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Ontario Archaeological Society

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Christine Caroppo
416-466-0460 (h) / 416-586-5726 (w)
oasprez@hotmail.com

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416-446-7673
henry_vanlieshout@dortec.intier.com

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oas@globalserve.net

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dsmith@utm.utoronto.ca

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DoroszenkoD@aol.com

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1-888-733-0042 / 905-787-9851 (OAS)
oas@globalserve.net

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oas@globalserve.net

Editor, Arch Notes

Frank Dieterman
905-628-1599
archnotes@execulink.com

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... editor's note

Arch Notes presents the Charlie Garrad reader – two (well, one is co-authored) wonderful and informative articles from the award-winning Petunist!

Readers and those familiar with Ottawa's Margaret Watson will be saddened to hear of her passing this winter.

Looking for something to do this spring? The Canadian Archaeological Association annual conference is in Hamilton this year. Join a Canada-wide group of archaeologists at McMaster University

Lastly, editor's apologies if I've missed anything this issue – complete hard drive failure will do that...

President's notes

HELLO ALL. As I am writing this, it looks like spring is finally about to happen climatically and not just because of the equinox. I am sure the thoughts of many of you are turning to the upcoming field season and all of the interesting and exciting projects in which our members are involved.

These days, I don't get out into the field much, more's the pity, but I do get around to plenty of meetings, some of which bear fruit. I am pleased to say that at the time I am writing this, I have reason to believe that our comments at the Ministerial focus group on the Heritage Act changes on Dec 4/02, and our follow-up position paper on the artifact repository crisis (see last Arch Notes), seems to have spurred the Ministry of Culture to launch a fact-finding mission to get a handle on how many artifacts are floating around Ontario and in what kind of storage facilities, etc. etc. I am more than pleased that this is happening. I can only hope that the results of this investigation will shine a brighter light on what is truly a serious problem for us all and that the Ministry will take appropriate action to address the situation.

Continuing with my "meetings" theme, I attended a preliminary Environmental Assessment stakeholder meeting in Alliston in February to address the implications of an extension northward of Hwy 427. I am really glad I did as there was only one other person in the heritage community's corner at the meeting, Patricia Neal, the Executive Director of the Ontario Historical Society, and we were vastly outnumbered by business and other interest groups.

Sadly, cultural and heritage values, concerns and interests were not addressed in the opening remarks and slide show by the Ministry of Transport and their private sector associates, URS, Cole Sherman. When I noted that the

Environmental Assessment legislation and practices clearly state that both natural and cultural values had to be addressed in an EA assessment, I was assured that the "staff back at the office" knew that and that archaeological sites were taken into account along with other "constraints" later in the process.

Now, I know that "constraints" is just the EA term for things that could get in the way of a project and which have to be dealt with, but my objection was that if natural features (in this case the Minesing Swamp, Niagara Escarpment and Oak Ridges Moraine, among others) to be taken into consideration at the outset of an EA project could be given their own slide in our presentation (and, just as importantly, in previous public presentations which I did not attend) why did we not at least rate a slide which said "cultural/heritage features"? They had already admitted that they know they exist. I stated that heritage values should not be treated like the poor step-sister and be relegated to some back office file labelled "constraints" with all of the negative baggage that word implies. This was more than a petty squabble about words on a slide. It was and is about fundamental perceptions and attitudes.

The Ministry of Transport point man admitted that they had made an error in perception and projection of the importance of heritage resources in this EA process and promised to give us equal billing in future presentations.

My concern is that while all the work the OAS did over a decade ago in getting archaeology and heritage features included in EA assessment protocols seems to have stuck, it also appears that we still have a lot of work ahead of us in terms of re-educating this Ministry, and perhaps others, in changing their attitudes and assumptions about heritage in general and archaeology in particular away from "something that is in the way" to "something that is of value" to the community and the people of Ontario.

On a different note, I was invited by Dr. Marti Latta to speak to her CRM class at the University of Toronto this week about the role of avocationalists and of the OAS in archaeology in Ontario. I was delighted to be able to attend and speak to the students. My opening question to them was, "how many of you are members of the OAS?" Answer: 0. "How many of you have ever heard of the OAS?" Answer: about 4 out of 10. Not so good. Marti and I talked about the lack of student interest in joining the OAS and much of it seems to be linked to the fact that they don't see what's in it for them. That is a legitimate point of view, albeit a narrow one.

I think that the OAS has a lot to offer in terms of networking and information sharing among other things. But even more critically, every member we have increases our credibility with groups like the Ministry of Culture, other Ministries (such as Transport, see above) and potential funding organizations. Not to put too fine a point on it, if you are in contact with students of archaeology in your professional or personal life, please, please, put in a good word for the OAS and encourage them to take out a membership and add their voice and dollars to the support of archaeology and our work to preserve and promote it. The OAS needs more members. A decade ago we had over 700, now we have about 450. Please, spread the word and encourage others to join.

Lastly, I would like to revisit the fundraising campaign we are running this year to raise matching funds to the late Bob Mayer's generous bequest of \$10,000. As you know, Bob left us this bequest to be added to the endowment fund already in place in support of our journal, *Ontario Archaeology*. That fund is now fairly comfortable, thanks to his bequest and previous donations, for which we are grateful.

The OAS had received many requests to donate in Bob's name. We decided to launch a campaign to try to raise an amount equivalent to his

generous donation of \$10,000, but for our other fund, the OAS Future Fund. This fund is not an endowment fund, but rather a 'nest egg' or 'rainy day' fund into which we put donation dollars which are not ear-marked for specific purposes. It was established at about the same time as the OA Endowment Fund and was intended to provide us with a cushion for the dark day when our Provincial Heritage Organization (PHO) operating grant from the Ministry of Culture ceased to exist.

We have had to dip into our Future Fund to make ends meet when our PHO grant was late and there were bills to pay, but we always put the money back into the Fund when it became available. We would also like to have the flexibility, some day, of having enough loose money to go after matching dollar grant opportunities ourselves. We can't do that without a 'nest egg'.

We would like to grow this Future Fund for the reasons I mentioned above. We would like to be able to feel secure about continuing the OAS and its work if outside funding ceased abruptly. Surviving on membership fees alone would mean a severely curtailed OAS. That is why the Board decided to try to raise funds around Bob's memory this year. We are soliciting donations in his name and are tracking them separately so that we can fulfill our promise to his family to inform them of all donations which we receive in his memory. However, any and all donations received in this or any year, unless they are specifically directed, go into the Future Fund.

If you feel that you would like to support the future of the OAS, or you would like to honour Bob's memory and his own generous donation, I would welcome your donation to our Future Fund. All donations are eligible for a tax receipt and will be gratefully accepted. My sincere thanks to all of the donors who have stepped forward so far with donations large and small and who have put their faith and dollars into what the Ontario Archaeological Society stands for.

We are only as strong as our membership. Please encourage a lapsed member to rejoin, urge those in your classes and workplaces to join who are not already members, and if you find yourself with a charitable givings budget, please consider the OAS and donate this year. I am

positive that we can achieve our goal of \$10,000 for the Future Fund. If everyone donated only \$20.00 we would be very near our goal. Thank you for your consideration.

Cheers, *Christine*

From the OAS office

At long last spring has arrived; well at least the version of the season that is peculiar to Ontario! It's been a long, snowy and brutally cold winter; let's hope the dig season starts mild and reasonably dry.

Late January saw a successful partnering with the Ontario Museum Association. The two sister societies offered a two day workshop on Working with Archaeological Materials. Seventeen participants, the majority from the museum sector, benefited from the expertise of Judy Logan, Senior Conservator, Archaeology, of the Canadian Conservation Institute, Elizabeth Peloza, Ruth Freeman, from Blue Sky Design, and our own Neal Ferris, southwestern Ontario Ministry of Culture Archaeology representative.

Seeing as we were all confined to indoor activities, the OAS suite was host to a Passport to the Past opportunity for six weeks. Fourth-year University of Toronto student, Stacey Hodder led a congenial group of enthusiasts in the mending and cataloging of the items from two sites. The exchange of information and casual learning ranged from the discovery that different types of ceramic ware told different stories, through the skills of labeling to several sessions of show and tell.

I shifted my schedule those nights so I could participate too. It was engaging to see novices to archaeology enjoy the pleasure of learning something new on a weekly basis.

Our second report to The Trillium Foundation will be out the door by the time you receive this issue of *Arch Notes* and the annual report and application to the Ministry of Culture for the Society's annual operating grant will be well under way! It's always an interesting exercise to review how specific funding assists the Society in its endeavours. Have a great spring!

Jo Holden, Executive Director

OHS Spring Bus Tour

Explore Peterborough's Heritage

Monday, May 5, 2003,
(leave Toronto approx. 8:45
a.m. - return approx. 6:30
p.m.)

Return luxury bus coach to
Peterborough

Canadian Canoe Museum
Hutchison House
Lang Pioneer Village

\$65 OHS members,
\$70 non-members
(includes bus transportation,
all admission fees, lunch, and
afternoon coffee)

Registration is required by
April 14. For further info or to
register call 416.226.9011

O A S A W A R D S C R I T E R I A

H E R I T A G E C O N S E R V A T I O N A W A R D

T H E J . N O R M A N E M E R S O N S I L V E R M E D A L

The J. Norman Emerson Silver Medal is intended to be awarded on occasion to an outstanding Ontario non-professional archaeologist whose work has been consistently of the highest standard, who has made an exceptional contribution to the development of Ontario Archaeology and who has earned acclaim for excellence and achievement. It is the highest honour the Society can bestow. Closing date for nominations, July 1st, 2003.

T H E K E N Y O N C I T A T I O N O F M E R I T A W A R D

The Ian and Tim Kenyon Memorial Award is intended to be awarded to Ontario non professional archaeologists who have made an exceptional contribution to the development of Ontario archaeology, and who has earned acclaim for excellence and achievement. Next to the J. Norman Emerson Award for Lifetime achievement, it is the highest recognition that the Society can bestow. Closing date for written nominations is July 1st, 2003.

Criteria for both the J. Norman Emerson Silver Medal and the Kenyon Citation of Merit Award:

- 1/ The nominee must have been a member in good standing of the OAS throughout the period under consideration.
- 2/ The nominee must have made a significant contribution to archaeology in Ontario as suggested in the following guidelines: i) The nominee will have published work, preferably, but not restricted to, Ontario Archaeology, Arch Notes and/or chapter newsletters; and/or ii) The nominee will have been active in chapter and/or Society executive or committee work; and/or iii) The nominee will have made substantial contributions to the advancement of the goals of the OAS through Public Education and/or community outreach programs; and/or iv) the nominee will have made outstanding contributions to the understanding of Ontario's archaeological record through active field-work, conservation and/or research of the highest caliber.
- 3/ While it is intended that this award recognize the contributions of private scholars, professionals will be considered if it can be demonstrated that their contributions are clearly independent of professional requirements and capacities.

O T T A W A C H A P T E R - O A S T H E P E G G Y A R M S T R O N G P U B L I C A R C H A E O L O G Y A W A R D

This award was created to recognize efforts and outstanding contributions of individuals, groups or institutions in the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of archaeology for a public audience in or about Ontario.

Eligibility:

Nominations must be presented by an OAS member. Individuals, groups or institutions can be nominated. Nominees shall have contributed significantly to promoting archaeology of & in Ontario as defined below.

Award Criteria:

The reach in audience the nominee has achieved. Innovation in the design, delivery, materials and volunteer involvement. Development of enduring public archaeology resource materials. Number of years of service in public archaeology. Scope of events, partnerships and sponsorships brought together to promote public archaeology.

Definition of Public Archaeology:

Encourages and assists both individual and collective efforts to foster, elevate and advance the ethical practice of archaeology. Stimulates interest of the general public in the study of archaeology through the use of displays, demonstrations, workshops, volunteer training in excavation techniques, site tours and the development of educational programmes and materials. Encourages the exchange of information and ideas and fosters co-operative partnerships for promoting awareness of cultural resources and heritage presentation.

Closing date for written nominations is August 15, 2003:

Send to Selection Committee, Peggi Armstrong Public Archaeology Award, The Ottawa Chapter - OAS, P.O. Box 4939, Station E, Ottawa ON K1S 5J1

PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUMMER 2003

*The Ontario Archaeological Society
and the Town of Richmond Hill
have partnered to offer two unique public archaeology programs.*

DAY ON A DIG

Participate in this popular day long archaeological experience. This is the third summer this program has been offered. The day begins with an orientation of the history of the McGaw Site, a 15th century Iroquoian village and continues as a "hands on" excavation experience.

Three dates have been set aside:

Sat. July 5	9:00 am to 4:00 pm
Sat. July 19	9:00 am to 4:00 pm
Sat. Aug 9	9:00 am to 4:00 pm

Please dress appropriately for rain or shine and wear closed toed heavy shoes. Participants between the ages of 12 and 16 must be accompanied by a participating adult. Bring a picnic lunch.

Location: Richmond Hill, Ontario

Age: 12yrs and up

Fee: \$45.00 per person

For more information and instructions regarding registration please contact
(905) 787 1441 ext 224

Adult Learning Vacation

A week long archaeology experience for the individual looking for a "learning" vacation. Working on a 15th century Iroquoian village participants will engage in excavation, site survey, lab activities and daily wrap ups of site events. A visit to an off site educational area will be arranged for one day during the program and a special guest lecturer will also visit this program.

Please dress appropriately for rain or shine and wear closed toed heavy shoes. Bring a lunch.

Location: Richmond Hill, Ontario

Age: 19 years +

Fee: \$350.00 per person

Week of: Mon. Aug 18 through to Fri. Aug.22, 2003

Further information and registration instructions please contact (905) 787- 1441 ext 224

The Fear Of Death

A Unique Inscribed Iron Knife Blade From The Petun Country

Charles Garrad

FIFTY-SEVEN whole, or partial but typable, iron trade knives of European origin have been found on fifteen reasonably securely dated village sites in the Petun area. Each knife is assumed to be of the same date as the village in which it was found. Knives at the GBP1-2a MacMurchy BcHb-26 site were exclusively confined to the latest, the GBP2a, component (Bell 1953). This is presumed to apply to all GBP1-2a village sites. In the Petun area, GBP2a is interpreted as circa AD 1600-1616.

The present sample confirms the validity of the six knife types established in 1969 (Garrad 1969), and also that the Type 1 Clasp Knife (a.k.a. folding, swivel, pocket, switch and jackknife; "jambette" per Brébeuf 1637:119-120) is exclusive to GBP3 (circa 1625-1650) and likely to the later years within GBP3. Type 1 knives were found at GBP3 Ste. Marie I (Kidd 1949:XLII 'B', possibly 'H' with the transverse flange removed; Jury & Jury 1954:XI'a'3), and the Neutral GBP2-3 Robitaille and GBP3 Dwyer, Hamilton and Walker sites (Fitzgerald 1992:201,229). The earliest known reference to Type 1 knives is to the "jackknives" found in the GBP3 (AD 1636) Ossossane Ossuary (Kidd 1953:367). No references are known to Type 1 knives in Ontario prior to this 1636 date. Father Brébeuf mentioned "petite cousteaux qu'one appelle jambettes" as if they were a novelty in 1637 (Brébeuf 1637:119-120).

The two diagnostic criteria for a Type 1 knife are related to its ability to open the blade from its case or handle, and to fold it back into place. These are both at the distal end furthest from the point, and comprise a swivel hinge pin, and a "small horizontal

flange at the swivel end" (Hagerty 1963:107), "a horizontal transverse flange" (Quimby 1966:68), or "lug" (Fitzgerald 1992:196) on top of the blade at the far distal end, or "butt" (Quimby 1966:68), which holds the blade firmly against its case when open. Swivel hinge pins have been found in Wisconsin with brass washers on them and still in place (Mason 1986:199), but are often missing entirely, being represented by a hole through the blade, which it formerly filled. That the overall blade shape, particularly that of the tip at the proximal end, are not criteria at this (pre-Dispersal Ontario) time is just as well, as the tips are often broken off. Five of the six specimens from the GBP3 Plater-Martin BdHb-1 are so broken. The presence of a thumbnail groove, to aid opening, would itself be an indicator that the blade was made to be opened, and therefore a Type 1. The writer knows of only two Ontario blades possessing this feature, both from the Petun country. One of them is the subject of this paper.

The typical Ontario pre-Dispersal Type 1 blade, as illustrated by Garrad (1969:5,6 'A','B') and Fitzgerald (1992:196,201) has a top blunt edge reasonably parallel for most of its length to the lower sharp edge, both edges turning toward each other at the proximal end to make a point fairly near the centre of the blade, sometimes a little above the centre, as with specimens from Ste. Marie I (Kidd 1949:XLII 'B') and Walker (Fitzgerald 1992:201), sometimes a little below, as with specimens from Dwyer (Fitzgerald 1992:201) and Plater-Fleming (Garrad 1969:6 'A'), but all conforming to Hagerty's illustrated description "leaf-shaped" (Hagerty 1963:105'J',107). It may be that from

these pre-Dispersal variants evolve, by the continual further divergence of the points toward either the upper blunt edge or the lower sharp edge, the two predominantly post-Dispersal types described as "sharply pointed", "sword-point" or "sword-pointed", and "shaped somewhat like the bill of a hawk" or "hawk-bill" (Fitzgerald 1992:106-7,201; Mason 1986:199-200; Quimby 1966:68).

A "sharply-pointed" specimen found in Ontario was certainly in a post-Dispersal context, circa 1700 Ojibwa (Wright 1967:56,91,94-95 Plate II fig.31), and a fully developed "hawk-bill" knife was found at

text (Jury & Jury 1954:30,93,XI`a'3), but its "hawk-bill" shape could not have evolved from the leaf-shape, as both shapes are here contemporary. The cheapness ("small value") of knives given to Indians was established as far back as Cartier (1924:60,176).

Having determined that Type 1 knives did not appear in Ontario before 1636, and the hawk-bill shape not before ca.1639-1949 (the dates of Ste. Marie I), and were cheaply made for trade, a specimen will now be reported from the Petun GBP1-2a McAllister BcHb-25 site which contradicts all these

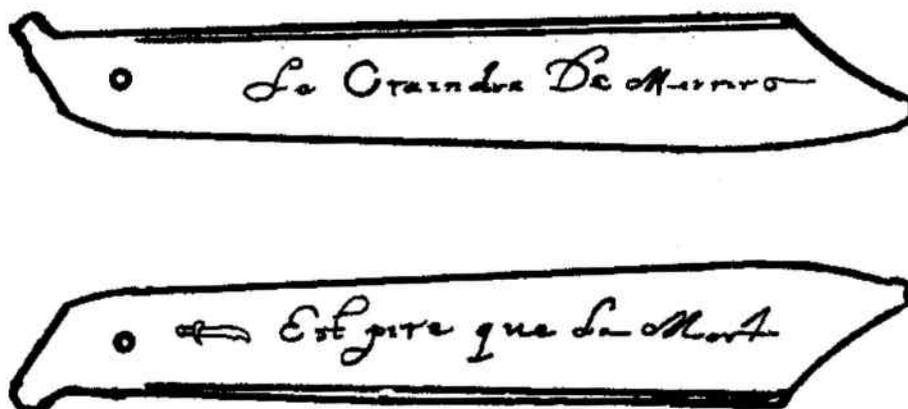


Figure 1. Inscribed knife-blade from the McAllister site (BcHb-25) - actual size.

GBP3 Ste. Marie I (Jury & Jury 1954:XI`a'3). The illustration of the latter specimen is unfortunately unaccompanied by a scale, but when enlarged two times it is found to fit precisely over a blade from Wisconsin dated 1670-1730 (Mason 1986:200 Pl.14.41, #2 enlarged to scale). The occurrence of a usually later blade form at such an early date raises the question of whether this was a unique advanced new style of Type 1 trade knife, or perhaps the personal property of a Frenchman made in a style still outside that of cheap knives purposefully made for trade. Information that might bear on this question, such as the part of Ste. Marie, native or French, where this blade was found, is not available from the

premises. It is totally unique, like no other knife found so far in Ontario (Figure 1).

The subject blade is here termed a knife because it has both criteria established for Type 1 iron trade knives, a "horizontal transverse flange at the top of the butt of the blade, and a hole through the blade at the basal end" (Quimby 1966:68). This hole at the basal or swivel end formerly accommodated a pivot pin. John "Jay" Allan Blair, who both found the specimen and donated it to the Royal Ontario Museum (979.181.44) in 1979, always insisted it was a razor. This was because of the blade's unusual extended length and expanding shape, the hawk-bill

tip, evident superior quality compared to the average trade knife, thumb-nail grooves on both sides to assist the blade to be opened with either hand, incised decoration, French text, and a different tactile feel when handled from trade knife blades of presumably "inferior metal" (Jury & Jury 1954:113). However, it is visually unlike the presumed "steel razor blade" from Ste. Marie I (Jury & Jury 1954:113, Plate XIIIa5).

Vincent Vertolli, on first examining the blade in the Earth Sciences Department of the Royal Ontario Museum under moderate magnification, readily observed the presence of incised decorative elements, on one side a scroll, on the other a dagger, and also a continuous text in French on both sides of the blade, read by turning the blade over.

The French text is no longer legible to the naked eye, but under higher magnification, Vincent Vertolli was able to read "Le Craindre De Meurir Est pire que La Mort". He translated this to "The Fear of Dying is Worse than Death Itself". Unique in itself, the text is all the more so because it commences on one side of the blade and continues on the other. The first segment "Le Craindre De Meurir" is closed with a scroll, and the second "Est pire que La Mort" commences with a dagger. Judging from extant examples of early 17th Century handwriting, which features flourishes, exaggerated loops and added symbols, the inscribed text is in a writing style probably typical of the period.

Vincent Vertolli comments that „Le Craindre De Meurir Est pire que La Mort" is from the Latin phrase "Timor mortis morte peior". This appeared in English as "The fear of death is worse than death" in the book "The Anatomy of Melancholy" by Robert Burton (1577-1640) first published in 1621. Some of the other aphorisms (e.g. "Birds of a feather flock together") can be attributed to earlier Greek and Roman sources, but the particular "The fear of death is worse than death" is usually attributed to Robert Burton and to his 1621 book, although it

could have originated in an earlier time (Vertolli 2002). Petun archaeology provides additional information concerning this possibility.

If the McAllister knife is presumed to belong to the period of occupation of the McAllister BcHb-25, and its nearby twin MacMurchy BcHb-26, village sites, both dated by Garrad as GBP1-2a, terminal circa 1616, then the McAllister knife blade is not only very unlike its nearest relatives, the Type 1 trade knives, in almost every physical attribute, but it arrived some twenty years before them, they being exclusive to GBP3, commencing in 1636

1616 was the date that Samuel de Champlain, with Father Joseph le Caron and "some Frenchmen" (Champlain 1929:95, 1932:278), perhaps some or all of the nine or so musketeers with whom Champlain had but recently returned to Huronia after attacking the Iroquois, visited eight or more villages in the Petun country. These villages must have existed at the time, and included the McAllister BcHb-25 site. The European trade goods already reaching the McAllister BcHb-25 and MacMurchy BcHb-26 villages did not include Type 1 knives, and would never do so. A possible explanation for the deposition of this singularly unique and probably treasured object on the McAllister site at circa 1616 is that it was left there by one of Champlain's party.

The evidence of the McAllister BcHb-25 village site in the Petun country ca. 1616 is that Robert Burton did not originate the aphorism "The fear of dying is worse than death itself" in 1621, but that it is from an earlier time.

Thanks go to Dr. Mima Kapches, Senior Curator-Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, and Vincent Vertolli, Assistant Curator-Geology, Department of Earth Sciences, Royal Ontario Museum, for providing access to, and an analysis of this unique specimen from the Petun McAllister BcHb-25 site.

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to keep up the population of their own villages. This loss was very great, and entailed the complete ruin and desolation of the Neutral nation; the inhabitants of their other villages, which were more distant from the enemy, took fright, abandoned their houses, their property and their country; and condemned themselves to voluntary exile... Famine pursued these poor fugitives everywhere, and compels them to scatter through the woods and over the more remote lakes and rivers, to find some relief from the misery that keeps pace with them" (JR 36:177).

When a year later the same Father recounted the fate of the family of Louis Honare'enhak, from the Petun Deer village of Ekarenniondi, among the Neutrals, he implied that none had escaped at all: "They had fled far away among those peoples whom we used to call the Neutral Nation, all utterly destroyed by Iroquois enemies; some burned by flames, others killed by iron; the rest, boys and girls, led away into wretched slavery" (Jones 1909:plate opposite p.153, translated by John Steckley in Garrad 1998:8).

Thus, the populations of the two destroyed Neutral villages were incorporated into the Iroquois, principally the Seneca. The inhabitants of other villages scattered to unstated destinations, their immediate imperative being to obtain food. Father Ragueneau's continuing account, written in Quebec, that "Some others, who were more fortunate and escaped from these ruins, have gone toward New Sweden, to the South; others have gone toward the West, and others are on the way hither, to join our Huron colony" is usually interpreted as applicable to the dispersing Neutrals, but this is not clear, because the subject of the paragraph is "Those of the Hurons who, when their country was ruined, had turned their steps toward the Neutral nation". It was these Hurons (and Petuns) who "were assailed by the same misfortune; some were killed on the spot, while others were dragged into captivity... Some others, who were more fortunate..." (JR36:179). It was the Hurons who were allies of the Andastes in New Sweden, the Hurons and Petuns who were related

to the peoples who had 'gone toward the West', and at that time only Hurons were in the Huron colony at Quebec.

Father François du Creux (Du Creux 1952 II:567) bequeathed to us a similar interpretational dilemma by his ambivalent style. He stated "The Huron refugees were either killed or enslaved. Others of the Nation made their way southward to New Sweden", but again it is not clear from the larger context whether he intended 'Others of the Nation' to be the Hurons or the Neutral. Father A. E. Jones, however, (1909:442) was not at all ambivalent. He edited Father Ragueneau's words in such a way as to almost emphasise that it was a few of the Hurons among the Neutrals, and not the Neutrals themselves, who "escaped to the Andastes, or directed their flight toward the remote west, while a certain number journeyed down to Quebec and joined the Huron colony already established there".

The Neutral relationship with the southern tribes such as the Eries, and those of the Andastes-Susquehannock confederacy (Jennings 1978:363) speaking an Iroquoian dialect at the time when the Neutrals were still neutral, is not certainly known. That the Jesuits in Huronia viewed the Neutral Nation as "a main gateway for the Southern tribes" (JR16:253) was probably because of the long-standing Huron-Andastes alliance. A formal Neutral-Andastes alliance was not recorded until 1652, following an Iroquois defeat at their hands (JR37:97; Jones 1909:448). By this time the Neutrals were no longer neutral, but committed to a war of survival against the Seneca and their Iroquois Confederacy allies. The legend 'Attiouandarons' on Sanson's map (1656) well south of Lake Erie is accepted by Marian E. White (1978:410) as indicating the post-Dispersal location of a remnant of the Neutrals. A map by Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin (1683?) reportedly corresponds (Wright 1963:56,85). Why the removed Neutrals in Andastes territory would there be known by the name they were called by the Hurons, while their former land north of Lake Erie is marked 'Neutres ou

Attiouandarons', is not explained. Given the meaning of the term, it probably is intended for the Andastes, who are not otherwise indicated.

James H. Coyne (1895:19) accepted that it was Neutral rather than Huron-Petun refugees who went 'toward the West' and "united with the remnant of the Hurons at Mackinac and on Lake Superior" (JR38:294). Andrew F. Hunter (JR5:279) reduced this only to Mackinac, perhaps because the western Wyandot migration route at this time was not through Lake Superior but Lake Michigan (Tooker 1978:398-399; see also Jones 1909:449). Reuben Gold Thwaites found Coyne's unsubstantiated interpretation plausible enough to quote (JR38:295). Coyne himself later concluded "The details of the expulsion are not as completely recorded or as precise as we would wish" (1916:22). Rowland B. Orr (1913:18, 19) purported to record an oral tradition from "among the remnant of the Neutrals who had escaped from their enemies and fled to the regions south-east of Sault Ste. Marie", presumably some of those who 'fled to the west and northwest'.

David Boyle interpreted finds at Elora as left by Neutral refugees who in 1651 "fled up the Grand to join the remnants of the Hurons" (Templin 1964:9). That the Grand River was a 'great highway ... from earliest times' and gave access via portages to further regions, including duplicate portages to the headwaters of the River Thames, is accepted (Hunter 1927:265-266; Templin 1964:8). This, then, would appear to have been the probable route taken by the Neutral refugee group later found in southern Michigan, in this paper termed the 'second group', whose future it was to become the Senecas of Sandusky.

Any Huron-Petun or other refugees who went south toward New Sweden, or east to Quebec, at least went to known localities. Any that were seeking the migrating Petun-Huron Wyandots who had gone west had the added difficulty of locating people on the move through strange lands along the Upper Great Lakes. This surely adds to the probability that the seekers were themselves the

Petun-Huron Wyandots who had earlier sought refuge in the Neutral country (JR36:179; JR45:243), but as they were no longer safe there, were now intending to return to relatives they had previously left. The small number involved might account for the total lack of mention of them in the later Wyandot record.

More certain is that the close of 1651 found the former Neutral Nation divided into two groups. The first group comprised those captive among, adopted into, and being absorbed by, the Iroquois. The second group was displaced refugees, moving via the valleys of the Grand and Thames Rivers towards the Michigan side of the Detroit River, to eventually come under Seneca jurisdiction but remain independent, in Ohio.

"The Seneca ... took a leading part in the defeat and subjugation of the Neuters in 1651 and of the Erie in 1656" (Hewitt 1910 2:505). The Seneca were the closest of the Iroquois Confederacy tribes to the Neutrals both geographically and linguistically (JR21:314-5, citing Morgan; JR33:109). The Seneca were also the most able to benefit politically within the Iroquois League by becoming a larger tribe (Hewitt 1910 2:502). They were assisted by the Mohawks (JR38:63). Neutral captives of the first group were later recorded in villages in the territories of the Onondaga (JR41:103; Jones 1909:449), and unspecified Iroquois (JR45:207; Jones 1909:449-50), as well as, and principally, the Seneca (JR54:81,85; JR57:193; Jones 1909:450).

The first group, the earlier captives, is the best documented, and memory of their Neutral identity and origins lingered among them the longest. The Seneca-led attacks of 1650 and 1651 on the Neutrals, and at other times on other peoples, for the purpose of obtaining captives for forced adoption, were successful. An 'exceedingly large' number of Neutral and other captives were forced "to follow the Iroquois to their country" (JR36:177). Yet by 1668 these people, technically still prisoners of war (JR52:19), were allowed considerable tolerance, even to travel away from Iroquois terri-

tory to Quebec and Montreal. In three years “more than two hundred persons from the country of the Iroquois” were instructed at the Huron Mission, Quebec. These included “A poor woman of the neutral Nation” (JR52:19). In 1671, a village of nominally Iroquois Christians near the Lachine rapids housed Iroquois, Hurons, Andastes and Neutrals (JR55:35; Jones 1909:450). That these people had in less than two decades become adopted, adapted and committed Iroquois, and that peace negotiations were in process, of which the formal peace Treaty of Montreal in 1701 would eventually result, hardly seems sufficient explanation for the casual and relaxed attitude now shown toward them by their captors. It was as if as adoptees they had served a purpose. Because of them, the Seneca had become “the largest tribe in the confederation and one of the most important” with vastly expanded territories. By 1657 the Seneca had “incorporated eleven different tribes into their body politic”. While this number must have included both the adoptees of the first group, and the second group settled in Ohio under Seneca jurisdiction, the enlarged size of the Seneca tribe allowed it to force a restructure of the Confederacy League in their favour, to obtain ‘coveted privileges and prerogatives’, and to place two additional Seneca Chiefs on the Confederacy Council (Hewitt 1910 2:502,505,506). At the cost of the Neutral and other subjugated tribes the Seneca achieved political goals within the Confederacy by sheer weight of numbers. If this occurred by 1668 the ‘prisoners of war’ had indeed served their purpose and earned the considerable liberty which they were now given.

Father Jones (1909:450) concluded that the mention of Neutrals in the village near Montreal in 1671 was the last in the Jesuit records: “Their name was obliterated but their blood still courses in the veins of many a reputed Iroquois or Huron”. However, there are other records. According to Gordon K. Wright (1963:58, citing Bryant 1890; also Coyne 1893:33), in the 1780s, ‘a man of influence and character among the Senecas’, John Kenjockety, was known to be of Neutral ancestry. Of this man, Arthur C. Parker wrote: “Many of

the conquered Neutrals were not absorbed for several generations and as late as 1800 Sken-dyuh-gwa-dih or Beyond-the-multitude, whose Indian name had been anglicized to John Kenjockety, lived with his family on Kenjockety creek within the present limits of the corporation of Buffalo. Kenjockety was a Neutral and the fact was well known”. Kenjockety died ‘at an advanced age’ in 1808 (Parker 1919:14-15). Kenjockety is a relatively common name now among the Senecas of New York State, at least on the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations. The name was sometimes spelled ‘Scajaquada’, hence current maps of Buffalo identify the creek as Scajaquada Creek, and commuters in Buffalo travel on the Scajaquada Expressway (Abler pers. com. 2002).

Arthur C. Parker himself could claim Neutral ancestry. Elizabeth Parker, his great-grandmother, his father’s father’s mother, “was in direct line from the famous Wolf clan family of the Neuters in which had rested the exalted title of Ye-go-wa-neh (Mother of Nations), a name that goes far back into the days of tradition”—this would make her a direct descendant of the Sky Woman of the Iroquoian creation myth (Parker 1919:42,46). Associated with the title Ye-go-wa-neh (Mother of Nations) is the personal name Ji-kon-sa-seh. Both title and name passed to Caroline G. Parker, sister of Ely S. Parker, and Arthur C. Parker’s great aunt. By then she had become Caroline Mountpleasant, having married a Tuscarora of that name (Parker 1926:136-7, plate 20). The girl illustrated by Morgan (1851:148) ‘Gä-hah.-no, A Seneca Indian Girl in the Costume of the Iroquois’ is the same Caroline Parker (Abler, pers. com. 2002). A photograph of Caroline G. Parker, taken from a ‘slightly before’ 1850 daguerreotype, was more recently provided by William N. Fenton (1978:308), with the caption “Fig. 15. Caroline G. Parker, sister of Ely S. Parker, wearing then-traditional Seneca clothing made by herself...”. Photographs have been published of several members of the Parker family, including Arthur C. Parker himself. The Seneca Parker family not only retained knowledge of their Neutral ancestry for more than two centuries, but also has provided

photographs of Seneca people with known Neutral blood.

The second group is not well documented. It came into existence when the numbers of subjugated Neutrals and other peoples became so large that the practice of adopting them into Iroquois families and villages became impractical.

Until the 1650s, the Iroquois continued the traditional practice of adopting captives into families. When the numbers of captives taken among the Hurons, Petuns and then the Neutrals, and other tribes, became grew too large to be absorbed by Iroquois families, these were given their own partial or whole villages, in Iroquois territory. These together comprise the people of the first group, above. The influx of captives resulting from the conquest of the Neutrals, Eries, and others, was beyond the capacity of Iroquois families and villages to absorb by traditional means and necessitated another strategy. These were settled in Ohio, „dependent on the Seneca and dwelling on lands under the jurisdiction of their conquerors%0 (Hewitt 1910 2:506). The group, which probably included the most Neutrals, became known as the Senecas of Sandusky, not because they were Senecas, but because they were under Seneca jurisdiction. Another group, the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee, was settled at Lewiston. Although physical removal and absorption had hitherto been the practice, this was not a specific requirement of the Great Law in bringing foreign nations 'into the Great Peace'. It was sufficient that conquered nations cease war, surrender their weapons, and undertake to "observe all the rules of the Great Peace for all time to come". The Great Law provided for conquered nations, allowing them to remain unabsorbed, and to retain "their own system of internal government" (Parker 1916:9-10). It would seem the Ohio groups benefited by this provision.

The composition of both groups in Ohio, the Senecas of Sandusky and the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee, were mixed. Marian E. White (1978:502) gives the dominant segment

among the Senecas of Sandusky as Cayuga. Sturtevant (1978:537) believes these Cayuga were invited to Sandusky "perhaps at the invitation of those Senecas, or of the Wyandots, whose land the Indians considered this to be". That the territory of the Senecas of Sandusky was considered to be Wyandot surely indicates that the Wyandots were present in, and probably a substantial component of, the new mix. Hewitt (1910 2:506) suggests the Senecas of Sandusky were "largely subjugated Erie and Conestoga", but cites a statement that "They were Cayuga - who were Mingoes - among whom were a few Oneidas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Tuscarawas, and Wyandots". The French trader and explorer Nicolas Perrot (1864; chapter 14, cited by Orr 1913; Blair 1911:150) had called the Neutrals 'Huron neutres' and 'Hurons de la nation neutre', which would seem to imply they were Wyandots. A separate group, the former western Petun-Huron Wyandots, who had removed first to the Detroit Valley after the Treaty of Montreal of 1701, and who thus were not captives, and on to Ohio, became the Wyandots of Sandusky. These remained distinct and independent from the Neutral Wyandots among the Senecas of Sandusky, who were subject to Seneca jurisdiction. However, until divided by frontier politics, the various disparate groups in Ohio evidently all got along with each other, testifying to common mutual interests, and possibly common ancestries. Interaction between the groups was continuous, with a consequent continual lessening of their differences.

With a large number, perhaps the majority, of known Neutrals already residing as captives in Iroquois New York territory, comprising the first group, and the former Neutral identity of any minor groups which had dispersed independently in various directions already lost in oblivion, and the question arises: where could the second group of Neutrals have come from to become the Senecas of Sandusky?

In July 1653, 800 Neutrals were reported at Sken'chio,e in southern Michigan, planning to join the Petun and Algonquins at "A,otonatendie,

three days journey above the sault Skia,é. towards the south" (JR38:181). At this time the migrating Petun-Huron Western Wyandots were in Wisconsin, not Mackinac as suggested by James H. Coyne (1895:19). The proposed joining did not occur, and the 800 Neutrals were never heard from again (Jury 1977:21). "This is perhaps the last historical mention of the Neutrals as an independent body" (Hewitt 1910 2:62). Where these people had come from, and how they had travelled from their Neutral homeland to Michigan is nowhere stated. It is suggested above that they had travelled to Michigan via the Grand and Thames Rivers.

The question now changes to become not so much where did the Neutrals of Michigan, and then Ohio, come from, as where did the Neutrals of Michigan in 1653 go? Rowland B. Orr (1913:19) cannot be correct in suggesting they all amalgamated with the Tionnontates (Petun) to "become known as Wyandots". The logical probability surely is that the Seneca, rather than face a continuing threat posed by a reorganised combined Petun-Neutral-Algonquin army, interposed to offer these Neutrals a better deal, which would end the war, allow them to remain in or near the own country instead of removing west, and reopen contact with their removed relatives now in Iroquoia. That they acknowledge Seneca sovereignty, actual or nominal, and the requirements of the Great Law, was an acceptable price. These Neutrals and others who had accepted the same offer became collectively The Senecas of Sandusky. All this was unknown to the French at the time and hence was unrecorded. The French trader Nicolas Perrot later wrote vaguely that the Iroquois compelled the Neutrals (Huron neutres) to abandon their own country ('Detroit') and "settle in the Iroquois country" (Perrot in Blair 1911:149-150; cited by Orr 1913:19, footnote). As James Coyne (1916:22) summarised the event: "Large numbers near Detroit chose to submit to the foe and to remove to the Senecas".

During the next century Seneca jurisdiction over their subject tribes in Ohio became increasingly

nominal. "Although in 1750 the Confederacy Council at Onondaga denied the independence of the Ohio Indians ... it is clear that in the 1760s and 1770s the Iroquois in New York had very little influence or control over those in Ohio" (Sturtevant 1978:537). The Senecas of Sandusky and the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee were soon free to go their own way. Again, as with the people of the first group who travelled away from Iroquois territory to Quebec and Montreal, it was as if the Senecas proper, having attained their goals, now lost interest in their subjects' peoples, freeing them to pursue their own future and make treaties in their own right as sovereign nations. The reasons for this change in attitude may be several, but before the approaching colonial frontier became the pre-eminent threat it seems that the earlier Seneca obsession of acquiring adoptees far beyond their ability to absorb had long since ceased.

By 1817 (Treaty of Maumee Rapids), and again in 1818 (St. Mary's), groups of the descendants of originally diverse ancestry now in Ohio were inferentially recognised by colonial authorities as sufficiently organised and united to be regarded as tribes in their own right, able to treaty, and be granted Reserve land. The Senecas of Sandusky obtained a Reserve on the Sandusky River not many miles north of the Wyandots' Grand Reserve ((Sturtevant 1978:537; Hancks 2002). It might be expected that any lingering memories of separate ethnic or group origins, if not already entirely extinct, would have been politically incorrect and suppressed in such circumstances. By 1908 it was even forgotten why they were called Senecas (Hewitt 1910 2:506).

Other Reserves established in Ohio were for the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee at Lewiston, and the Wyandot. The three groups constantly interacted, intermarried and mixed, in the process their separate pre-Dispersion origins, ties and memories became further lost, and always secondary to the new threat of the ever-approaching colonial frontier. People moved freely from one reserve to another. In the 1770s, Wyandots were recorded

living with the Mixed Band (Hancks 2002).

The flip side of being recognised as tribes separate and distinct from the Senecas of New York is that while the latter were able to resist removal, the Senecas of Sandusky, and the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee were not. Some of the Mixed Band moved to Indian Territory (Kansas) in 1826. In 1832 the remainder, and the Senecas of Sandusky, moved to Cherokee lands in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), the latter to become the Senecas of Oklahoma. The Wyandots of Sandusky remained in Ohio until 1843 and then removed to Kansas, accompanied by Wyandots from both the Michigan and Ontario sides of the Detroit River.

Illustrative of the degree to which ancient tribal origins had become mixed, when the news reached Oklahoma that the Wyandots still in Ohio had sold part of their Grand Reserve in 1836, no fewer than 58 of a probable total of fewer than 300 members of the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee claimed to be actually Wyandots and thus entitled to a share in the proceeds. In 1841 the enrollment in the Shawnee Indian Manual Labor School, Kansas, included two Wyandot boys (Hancks 2002).

When the remaining Wyandots from Ohio and Michigan, with some from Ontario, arrived in Kansas in 1843, they were probably well received and helped by the Wyandots, who were already members of other bands. Interaction between the former Wyandots of Sandusky (now of Kansas), the Senecas of Sandusky, and the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee (now of Oklahoma), resumed and continued, for a while, as it had in Ohio. In 1846 a group of Iroquois from New York State, including Senecas, arrived in Kansas, but mostly returned to New York the following year (Abler and Tooker 1978:511).

When the Wyandots of Kansas found themselves split over the proposal to terminate the Tribe and accept U.S. citizenship in 1855, the Wyandot Tribal Council sent a deputation to the Senecas of

Oklahoma, among whom a few Wyandots were already living. This resulted in an invitation from the Senecas of Oklahoma (Tooker 1978:403) for those Wyandots in Kansas opposed to losing Indian status to move to their lands. In 1857 the Wyandot Emigrating Party moved from Kansas to Seneca lands in Oklahoma with the assistance and support of the Tribal Council, which remained in Kansas and retained jurisdiction over them and their treaty payments. The Senecas of Oklahoma not only accepted them but also proposed to cede part of their Reserve to the new arrivals by a Treaty in 1859. This was not consummated due to the intervention of the Civil War, during which many of the Oklahoma Wyandots, if not all, returned to Kansas, but then drifted back to Seneca lands afterwards. Negotiations began anew and, in 1867, the Senecas ceded 20,000 acres of their Reserve to the Wyandots.

In 1867 the U.S. government confirmed the land transfer, known since as the Wyandot Reservation, and provided for the continuation of the Wyandot Tribe of Oklahoma with the right to re-adopt into the Tribe any dissatisfied new citizens in Kansas. The 'citizen class' people who moved to Oklahoma were formally readopted and regained Indian status in 1872 as the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma. Sturtevant (1978:538) observed that at the time of the 1867 Treaty, "all former distinctions between the Sandusky and Lewistown 'Senecas' ceased". Jurisdiction of the Wyandot Tribal Council in Kansas over the Wyandots in Oklahoma also ceased.

The new circumstances of the various restructured Kansas and Oklahoma groups soon made any former ties and memories of common ancestries surviving from Ohio and ancestral Ontario quite irrelevant. When the senior author visited the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma in 1975 and spoke to the Annual Council about their Canadian and Ontario origins, there was surprised disbelief. Only one elderly matron was found who knew her ancestors had come from Canada, and even she was thinking of the Anderdon Reserve south of Windsor in the Detroit Valley. The hope of learn-

ing if the acceptance by the Senecas of Oklahoma of the Emigrating Wyandots of Kansas was rooted in an ancient Neutral-Petun relationship, proved over-ambitious. There was no memory further back in time than Ohio, and the people I asked did not even know why their ancestors had removed to Oklahoma from Kansas in much more recent times.

When in Oklahoma in 1975, the senior author also visited the Seneca of Oklahoma, and was rewarded by meeting Minnie Thompson, the last local Iroquoian-speaker, Elder and Matron trying to retain anything of the culture. She was in despair because of the lack of interest in the language and culture by the younger generation. She had never heard of the Neutrals, and knew the Wyandots only as the people down the road. Each year a group of traditional dancers, singers and drummers visited from the Six Nations Iroquois Reserve, Ontario. She looked to them, not the Wyandot, as 'her' people, and to the Six Nations, particularly the Seneca, of New York and Ontario, as the nearest relatives of the Oklahoma Seneca.

At the time of the visit, William C. Sturtevant's summary of the history of the Oklahoma Seneca (1978:537-543) was not yet available. His account of their Ohio origins mentions the Wyandot, but not the Neutral specifically, and his description of them as "the descendants of Iroquois from several tribes who moved into Ohio during the eighteenth century and of subsequent Iroquois emigrants from Ontario and New York" may or may not include the Neutral. The complex history of the Senecas of Oklahoma community includes the later migration, circa 1870-1881, of some Ontario and New York Iroquois families of which the continuing tie to the Ontario Six Nations is a result (1978:539).

Thus, the Senecas of Oklahoma may have inherited ancestral Ontario Neutral blood from both captive groups. The arrival and acceptance of the Ontario and New York Iroquois families indicates that there was still communication between the eastern and removed groups at the time. This is

capable of several possible and opposite explanations. When they were still in Ohio the affiliations of the Senecas of Sandusky (now of Oklahoma) "were never with the Iroquois, but rather with tribes usually hostile to them" (Hewitt 1910 2:506). Their acceptance of what would seem to be former enemies might be for a number of reasons, among them because all memories of the former enmity were forgotten, or from the intention of effecting a reconciliation, or that the families who came were not enemies at all, but still recognised as relatives, themselves descendants of captives who had been incorporated. It is now too late to determine the truth of this, and whether the presumed blood tie related to a common Neutral ancestry. The principal author's association with some of the people of the Ontario Six Nations Iroquois, Wyandots in Kansas and Oklahoma, and the Senecas of Oklahoma represented by Minnie Thompson, leads to the belief that no memory remains at all of the complexity of their multiple and shared ancestral origins. Many of these people may carry Ontario Neutral blood, but do not know it, and would probably reject the suggestion.

In 1976, when the Grimsby AhGv-11 Ossuary was being salvaged in the former Neutral territory of Ontario, local American Indian Movement activists staged a sit-in occupation in the Royal Ontario Museum and a 'citizen's arrest' of the archaeologist Dr. Walter Kenyon. When their leader was asked if he had consulted the Wyandot about this action, he was puzzled at the writer's association of the Neutrals with Wyandots. His position was that other Indians must take care of Neutral remains because the Neutrals themselves were extinct.

As early as the 1700s Pierre F. X. de Charlevoix, cited by Gordon K. Wright (1963:55), reported: "no trace is left of the Neutral nation". Marian E. White added that "No remnants are identified at a later date" (1978:410). But as James V. Wright (1966:93) pointed out, because possibly the majority of the people were adopted, it was their status as an independent tribe, a cultural develop-

ment, that was destroyed, not a people. It was "as a national entity, (that) the great confederacy that occupied southern Ontario in Champlain's time has vanished forever from the soil" (Coyne1916:23).

The largest pool of Neutral blood and genes today would appear to be among the Six Nations Iroquois, particularly the Seneca. Those Senecas who chose to accompany the Mohawk Joseph Brant to Ontario in 1784 left larger numbers of other Senecas behind in New York. At the time, some memories of ancestral origins remained. It

was known, for example, that Joseph Brant, was descended from Wyandot prisoners adopted by the Mohawks through both his parents (Norton 1970:105). Possibly, those Seneca who elected to move to Ontario were, and knew they were, of Neutral ancestry, consciously returning to their ancestral Neutral homeland. If this was so, memories of the reasons for this decision are now as lost among the present Seneca of the Grand River as is the ancient Neutral identity itself.

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At the time of the visit, William C. Sturtevant's summary of the history of the Oklahoma Seneca (1978:537-543) was not yet available. His account of their Ohio origins mentions the Wyandot, but not the Neutral specifically, and his description of them as "the descendants of Iroquois from several tribes who moved into Ohio during the eighteenth century and of subsequent Iroquois emigrants from Ontario and New York" may or may not include the Neutral. The complex history of the Senecas of Oklahoma community includes the later migration, circa 1870-1881, of some Ontario and New York Iroquois families of which the continuing tie to the Ontario Six Nations is a result (1978:539).

Thus, the Senecas of Oklahoma may have inherited ancestral Ontario Neutral blood from both captive groups. The arrival and acceptance of the Ontario and New York Iroquois families indicates that there was still communication between the eastern and removed groups at the time. This is

capable of several possible and opposite explanations. When they were still in Ohio the affiliations of the Senecas of Sandusky (now of Oklahoma) "were never with the Iroquois, but rather with tribes usually hostile to them" (Hewitt 1910 2:506). Their acceptance of what would seem to be former enemies might be for a number of reasons, among them because all memories of the former enmity were forgotten, or from the intention of effecting a reconciliation, or that the families who came were not enemies at all, but still recognised as relatives, themselves descendants of captives who had been incorporated. It is now too late to determine the truth of this, and whether the presumed blood tie related to a common Neutral ancestry. The principal author's association with some of the people of the Ontario Six Nations Iroquois, Wyandots in Kansas and Oklahoma, and the Senecas of Oklahoma represented by Minnie Thompson, leads to the belief that no memory remains at all of the complexity of their multiple and shared ancestral origins. Many of these people may carry Ontario Neutral blood, but do not know it, and would probably reject the suggestion.

In 1976, when the Grimsby AhGv-11 Ossuary was being salvaged in the former Neutral territory of Ontario, local American Indian Movement activists staged a sit-in occupation in the Royal Ontario Museum and a 'citizen's arrest' of the archaeologist Dr. Walter Kenyon. When their leader was asked if he had consulted the Wyandot about this action, he was puzzled at the writer's association of the Neutrals with Wyandots. His position was that other Indians must take care of Neutral remains because the Neutrals themselves were extinct.

As early as the 1700s Pierre F. X. de Charlevoix, cited by Gordon K. Wright (1963:55), reported: "no trace is left of the Neutral nation". Marian E. White added that "No remnants are identified at a later date" (1978:410). But as James V. Wright (1966:93) pointed out, because possibly the majority of the people were adopted, it was their status as an independent tribe, a cultural develop-

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IN MEMORIUM Margaret Watson



Members of the Ottawa Chapter of the OAS were saddened to learn of the death, on January 2nd, 2003, of Margaret Watson. Margaret was a founding member of the chapter whose presence and contribution could always be depended upon at meetings, symposia, digs, Public Archaeology Days and social events. She is survived by her husband Gordon and their children John, James, Elizabeth, Kathleen and David.

Margaret held a degree in Science from the University of Manitoba and an M.A. in Science from the University of Western Ontario. During World War II she worked for the Inspection Board of the United Kingdom and Canada, testing artillery and small arms ammunition at Valcartier, Quebec. After the war, she accompanied her husband to postings in Dayton, Ohio and Washington D.C. In Washington, where Gordon was serving as Defence Science Attache to the Canadian Embassy, her role was to entertain and attend social affairs on an almost daily basis.

Margaret was a vibrant lady of many interests. In addition to gardening and genealogy research, Margaret was a partner in many of Gordon's archaeological investigations. Her service to her community included delivering Meals on Wheels for nearly 30 years and entertaining at senior citizens homes as part of a rhythm band. In addition, she was active in St. Aidan's Anglican Church, Ottawa.

At her funeral, Father Francis Whitton spoke of the afterglow of a long life, lived fully. Margaret's smile and personal warmth, her interest in people, and love of family, life and the natural world will long be remembered by those of us who knew her.

We extend our deepest sympathy to Gordon and the Watson family.

Lois King

From an email message...

"I am presuming that you will be looking for an image of the late Margaret Watson...

I am sending along this one taken at the Green Site in August 2001. I am sure Margaret was capable of refined dress and appearance, but this is how I will remember her; diligently working her square. I remember how she would pop her head up from her square to remind Gordon Watson that it must be lunch time. Gordon would say, "not quite yet" and she would get back down into the square to continue working. No more than two minutes later - I swear - Gordon would call out "12 o'clock, its time for lunch". I learned much from Margaret, about persistence, about dedication to task, and about devotion to a partner. I will miss her.

Rory MacKay

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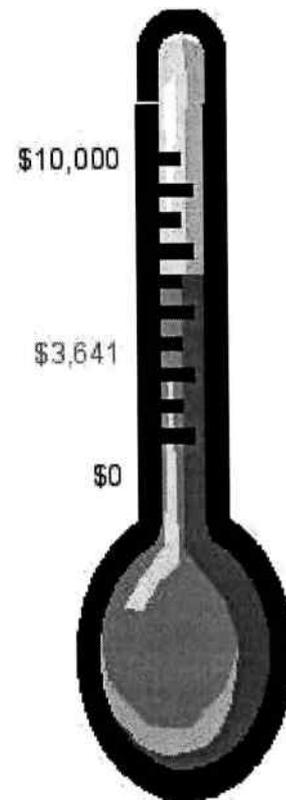
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