Fall 2016

The Maniwaki Wampum Group: A History

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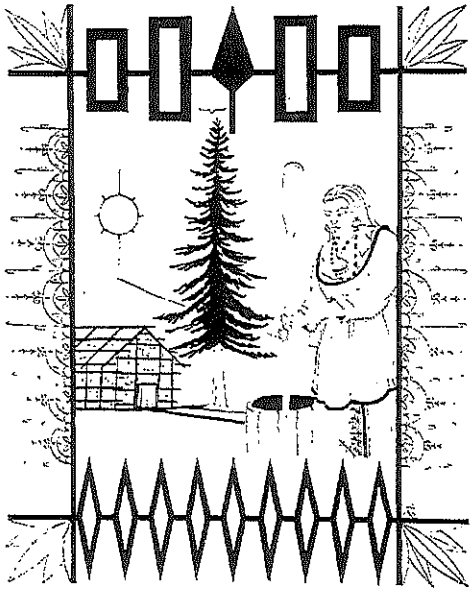
IROQUOIA
The Journal of
the Conference on Iroquois Research



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ABSTRACT:

Although the Algonkian speaking peoples generally were marginal to the Core Area of wampum diplomacy, an important group of four belts and a "hand" of wampum has been associated with the Anishinabeg band of Algonquin for perhaps as long as 170 years.[1] Four of these five items, collectively called the "Maniwaki" wampum, had been held by the elder named William Commanda for more than 40 years. His recent death, at 98 years of age, has renewed interest in the processes that relate to the maintenance and transmission of cultural (communal) property. Among various Iroquoian groups there is a long history, dating back to at least 1750, of communal wampum becoming private property (see Weiser 1851; Becker 2013b).

The Algonquin "Maniwaki" case revives interest in this topic as these examples of wampum are now in private hands. A review of the possible origins, individual identification and history of the "Maniwaki" wampum offers instructive information regarding how these cultural properties were preserved and how they can be identified. This Algonquin example also illustrates

traditional ways of holding communal property that have led Native as well as non-Native peoples to believe Heckewelder's opinion regarding a formal role of "wampum keeper" and idealized stories regarding how cultural property was tended in the past. This study applies to wampum as well as to cultural property held by, or lost from, Aboriginal groups throughout the world.

INTRODUCTION:

In 2011, as I was preparing a draft of a study of the history of what Heckewelder called "wampum keepers" (Becker 2013b, Forthcoming) several colleagues sent me notice of the death of the respected Algonquin elder William Commanda (11 Nov. 1913 - 3 Aug. 2011). At the time of his death Commanda held three wampum bands and probably a "hand" (a cluster of strings, also a "bunch") of wampum, having taken charge of them during the last decades of his life (see Becker 2006, also 2001). This small group of wampum items was part of a five piece collection that had come to be called the "Maniwaki wampum" after the name used for the area in Quebec that is part of an Algonquin reserve known as Kitigan Zibi (Maniwaki = Land of Mary). Kitigan Zibi is home to the Algonkian band known as Anishinabeg. The memories of the elders suggest that this small collection of wampum had been together since the middle of the 1800s. These pieces, although few in number, form an unusual and extremely important collection that merits study. How these five items passed to Maniwaki, then out of and back to this reserve (except for one belt) is a complex tale that is the focus of this paper. The goal here is to gather what is known about these five items, particularly to attempt a basic description of each, in order to identify them as accurately as possible.

William Commanda's death renewed interest and concern in matters relating to the communal (tribal) ownership of the Maniwaki wampum belts and hand, and to trace the supposed chain of custody of these objects. This recent event reveals a great deal about supposed wampum keepers and the supposed workings of transfer of community property through time. The matter of the ownership of the Maniwaki wampum had not been publicly discussed during Commanda's lifetime or even

immediately after his death, but a great deal of private discussion among people who do not wish to be identified has followed this event. Rumors were many and they continue to proliferate. The purpose of this review is not to suggest any specific course of action relating to matters of custody, but rather to trace the history of these pieces based on all available evidence. The evidence includes oral reports regarding the history of these items prior to their first documented appearance together, as seen in a photograph that may date from 1918 to 1920.

Another and more general concern of this research relates to matters concerning any persons to whom the care of tribal wampum, as a communal property, has been delegated. The basic issue of a formal charge as might be conferred by the elders, as distinct from taking *de facto* care of wampum, is made vastly more complex by a lack of concern for the identification or recognition of what specific items constitute that communal property. Thus, it is not surprising that in the few publications of what is called the Maniwaki wampum (Rickard 1973, Einhorn 1974) we find that there is no clear statement of the numbers of pieces, and detailed and scholarly descriptions of the specific examples are omitted. Of great importance in this discussion is the fact that we have available to us only the most basic observations made in 1970 of only four pieces. Since few people agree on how many items constitute the group of wampum called "Maniwaki" and do not describe them specifically, the Einhorn publication (1974) offers a crucial link in the history of these items. Basic facts regarding these important wampum artifacts have been difficult to assemble. The absence of detailed studies for these wampum remains a problem (but, see Becker 2006), and actual histories are even more rare (but, see Feldman 2011). Here I attempt a listing of this small collection as well as to provide a history of what is known about these five pieces that constitute the Maniwaki wampum.

At one point in their history the Maniwaki group of wampum was in the hands of the small community at Lac Barriere, some ninety miles (150 km) north of Maniwaki. In a photograph probably taken there about 1918-1920, a group of twenty-one people of all ages is depicted. This photograph is used on the Lac Berriere web site, but with the exception of a reply from Frank

A. Meness, my attempts to secure any information from several people in this community have gone unanswered. Three individuals in the front (two men and a boy) hold and display all five of these pieces of wampum. This is the earliest and only known record for all five pieces constituting the Maniwaki wampum, and certainly the best evidence for them as a group. This circa 1920 photograph, therefore, is used here as a reference for the number and description of these four belts and a "hand." They are presented below as they appear in the photograph, from left to right.

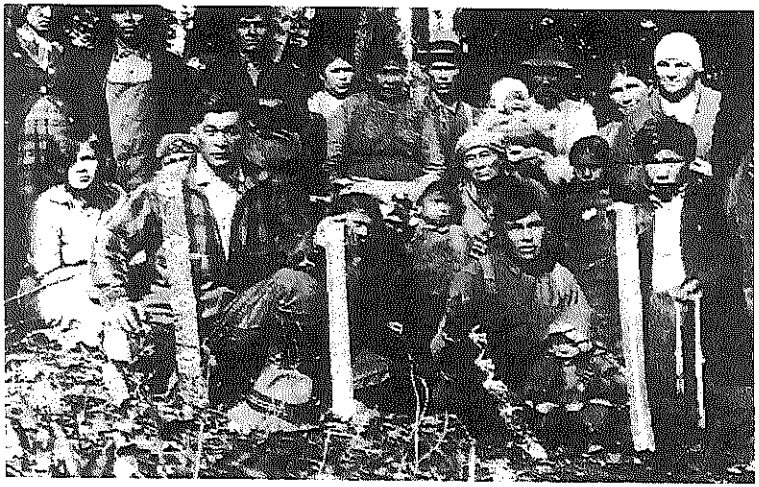

Fig. 1. The five Maniwaki wampum pieces, possibly at Lac Barriere about 1920. The members of this community shown here have yet to be identified. From a copy held by J. Lainey (with permission).

Included in my descriptive listing of these five pieces of wampum are the various names and measurements published over the years by individuals offering bits of information. Note that none of the estimates of lengths and bead counts were based on laboratory inspection or even close review, but rather on Einhorn's efforts to provide some descriptions of these items, even if seen only briefly. None of these five items has ever been studied, but a photograph of the four belts taken in 1929 or 1930 on the Rickard farm suggests that the fourth belt had been brought to New York by one of the Canadian visitors (Rickard 1973). The caption to this photograph identifies the belt that I

call the "Single Path Belt No. 2" as being the longer of these two dark belts on which a "stripe" runs the entire length.

Einhorn (1974: 77) believes that the best illustration of the three belts held by Rickard appear in a privately printed work by Aren Akweks (1940), born Ray Fadden and also known as Tahanetorens. I have been unable to locate this specific version of the pamphlet, but Einhorn (pers. Com. 1 June 2016) believes that the several reprinted editions use less clear as well as different illustrations. Rickard's names for these wampum belts and the meanings that he associated with them may have been provided by others when the pieces were presented to him, or perhaps at a later date, but I suspect that they were his own creations. In 1950 excellent photographs were taken by Marius Barbeau of the three belts that were then still in Rickard's care, but the "hand" or cluster of strings was not included in this photographic record. Marius Barbeau (1883-1969), representing the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC; now the Canadian History Museum), identified and located these three of the Maniwaki belts and took photographs, without using a scale, as part of the Marius Barbeau Project. These photographs allow a much better description of these pieces than otherwise available. Each of these examples is identified on the CMC photograph catalogue card as follows:

> *Six Nations Grand Council wampum belt belonging to Tuscarora (Ska-ru-ren, Dus-ga'-o-weh-o-no') Indians. The belt in the keeping of Chief Clinton Rickard of Sanburn [sic], N. Y.*
> CMC Control J7622, 142-4, Dossier CD96-1196-025

Barbeau, unfortunately, did not photograph the "hand" of wampum held by Rickard in 1950. A "hand" of wampum is also identified in the literature as a branch, or bunch, and sometimes a "string" (see Becker 2008a, also 2012b). A hand consists of two or more strings of wampum that have been tied together at one end. The Maniwaki wampum hand is almost never mentioned at any point in its history, but fortunately Rickard (1973: 74) specifically states that he had received the hand of wampum, and I assume that he still had it in 1950. The "hand" appears in the earliest photograph of these pieces, but is difficult to describe from the photograph. The full list of the five items that constitute

the Maniwaki group follows, together with the best description that can be gleaned from the records. While far from providing the kinds of scholarly information that we might like, it is the best that can be done at this time. The order of presentation of these items is that seen on the circa 1918-1920 photograph, left to right, with my descriptions enhanced through examination of the Barbeau CMC prints (CMC Control J7622, 142-4, Dossier CD96-1196-025).

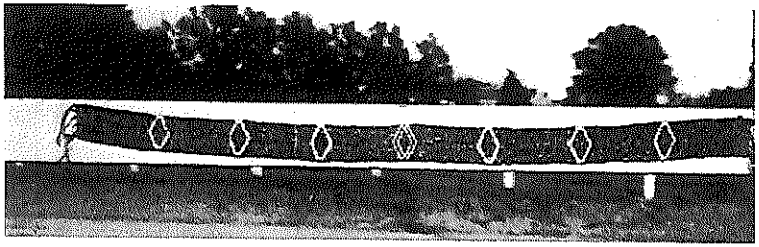

Fig. 2. The "seven-diamond" wampum band; the longest belt in the Maniwaki wampum group. From the Barbeau CMC print (CMC Control J7622, 142-4, Dossier CD96-1196-025).

"Seven diamond" belt: (also "Seven fires" or "Seven nations").

This dark belt, about 55 inches (140 cm) long and 7 cm wide (10 rows), is shown draped over the right shoulder of a young man apparently squatting at the front left of the photograph. Einhorn (1974: 79, Pl. VI, A) estimated it to be 4.5 feet long (270 files) and 10-rows wide. Rickard (1973: 74) suggests that it is "about seven feet long" and says that it "is known as the Grand Council Wampum Belt." The belt appears to me to be closer to 5.5 feet long, and the name offered by Rickard appears to be his own creation as it appears nowhere else in the literature.

The white designs on this dark or purple belt include six blunted "diamonds" forming elongate hexagons equally spaced, with three on either side of a central "double" diamond element. Some of the outlines of these diamonds seem to be only one bead wide, while others may be two beads wide. Each of the "hexagons" as well as the central "double" diamond encloses a dark, solid-diamond. The weft fringe appears intact on one, and possibly both ends.[2]

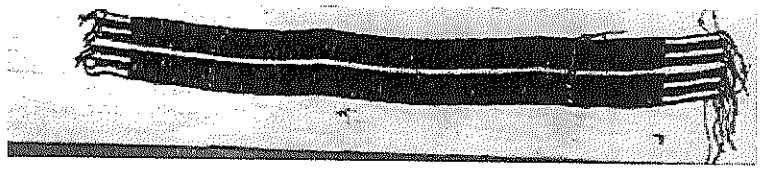

Fig. 3. The shorter "single path" or "one stripe" wampum band in the Maniwaki wampum group. From the Barbeau CMC print.

Single "path" belt: Dark 9-row (?) belt with 1-row (?) or "path" at its center, running the entire length.

This belt is held in the left hand of the male on the left of the circa 1920 photograph who has the 7-diamond belt on his right shoulder. I estimate the belt to be about 45 cm long (18 inches). Einhorn estimated that it included 150 files or columns of beads. Both ends have striped designs, horizontal with the long axis of the belt, formed by alternating rows of white beads between the dark, two on each side of the central white "path" and separated by one row from the central row. These end designs appear about 11 or 12 files long on the end where the fringe appears intact. The opposite end of the belt seems damaged, having lost the original fringe as well as perhaps 3 or 4 files of beads.

Einhorn believes that the white beads of these short stripes at the ends are actually formed using opaque white glass "Pony beads," with two in place of a space that normally would be occupied by a single wampum bead (Einhorn (1974: 79, Pl. VI, C). The use of glass beads, which has not been confirmed, would suggest that this was an ornamental belt and not a diplomatic band. As an ornamental band its presence among a tribe beyond the Core area of diplomatic wampum use would be more easily understood. On the other hand, if glass beads are found in these damaged ends of the belt they may represent an effort to repair it. Close examination of this band, and all the other pieces in this group, is vital to decoding the history of each. If glass beads are original to any example they might provide a means through which a date could be estimated for the assemblage of that example.

Rickard indicates that the belts that I identify as the "Seven Diamond" and "Three Person Cross" together with the "hand" were placed in his care before the single path belt arrived to join them.

> *A couple of years later ... I was given a small belt called the Peace Belt ... purple background with a white line running the whole length of the belt. At each end, there are four short white lines* Rickard 1973: 74

Rickard does not indicate from whom he received this belt, or in what year, or who if anyone identified it as the "Peace Belt." Einhorn (1974) offers some clues. Fortunately Rickard's description is sufficient to identify this as probably the band held by the man on the left in the 1918-1920 photograph. This belt is also the one most frequently depicted in photographs in the Rickard volume (1973). Rickard brought this belt to many official and ceremonial events, perhaps because it is relatively small and was in excellent condition.

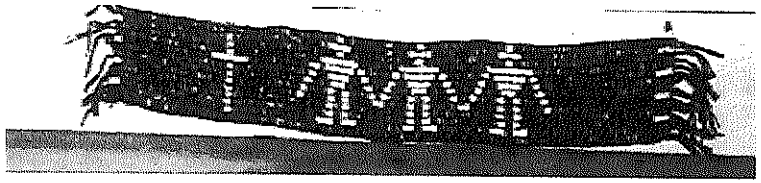

Fig. 4. The "Three-person-cross" band; a Maniwaki belt believed to have an origin with a religious group or order. From the Barbeau CMC print

Three-persons-cross belt: an Ecclesiastical belt.

This dark 13-row belt is held in the right hand of a young man seated center right in the 1918-1920 photograph. I estimate it to be 18 to 20 inches long (about 150 files of beads). The figures of three people are holding hands. Their feet stand on a dark row of beads along the "bottom" of the belt. The figures are nearly centered, but slightly offset from a very simple Latin cross that seems 11-rows tall, bounded at the top and bottom by a row of dark wampum. The thin cross almost certainly indicates that it is an ecclesiastical belt, with the three figures possibly referring to the three tribal communities at Oka where the belt appears to have originated (see Pizzorusso 2000, Becker 2006). Einhorn

counts five short parallel bars near each end of this example (Einhorn 1974: 79, Pl. VI, B), but I can discern only four on the end where the fringe is largely intact. The other, or cross end appears to have much more damage, but traces of at least three of the four parallel bars remain. Rickard (1973: 74) states that this belt "is known as the Hudson Bay Wampum Belt." This "name" may relate to the Hudson Bay Company post that had been established at Maniwaki, probably at a date before the Algonquin group who held these belts had located there.

Single Path Belt No. 2: This second example of a dark belt with a white stripe (path) down the center is held in the right hand of a boy who seems to be kneeling at the far right of the front row of the people in the circa 1920 photograph. It may be only 5-rows wide, but it might be up to 9-rows wide, and perhaps close to three feet in length. It is almost certainly longer than the other single-path belt (Rickard's "Peace Belt") that is illustrated; perhaps as much as a foot longer. That this belt is longer than the single "path" belt listed above, is also implied in the caption used by Rickard (1973) for the photograph from 1929 or 1930.

Hand of Wampum: In the Lac Barriere photograph the boy with the *Single Path Belt No. 2* holds, draped over the palm of his open left hand, what appears to be the tied or knotted area of a hand of wampum of which the individual strings are quite long. Einhorn provides no illustration but identifies this as a "Cluster" of wampum. Einhorn (1974: 79) simply describes it as "four white wampum strings approximately 12 – 15 inches in length" (approximately 30 to 40 cm long). In the only known photograph of this piece there seem to be more than four strings evident, but that is a detail that remains unconfirmed. Rickard (1973: 74) reported "I was also given [the care of] five strands of white wampum tied together." For comparison, readers may examine a five-strand "hand" from among the Mohawk that was donated in 1930 to the Heye Foundation (Heye 1930: 322, 324, Fig 76). The five strings of white wampum in the Heye "hand" all measure about 35 inches long. Each string of the Maniwaki hand has a small tassel at its outer end or tip, a common feature of wampum strings whether individual or bound together in hands.

In 2015 Einhorn provided me with faded color photocopies of pictures of the three belts taken after William Commanda had taken possession. These are distinct from those photographs that accompany Einhorn's earlier descriptions (1974: 79, Plate VI, A-C). Einhorn also provided a photographic portrait of Commanda taken in 1970 or 1971. The hand of wampum is not seen in any of the photographs in this collection nor was it mentioned in several communications from Einhorn.

ORGANIZING THE MANIWAKI HISTORY AND ORAL REPORTS

The recent discovery of an 8x10 inch photograph (Fig. 1) including all five pieces of the Maniwaki wampum and dating to perhaps 1918 to 1920 offers evidence for this group being together about that time. The present use of this same photograph on the website of the Lac Barriere community strongly suggests that it was taken while these pieces were at that location. This photograph provides key documentation enabling us to make sense out of the multiple and sometimes conflicting accounts known to refer to this particular collection of wampum. The process of decoding the record also incorporates the efforts of Pauline Joly de Lotbinière, who interviewed Commanda in April and May of 1989. She was concerned, as are many others, with questions related to Native narrative as distinct from what I would call scientific research. Joly de Lotbinière questions (1996: 95) "how to represent alternative notions of history." In this review I am concerned with numbers and descriptions in order to trace a documented history of the individual pieces in this unique group of wampum. These data may be or seem irrelevant to tellers of stories. The lack of concern for data as it relates to tales and oral presentations (as distinct from oral histories, which are very concerned with exactitude) does not mean that this study may yield results in disagreement with other narratives.

The Maniwaki wampum may be the largest known group of bands and strings that has remained together for perhaps 150 years! As such it is worth examining as an historical collection and for its importance in the community. Perhaps more interesting is that these items have been held and preserved by a

group from the Algonquin tribe, a culture on the fringe of diplomatic wampum use (Becker 2012, also 2005). Algonquin people are rarely reported in any historical documents as presenting or receiving diplomatic wampum (also cf. Speck 1919: 7; Joly de Lotbinière 1996: 97). There are a few belts of wampum that are claimed to have been associated with the Algonquin people (e.g. Keppler 1929). Lainey (2008: 402) has documented the development of the Algonquin use of wampum diplomacy in their contacts with the Huron. In particular, Lainey documents that after 1650, or about when the Huron were dispersed by Five Nations attacks, wampum use appears to have spread along with these Huron. Thus the Algonquin use of wampum in diplomacy must have been quite regular by the 1700s, and certainly by the period when these significant pieces came into the hands of this particular. The exact appearance of each piece, and their prior histories, remain questions of considerable interest, but possibly one that may never be answered.

The need for detailed descriptions for all pieces of wampum is particularly evident at this point. The Maniwaki wampum piece alleged to include glass beads and identified here as the first "Single Path" example, may have been an ornamental band, perhaps the personal property of someone in the Algonquin community. The longer single "path" example also may include glass beads and thus be in the same "ornamental" category as the shorter version. It is even possible that these two belts were a pair of "matching" bands used for ornamentation (cf. Becker 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2012b, 2012c). The Latin cross belt must have been presented by a religious group, but not necessarily by The Church. Documentation or comment on the origins or presentation of this specific band might be listed in some Catholic Church documents (cf. Becker 2001, 2006, 2012b). In examining the history of this important group of wampum we may find clues to the varied sources of these five items, but for now we are concerned only with understanding the information relating to this collection, and what their curation over the years tells us about wampum "keepers."

The origin point for the Maniwaki wampum as a collection is generally agreed in the verbal recall to have been at Oka, a

portion of the settlement that formed at the Lake of the Two Mountains near Montreal. The four wampum bands and a "hand," now collectively called the "Maniwaki" wampum (see Einhorn 1974: 76, 79; Becker 2006, also 2001) were said by Teresa Tenasco Meness (Mrs. Frank Meness) to have come along with a group of Algonquin who had been living at Oka before they relocated to the area of Maniwaki, perhaps in the 1840s (Einhorn: tape transcription; see Speck 1927: 242; also 1929).

Teresa Meness's narration places this collection of wampum in Algonquin hands, but does not confirm an Algonquin origin for the Maniwaki wampum. Precisely how these four belts and a hand originally came into Algonquin possession remains completely unknown. Tracing the origins of these five examples of wampum artifacts, as with all known wampum pieces, may seem nearly impossible, but careful documentation of each provides us with a basis for interpreting the sparse written records from which a clue may emerge. Even examples as distinctive as the two of these four belts that are particularly unusual in form have not yet yielded to a search for their origins (none of these four belts is included in Beauchamp 1901). Strings and hands are even more difficult to trace.

The Lac des Deux Montagnes mission area had at least three distinct cultures resident in relatively close proximity (see also Becker 2001). Kanesatake was the Mohawk name of the village settled circa 1721, with a separate area used by the Algonquin. The section of the "community" at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes that became known as Oka was occupied primarily by Algonquin and Nippissing peoples (Leroux 2009, cf. Day and Trigger 1978), while other Iroquoians occupied the portion specifically called Kanesatake (see Courville and Labrecque 1988, Trudel 2009, also Becker 2006). Of these three peoples, the Iroquoian Mohawk in general had been the most active participants in wampum diplomacy (Fenton and Tooker 1978). Although the Mohawk would seem to have been the most likely holders and presenters of quantities of wampum in that region, the Algonquin group resident at the Lac certainly had access to both diplomatic as well as ornamental wampum. They also may have received an ecclesiastical example from the Catholic

Church, or from other Native communities with whom they interacted.

Some combination of economic opportunities, religious differences with the Catholic Church, hostilities with other tribal groups, or even a split within their own group may have led some Algonquin to emigrate from Oka and relocate to the area of Maniwaki, at the confluence of the Desert River and Gatineau River at some point before 1850. An Oblate mission had been established there in 1843, and Joly de Lotbiniere (1996: 103-104) reports that the Hudson's Bay Company had established a post about that time. This post may have been an important feature attracting these Algonquin families. A formal Algonquin reserve called Kitigan Zibi, of almost 45,000 acres, was granted to this First Nation group in 1853. The western boundary of this tract lies largely along the Eagle River.

Teresa Meness recounted an important version of the relocation from Oka to Maniwaki, including some very traditional narrative elements. Her narrative places Frank Meness's great-grandmother, Mikonini (Beaver Woman) among the emigrants. Having forgotten the wampum, Mikonini returned to Oka alone in a canoe to retrieve them (Einhorn 1974: 75). Teresa Meness's account as told to Einhorn in 1970 may be compared with the account of the migration provided by William Commanda in 1989 to Joly de Lotbiniere nearly 20 years later. In the latter account, Commanda claimed that:

> *My great-grandfather on my grandmother's side was the one [Antoine] Paganowatik. He was the holder of the belts ... [and] when he died ... [his] son-in-law" then held the belts.*
>
> Joly de Lotbiniere 1996: 94-95, 104

This is the Paginawatick, "Thunder hit the tree," recorded by Einhorn (1974: 75). His grave is now marked by a large tombstone. Roy (1933: 15) identifies him as the chief at Maniwaki from 1854-1874. The son-in-law was Peter Tenasco and the dates 1873 to 1890 are often given for his tenure (see below). Peter Tenasco's brother John was the father of Teresa Tenasco Meness.

Clinton Rickard (1973: 73) offers a somewhat different narrative of how wampum passed from Oka to the Maniwaki area, and who held them. Since the Maniwaki wampum had been placed in his care by the Algonquins who cared for these pieces, his narration may be based on some historical data relayed to him. However, his narrative may be his own story, developed over the years when he held these items.

We still lack direct evidence that any wampum was held by these Algonquin people when they were based at Oka, nor that any was given or accrued to them while at Maniwaki. Teresa Meness's narration reveals that the wampum had been carried with the first comers to Maniwaki, but prior to the photograph of 1918-1920 we have no direct evidence for any of these five pieces of wampum at Maniwaki. However, the fact that these five pieces are featured in the front of a group photograph circa 1920 attests to their importance to this community. They are, in effect, presented in this photograph as if they were old and respected members of the family.

In trying to reconstruct the history of the Maniwaki wampum we turn to Einhorn's report, based on the narration by Teresa Meness as reported by Einhorn (1974). Her account suggests that just prior to 1893 a liberal faction at Maniwaki under Chief Peter Tenasco (Teresa Meness's uncle) accepted the terms of the Indian Act and did not see wampum as useful symbols of viable treaties. The inference here is that one or more of these belts, and the hand of wampum, had been received at treaty exchanges, none of which have been identified in the Canadian archives. The dates associated in this account with the Indian Act are problematical, but not important to the narrative. Again, we have no evidence that any wampum existed at Maniwaki in 1893 other than this oral history. Peter Tenasco is said to have arranged to transfer these wampum to the Rapid Lake Algonquin Band who were located in Parc de La Verendrye. Rapid Lake lies even further beyond the fringe of diplomatic wampum use but while these wampum were there, a respected leader, perhaps the elder named Nattoway or Nottaway was elected to care for them. "Some years later his [the elder's] grandson, Alex Nottaway, came to believe that his family personally owned the wampum belts" (Einhorn 1974: 76). This process of "privatization" is not

new, and not at all surprising, especially during the period when wampum artifacts were in great demand outside these Native communities.

About 1918, fearing that these belts might be sold, someone returned these five items to Maniwaki. Presumably this return was arranged by Frank Meness. In 1920 Prohibition was passed in the United States and various border difficulties developed as rum-running became a major industry. These developments, plus Canadian efforts to enfranchise people of the First Nations, created a host of new issues in Native communities. In this context wampum, already associated with cultural history, took on new meaning as symbols of traditionalist values.

Rickard reports that in the "1920s a man named Philip Nattoway had the wampum belts" at the Algonquin settlement at Lac Barriere, some 90 miles north of Maniwaki. His son Alex "used the wampum belts to stuff in the chinks of the cabin to keep the wind out" (Rickard 1973: 73). Frank Meness visited the cabin and took the wampum back to Maniwaki. Rickard's report relates to, and probably derives from that of Teresa Meness, and appears confirmed by the important photograph of 21 members of the Lac Barriere community together with the four belts and a hand of wampum. The claims made during the winter of 1969-1970 by representatives of "the Rapid Lake people" to ownership of the Maniwaki wampum, based on this former possession of the group, were dismissed (see Einhorn 1974:78, see also 80). Who held the missing fourth belt in 1970, and who holds it today, remains unknown.

In 1924 the Canadian Mounted Police raided the Six Nations reserve, allegedly confiscating treaty documents and wampum from a traditional Council House at Ohsweken. Deskaheh's role in these events are extensively documented in files relating to the Algonquin people. The reasons for this 1924 raid may have included new assimilation policies, but problems with bootlegging of alcohol were a factor (see Hauptman 2008: 134). Many Native peoples involved saw these raids purely as an assault on their sovereignty. That same year the United States Congress passed an immigration act that had the effect of disrupting traditional free passage of First Nations peoples across

the border. Clinton Rickard was the founder of the Indian Defense League and was very close to Deskaheh at the end of his life. Both were concerned with petitioning for an open border for First Nations' people and other causes. How these Native people were to be recognized or defined became the major issue, and the several Native positions on these matters remain to be worked out.

Einhorn (1974: 76) provides scenarios concerning how the Maniwaki wampum, in the hands of the Meness family and perhaps others, reached New York. Details regarding who actually held these wampum items before they came into the hands of Clinton Rickard (1882-1971) remain unknown. Einhorn (1974: 76) concludes that "the belts were taken to the Tuscarora Reservation in New York State in 1926 by Chiefs John Chabot, Michel Cote, Jim Brescoupi and Mr. and Mrs. Frank Meness." Clinton Rickard's own report on how he came to hold some of the Maniwaki wampum identifies the agents of transfer only as Mr. and Mrs. Meness.

> *In 1926, the Algonquins made me their wampum keeper so that the Indian agent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police would not seize the belts ... Frank Meness and his wife Teresa were the ones who brought these two belts across the border to me.*
>
> Rickard 1973: 73

A third belt from the Maniwaki group came to Rickard at a later but unstated date, adding another interesting question to the history of these items. We do not know who had been holding this band, or when it came to New York. Since this third belt that reached the hands of Clinton Rickard appears in a photograph from about 1929 or 1930 (see below), the holder may have delivered it at that gathering. Einhorn suggests (1974: 77) that the third belt was transferred to Rickard by Ignace Papate, Jacob Papate and Louis Machewan, but offers no further information. Fortunately, Einhorn (1974: 77) provides a summary of the various stories involving this "third belt" that went to Rickard. Einhorn also relates information about the various conflicts and several requests made regarding these objects by a wide array of claimants and interested groups. Einhorn also documents how,

after two belts and the "hand" held by Rickard were returned to the Meness family, this third belt was retained by Rickard in 1969. The third belt was retrieved by the Meness family from the Tuscarora reserve in early 1971 (Einhorn 1974: 78). Thus only two belts were "returned in the 1970 ceremony" while the third "was returned in 1971." In his review Einhorn does not review the "hand" of wampum, but proposes (Einhorn 1974: 80) that Aren Akwek's 1940 publication "did not mention the strings" that were part of the Maniwaki wampum group.

Shortly before his death in 1971, Clinton Rickard (1973: 73-74) claimed that he had been made the keeper of the Maniwaki wampum. He may have been referring to the fact that he became the *de facto* keeper when these artifacts were entrusted to him, and that he was not an officially appointed tribal overseer of the wampum. Who appointed him keeper and the circumstances of the "appointment" are nowhere described, but the list of individuals involved as described by Einhorn (1974: 84-85) provides a good indication that band elders were in agreement regarding the placement of these items with Rickard. Einhorn (1974: 85) also describes Rickard's use of these belts in political circumstances and their importance in Rickard's Pan-Indian activities. Rickard's important and successful role in caring for the Maniwaki wampum after 1926 reveals that he had been wisely selected by John Chabot, Michel Cote, Jim Brescoupi and Teresa and Frank Meness although no official position was recognized.

We do not know which two of the four Maniwaki belts were among the first to reach Rickard, along with the hand.

The third belt that came to him at a later date, possibly 1929 or 1930, may refer to what some call the "Seven Fire" (7 diamonds) band. Not only are we not sure which was the third belt but where it had been before Rickard received it also is not known.

THE FOURTH BELT

Only two photographs are known in which all four Maniwaki belts appear together. The 21 people who appear in the first, taken about 1918-1920, all remain unidentified, but the four belts

and the "hand" that comprise the Maniwaki wampum all are evident. The second early photograph that shows all four belts, but not the hand, was taken in 1929 or 1930 on the Rickard farm on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation (Rickard 1973: Plates). The caption to Rickard's photograph, which depicts a group of five men taken after the annual celebration of the Border Crossing event, states: "The long belt hanging on the string of corn at far right always remained with the Algonquins." This appears to be the "Single Path Belt No. 2" of my listing. Presumably one or more of the Canadian guests had brought it to "one of the early Border Crossing Celebrations." The guests who appear in the photograph are "Nonan Papate of Barriere, Frank Wabey of Baskatong, Moses Odjick of Maniwaki, Frank Meness of Maniwaki, and Louis Machewan of Barriere."

Not present among these men in this 1929 or 1930 photograph is the "man named Philip Nattoway [who Rickard said] had the wampum belts" at the Algonquin settlement at Lac Barriere, nor his son Alex. Note that none of the headdresses worn by these men are of the elaborate Plains Indian war bonnet type so commonly worn by Rickard when he is seen in other photographs in his autobiography.[3]

Of interest regarding various oral reports is that in 1987 William Commanda claimed that the four wampum belts were originally in the care of the River Desert Algonkian (cf. Speck 1927), but that one was lost when the belts were transferred out of Maniwaki in the late 1800s (Joly de Lotbiniere 1996: 100). Commanda had in his hands a print of the photograph in which all four belts and the hand of wampum are evident, but any comments on these items, or specifically on the now missing example, are unknown to me. Apparently all five pieces were still together around 1918-1920 and may not have been separated until 1926.

Significantly, no mention is made of the hand of wampum in any later references relating to the 1918-1920 photograph, nor is it mentioned in any of the many later narratives relating to the Maniwaki group. The sole exception appears in a single comment included in Einhorn's study. This comment was attributed by Einhorn to the "Mohawks who were present at the

formal return of the belts in 1970 [when they] defined the strings as the 'heart and fire' of the Algonquins" (Einhorn 1974: 80). In putting all this information together it is important that Einhorn also recounts in his narrative (1974: 78) that about 1971 "Commanda's father-in-law, a man [then] near ninety, remembered afterward that a long time ago there had been five belts (he had seen them as a boy, but could not describe them) in the original group of Maniwaki wampum."

This unnamed elderly man was, in fact, perfectly correct in his recollection of the number of wampum artifacts he had seen. There were indeed five *items* in the Maniwaki group, one of them being a hand. Terminological confusion between strings and belts has been a problem since the 1600s. Quite commonly "hands" of wampum, and perhaps even single strings, are called "belts" in the literature (cf. Lainey 2004: 104). Use of the terms "belt" and "strings" as equivalences even appears in modern essays (e.g. Muller 2007). In the case of the remembrance of Commanda's elderly father-in-law, who recalled the presence of "five belts," the equivalence between the "hand" in that group and the belts is quite clear to me! The photograph from Lac Barriere verifies the existence at that time of five pieces of wampum, a fact recalled somewhere between the years 1970 and 1974, or some 50 years later by an unnamed gentleman. His name and exact age at the time of his recall remains to be verified.

Einhorn (pers. Com. 2016) recalls that the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Meness, Ann (Meness) Printup, had lived with the Rickards at Tuscarora when she was a child, and that a later date, the Meness family lived with the New York Tuscarora for over two years. The specific years and any particular reasons for these extended stays are not known. How this period of residence may relate to the Meness's concern for the Maniwaki wampum is not known. The conveyance by the Meness family of two belts and a hand to Clinton Rickard for their safety, and then the later arrival of a third belt accounts for four of the five pieces of Maniwaki wampum. The fifth piece, a remaining belt, is identified in the Rickard (1973: Plates) caption as having "always remained with the Algonquins." The lack of specificity regarding the identity of this belt may reflect the traditional care for tribal, or band,

wampum – being collectively owned, without necessary concern for any specific family or individual with whom the wampum were lodged. A lack of specificity also may conceal a sale of this belt to someone outside the community, and the unwillingness of members to reveal that act. Commanda's narrative regarding the history of this collection (Joly de Lotbiniere 1996: 105-113) ends when the four wampum items were sent to "the original holders of these belts." In 1989 he stated "And they handed them to me. So, I'm still holding them" (Joly de Lotbiniere 1996: 114).

In Joly de Lotbiniere's 1989 interview, Commanda clearly confirmed that he was holding (all of?) the Maniwaki wampum in the traditional fashion, but not "keeping" them. Unfortunately the traditional system of collective stewardship of wampum has, since at least 1750, been subject to appropriation through privatization (Becker 2013b, Forthcoming). With an individual associated with wampum in the modern world, questions of ownership can easily become contested. In 1989 William Commanda was still vigorous and active and probably not concerned with matters of ownership. By the time of Commanda's death in 2011 no provision had been made for the transfer of the wampum in his care. As an older person, I am not alone in being remiss in updating a will to determine what becomes of my material goods. Matters of ownership of cultural property, such as the Maniwaki wampum, re-emerged upon his death; matters that may involve state and national legal systems. Tribal societies have no means to adjudicate claims to private property, and perhaps have no legal authority to lay claim to communal property.

The status of those Maniwaki wampum pieces in the hands of William Commanda in 2011 remains unresolved to this day. Exactly which items he held, and their individual histories, are basic facts that are now of interest. For this reason information on their history has been assembled here. An important event in this history is an amendment to the Immigration Act of 1924 passed on 2 April 1928. This amendment permitted freedom of border crossing rights to Indians (cf. Rickard 1973: 87). Celebration of this victory was planned for 14 July 1928 in the cities of Niagara Falls on both sides of the border. Large numbers of Native peoples came to celebrate. Rickard (1973: 88)

reported, 40 years later, that a group from Maniwaki brought with them "several very old and fine wampum belts which had remained hidden with those Indians for over a hundred years." This element of the celebration is nowhere else reported but it may refer to belts that I've numbered three and four of the Maniwaki group of wampum. These belts that were said to be "hidden," if they even exist, may have nothing to do with belts three and four of the Maniwaki group. Several scenarios regarding how one of these belts remained with Rickard ("Belt 3") are incorporated in Einhorn's article (1974).

Arthur Einhorn's (1974) important eyewitness account of the transfer of four of the Maniwaki wampum pieces provides much of what we know of this part of their history. Rickard had retained custody of four items of wampum (three belts and the hand) until Teresa Meness, in October of 1969, retrieved two belts and probably the hand and secretly took them back to Canada. The story of the other or third of the three belts ("Single path No. 1) being retained by Rickard until it was collected in 1971 by an emissary from Maniwaki is known only from the Einhorn account. Further details are unknown. It would appear that two belts, and probably the "hand," were kept at Teresa Meness's home during the winter of 1969-1970. Einhorn (pers. Com. 3 March 2015) states that while he was visiting at Maniwaki in 1970 "She pulled out from under her bed the same old satchel that I had seen that winter long before" (at Clinton Rikard's in 1954-1955, Einhorn pers. com. Oct. 2007; also, see Becker 2013a). This old satchel and its contents, the Maniwaki wampum pieces then held by Clinton Rickard had been seen by Einhorn at Rickard's home during the winter of 1954-1955. Teresa Meness had not yet reveal her possession of these pieces of wampum to anyone, and she:

> *'laughed about it, because Wm was saying the belts were stolen by Rickard. She stated she could get the belts any time she wanted...' having them already under her bed.*
>
> Einhorn, pers. Com. 3 March 2015

THE FORMAL TRANSFER

At Maniwaki in Quebec Province, about 10:30 that night in 1970 at a well-attended formal ceremony, Teresa Meness together with her daughter Ann Meness Printup turned these belts over to a group of Algonquins that included William Commanda. The ceremony was held at a newly built "Long House" (Big House) near Lake Bitobi [Abitabi] (Einhorn 1974: 74-79; cf. Becker 2006: 108-109; also 2001). Einhorn says that he was a witness to the transfer of two belts and a "multi-cluster of white wampum strings." Apparently the third belt ("Single path No. 1") remained with Rickard until 1971. The possibility that this belt was retained as part of a debt has been suggested by several informants who did not wish to be identified. Where the fourth belt ("Single Path No. 2) was in 1970, and where this belt that is nearly three feet long (some 5 to 9 rows wide) is today, remains unknown.

During the period of this transfer in 1970 the Rapid Lake people made efforts to get the Maniwaki wampum turned over to them, based on their claim to have held these objects at some point in their history (see Einhorn 1974:78). This was only one of many claimant groups who would like to take possession of a valuable resource; valuable for both historical importance and cash worth. Some Onondaga groups and the people still at Oka all have interest in gaining possession of these wampum artifacts, claiming them as part of their cultural inheritance. The details of each of these requests might provide further information to this record but I have been unable to elicit even a polite answer to my requests let alone information pertaining to petitions for these items.

The final photographic plate in the Rickard autobiography (1973) is a portrait of Teresa Meness. The caption states that "she took the precious belts into her own custody, returned them to Maniwaki, and appointed a new wampum keeper from the Algonquin Nation." There is no other record suggesting that "a new keeper" had been appointed, or that there had ever been anyone among the Algonquin people identified with such a formal position. I suggest that this and other captions to the many plates in the Rickard volume may have been composed by

the editor, Barbara Graymont. The author of these captions appears to have assumed that the title of "keeper" existed. Teresa Meness died in the early 1990s, said to have been over 100 years of age (see also Becker 2006). I had no opportunity to meet with her, and did not meet members of the family until 1999 (Becker 2001, 2006).

In various ways the Meness family acted as informal guardians of the Maniwaki wampum belts and "hand," probably since the late nineteenth century if not before. They at no time appear to have claimed a formal title as "keepers" and such a title was not needed among these traditionalists. Their concern was with the keeping of these examples of wampum among their people, with a regard for the history and culture of these wampum and the people who held them in common. This research suggests that at no time has there been documented any formal pronouncement conferring obligations or rights in the care of these five wampum items, or those items that came under the care of William Commanda. In 1974 Einhorn (1974: 84) correctly indicated that there were originally five items in the Maniwaki group. If that fifth item, a long, dark belt, ever joined the four that had come back across the border – or where that piece now resides, remains unknown.

My perception, from reading the only account of the 1970 "public" transfer of the wampum at Maniwaki (Einhorn 1974), is that William Commanda was then the most thoughtful, reasonable and most reserved of the several people involved. Unlike others around him at that time, Commanda hesitated to make up tales and fables about the belts. Einhorn (1974: 80) stated that "Chief Commanda is the only one who has not projected a knowing interpretation of the wampum." By 1970 Commanda had long been recognized as a very skilled crafter, particularly noted for his ability to make canoes and other items associated with traditional culture (cf. Gidmark 1980). His political skills became evident during this relocation of these wampum items, and his successful appropriation of them during the night that they were transferred from the Meness family.

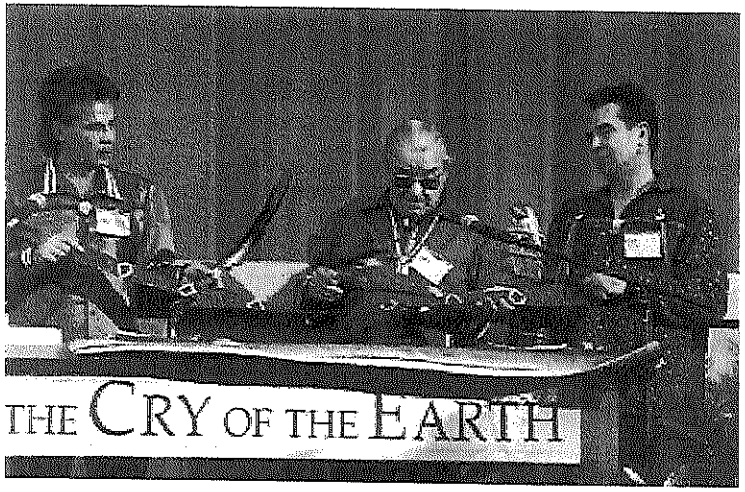

Fig. 5. Grandfather William Commanda (Center) - shows the Seven Fires Wampum Belt at the House of Mica (UN Headquarters, assisted by Frank Decontie (l) and Eddie Decontie (r). (UN Photos 184764/J.Issac).

William Commanda's later uses of the Maniwaki wampum items that he held, by the 1980s and 1990s, were for purposes that now appear to have been of his own choosing. Unknown to me are any possible uses that were entirely within any Native community. His orations during the many public presentations of one or more of these items came to involve references to spirits and visions. Those pronouncements and any interpretations of these several pieces of wampum were, of course, entirely a reflection of modern and contemporary politics, and entirely unrelated to any documentable early histories of these artifacts. His status as an elder and his being addressed as "grandfather" befitted his important position in the community in general. Concerns for the status of the belts began to emerge as he grew older, but his position regarding the care and use of these artifacts was increasingly documented on film and video. His personal decisions were, perhaps from the moment these wampum came into his care, essential to how they were used. If he made any verbal or written statements in which the Maniwaki wampum collectively were mentioned, I do not know of them. A review of Commanda's preserved public presentations and the

contents of his statements might provide us with a clearer understanding of any changes or developments in his personal attitude regarding these important cultural items.

Not surprisingly, some or all of these four wampum items (three belts and a hand) that came into the hands of William Commanda in 1970, appear to have remained there until his death. Commanda's view of these examples of wampum and his official role in holding them gradually became perceived as evolving towards the popular view of the duties of a "wampum keeper." To my knowledge, however, he never claimed such a role. During the long period between 1970 and August of 2011 the politics of Native identity, and the use of newly created histories of wampum continued to evolve (see Lawrence 2012: 41-42; cf. Lainey 2004: 3, n.6). The interview conducted in 1987 with Commanda (Joly de Lotbiniere 1996: 105-110) is useful in that it reveals attitudes of several scholars who are interested in what had developed regarding the Maniwaki wampum after 1970. What we can learn from the histories of these items has not been augmented by these examinations of recall rather than the documents that record the "biographies" of individual pieces of wampum.

In years after 1970 William Commanda, with the several pieces of wampum in his care, became an important representative and a center of attention in the extended First Nations community. He became a speaker much in demand during the period when wampum belts were becoming increasingly important as political items among Native American peoples. As Einhorn had predicted (1974: 84) Commanda took the opportunity to maximize personal gains from his position as an elder while also being a significant representative of First Nations peoples in general. After 1970 he was inclined to create stories to tell, or perhaps to recall things he did not previously recall. By the time of his death on 3 August 2011 Commanda had become a revered Algonquin elder. His narratives, or any oral histories relating to uses and biographies of wampum in general, and to the origins of any specific piece of wampum as he recounted them, appear to have gone almost entirely unrecorded. From an academic perspective a review of the audio and visual record of his presentations might offer insights into the history of

Commanda's group, and certainly would reveal the development of First Nations activities in modern Canada.[4]

Einhorn's 1970 observations relating to the transfer of the Maniwaki wampum (Einhorn 1974), his records of visit to Maniwaki and nearby cabins in 2002, and his long association with members of this community, led Danny Deleary to contact Einhorn on 1 Feb. 2012, following the death of William Commanda. Deleary identified himself as "the great-grandson of Teresa (Jojo) Meness, [and] son of Mary Elizabeth who was just a young girl living with her grandmother Teresa when" Einhorn visited with her at the Kitigan Zibi Reserve, Maniwaki, Quebec (1970). In 1999 Becker had met Mary Elizabeth and a second woman at a conference held in Burlington, VT. After my presentation they generously volunteered their recollections of the Maniwaki wampum, about which I then had no information at all. Of considerable importance is that they uniformly confused or associated the Maniwaki belts with the Vatican 1831 belt (see in Becker 2006), suggesting that various narratives regarding the functions of wampum belts had been confused. Of some significance is that in 1999 they seemed extremely concerned that the Maniwaki belts had been "claimed" (taken over?); a reference that I now believe related to William Commanda's transformation from a custodian into the "owner" of these items. However, it also is possible that they may have mistakenly believed that Clinton Rickard was the "claimant." Despite my extensive research with wampum, beginning in 1971, my limited sets of information included nothing about the Maniwaki group other than what I read in Einhorn's publication. My ignorance in 1999 prevented me from pursuing questions about this subject with Mary Elizabeth and the other very kind and eager reporters at that time.

Danny Deleary identifies the four examples of wampum that had been transferred in 1971 as "Algonquin wampum belts … entrusted by my grandmother and grandfather to" William Commanda. Deleary wrote to Einhorn out of concern that these items "are no longer in the possession of a person of Algonquin descent." Deleary was seeking photographs and any other documentation to help ensure that these belts could be identified and retained by the "Anishinabeg Algonquin people" (Deleary

2012). That Commanda had made no provision for the "transfer" of these significant cultural properties is entirely understandable to me, but the reality is that no formal transfer procedures for communally held wampum have ever existed (Becker forthcoming).

During that same period, 2011 to 2012 several people contacted me and others who are concerned with matters relating to wampum. They had various questions concerning these specific examples. These questions included inquiries from various concerned members of the Anishinabeg community. I had hoped that there would be a satisfactory resolution, with the "transfer" of these objects to a responsible elder or group or museum. This remains an important goal. All of these questions related to only the three belts held by Commanda. What had become of the often neglected "hand" of wampum remains unknown.

Rumors circulating early in 2016 suggested that these four wampum artifacts, or perhaps only the three belts, remain in limbo. I do not know if they have become the inherited personal property of William Commanda's heirs or if they have been placed in the hands of the Meness family or any tribal entity. Claimants are multiplying but research regarding the origins of these items had just begun when this issue emerged. The controversy has generated a great deal of e-mail and other communications. Several Native individuals who kindly provided information have declined to be identified.

DISCUSSION

With the ever increasing sale value of wampum objects casting a spell on those with access to real wampum artifacts of any type, items such as belts, including many examples that have been deaccessioned from museum collections and returned to claimants, soon disappear (cf. Hill 2001). In recent years, wampum has become considered not only of monetary and historical value, but also sacred. Once the sacred nature of wampum was accepted, it became common for those entrusted with its protection to keep it out of view, in a secret or protected place. Outsiders were especially prohibited from accessing it.[5] Even important studies of individual wampum bands, such as

that of Feldman (2011), remain little known. The claims that wampum is sacred are used to deny access to wampum artifacts and museum transfer documents for research purposes. Ironically, this secrecy has served to enable the sale of these items to collectors and to protect them from any legal issues. The idea that wampum was sacred arose post-1950 due to misunderstandings of the traditional functions of these artifacts (cf. Becker and Lainey 2009).[6]

Various collections of wampum, such as that of the "Maniwaki" group (Einhorn 1974) and groups of wampum that were held by specific members of the Six Nations Iroquois (Tooker 1998), speak strongly to the independence and autonomy of each of these tribes. The individual members of each tribe also retained autonomy, with independent actions being common in cases where traditional consensus could not be achieved. The need for consensus also generated a long history of internal conflicts inherent in systems lacking means to resolve differences of this type.[7]

Rarely mentioned publicly are the numerous conflicting claims to specific pieces of wampum, and other elements of traditional material culture in National Museum and other collections. These claims are made by various United States Federally-recognized groups as well as other claimant Native Americans. Today, if an item is held in a museum, any claimant group may submit an application for repatriation and thus present their case for the rights to that item. Each claimant group may construct their case as they see fit. Bureaucrats within the museum make decisions regarding to whom to "give" these items based on factors that may not be made public. When these multiple claims became an issue, as is common, a study of its own is merited (see Feldman 2011).

For the Maniwaki wampum, many efforts to protect them from outsiders appear embedded in their earliest history, as documented in what is known of the oral tradition. In the stories regarding wampum the Canadian government is often depicted a potential usurper. Wampum owned as well as appropriated by Natives, as well as by capture, have been sold and traded outside each community since the creation of this commodity, as

repeatedly documented in historical accounts by Natives as well as non-Natives (Becker forthcoming). The Maniwaki tales are particularly concerned with protecting these communal items from sales by members of the Native community in which they were held. Even Rickard (1973: 75) notes various efforts by various Native delegations to get the Maniwaki wampum back. The recent efforts on the part of many groups to lay claim to these pieces of wampum fit quite well into the history of wampum and its care.

The many concerns on the part of members of this community were acted upon in order to preserve these artifacts within the community that has held them, probably since at least 1850, and I suspect many years before. Also important in the excellent preservation of these specific pieces of wampum is the fact that the people originally holding the Maniwaki group were not involved in diplomatic uses for wampum. The fact that they operated on the fringe area of wampum diplomacy (Becker 2012) may have coincidentally been one of the major factors in the survival of these five examples; or perhaps only four of them. The absence of need for wampum for diplomatic prestations among this Algonquin group meant that there were few if any pressures to recycle, reuse, or dismantle the various Maniwaki pieces (cf. Becker 2008a).

The goal of this study has been to describe four wampum belts and a hand that have been identified by a specific Native group as part of their cultural heritage. The genealogy of these items has helped to reveal their interesting history and reveal that at least one band may have gone missing nearly a century ago. Gathering photographs and descriptions of these objects also revealed the contradictory information among the various records. What has been gathered may enable others to recognize these items if and when they appear again.

Ideally I should have preferred to study the items in person (cf. Becker 2007a), continuing a project that began in 1971 (Becker various). Ideally I should have preferred to study the items in person (cf. Becker 2007a), continuing a project that began in 1971 (Becker various). The re-categorization of wampum from valuable historical and cultural objects into sacred objects has

put them under a veil of secrecy, and now no one can study them or even determine their locations. Scholars are excluded from viewing these objects, and there is no discussion of what effects this will have in the future. I have never benefited financially from the publication of my wampum studies beyond the sheer pleasure of scholarship. I would like to see a more open discussion of the processes used by museums in the repatriation process.

The Maniwaki research project began during a study of the duties of those persons known as "wampum keepers." The popular ideas of these duties, and even the title itself, have been found to derive from Heckewelder's (1819) narrative in the early nineteenth-century (Becker 2013b, Forthcoming). Heckewelder's description was based observations of the people among whom he had lived in the 1700s. These people, now identified as "Lenopi" (see Becker 2008b), were people traditionally on the fringe of diplomatic wampum use, although the few Lenopi bands that relocated to the west, and Teedyuscung in particular, became deeply involved in wampum diplomacy (Wallace 1949). Study of the title "wampum keeper" reveals that there was no such formal role among any of the Native peoples involved in wampum diplomacy (Becker 2013b). Heckewelder's notion that each tribe had a specialist who memorized the treaty discourse for each of the dozens of belts and strings that might exchange hands at a formal meeting is supported by Lainey's (2013: 97-98, 104, 108) findings that peoples who used belts had specialists in charge of the belts and remembering their meanings (but, see Becker forthcoming).

The belief that the limited repertoire of symbols or figures on a belt provided the basis for an extended narrative may be specious, but this does not negate the possibility that the treaties at which they were received were not remembered. Very few of the many surviving belts and strings of wampum can be traced to their origins or even to an early presentation. Their original meanings are even more difficult to identify. In recent years, however, these individual bands and strings have become important symbols of a Native past and thereby have taken on a new importance among many and varied cultures. The Maniwaki wampum, a collection or group of examples that can be traced

back to perhaps the early 1800s, represents an extraordinary cultural treasure that merits close attention.

CONCLUSIONS

The Maniwaki group of wampum can be identified as a cultural collection associated with the Kitigan Zibi band of Algonquin since at least 1920, and probably long before. This group of wampum includes one band that appears to be ecclesiastical in origin, and at least one that may have been an ornamental band. Only close inspection will reveal the evidence to reach a more firm conclusion. The "hand" or bunch of wampum remains the least known piece, revealing the emphasis placed on bands as items of cultural importance. This item, along with one of the belts, is unaccounted for at the present time.

ENDNOTES:

[1] Many if not all of the tribes of the Northeast employed wampum as ornament, but their involvement with diplomatic uses differed sharply. Wampum diplomacy, as it developed during the seventeenth century, was strongly concentrated among the Iroquoian speaking tribes of what I have identified as the Core Area of the use of wampum in diplomacy (Becker 2012a). The peoples of the Core Area developed diplomatic formalities that were parallel to, and in most cases superseded pipe-smoking formalities at meetings and treaties. The uses of wampum within the tribes beyond the Core Area differed widely and altered through time. The study of each tribe's uses for wampum, as any specific aspect of their culture, merits a study of its own.

Wampum diplomacy involved the formal "prestation" of bands and/or strings along with a specific request. The importance of the request was reflected in the volume of the accompanying wampum. Thus a minor request might involve prestation of a single string of wampum, perhaps incorporating only seven or eight beads. An extremely important request would involve a very large band, perhaps 15 rows wide and 700 files long involving more than 10,000 beads. The recipients of the request might refuse to comply, but such actions are surprisingly rare indicating that the diplomatic process was well developed and tried to avoid a refusal. When the recipients wished to comply with a request they would acknowledge their agreement by their presentation of a return of wampum of similar size and value.

During the high point of wampum diplomacy, during the middle of the eighteenth-century, meetings between a Core Area tribe and the British often involved the exchange of scores of belts of all sizes as well as strings in various combinations. The total number of wampum beads involved could reach 250,000! And each group might be involved in dozens of such wampum exchanges every year, especially during periods such as the French and Indian War.

Classic wampum diplomacy involved very different behaviors from the simple presentation or showing of a belt or string along with a request. Simple wampum presentation involved the presenters retaining control of the wampum. Even wampum sent as a call to arms was circulated among potential allies, but not retained by any of them. Answers to a call to arms could be intentionally more ambiguous. More common was the simple request to come to talk, accompanied by a small string of wampum to validate the invitation

The peoples living in the immediate periphery of the Core Area, all Algonquian speaking tribes, were involved in wampum diplomacy to varying degrees, if at all. Most of their infrequent uses of wampum involved a presentation to a Colonial entity that was not reciprocated, as it would be in formal wampum diplomacy. When Tackpousha of the Long Island Massapequa and others visited the Governor of New York in April of 1676 he personally presented "a string of white wampum in token of his friendship" and the group collectively gave "a large band made of black wampum 12 – deepe & about a Yard & ½ long as a token of their fidelity" (Fernow 1883, XIV: 718). These were gifts, unaccompanied by a formal request, and the puzzled Governor did not respond with any wampum. Although soon after the "Unchechaug Indyans of *Long Island*" did make a formal request involving a whale boat along with a prestation of "some white strung seawant" [wampum], the granting of that petition was not accompanied by any wampum (Fernow 1883, XIV: 720). These are almost the only cases on Long Island, where wampum was long produced by Natives, vaguely resembling diplomatic uses of wampum in the classic sense.

Among people on the periphery the presentation the process might work the other way. At the end of the conflict between Massachusetts and the Penobscot and their allies, 1722-1727, the peace treaty delegation from Boston came bearing wampum. They had learned their wampum diplomacy from long interactions with the Five Nations Iroquois, but found that the Penobscot did not use wampum in diplomacy (Becker 2005). When the Colonials made their prestation it was met with puzzlement on the part of the Penobscot delegates. Not all Natives practiced wampum diplomacy!

[2] Einhorn indicates that he did not include with his material sent to me, a photograph taken of his hands while he was repairing the 7-diamond "belt with genuine wampum in 1971" (pers. Com. 2 March 2015, also 26 Jan. 2012). This work on the 7-diamond belt had been done during his visit to photograph the Maniwaki wampum to provide illustrations for his article (1974).

Earlier Einhorn (pers. Com. 7 April 2009) had recalled that the repairs had been made in 1970 or 1971. The specific location on the belt where the repairs were made is not stated, nor are repairs evident in the available poor quality photocopies. These repairs, in fact, may not be evident even on close inspection. At a later date Einhorn reported (pers. Com. 3 March 2015) that he used Campbell "factory beads" of which "most were long, but there were a lot of the typical size for belts. I acquired them from a friend who bought out a warehouse of Astor's trade goods in a NYC building during the 1929 crash."

Regarding this 7-diamond belt, note should be made that at some point William Commanda is said to have associated it with the "Seven Fires Prophesy of the Anishinabe" (see Hart 2011, regarding the modern Ojibwa of Wisconsin). This "prophesy" may be traced back to Edward Benton-Banai (1979), but earlier information on this web-link and the narration itself awaits the attention of scholars.

[3] My favorite photograph in the Rickard (1973) volume reveals three men displaying the 7-diamond belt, with Rickard in the center. Rickard, the only one wearing a spectacular Plains War bonnet, strikes a pose revealing his profile. He also supports the center of the belt with his left hand in which one can see him holding his spectacles, taken off for the occasion.

[4] The Rickard autobiography (1973) includes an unnumbered plate captioned "Frank Meness, Algonquin of Maniwaki Indian Reserve. It was he who entrusted the Algonquin wampum belts to Chief Clinton Rickard." Rickard, in the text, identifies both Mr. and Mrs. Meness as those entrusting the wampum to him, and Einhorn (1974: 76) place the couple as the last two on a list of five individuals involved in the transfer.

[5] Claims and counterclaims regarding who are present wampum keepers among the various tribal groups are so contentious that specific names are hidden and impossible to identify. Richard Hill, an attorney sometimes representing groups claiming to be affiliated with the Haudenosaunee believes that each "community has a designated wampum keeper. Grand River has one for the Confederacy Council; Onondaga in New York has two" (Hill, pers. Com. 28 Feb. 2015). My efforts to secure the names of these people have repeatedly failed. However, "Condoled Chief Curtis Nelson at the Mohawk Nation of Kanehsatake (Oka, Quebec, Canada)" appears in a photograph by Lise Puyo (March 2014), shown holding a "repatriated wampum belt in his care." This long, dark six-diamonds belt is not otherwise identified.

[6] Recent efforts by various groups affiliated with the Five Nations Iroquois to project the ideal of cultural uniformity among these people plays into popular beliefs that all these Indians looked, dressed and acted alike. Rarely in the past, as now, did the peoples of the Five Nations Iroquois operate as a single polity. Two or more of these tribes may have acted in concert on specific occasions, but these were not lasting alliances. The productive relationships among the Five Nations Iroquois, contrary to popular mythology, were through their durable non-aggression pact. Their raids and attacks on others were made as independent individuals within distinct cultures, or in co-operation with other members of the League, or with specific allies such as the Tuscarora.

[7] Noon's (1949) study of law and governance among the Grand River Iroquois does not address issues of enforcement among this and other tribal societies. The continuing conflicts within the Lac Barriere community, and with other Algonquin groups, reveal aspects of stress within tribal communities that operate while embedded within a State society. The continuation of conflicts among and between the peoples at The Lake of the Two Mountains, also evident by the 1630s, are documented in several papers in Volume 39 (Numbers 1-2) of the journal Recherches amerindiennes au Quebec (2009).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Portions of this paper were read at the 2013 Conference on Iroquois Research (October) in Cortland, New York. Many thanks are due the various people who provided feedback at that time. Special thanks are due to three very perceptive and supportive reviewers whose many suggestions are deeply appreciated. Special thanks are due to Anita deLaguna Haviland for her careful reading of this text and many important suggestions. Thanks also are due to Jonathan Lainey for providing important references and the use of his photograph, and to Kathryn L. Merriam for her continuing encouragement of these studies and her valuable editorial advice.

Thanks also are due Arthur Einhorn, George Abrams, Prof. Harold Blau and Prof. Duane Champagne for their input and encouragement at various stages in developing this paper. Thanks also are due Prof. Gary Chapman, Joy Bedo Chapman, Jonathan C. Friedman, M. E. and F. P. Gillon, Stephen Marvin, Christopher Mazzoli, Ronald McColl, Ann McMullen, Frank A. Meness (Barrister and Solicitor), Michael Ogoe, Ari Samsky, M. Samsky, Francis Scardera and Raymond Whritenour for their aid in various aspects of this research. The tax rules in support of research that are sustained by the Congress of the United States of America have been critical to this and other studies I have conducted. My deepest thanks go to all the members of the Congress who support these laws. The ideas expressed here and any errors of interpretation or presentation are, of course, solely the responsibility of the author.

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