions, wall hangings, picture frames, purses, and small containers. By the turn of the century the economic importance of beadwork and craftwork in general had grown considerably. Rotinonhsiónni families and women’s groups labored during the winter months to produce big supplies of beadwork for sales to summer tourists. Even children were engaged in some steps in the production process and in Kahnawà:ke and elsewhere beadwork was manufactured by the trunkful (note 4).

The records of a land survey of Kahnawà:ke conducted by Canada’s Department of Indian Affairs in the mid-1880s shed some additional light on the organization and importance of beadwork and other craft production on the reserve around this time. Known as the “Walbank survey” and discussed in greater detail below, the project required adult males and widowed adult females who claimed band membership to submit personal *Iroquoia*, 2020, Volume 6

economic, social, and genealogical information for review by Indian Department officials and the local council of chiefs. As noted in these records, a number of individuals who claimed band membership explained their periodic absences from the reserve because they engaged in selling “Indian goods.” For example, 47-year old Onwari Konwentsta, a widow, noted that she had lived in Kahnawà:ke her entire life, except when she was away selling beadwork. Sose Ahanonni (Joseph Daillebout), 42-years old, also indicated that he had lived on the reserve his entire life, “except when selling Indian goods in the United States.” Forty-year-old Sak Katsitsio (Jacques Daillebout) was unavailable for his interview because he was away “hawking beadwork in the U.S.” Kateri Kakwirison submitted information for her brother, forty-year-old Rowi Oserase (Louis Lorimier), who she claimed had lived in Kahnawà:ke his entire life except when he was away for the same reason. Wishe Karenhison (Michel LeClere), about fifty years old, stated that as an adult he had lived away from the reserve “for short spaces of time to sell goods,” the longest period being “7 months.” Sixty-year old Tier Thokashion (Peter Lawrence) had a similar story and estimated his longest time away from the reserve “selling goods” was three years. Though limited, this information suggests that in Kahnawà:ke travelling away from the community to sell craftwork was both a male and a female occupation and that those travelling to sell locally-produced craftwork did so for varying lengths of time, from short periods of a few weeks to extended periods of a year or more (note 5).

### The Petitioners

The forty-four Kahnawà:ke beadworkers who petitioned the U.S. Congress in October of 1898 were a diverse group (See Tables 1a and 1b). The oldest was seventy-eight year-old Ro8is Te8akerak8a (Rowis Tewakerakwa/Louise Thomas). Rowis was born in Kahnawà:ke in 1820, one of three children of Angelique Konwatienni and Joseph Awenenniion Thomas. In 1838, at age eighteen, she married twenty-three year-old Louis Tekentarashen Dailleboust and together they had eight children within a period of about twenty years, all but one of who survived into adulthood. They remained married until Rowis’s death in 1901. Another of the elderly petitioners was seventy-six year-old Sisir Te8ataroniak8a (Sisir Tewateronhiakwa/Cecile Deer). Sisir was born in Kahnawà:ke in 1822 to Marie Madeleine Kawennahente Jacobs and Thomas Teharashe Deer and at age thirteen married nineteen year-old Jean Baptiste Thoronionko Beauvais. Over a period of nearly twenty five years she bore eleven children, six of whom died in infancy or childhood. Sisir’s husband died in *Iroquoia*, 2020, Volume 6



1859, soon after the birth of their last child, and she never remarried. In the mid-1880s she was living in the main village on the reserve and had a small garden plot; she also owned two pieces of farmland she had inherited from her late husband. One of Sisir's daughters, Sosan Kahentokta (Sosan Kahentoktha/Suzanne Beauvais), was also a beadworker and also signed the 1898 petition. Sosan was born in 1835, married twenty-one year-old Basile Aronhiawake Montour in 1858, and over the next fifteen years gave birth to seven children, five of whom died in infancy and only one of whom, a daughter, survived into adulthood and married (note 6).

**Table 1a:** The Kahnawà:ke Petitioners (1-22)

#	Petitioner	Name	Age
1	teres ka8isaroraks	Therese Kawisaroraks (Curotte)	45
2	sisir kaiatitakhe	Cecile Kaiatitakhe (Stacey)	63
3	arenik kon8anon8e	Veronique Konwanonwe	?
4	anen katenre	Anne Katenies (Jackson)	50
5	sisir atsiaha	Cecile Atsiaha (Stacey)	57
6	sosan kahentokta	Suzanne Kahentoktha (Beauvais)	59
7	on8ari ka8ennentha	Marie Kawennentha (Curotte)	71
8	kateri kanaktiaks	?	?
9	arisa8e katentorori	Elizabeth Katentori (Stacey)	33
10	akat katsitsiak8as	Agathe Katsitsiakwas (Laplume)	43
11	anen katsitsiaroraks	Anne Katsitsiaroraks (Mailloux)	65
12	kon8akeri ka8ennihas	Margeurite Kawennihas (Jacobs)	27
13	anen se8athontha	Anne Sewathontha (Alfred)	27
14	sisir te8ateroniak8a	Cecile Tewateronhiakwa (Deer)	76
15	arisa8e ka8ennase	Elizabeth Kawennase (Jacobs)	50
16	akat kaiatitakhe	Agatha Kaiatitakha (Jacobs)	72
17	8ariianen k8atentiase	?	?
18	orete kananktenion	Dorothee Kanaktenhien (Perthius)	70
19	on8ari ka8enniosta	Marie Kawenniosta (Phillips)	50
20	anen tsia8enrhio	Anne Tsiawenhriio (Lefebvre)	72
21	serik thi8esa	Angelique(?) Tiiwasha (Day)	58
22	serik katsitiioronkwas	?	?

SAMPLE

## Rethinking Iroquoian Stone Endscraper Use

William Engelbrecht, Andrew P. Bradbury, and Joshua J. Kwoka

### Abstract

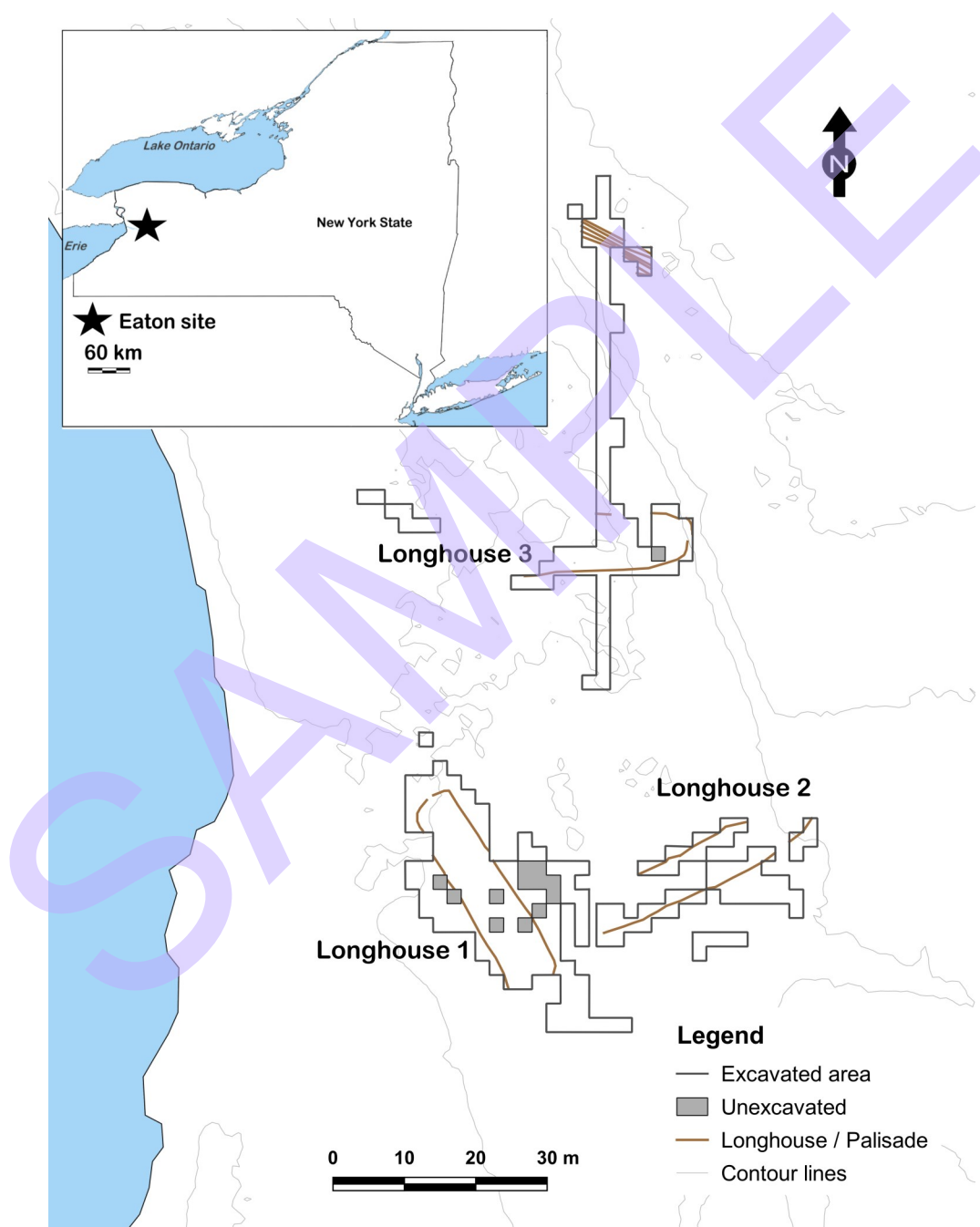
Triangular arrow points (Madison points) vastly outnumber endscrapers on Iroquoian village sites; a fact that has not been satisfactorily explained. Endscrapers are assumed to have been used for scraping deerskins. However, the number of endscrapers recovered from most Iroquoian village sites is inadequate to account for the number of deerskins that must have been scraped in these villages. We conclude that Iroquoians typically scraped deerskins with bone or wood tools and used stone endscrapers for hides thicker than those of deer. At the Eaton village site whole endscrapers tend to be associated with longhouses and associated middens, suggesting the scraping of thick hides such as those of bear occurred inside, likely in winter. The concentration of broken endscrapers in one of three longhouses on the Eaton village suggests unequal use of endscrapers by households.

### Introduction

Deer are the predominant faunal remain on most Iroquoian sites and deerskins have long been viewed as a critical resource for Iroquoians. Gramly (1977) and Birch and Williamson (2012:115) respectively estimate that 3.3 and 5 deerskins per person would have been needed per year for clothing. A woman with a husband and two children would need to process at least 16 deerskins every year for herself and her family. The population estimate for the Eaton site, a 2.2 acre mid-sixteenth century AD Iroquoian village site, is approximately 445. This figure is generated from Snow and Starna's (1989:143) estimate of one person for every 20 m<sup>2</sup> for Iroquoian villages of this period. With a population of 445, over a period of twenty years villagers at Eaton would have needed between 30,000 and 42,500 deerskins (Engelbrecht 2014:362).

Endscrapers are commonly assumed to have been used for processing deerskins for clothing. If this assumption is correct, they should be common on Iroquoian village sites like Eaton, but they are not. Triangular arrow points are ten times more frequent. Some Iroquoian village sites appear to be totally lacking in endscrapers. The number of endscrapers recovered cannot account for the number of deer hides that must have been processed on Iroquoian sites. As some researchers have pointed out, a sharp tool like a stone endscraper was not used on deerskin (Ritzenthaler 1947; Richards 1996; Schultz 1992; Weiderhold 2004:23). Scraping with a sharp tool can easily cut a thin hide or produce a hole (Weiderhold 2004:57).

Here, we examine endscrapers from the Eaton site in West Seneca, New York (see Figure 1). Two consequences can be derived from the paucity of endscrapers. First, other tools, particularly those of bone or wood were used to scrape deer hides. Second, when used, stone endscrapers were used to scrape the hides of animals with thicker hides than deer, such as bear. At the Eaton site, broken endscrapers are disproportionately recovered from one longhouse, suggesting that not all longhouse residents participated equally in endscraper use.



**Figure 1.** Eaton site location along with site map illustrating major features. Illustration courtesy of Roderick Salisbury.

## Endscrapers

We define endscrapers as primarily unifacial stone tools with retouch on the dorsal side of a thick distal edge. When present, bifacial retouch is typically associated with the haft portion of the tool. Different types of endscrapers have been defined in the literature and those found on Iroquoian sites tend to be classified as snubnosed, having a wide, convex distal bit and a narrow proximal end that facilitates hafting (Burse 2016:10-11; Ellis and Deller 2000:97-122; Noble 1975:30, Sempowski and Saunders 2001:178, 179, 449; Shott 1995; Siegel 1984). Unifacial endscrapers are typically thicker and narrower than bifaces and have a steeper working edge, likely having been struck off the corner of a core (Burse 2016; Ellis and Deller 2000).

It is widely assumed that endscrapers were used for scraping hides. The design characteristics of typical endscrapers are well suited to this task. The narrow working edge of the endscraper concentrates the force against the hide and prevents build up of tissue in front of the tool (Weiderhold 2004:13), while the convex edge lessens the chance of accidentally cutting it (Riggs 2003:37). The endscraper was hafted to an L-shaped handle and pulled toward the user - not pushed (Boszhardt and McCarthy 1999:178; Schultz 1992:343; Weiderhold 2004:14). Resharpener the tool causes it to become shorter and the distal angle of retouch to become greater (Hayden 1986:68; Hiscock and Attenbrow 2006:45; Kuhn 1990; Shott 1995).

Despite evidence supporting the use of endscrapers as hide scrapers, use wear and ethnoarchaeological studies indicate that endscrapers are multifunctional tools (Andrefsky 1997:128, 1998:193-194; Brink 1978; Clarkson et al. 2015; Hayden 1986:68; Odell 1981; Shott 1995; Siegel 1984). Since use wear studies indicate the last use of a tool, earlier use wear on hides may be obliterated by subsequent use (Dibble 2017:815, 825; Frison 1968:149; Hayden 1986:68; Hiscock and Attenbrow 2006:52; Jefferies 1990:8). As the distal edge angle of endscrapers increases through reharpening, the tool would lose its effectiveness as a hide scraper, but could still be useful for other tasks (Connell and Clarkson 2011; Hiscock and Attenbrow 2006). Studies of Paleoindian endscrapers suggest that before they were discarded, endscrapers were used to work harder materials (Graham 2011:12).

Boszhardt and McCarthy (1999:178) state that endscrapers with a retouch angle of approximately 45° work best, while those with a working edge angle greater than 60° work poorly. Wilmsen (1968:986) and Weiderhold (2004:77) suggest that angles of 46° – 55° are optimum. In the modern fur industry until recently, a two-handed curved blade was used to flesh large furs which were supported on a platform set at a 40° angle (Kaplan 1971:130-131). While the angle of the endscraper edge is important, it is not the sole determinant of the angle of the cutting edge between the scraper and the hide. Using a tool at an oblique angle can compensate for bluntness (Atkins 2009:242; Hiscock and Attenbrow 2006:52). The angle of the endscraper edge, the angle of the beaming log, the angle of the haft, and the angle at which the implement is held all affect the angle of contact between the hide and the scraper.

### **Endscrapers from the Eaton Site**

The Eaton site (New York State Division for Historic Preservation Number A029-25-0003) is a multi-component site in West Seneca, New York that occupied a 2.2 acre knoll before portions were destroyed in the 1960's. The major component consists of an Iroquoian village dating to the middle of the sixteenth century. Approximately 12% of the site (256 2m<sup>2</sup> units) was excavated by 17 summer archaeological field schools under the direction of William Engelbrecht between 1975 and 2000 (Engelbrecht 2014:355). Most of the site is now owned by the Archaeological Conservancy.

The excavations revealed portions of three longhouses and a section of a palisade (O'Donnell 2003). Unlike most Iroquoian sites where the plow zone was mechanically removed to reveal the pattern of settlement, all soil at Eaton was sifted using quarter inch mesh screens. Soil samples from features were subject to flotation. These methods have yielded the largest existing sample of lithic material from an Iroquoian village including 335,433 pieces of debris and 3,085 utilized flakes. A total of 133 whole and 80 broken endscrapers were recovered. We extrapolate from the 213 endscrapers (broken + whole) that were recovered from the excavated portion to estimate that a total of 1766 endscrapers were discarded on the site. While numerous, the number of arrow points and point fragments recovered is 2,115 (Engelbrecht 2014:360). The number estimated for the entire village is 17,625, nearly ten times the number of estimated endscrapers. Few bone tools were recovered

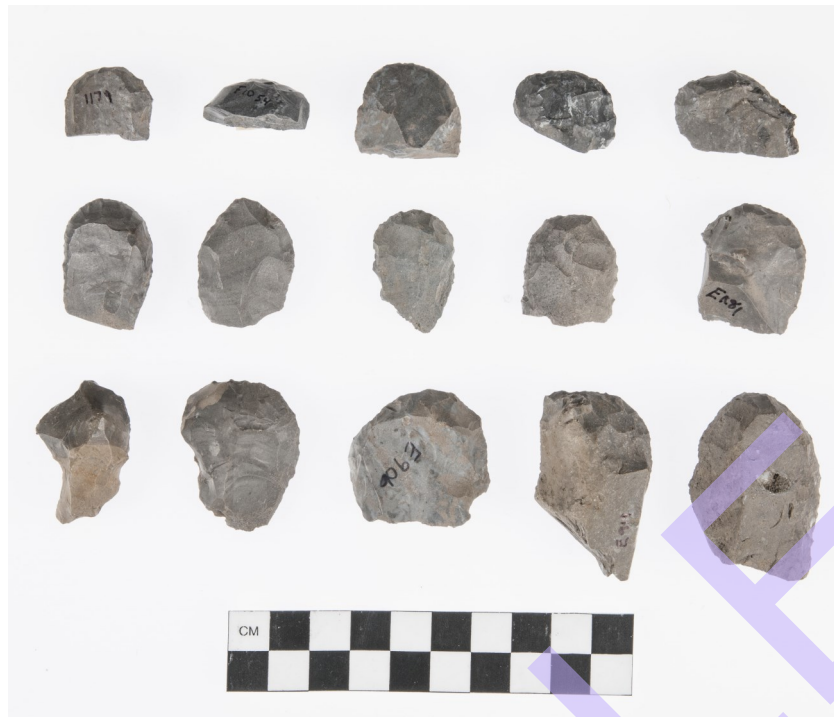


and there were no bone beamers or fleshers.

The endscrapers from Eaton are described in detail elsewhere (Engelbrecht et al. 2021; Jenkins 2004). Figure 2 illustrates whole endscrapers from Longhouse 3. The broken endscrapers range from distal fragments to almost complete specimens (see Figure 3). An anonymous reviewer commented that the proximal end was sometimes snapped off to facilitate hafting, so it is possible that not all broken endscrapers broke during use. Proximal fragments are not included in this study, since these lack the steep distal retouch which is a major defining characteristic of endscrapers. All specimens are of locally available chert, the vast majority being Onondaga. A goniometer was used to measure the angle at the center of the distal retouch. Whole endscrapers had a greater working angle ( $49.6^\circ$ ) than broken endscrapers ( $45.9^\circ$ ). This difference was statistically significant ( $t = 2.9$ ,  $df = 209$ ,  $p = 0.01$ ). The average angle of both whole and broken specimens fit within an optimal working range. However, the difference suggests that the broken ones were less resharpened, a phenomenon predicted by Ellis and Deller (2000:106) for Paleoindian endscrapers.



**Figure 2.** Whole endscrapers from Longhouse 3. Scraper number in Access table followed by catalog number and then provenience. Top row left to right: 646, E1175, 40N 5E, Level 1; 636, E905, 40N 1W, Level 1; 643, E962, 40N 1E, Level 2; 520, E1188, 42N 1E, Level 2; 624, E1078, 38N 7W, Level 3. Second row (l – r): 532, E1182, 44N 3E Level 2; 541, E1178, 46N 1E, Level 1; 540, E1176, 46N 1E, Level 1; 627, E998, 38N 5W, Level 1; 644, E1178, 40N 3E, Level 2. Bottom row (l – r): 639, E1143, 40N 7W, Level 1; 634, E1011, 38N 5E, Level 1; 620, E1131, 38N 9W, Level 1; 640, E1151, 40N 7W, Level 2; 647, E1180, 40N 5E, Level 2.



**Figure 3.** Broken endscrapers from Longhouse 3. Scraper number in Access table followed by catalog number and then provenience. Top row left to right: 522, E1179, 42N 3E, Level 1; 623, E1054, 38N 7W, Level 2; 521, E1179, 42N 3E, Level 1; 622, E1141, 38N 9W, Level 2; 641, E1145, 40N 5W, Level 1; Second row (l – r): 632, E918, 38N 1E, Level 2; 629, E1001, 38N 5W, Level 2; 542, E1117, 46N 9E, Level 2; 534, E1087, 44N 11E, Level 1; 531, E1181, 44N 1E, Level 1. Bottom row (l – r): 518, E1188, 42N 1E, Level 2; 626, E998, 38N 5W, Level 1; 517, E906, 42N 1W, Level 1; 619, E919, 38N 3W, Level 2; 516, E906, 42N 1W, Level 1.

Accounts of hide scraping often stress the amount of force that needs to be used. Hafting the endscraper facilitates the use of force but hafting to an L-shaped handle would increase the pressure on the portion of the endscraper protruding from the haft. This could explain the number of broken endscrapers at Eaton, though plowing may also be a factor (Perrone et al. 2020). Proportionately fewer broken endscrapers were recovered below the plowzone at Eaton than in the plowzone (Engelbrecht et al. 2021). The number of endscrapers with transverse breaks was 61 (76%), while those with lateral breaks numbered 19 (24%). If the break occurred below the distal retouch it was counted as transverse, while breaks across the distal retouch were counted as lateral. When both distal and lateral breaks were present, the longest break was counted. Broken endscrapers were thinner (10.2 mm) than whole endscrapers (11.1 mm). This difference is suggestive but not statistically significant ( $t = 1.48, df = 211, p = 0.14$ ).

Two endscrapers from the Eaton site were examined for evidence of use-wear using the low magnification

SAMPLE

## Interview With Willian Nelson Fenton: 2003, Cooperstown NY

Denis Foley and Jenna Hendrick



**Figure 1:** Denis Foley (left) with his mentor William “Bill” Fenton (Right). Photo from Denis Foley.

### Prologue

William N. “Bill” Fenton, known as the Dean of Iroquois Studies, is one of the founders of the Conference on Iroquois Research and a prodigious Iroquois scholar of the caliber of Frank Speck, Elizabeth Tooker and Anthony Wallace. He is a founder of the sub discipline “Ethno-history.” Interviews by their nature have factual challenges because of inaudible utterances as well as fading memories. Like a manuscript in an archive they have to be handled carefully. Anyone’s recollection of past events is never perfect. Furthermore, taped interviews are a challenge because conversation itself is not in complete sentences.

Foley and Hendrick minimally edited Fenton's account, but made corrections as to fact and added minimal descriptive elaboration for clarity; these instances are signified in brackets. We did not wish to put words in anyone's mouths, but we do want you to get as detailed of an understanding as possible. To further ensure accuracy, Fenton's daughter, Betsy Mayo Snyder, reviewed the transcript to fact check details. In Fenton's last years, Foley served as a driver, companion, and prompter at his mentor's formal presentations. It is in the spirit of fellowship and profound respect that corrections are made. Hendrick was the principal transcriber, using the video to help parse the audio.

**Interviewer: Denis Foley (DF), Date: 6.12.2003**

**Interviewee: William Fenton (WF)**

**Transcriber: Jenna Hendrick**

**Videographer: Thomas Hedderman**

DF: I'm here with Dr. William Fenton (1908-2005, i) at Cooperstown and we're going to be discussing three of his books and we're going to discuss his career in anthropology. And Bill, you were born in New Rochelle, weren't you?

DF: In 1908?

DF: And you went to public high school?

WF: I went through the public school- Mayflower Grammar School, and New Rochelle High School.

DF: Right. And your father John (1876-1939) was a well-known artist of watercolors and oils.

WF: Yes.

DF: -and he taught in the New York City school system?

WF: He taught in first in PS158 up in the Upper East Side - 96th street and then later in Stuyvesant High School which was kind of an elite high school in New York. Trouble is he didn't have a Ph.D. and that was one of the motivations where he told me to just get a PhD and do it early and forget it. So, well anyway, he was in the New York City school system for over 40 years. And he died teaching a class at a high school in Hell's Kitchen [Manhattan]. He had kids from the slums who he taught to draw. Some of them became good artists, illustrators.

DF: Now, it was through your family connections that you became interested in the Iroquois.

WF: Well, yes, I've written about that.

DF: Yes. It was your grandfather and the Snow family.

WF: Yeah, they're a family of Amos Snow, his son was Jonas Snow, but, well. It was that one winter day; the Indians were camped on the hemlock ridge in the back of the farm; way on the western margins of the farm there was a hemlock forest. And they were going from Cattaraugus to Allegheny. That had been the camp ground where they stopped and rested and one winter's day my great grandmother [Fanny Carr] called my grandfather's [William T Fenton] attention to the smoke rising down there. It was very cold and he said - or she said or told him - to go down there and find out what- who was there. He found a family living in a temporary lean-to they had built and the fire and there was an old man and an old woman and some younger people and a woman who was just had a baby- a young woman.

He was down there cutting firewood and he came back at noon and reported to his mother what he'd



seen. She said well you better hitch up the team on the pun- which was a sled-like thing - throw on some buffalo robes, blankets, bring them up here and we'll install them in the wing of the house where the hired girls were; it was behind the kitchen. And they think he brought them up in the sled the whole family- extended family - and the weather got worse. They stayed for a week. My grandmother fed them- or my great-grandmother, who I never knew. Fanny Carr, she was fascinating and she was the wife of Captain William Fenton. When the weather moderated and they could go on to Allegheny, they got their act together and were ready to leave and the oldest woman in the group presented my [great-]grandmother with a burden strap that was, you know, embroidered with seed beads on the edges, porcupine quills was on a long braided lines; you know when they carried burdens on the head strap- tumpline. And she said, "this is a custom when we seal a friendship, to give a present" and this burden strap was- we had it for years and it is now in the Museum of the American Indian - or National Museum and was part of the collection of Indian things that my grandfather treasured. The Seneca man his age in the group was Amos Snow, he was my grandfather's age, and Amos would come and work on the farm and he and my grandfather would hunt together and they were sort of friends in the Indian sense. Well, I've written about that.

DF: Yes, but it was the same Snow family that when you started your fieldwork?

WF: Well, when I was at Yale, [Edward] Sapir (1884-1939, ii) had me give a seminar on the Iroquois and as- in his course - Seminar on Social Organization. And I worked up a little material and someone said if Sapir got in a question you were dead, but he followed what I was saying and he had a habit of blinking his eyes from pleasure and he called me out after the seminar and said you should do field work among the Iroquois and he recalled that the National Museum of Canada or the anthropological survey of Canada in Ottawa under his direction from about 1910 to about 1920 had a program of research with Marius Barbeau (1883-1969, iii) and all those worthies who worked on the Six Nations. Barbeau worked out in Oklahoma, the Wyandot. So Sapir knew something about Iroquois studies and he encouraged me- he said, "what connection do you have?" And I told him briefly that I knew a fam-

ily in Allegheny, the family of Jonas Snow, who was Amos Snow's son, and we had established a connection. Around 1916, I was going down to the reservation for huckleberries because Jonas saw they were ripe, so we picked them along the railroad tracks and next you know we had this big supply and they were wonderful and Jonas Snow worked on the railroad, you know with a regular gang. They say he could set a curve with a piece of string and do it better than a civil engineer and anyway, that was the beginning of our association with Jonas Snow. We attended the Green Corn dance one year and -

DF: Was that- what year was that? 1916?

WF: 19- no, it was 1920s.

WF: Early 20s. I've written about that. So that was the entree that I had to the field and I borrowed an umbrella tent, proceeded to Allegheny and I called on Jonas Snow and I said, "Well, I've come to stay for the summer" and said, "Where will I pitch my tent?" and he said- well, we found a place on the front yard on Snow Street and we set up the tent. Well, Jonas Snow's an interesting person because he could -he'd come home from the Erie tracks and he'd have a gunny sack with a rattlesnake in it and the snake got out. Jonas put [the gunny sack] down one day - one evening - and his youngest son Davis, I remember, got up on the rain barrow and said he'll [the snake] crawl in with you tonight or tomorrow and I never did see that rattlesnake, he apparently went off in the bush. But it was a scary evening.

DF: And you went on to Yale after Dartmouth.

WF: I landed in Northampton in 1931. I had a summer job at Yelping Hills: counselor of the children of the literary colony run by Hedda Henry. Seidel Canby (1878-1961, note iv) was editor of the literature and the families there were people like the MacCrackens [Henry Nobel (1880-1970, v) and Marjorie Dodd MacCracken (1882-1974)] from Vassar with two lovely girls and the McConaughys [James L.

McConaughy (1887-1948, vi)] of Wesleyan; he was the president of Wesleyan and with Beverly Kunkel (1882-1969, vii) from [Lafayette] University. So they- and they all had children. My job was to keep them out of the parent's hair in the day with canoe trips and swimming and such.

DF: Well how was Yale- you had Edward Sapir there.

WF: Well I was looking around for a place to study anthropology. I tried Harvard because I'd met Roland Dickson (1875-1934, viii) who came to Dartmouth my senior year and he tried to get me a scholarship at Harvard. But the Harvard (inaudible), but they were- they had a head a- you know, it was depression times and any funds they had were going to established graduate students and they weren't taking any risks on entering students and I remember that I knew Clark Wissler (1870-1947, ix) from American Museum of Natural History in New York and he was at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale and he was there 2, 3 days a week and commuted back to New York and I went to visit with him and told him I wanted to study anthropology and he told me Sapir was coming from Chicago, and it was going to be a whole new department of anthropology and I said, "well, I've got a limited amount of money" and he said "well maybe they'll let you take a couple of courses," which I did and they also he sent me- called up Wilbur Cross (who was later governor of Connecticut, but then was dean of the graduate school) and I went over and Wilbur Cross (1862-1948, x) interviewed me and he wanted to know if I'd been to college and did I have a transcript and I- and I handed him what I had. He looked at it and he said, "well, you improved, I like this." And he said, "I sometimes get transcripts from mid western colleges where they're all A's and I know something's wrong" and he said he liked a transcript like this. He said, "what were you doing your first year?" I said, "Well I was out for track and not doing well in either my studies or track." I had the misfortune to win the first race I was in which was between the freshman and sophomores and I started out with a gold medal, but I never did as well afterward and after a year or so I tried to improve my time and well, my friends were out canoeing and skiing and so having a good time. I thought this was silly and I stopped. Well, where was I?

DF: We're talking about the track team and you were with Wilbur Cross and-

WF: Well, Wilbur Cross admitted me to graduate school.

DF: Did you come in with a scholarship?

WF: And he said he couldn't give me a scholarship. Well I said I have enough money to pay for two courses. This was 1931. I'd never seen- it was just the beginning of the deep depression. And so I lived in Westport, Connecticut and I figured with my commuting, driving automobile or taking the transit to New Haven every- I would go to the Westport station with my father, he'd take a train to New York and I'd take the next one to New Haven and it was 28 miles and about 2 stops, you know, and I'd be at the library at 8 o'clock in the morning or 8:30 when they open and I'd leave at 5 in the afternoon. I'd go back to Westport. During the week my father was in New York teaching and I would use his study- studio - to do my graduate work. Well the second year they gave me the Carroll Cutler fellowship. There was all of us - ended up with the dean calling me in saying you're not in residence, your fellowship. Well I said, "It buys my books, pays my tuition and that pays for my train tickets." I said, "I'm here at 8:30 in the morning, I leave in the evening" and he said, "Well you're missing a great deal of college or university life." Well I said, well, I had all of that for five years and I wasn't interested; I was a serious student. Or I thought I was. Well, the other thing I had was the Carroll Cutler, was some Yale worthy, and he had two daughters who lived in a mansion up on, oh, street that leads out of New Haven to Hamden. I forget the name of it. And I was told by the dean's office that they always entertain the incumbent of the Carroll Cutler fellowship and so I reported to this Victorian house with an iron deer on the lawn, you know, wrought iron fence and flat top house. I was met by a (inaudible) and presently these two wonderful old ladies showed up and they said, "Well we know that the incumbent of the Carroll Cutler fellowship was not supposed to drink, but if we had sherry would you join us?" So we had sherry. And I had a wonderful time. That was-that was that. But well, I had a series of fellowships over that time.

DF: And, who was the others - you had Wissler, you had Sapir...

DF: Leslie Spier (1893-1961) was there?

WF: Leslie Spier joined us about my second or third year.

DF: Who- which of the great luminaries at Yale gave you the- was the greatest influence on you?

WF: Well that's, I think... It's a toss-up between [George] Murdock (1887-1985, xii), Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir and [Clark] Wissler. Those were- I was assigned to Leslie Spier to be my advisor-And he was always writing things like he just (inaudible) he was writing on tribes of the Colorado river and he would give a seminar on some problem that he had to solve in writing the ethnography and let us take the sources and work them up and/or make suggestions about how to handle it. So he involved us in- told us how to be a professional.

DF: Yes. And then what did you learn from Sapir?

WF: Well, I learned some linguistics and I used to attend his seminars in linguistics but I never knew what was going on because the people, the other students, were linguistic majors and I was lost most of the time, but it turned out I had a fair ear for sounds and he'd have each of us go to the board and one of us who was an ethnographer or ethnologist would write whatever we had and Sapir would use this and chide the linguists for having missed it. And he ran a seminar on social organization where he told me to work out the Iroquois social organization.

[BREAK]

DF: We- we were talking about the- [Fr. John Montgomery] Cooper (1881-1949). And you brought [Fr.] Cooper from a camp?

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ISSN: 2474-2856