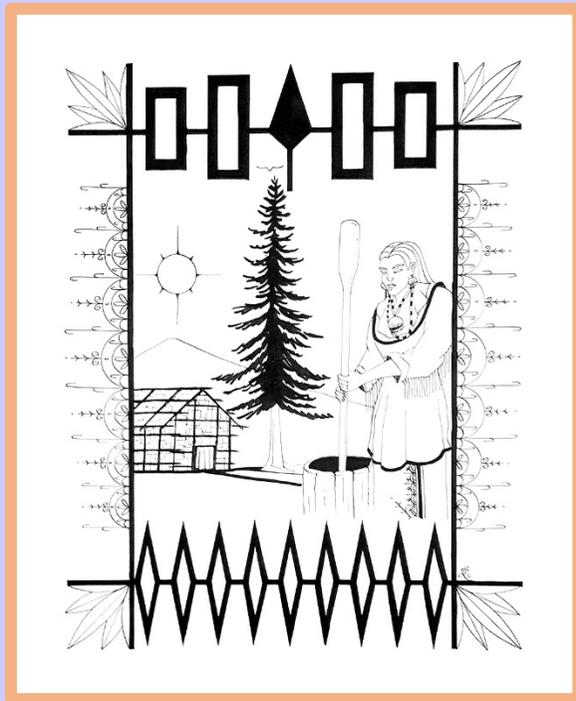


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Sample

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Sample

Hearing the Voices of Iroquois Women: A Council at Grand River, 1802

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As with any generation
the oral tradition depends upon each person
listening and remembering a portion
and it is together—
all of us remembering what we have heard together—
that creates the whole story
the long story of the people.

Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna), Storyteller (1981)

Deep within the twenty-two folios of Thayendanagea/Joseph Brant material in the Lyman Draper Collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, there hides the record of a council on the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, in what is now Ontario.¹ The date was May 2, in the year 1802. The record is only one page long, a very small item in the Brant collection, let alone Draper's enormous trove. The document is in Draper's handwriting; it appears to be his transcription of minutes that Brant originally took. Brant's is the only name in the record, a sign, perhaps, of the position he still held among the Grand River people, despite the Six Nations' frustration with him as their spokesman to British authorities, and despite his own situation at Grand River being so precarious that he was on the point of leaving. The council brought together Grand River's women and its chiefs.

The council record presents a very rare demonstration of how Haudenosaunee women took direct, active part in their people's public affairs during the era of conflict with others, strife among themselves, forced migration and exile, broken promises, and difficult resettlement that for them meant living through the American Revolution. Their immediate issue was simple. They wanted "spirituous liquors" removed from the Reserve and its environs. But carefully read, this small, inconspicuous document indicates that they had other business and long memory on their minds as well. To really understand it means appreciating much larger issues.

Begin with the setting. The Grand River Reserve had multiple points of origin. The first was the bitter civil and imperial war from which the United States had emerged. Then came New York State's deliberate, planned destruction of both Iroquois country as a long-recognized, legitimate, respected, and self-controlling place and Iroquois power to shape history. The third was Brant's determination to find a new homeland for the Mohawks, for the rest of the Six Nations, and possibly for others on a place that would be entirely their own, "independante [sic] [of] government," as one Seneca leader described it.² British imperial worries about the new United States counted too: in the policies of officials in London and Montreal, Indians could form a buffer to protect Canada from its aggressive southern neighbor.

Four of the Six Nations (Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas) were particularly important to the British, because they had honored their alliance and fought against the rebels. In the revolution's aftermath they had to choose between exile and submitting on the victors' terms. Coming to Canada meant losing their original land, which the American Congress and particularly New York State were determined to take anyway. Many (not all) chose to leave, and the Crown purchased land for them from the Mississaugas, "six miles deep," in Governor Frederick Haldimand's words at the time, "from each side of the [Grand] river beginning at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to the head of the said river, which them [sic] and their posterity are to enjoy for ever [sic]." This was no small tract: it comprised some 570,000 acres according to historian Alan Taylor; according to the Reserve's people the original

acreage was 950,000.³ Most of that land has been lost and the Reserve now includes only about 48,000 acres. Were all of the original Reserve still in Iroquois hands it would form a barrier or enclave across southwestern Ontario from Lake Erie much of the way to Georgian Bay. The Reserve's people and other Iroquois have not forgotten Brant's early role in losing the land by condoning transfer to white settlers.

Though the reserve's boundaries were easily surveyed, the terms of Iroquois possession and control were ambiguous from the start. The Reserve's government regards Haldimand's 1784 proclamation that the land now belonged to the Iroquois as providing one basis for their ongoing conflict with the Province of Ontario and the federal government of Canada. Their position is that Haldimand proclaimed an inviolable treaty, and that his action recognized their aboriginal title, in lieu of what their ancestors had lost.⁴ The Canadian government's position is that the Crown had purchased Mississauga lands for the Six Nations to use as a refuge, that Haldimand issued a proclamation of the Crown's favor to them as among its subjects rather than as concluding a treaty between equals, and that the Six Nations received the land as a grant on Crown terms, not as a renewal of aboriginal title.

In the Reserve's early years, the terms of its governance were uncertain. Brant assumed a leadership role, based on his record during the revolutionary war, on his diplomacy, and on his well-cultivated relationships with British officials as high as King George. But others in the community came to resent both his self-assertion and the position he developed in regard to the land, which was that because the Six Nations owned it on absolute terms they were free to dispose of it as they saw fit, for the sake of their own best interests in a transformed world. For Brant being able to sell it meant getting the wherewithal to survive. Others very much disagreed. In personal terms he had made himself "too great a man," and selling the land for one-time revenue meant that his people were losing it forever. He very nearly paid with his life, surviving two assassination attempts, one by his own son Isaac, whom he killed in self-defense.⁵

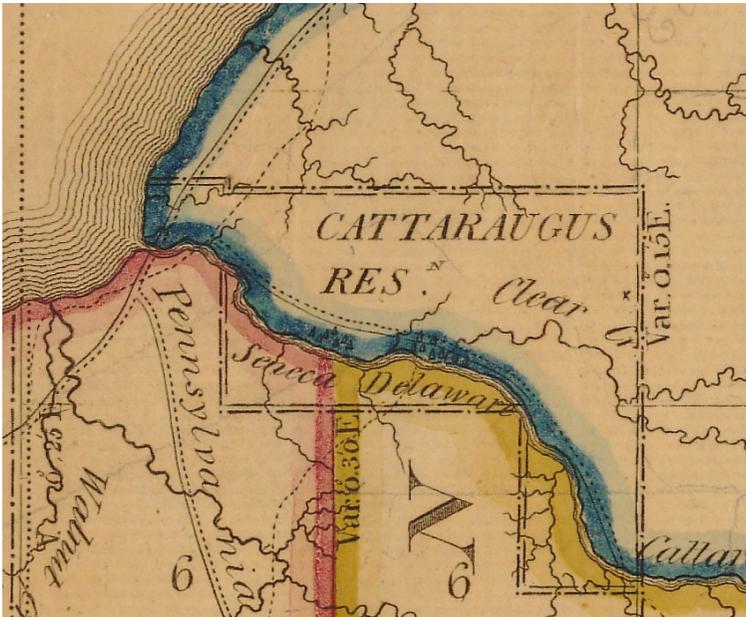
THE MUNSEES OF CATTARAUGUS: An Episode in Iroquois History

James D. Folts
New York State Archives

The place is Cattaraugus, today a territory of the Seneca Indian Nation near Lake Erie in western New York.¹ That is the English spelling of a Seneca place name meaning “smelly banks” or “smelly clay,” referring to smells from the banks of the creek.² The smell was petroleum; a traveler in 1809 wrote that oily scum on the creek waters sometimes caught fire.³ French maps of the mid-eighteenth century have the name *Rivière puante* (“smelly,” “stinky”).⁴ Cattaraugus had another native name in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, because it was the home not only of Senecas but also of Munsee Delawares. The name in Munsee, attested by Moravian mission diary entries and Delaware tradition, was *ptukwímung*. It meant “walnut place,” for the huge black walnut trees that grew along the creek.⁵ Between 1780 and about 1810 Cattaraugus was a bi-national community of Senecas and Munsees, which provides a well-documented example of the relationship between an Iroquois nation and a dependent people, real not abstract, flawed not perfect.

The valley of Cattaraugus Creek was occupied by the Eries in the early seventeenth century.⁶ A small Seneca village may have been located at Cattaraugus before 1779.⁷ The community which continues today was established in the aftermath of the American invasions of the country of the Six Nations in August-September

1779. Major General John Sullivan's army burned all the Cayuga towns and most of the Seneca towns.⁸ They also destroyed settlements of non-Iroquoian peoples who had resided in Six Nations territories for decades, including the Munsee towns of Chemung and Choconut in the upper Susquehanna region.⁹ Colonel Daniel Brodhead led troops up the Allegheny River from Pittsburgh, and they destroyed many new houses and fields of the Senecas and Munsees in the upper valley.¹⁰



Map of Cattaraugus Reservation, 1800, showing Seneca and Delaware villages (triangle symbols) along north side of Cattaraugus Creek. Detail from *Map of Morris's Purchase or West Geneseo, in the State of New York . . .* (1804), prepared by Joseph Ellicott and Benjamin Ellicott for the Holland Land Company. Shading was added to the map later to indicate boundaries of Erie (blue), Chautauqua (pink), and Cattaraugus (yellow) Counties. [New York State Archives, A0273 Surveyor General Map #145]

The Munsees had migrated westward in the early eighteenth century from their homeland in the lower and middle Hudson and upper Delaware valleys. Historically considered Delawares, the Munsees spoke a distinctive dialect and maintained an identity separate from the Unami Delawares, who originally lived in the lower Delaware Valley.¹¹ Some of the relocated

Munsees had resided near the Allegheny Senecas, in towns called Gosgoshunk and “Buckaloons.”¹² Following the devastation of 1779, the Allegheny Senecas and Munsees decided, after lengthy negotiations, to continue their pre-war association in a new location, at Cattaraugus. Seneca chiefs and Loyalist officers employed both persuasion and coercion to bring the Allegheny Munsees to Cattaraugus. Promoting the settlement were Guyasuta, longtime leader of the Allegheny Senecas; Guy Johnson, head of the Indian Department at Fort Niagara after late 1779; and Tewante, a Munsee from the Allegheny.¹³

When benefits were bestowed, cooperation was expected. Those Munsees who agreed to settle at Cattaraugus received protection and occupied fertile planting grounds. They also joined the Cattaraugus Senecas in frequent military operations during the years 1780-1781. They participated with the Senecas during the early 1790s in sensitive diplomacy, including a mission to a coalition of nations in the Northwest Territory that was hostile to the United States. Despite the apparent harmony, the bi-national community at Cattaraugus was unstable and did not endure. During the 1780s some of the Cattaraugus Munsees returned temporarily to the Allegheny, while others migrated to Upper Canada or the Ohio country. Most of the remaining Munsees eventually moved away from Cattaraugus, the largest group leaving about 1810.

They had various reasons for doing so: they disliked and feared the new American government, desired better hunting grounds, or were invited to join other Munsee communities. The most important reason for leaving was the Senecas’ growing indifference or even hostility toward their erstwhile allies. That attitude crystallized during the spiritual revival led by the Seneca Prophet Handsome Lake around 1800, when the Cattaraugus Munsees were accused of malicious behavior perceived as “witchcraft.” Handsome Lake and his followers emphasized the moral redemption of individuals and families, not the Senecas’ role as guardian of a dependent people. Confined to reservations after 1797, the Senecas no longer had the geographic base and the political-military strength and prestige to impose their will. Rapid changes in the Senecas’ world made life at Cattaraugus unattractive and uncomfortable for most of the Munsees. A small

number remained at Cattaraugus through the nineteenth century, inter-marrying with others in the community. Today some of the Senecas and Cayugas of Cattaraugus recall their Munsee Delaware ancestry.¹⁴



During the harsh winter of 1779-80 over three thousand native refugees were living in wretched huts near Fort Niagara. Colonel Guy Johnson, head of the Indian Department, and Colonel H. Watson Powell, commander at Niagara, encouraged the refugees to settle elsewhere come spring and relieve the commissary of a huge drain on its resources.¹⁵ Native leaders took the first steps to make that happen, to reestablish their communities.

In November 1779 “Delaware” (Munsee) refugees from the upper Allegheny told Guy Johnson that they wished to move to Cattaraugus. They heard that hunting was good there, and they planned to invite their relations from Chemung to join them. The Munsees asked for clothing and provisions for the winter. Johnson agreed to their request and asked Guyasuta to inform the rest of the Munsees.¹⁶ Johnson ordered Lieutenant William Johnston to deliver provisions to Cattaraugus and to be the resident officer. (His mother was a Seneca.) By early December some Senecas and Delawares were at Cattaraugus, pleased with the supplies and ready to go hunting.¹⁷

In early March 1780 Guyasuta, nine other Senecas, and 34 “Delawares” held meetings at Niagara with Guy Johnson and other officers. Guyasuta reported that he had persuaded the Munsees to reject invitations from the Chippewas (Southeastern Ojibwa), Hurons (Wendats), and others to move west, and to “abide by their uncles” the Six Nations, to whom they were subordinate.¹⁸ Johnson declared that he would provision the Munsees if they “continue attached to the king and the six nations.” Munsee leaders publicly assured Johnson that they would not move very far away. Privately Guyasuta revealed that the Munsees had decided to settle at Cattaraugus.¹⁹ But then they changed their minds.

“We have none to part with”

Conflict Over Land in Western New York, 1794-1819

Elana Krischer
University at Albany

In July of 1819, Seneca leaders and representatives of the Ogden Land Company gathered at the Buffalo Creek Reservation in western New York to negotiate Seneca consolidation at Allegany, one of the other remaining Seneca reservations. Judge Morris S. Miller, acting as U.S. commissioner, urged the Seneca to sell their land, as the Seneca were not properly using it. He argued that keeping more land than was necessary for Seneca livelihood was selfish. Commissioner Miller conveyed President Monroe’s thoughts on Seneca land use to the Council: “...it is not right for any tribe or people, to withhold from the wants of others, more than is necessary for their own support and comfort. Your great Father...cannot be moved by ambition, for his power and authority are not increased by the arrangement he proposes. He already rules from the Saint Lawrence beyond the Mississippi; from the Ocean to the Lakes.”¹

¹ Red Jacket. “Reply to David Ogden at Buffalo Creek July 7-9, 1819” in *The Collected Speeches of Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket*, ed. Granville Ganter (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 201-203.

A few days later Red Jacket, a Seneca leader known for his oratorical skills, responded to Commissioner Miller.

These lands are ours given by the Heavenly Father...Such men you say own one reservation; such men another. But they are all ours: Ours, from the top to the very bottom. If Mr. Ogden should tell us, that he had come from heaven with the flesh on his bones, we might believe him.”²

Red Jacket’s response to Ogden’s claims in 1819 show, well into the nineteenth century, the Seneca had a claim in the contest over how expansion in the United States would play out. The conflict over land and nationhood is often flattened by historians to be a simple contest between Hamilton and Jefferson, Federalist and Anti-Federalist.³ But the Seneca in western New York were the Achilles’ heel in the development of the American nation.

Red Jacket, a Seneca sachem, Robert Morris, a wealthy speculator, and Joseph Ellicott, a land company official, crossed paths many times as the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth. Their stories became intertwined first in 1794 at the Treaty of Canandaigua, in 1797 at the Treaty of Big Tree, and again in 1819 at the Ogden Council. Over the course of twenty-five years, they came into conflict over what is now western New York in the most important debate of the early republic, and this debate over American expansion, with Seneca sovereignty at its center, shaped the literal and metaphorical boundaries of the United States. The rhetoric Red Jacket, Morris, and Ellicott used in pursuing their conflicting goals makes it clear that Manifest Destiny was messy, nonlinear, and began in New York.⁴

² Red Jacket. “Reply to David Ogden at Buffalo Creek July 7-9, 1819” in *The Collected Speeches of Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket*, ed. Granville Ganter (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 213.

³ William Chazanof. *Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970), 122.

⁴ I define Manifest Destiny as the belief held by United States officials and citizens that expansion of their national borders, sovereignty, and hegemony was an inevitable process predetermined by their religious and cultural superiority.

Despite being one of the original thirteen colonies, New York experienced the frontier processes so engrained in the American national narrative first, just prior to the territories in the Old Northwest and beyond. Along with these conflicting claims over land, the state’s colonial legacy complicated its development because seventeenth century English charters dictated its expansion. While American expansion and the characters in this story are well known in early American history, New York State needs to be grounded more soundly in the narrative of nineteenth century expansion. New York is often remembered as quickly bound and solidified following the American Revolution.⁵ However, most of the territory that makes up the modern state was contested well into the nineteenth century. This story begins and ends with the Ogden Council in 1819 to show how Manifest Destiny changed and matured in New York through the lives of Red Jacket, Morris, and Ellicott who shaped the development of the United States at both the local and national levels.

Although Red Jacket’s authority was sometimes disputed by Seneca and non-Seneca alike, he is such an important character because of the way he formulated and presented his arguments to American leaders. During each of his encounters with Morris and Ellicott, Red Jacket appealed to Seneca sovereignty, American law, and eventually turned to religious rhetoric to make the argument that no one had the authority to buy Seneca land. While Red Jacket and his American opponents spoke about the same land, Red Jacket’s opponents systematically ignored each of his appeals, even when the basis of his argument was American legal fact.

By the council in 1819, the Seneca already faced attempts by land companies and individual landowners to extinguish their title as American leaders tried to figure out how to finance the new nation. These attempts began as early as 1784 with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and continued into the 1840s after Red

⁵ Alan Taylor. *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 9.

Jacket's death.⁶ Red Jacket knew Commissioner Miller's argument in 1819 had no teeth, and while it is clear Red Jacket believed in his divine claims, Red Jacket fully understood the legal system in place for acquiring native land that the United States inherited from the English. Red Jacket knew that Seneca legitimacy also came from the long history of the encounter between Western political philosophy and settler colonialism.⁷ Red Jacket's understanding of Seneca land claims and the rhetoric he used to bolster these claims complicates the traditional conflict over land and expansion as he pushed back against the early agents of Manifest Destiny using the language of Western political philosophy, American law, and religion.

One of these early agents of Manifest Destiny was Robert Morris, who embodied the Federalist view of American expansion. A wealthy merchant, land speculator, and powerful Federalist, Morris's involvement in land speculation and his Federalist political affiliations shaped the way he envisioned the development of the United States as a nation. Morris saw rights as the foundational political unit and his involvement in western New York sowed the seeds for a modern capitalist view. Like Alexander Hamilton and other Federalists, Morris did not see land as a space from which sovereignty or citizenship stemmed. Property was a "legal right established by title and deed...equivalent to money."⁸ As his actions in western New York show, Morris saw no personal meaning in the bounding of land, owning land was simply a stepping-stone to firmly establish his personal right to wealth.

The second conflicting vision was embodied by Joseph Ellicott who believed the strength of the nation depended on land acquisition and ownership. A surveyor for the Holland Land

⁶ Lois Barton. *A Quaker Promise Kept: Philadelphia Friends' Work with the Allegany Senecas, 1795-1960*. (Eugene: Spencer Butte Press, 1990), 27.

⁷ For a detailed description of the politics behind land sales see Stuart Banner. *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier*. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁸ Charles E. Brooks. *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution: The Holland Land Purchase*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 14.

Company, Ellicott created new bounded and divided spaces, surveyed for individual settlers whose livelihood was based on owning and farming land. Much like Thomas Jefferson, Ellicott’s world-view was shaped by citizenship. While Jefferson is most well-known for inextricably tying land to citizenship because of his role in the Louisiana Purchase and his want for a nation of yeoman farmers, Jefferson’s vision for the nation would not be possible without land surveyors like Ellicott carrying out this vision on the ground. Would the United States be a land-based empire, or an empire funded by wealthy merchants and land speculators operating in a strong centralized government?

The location and legal status of the Seneca in western New York complicated this two-sided conflict significantly. People shaped Red Jacket’s vision. His people formed a nation and that nation possessed sovereignty. Red Jacket expressed his idea of sovereignty spatially as he viewed land as the foundation of Seneca sovereignty. As pressure began to build from the east, the bounding and defining of territory became urgent for the Seneca. While Red Jacket was not the agent of a broader Iroquois empire, he defended Seneca sovereignty by framing his vision within European epistemologies of space. Between 1794, when the Iroquois first established a direct political relationship with the United States at Canandaigua, to the Ogden Council in 1819, Morris, Ellicott, and Red Jacket met on multiple occasions regarding Seneca land possessions. At each of these meetings, these three actors spoke both to and past each other. As Red Jacket’s involvement shows, the expansion of the United States was the result of the interplay between colonial legacies, Manifest Destiny, American law, and native sovereignty. This played out most contentiously through conflict over Seneca homelands in western New York.

The Seneca played such an important role in the conflict over how to finance the new nation because of their location in a strategic position for the United States. With the passing of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, which created a blueprint to create new states in the Ohio Valley, the United States faced the problem of settlers moving onto lands that had not been acquired from the Native Americans through treaty negotiations. The

THE MANIWAKI WAMPUM GROUP: A HISTORY

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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 Barriere 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.

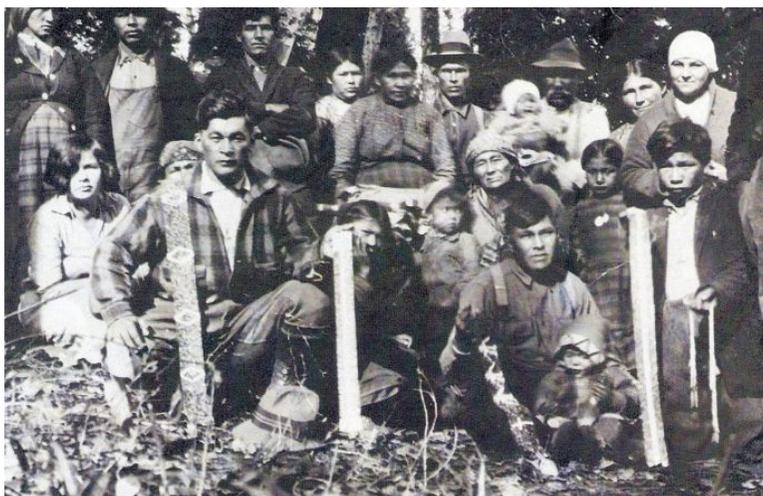


Fig. 1. The five Maniwaki wampum pieces, possibly at Lac Barriere about 1920. The members of this community shown here have yet to be identified. From a copy held by J. Lainey (with permission).

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

Book Reviews

Laura Cornelius Kellogg, Our Democracy and the American Indian and Other Works, edited by Kristina Ackley and Cristina Stanciu with a foreword by Loretta V. Metoxen (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2015).

Review by Susan A. Brewer
Emerita Professor of History
University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

In 1906, the small city of Oneida, New York, hosted the centennial celebration of Madison County with a “most spectacular pageant,” newspapers proclaimed. The festivities included a dozen bands, civil war veterans, 35 ladies in white singing “The Dawn of Spring-Time,” a baseball game between local all-stars and the famed African American Cuban Giants, and a “charming talk” by Miss Laura Cornelius, a “full-blooded Oneida Indian” from Wisconsin. News stories, accompanied by a photograph of the stylish 26-year old Cornelius wearing a fabulous hat, described her as educated, entertaining, and a granddaughter of “mighty chiefs” who was dedicated to advancing the interests of her people.

Laura Cornelius demanded to be noticed and she was. With considerable charisma, she drew on her training, experience, and heritage to articulate what she called “the Indian side of American life.” More often than not, however, the attention she received focused on who she was rather than on what she said. The news coverage of her appearance at the Madison County centennial, for example, reports that she was awarded an ovation for her fine speech, but records

*The Thomas Indian School and the “Irredeemable”
Children of New York* by Keith R. Burich,
(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, April 15, 2016)

*Review by Brian Rice
University of Winnipeg*

Keith Burich has written a book about the Thomas Indian School on the Cattaraugus Seneca Reservation in the State of New York and the various incarnations it went through over a 102 year period. Included are the challenges that the mostly Iroquois children faced at home, within the school, and after they left the school. The issue of Indian boarding schools has been dealt with only peripherally in the United States whereas in Canada there have been numerous publications and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to discover the effects of the schools on the children as well as compensation for their suffering and loss during their time while attending. Few know that the Canadian experiment of Indian Residential Boarding Schools was modeled after the American one at Carlisle Pennsylvania, although like the Thomas Indian School there were boarding schools that existed prior to its establishment. Burich helps enlighten us on the experiences of the children who attended the Thomas Indian School. Included in his book are anecdotes from the children or inmates as they were referred to as, explaining at a personal level the many challenges they were facing. He does an excellent job of explaining the motivations behind the school which was to destroy their cultural identities and reform them into having a Christian American one. Adding to the interest in the book are sometimes familiar and important names known in the Iroquois community such as Ray Fadden who took a girl from the school to a prom. Burich explains the terrible living conditions of the reservations in New York at the time of the opening of the school and that parents sometimes gave up their children for the

Corey Village and the Cayuga World: Implications from Archaeology and Beyond. Jack Rossen, editor, 2015. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse. xiv + 235 pp. 30.05 (cloth), ISBN: 987-0-8156-3405-8.

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This addition to “*The Iroquois and Their Neighbors*” contains an Introduction, eleven chapters, an Epilogue, works cited, biographies of contributors, and an index. The Introduction orients readers with place names, New York State Historic Markers and general history of the area. Archaeology of New York State and the Northeast in general were new to the author when he arrived at Ithaca College in 1998 to encounter ongoing intensive political-social anguish and strife connected with the Cayuga Land Claims court case. He explored the area, sampled local archaeological and historic literature, and made contact with local Haudenosaunee leaders, including the late Cayuga Heron Clan Mother, Birdie Hill.

Outside the realm of much of the author’s research on the Haudenosaunee and particularly the Cayuga area, were numerous studies published in the so-called “gray literature” of cultural resource management and contract archaeology, for federal and state-mandated projects where cultural and environmental reviews are required. Most of these projects began in the 1970s and accelerated after that. Consultation with Haudenosaunee leaders occurred, especially for sensitive areas where human remains were likely to be present. Many of these project reports served to formalize these reports and resulted in the New York Archaeological Council’s *Cultural Resource Standards Handbook* (published by NYAC in 2000).

The New York Archaeological Council (NYAC), representatives of the majority of the professional archaeologists working in New York State, was formed 15 September, 1972. Throughout

