

IROQUOIA

The journal of
the Conference on Iroquois Research

Volume 7,
2021 (2023)



Table of Contents

Articles

Marshall Becker

Wampum Belts with Roads (Paths) or Covenant Chains (Chains of Friendship) Design Elements and Their Possible Standardization

Tewahse'htha Brant, Iekonsio:io Brant, Kiowa Bernhardt, Erika Campbell, and Karen Lawford

Improving Perinatal Services for Kanyen'kehá:ka and Their Families: Making Our Words Known through a Kanyen'kehá:ka Philosophy of Health and Wellness

Book Reviews

Carl Benn

Charles W.A. Prior's book: *Settlers in Indian Country*

Karen Lewis

Meave Kane's book: *Shirts Powdered Red: Haudenosaunee Gender, Trade and Exchange across Three Centuries*.

Obituaries

"Barbara Graymont" by Lawrence Hauptman

"John Kahionhes Fadden" by Darren Bonaparte

Photo Credit: Anastasia George - OMC - Onkwehonwe Midwives Collective

Artist Biography: Ian Clute - *Tehanonhshake*

Ian Clute is an established artist and the proprietor of Two House Design-Crafters, a Mohawk-owned business located in the Akwesasne Mohawk Territory which bears his name - *Tehanonhshake* – "he has two houses". Two House Design-Crafters operates as an artist collective with four established artists and four apprentices working on different projects. *Tehanonhshake* frequently incorporates woodworking, beadwork, featherwork, and leather tooling into his work including commissioned water drums, kastowas, and cradleboards.

Two House Design-Crafters Website: www.twohousedesigncrafters.com

WAMPUM BELTS WITH ROADS (PATHS) OR COVENANT CHAINS (CHAINS OF FRIENDSHIP) DESIGN ELEMENTS AND THEIR POSSIBLE STANDARDIZATION

By Marshall Becker

The belts may remain, but their history has passed away
with the fading nations whose public archives they once were.
Cumberland 1904:30

ABSTRACT:

By the early 1700s wampum bands with a single stripe, generally running down the center for much or all of the length, have come to be associated with the concept of a cleared or open (safe) road or path between the two participants. While the specific origins of these designs or bands remain unknown, by the 1770s wampum bands with varying but generally basic designs became associated with treaty discourse involving the clearing of the path or road between the participants. Similarly, designs on belts depicting two individuals with linked hands have been called “friendship” belts. A variation of the holding-hands motif is found in belts with the two figures placed at either end of the belt, linked by a metaphorical covenant chain or a “chain of friendship”.

Au début des années 1700, les bandes de wampums avec une seule bande, descendant généralement au centre sur une grande partie ou la totalité de la longueur, ont été associées ces dernières années au concept d'une route ou d'un chemin dégagé ou ouvert (sûr) entre les deux participants. . Bien que les origines spécifiques de ces dessins sur des bandes restent inconnues, dans les années 1770, des bandes wampum de différents modèles de base ont été associées au discours sur les traités impliquant le dégagement du chemin ou de la route entre les participants. De même, les éléments de conception sur les ceintures représentant deux personnes aux mains liées ont été appelés ceintures «d'amitié». Une variante du motif de la main dans la main se trouve dans les ceintures avec les deux figures à chaque extrémité de la ceinture, liées par une chaîne d'alliance métaphorique ou une «chaîne d'amitié».

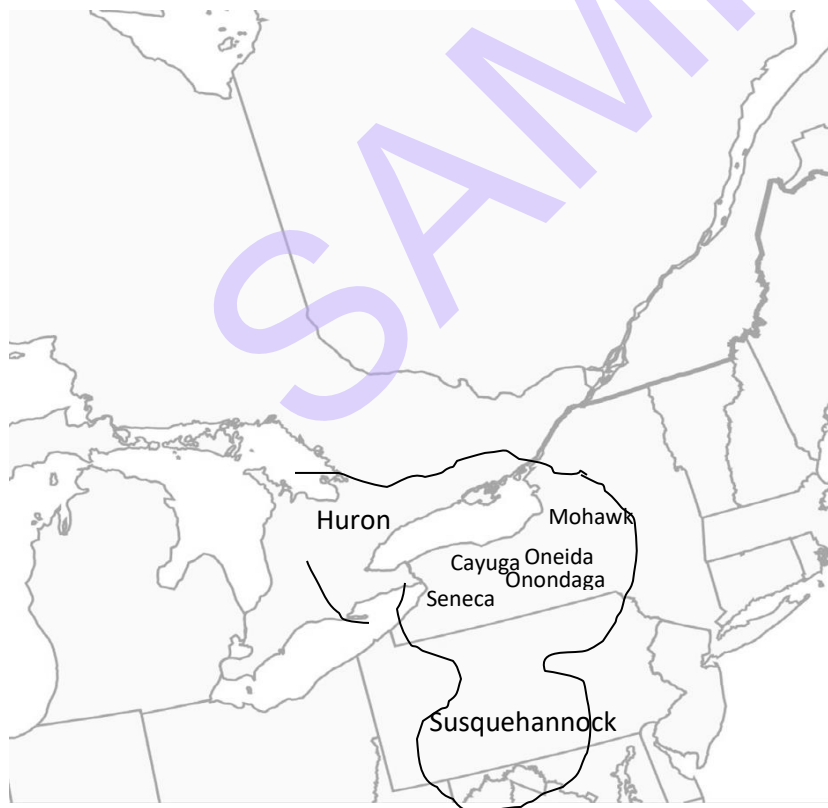
Lié à la catégorie des bandes de wampum connues sous le nom de ceintures de route, il y a un sous-ensemble dans lequel les longues bandes horizontales sont devenues des chemins. Depuis environ 1890, au moins un exemple de ceinture à deux bandes sur la plus grande partie ou la totalité de leur longueur en est venu à jouer un rôle de plus en plus important dans la politique de nombreux groupes amérindiens (Premières nations) modernes. Une étude récente de toutes les bandes de wampum survivantes connues avec un motif à deux bandes est ici mise à jour. Une liste de six exemples connus de ceintures à deux bandes possibles et ce que l'on sait de leurs histoires individuelles est incluse ici. De plus, le dossier documentaire d'autres ceintures avec ce design qui n'ont pas survécu nous permet d'envisager des variations intéressantes au sein de cette catégorie possible. Les exemples connus ainsi que leurs histoires spécifiques fournissent une base pour comprendre une catégorie de wampums qui, depuis les années 1950, en est venu à représenter un aspect important d'un passé mythique pour

plusieurs groupes amérindiens différents. Les «ceintures routières» connexes ne sont apparues qu'après le déplacement vers l'ouest de plusieurs groupes tribaux dans les années 1730. Comment ou si les ceintures à deux bandes se rapportent du tout aux ceintures «routières» reste incertain. Les origines de l'idéologie politique à deux voies restent un sujet d'étude distinct.

INTRODUCTION

The standardized shape and size of individual shell beads called wampum first appears in the archaeological record from the 1590s, decades before any known documents record the existence of this marine shell commodity. Wampum bands, or panels formed by weaving this category of shell bead, form a type of artifact that, since the early 1600s, was generated by Native Americans and Colonists alike (Becker 2002, 2012a). Wampum bands as well as strings of wampum were used for ornamental as well as diplomatic purposes. The use of diplomatic belts was concentrated largely in a core area of use, occupied by the three great confederacies of the era.

FIGURE 1 Huron-Wendat, Five Nations Iroquois/Haudenosaunee, and Susquehannock Confederacies



In recent years these objects have come to be emblems of Indian traditions in much of Northeastern North America. Most examples of the innumerable wampum bands that were made were small and monochromatic (Becker 2008a). Over the years most of the small examples were recycled, but many larger and more ornate examples, presumably those associated with more important treaties, have survived. About 300 examples of traditional wampum bands now are known (Stolle 2016).

A number of the surviving wampum bands bear simple and repetitive design elements, with “slashes” or paired diagonal stripes being perhaps the most common. These generally are found on belts of small to medium size. The few surviving bands of notably large size often bear much more complex designs (Becker 2001, 2006). The variations in design patterns enable us to establish several categories of belts and to associate these with specific types of requests made during wampum presentations: the presenting of a belt or other example of wampum together with a specific request, the acceptance of a wampum piece and the presentation of a return example signifies that the recipient will comply with the request. Although modern discussions regarding specific categories of belts go back to the beginning of this century (Becker 2001, Lainey 2004), only a few studies have attempted to develop a catalog of any specific type of belts bearing initials and/or dates (Becker and Lainey 2004) and the category with Latin crosses and/or Latin inscriptions that have ecclesiastical connections (Sanfaçon; Ms. in Becker 2006).

The use of the metaphor of an open road, or cleared path, between two parties appears frequently in treaty records dating from the later 1600s and after. Commonly, the cleared “road” concept was confirmed by the presentation of a wampum belt; a band that therefore might be identified as a “road” belt regardless of any design elements that appear on it, or even if no designs are present. I believe that many “road” belts have a single stripe running their length. Examples of belts with a single central stripe are extremely common, as is the case with two of the Maniwaki wampum belts (Becker 2016a).

FIGURE 2



Of considerable importance is the terminology used in describing wampum belts and their design elements. Woven bands have horizontal “rows” of beads, each composed of a number of files that cross the belt at a ninety-degree angle (except in the Penobscot diagonal woven examples (Becker 2005, 2012). A band, or belt, that is seven “rows” wide may have a single stripe the width of one or more “rows.” Thus the single stripe at the center of a belt may vary in the number of rows of which it is composed. To have two “stripes”, a belt requires a color separation between them. Of some importance is the simplicity of this single stripe as a “design element” in keeping with the relatively spare “figures” (designs) associated with early wampum belts.

In recent decades the term “two path” wampum belt has come to be used to describe any example of a band of wampum composed of at least five horizontal stripes, or alternating or contrasting colors, that extend for most or all of the entire length. Only four examples of old belts of this description can be documented now but records suggest that a fifth may exist somewhere and should be included in this inventory. An effort is made here to list these five examples (Appendix I, Table 1), with the recognition that at some point in the past many other belts of this design may have been created but were probably dismantled to recycle the wampum for other purposes. Two stripe wampum belts are not documented in the historical record before 1899, although Weiser’s 1748 description is often cited as an example (see below). While examples of belts with two stripes (cognitively) may have been related to “road” belts, no connection was stated clearly until after 1900.

The basic rules involving the presentation of wampum, such as belts or strings, were worked out by 1640. This historical detail is revealed in the 1642 report of the Jesuit Sebastien Cramoisy which offers an important early account of the process. Two Frenchmen had been captured earlier by a group of Iroquois, then brought to The Three Rivers to be redeemed at a treaty. At the negotiations of 1640-1641 the speaker for the Iroquois, “Onagan, arose, took the Sun as a witness of the sincerity of his proceeding, and then spoke ...” (Thwaites 1898:41). He spoke of the peace, and that these prisoners “will be French and Hiroquois at the same time, for we shall be only one people ... not only shall our customs be your customs, but we shall be so closely united that our chins shall be reclothed with hair, and with beards like yours” (43, 45). Onagan then presented a belt, this being “the custom of the country, in which the term ‘present’ is called ‘the word,’ in order to make clear that it is the present which speaks more forcibly than the lips ...”. Then Onagan, “Taking another porcelain collar, he put it on the ground in the form of a circle; ‘See’ said he, ‘the house that we shall have at the Three Rivers, when we come there to trade with you ...’.” The request that accompanied these “gifts” or “prestations” was directed to the Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagay whose allies the “Montagnais and of the Algonquins” be restrained when the Iroquois come to trade. Onagan made a total of four “presents” (presumably belts) as a representation “of the four Hiroquois Nations.”

The French return gifts, brought to ransom the two Frenchmen held prisoners, included items with a value that “surpassed by far those of the Barbarians” (Thwaites 1898: 47, 49, 52) but this ransom did not include any of the requested arquebuses. The Iroquois had specifically requested arquebuses, and that the Montagnais and Algonquins end their trade with the Dutch. No return

SAMPLE

Improving perinatal services for Kanyen'kehá:ka and their families: Making our words known through a Kanyen'kehá:ka philosophy of health and wellness

Tewahse'htha Brant, Iekonsi:io Brant, Kiowa Bernhardt, Erik Campbell, and Karen Lawford

Abstract

Our research proposal was co-developed with the Kenhtè:ke Midwives, Kelli Siegart, RM, from the Community Midwives of Kingston, and Karen Lawford, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the Department of Gender Studies at Queen's University. Dr. Lawford is also a registered midwife (Ontario) and an Anishinaabeg midwife (Lac Seul First Nation). The 15-year relationship between these three groups of midwives has been built on trust, reciprocity, and relationality. Together, we developed a research project to answer one open-ended research question to effect the perinatal care that Kanyen'kehá:ka and their families receive: **How can the perinatal services provided in Kingston be improved for Kanyen'kehá:ka and their families?** Our five research findings are thematically presented along with seven community-informed recommendations that will substantially improve the healthcare services that are provided to Kanyen'kehá:ka.

Keywords: Maternity care, healthcare services, Indigenous, perinatal

Introduction

Maternity care for the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte has been mostly provided outside of the community of Kenhtè:ke. Kenhtè:ke, which is also known as the Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory, is located approximately 70 km west of Kingston, Ontario, Canada, and 30 km east of Belleville, Ontario, Canada. The Kanyen'kehá:ka, or Mohawk Peoples, are one of the members of the six

nations within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Kenhtè:ke is known as being the birthplace of Tekanawita, who was sent by the creator to bring together the nations under the Great Law of Peace, Kayanerehkowa. As instructed within Kayanerehkowa, women are to hold significant and important governance responsibilities and from these teachings, Kanyen'kehá:ka are matrilineal and matriarchal, so family lines follow their mothers and are organized within specific clan systems. Clan Mothers lead and play integral roles in the preservation of land and culture. The teachings that originate from Tekanawita and Kayanerehkowa are practiced today and are linked to the importance of birthing our babies in the community.

Birth is a sacred process that welcomes a baby from the sky world down to earth. Just as Sky Woman, Yogegeesum, grabbed seeds when she fell to earth, so too do our babies come to earth as seeds. After they are born, babies establish roots and attach themselves deep into the ground. The planting of the placenta is a ceremonial practice that contributes to the anchoring of the baby to the land and as a member of the community. Through birth, community members are also rejuvenated because it promotes kinship, sustains culture, and continues Kanyen'kehá:ka roles and customs. The baby builds off this rejuvenation to develop a sense of identity, belonging, and trust of family and community. Relationality is thus re-established, and the life cycle begins anew. For these reasons, the beginnings of life, and birthing on the land and in the community are extraordinarily fundamental to Kanyen'kehá:ka and indeed, to all Indigenous Peoples.

Unfortunately, many Kanyen'kehá:ka are born outside of community but this relocation is not simply physical. Rather, relocation is a continuation of the enforced Euro-Canadian biomedical model that began in the late 1800s.¹ Shortly after Confederation in 1867, the

¹ Karen Lawford and Audrey Giles, "Marginalization and coercion: Canada's evacuation policy for pregnant First Nations women who live on reserves in rural and remote regions," *Pimatisiwin* 10, no. 3, (2012): 327-40.

Government of Canada along with European-trained physicians, nurses, and midwives purposefully targeted Indigenous birthing practices in alignment with national efforts to civilize and assimilate Indigenous Peoples into a generic Canadian identity. Through the imposition of colonization, Indigenous Peoples were forced to depend on white settler health systems as a result of amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1914 and 1952, which criminalized Indigenous health practices and banned Indigenous midwifery.² Consequently, the relocation of birthing services is much more than the provision of maternity care services outside of community; rather, it is a longstanding marker of colonialism, intentional disruptions of birth, and national efforts to remove Kanyen'kehá:ka from our land.

Today, Indigenous midwifery is no longer criminalized, but the professionalization of maternity care providers across Canada specifically and uniquely marginalizes Indigenous midwives and their knowledge systems.³ While non-Indigenous midwives have also experienced and continue to experience marginalization within healthcare systems across Canada, the extent to which Indigenous midwives have been persecuted cannot be compared to non-Indigenous midwives, because Indigenous Peoples are made subject to the Government of Canada via the highest power and authority in Canada, that is, the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

At a healthcare systems level, institutions continue to permit the racialization of Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous midwives to the extent that Indigenous Peoples strategize around anticipated racism when accessing care or avoid care all together.⁴ So, racism and racist

² Karen Stote, *An act of genocide: Colonialism and the sterilization of Aboriginal women* (Fernwood Publishing, 2015).

³ Erika Campbell et al., "Indigenous Relationality and Kinship and the Professionalization of a Health Workforce," *Turtle Island Journal of Indigenous Health* 1, no. 1, (2020): 8-13.

⁴ Billie Allan and Janet Smylie, "First Peoples, Second Class Treatment," *Wellesley Institute*, (2015): 1-17.

stereotyping directly inform the poor quality of healthcare provided to Indigenous Peoples by Euro-Canadian healthcare professionals, which results in poor health outcomes.⁵ For example, Joyce Echaquan, an Atikamekw woman, in September of 2020 at the Centre Hospitalier De Lanaudière in Québec, recorded nurses saying racist stereotypes and comments to the Indigenous woman moments prior to her death. This disgusting, racist, and inhumane healthcare illustrates the pervasive racism and hatred against Indigenous Peoples within health systems across Canada, who fear being on the receiving end of similar, deadly interactions with healthcare providers. It is important to draw attention to the Viens Report that documented the public services' mistreatment of Indigenous Peoples in Québec, which was published just one year prior to the death of Joyce Echaquan.⁶ Clearly, the Report's 26 Calls to Action have yet to be meaningfully implemented. The needless death of Joyce Echaquan serves as yet another reminder of the devastating impact racism has had on Indigenous Peoples and their communities.

The considerable efforts to reclaim and re-matriate birth in Kenhtè:ke has resulted in a community midwifery practice that was established in May 2012 called Kenhtè:ke Midwives - Kontinenhanónhnha Tsi Tkahà:nayen, which means: They are protecting the seeds at the Bay of Quinte. The Kenhtè:ke Midwives provide birthing services in the home and at their birthing centre; they do not have clinical privileges in any hospital setting, which is regular practice for Indigenous midwives who are not registered with a midwifery college. Since the opening of Kontinenhanónhnha Tsi Tkahà:nayen, there has been an increase in the number of community

⁵ M.E. Turpel-Lafond, "In plain sight: Addressing Indigenous-specific racism and discrimination in B.C. health care," *Government of British Columbia*, (2020): 4-224.

⁶ *Public Inquiry Commission on relations between Indigenous Peoples and certain public services in Québec: listening, reconciliation and progress: Final report* (2019, Commission d'enquête sur les relations entre les Autochtones et certains services publics).
https://www.cerp.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/Fichiers_clients/Rapport/Final_report.pdf

births, which has led to quiet but persistent conversations among community members about the birthing services outside of Kenhtè:ke—and especially at the nearby Kingston Health Sciences Centre—bringing to light experiences of unacceptable and racist treatment experienced by some Kanyen’kehá:ka when receiving maternity care outside the community. To systematically collect and present community member’s experiences in Kingston, a formal research proposal was submitted to the Indigenous Mentorship Network Program of Ontario, which was awarded in the summer of 2019.

Methods

We organized two half-day focus groups in Kenhtè:ke in February 2020 at the Mohawk Community Centre. As a research method, the focus group facilitated “the explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group.”⁷ Our goal of implementing a focus group was to obtain data on a specific issue in the particular social context wherein participants considered their experiences in relation to others.⁸ Within the field of health research, focus groups have been utilized since the 1980s to aid in health education, quality of care, health promotion, and social action.⁹ We grounded the focus group in decolonizing theory and Indigenous methodology to establish relational accountability between the researchers and community members so the generated knowledge met the specific needs of the community.¹⁰ Relational accountability “means that the methodology

⁷ Sue Wilkinson, “Focus group methodology: A review,” *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 1, no. 3, (1998): 182.

⁸ Nicola Robinson, “The use of focus group methodology—with selected examples from sexual health research,” *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 29 no. 4, (1999): 905–13.

⁹ Robinson, “The use of focus group methodology,” 905-13. Wilkinson, “Focus group methodology,” 181-203. ¹⁰ Shawn Wilson, *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods* (Fernwood, 2008).

needs to be based in a community context (be relational) and has to demonstrate respect, reciprocity and responsibility (be accountable) as it is put into action.”¹⁰ Our research approach, therefore, was demonstrably built on Indigenous kinship and relationality, which aligned with Kanyen’kehá:ka values and philosophies.

The Board of Directors of the Kenhtè:ke Midwives approved the research and an ethics certificate was granted by Queen’s University Health Sciences & Affiliated Teaching Hospital Research Ethics Board. In partnership with Kenhtè:ke Midwives, the focus group was advertised throughout the community using printed posters. An electronic version of the poster was also posted on the Kenhtè:ke Midwives’ Facebook page.

The focus group began with a Thanksgiving Address and incorporated cultural practices, which will not be described in this article to respect specific community teachings. Each participant gave written consent prior to focus group participation and research team members who were not part of Kenhtè:ke signed confidentiality forms to maintain relational accountability. The recorded text was not attributed to any one person to respect the agreed upon anonymity of focus group participation and as such, no direct quotations are cited in the results; there is one quote included because it clearly articulated the frustration and hopelessness expressed within the focus groups. Paraphrased participant contributions from the focus groups were included.

The focus groups took place in a circular formation and were moderated by Wah:èseh (Jessica Danforth). Participant contributions were simultaneously typed out by Erika Campbell and Karen Lawford. After the focus groups, the recorded transcripts were shared with the Kenhtè:ke Midwives for review as a provision of relational accountability and to verify adequate

¹⁰ Wilson, *Research is ceremony*, 99.

SAMPLE

Charles W.A. Prior's book: *Settlers in Indian Country*.
Cambridge Elements Comparative Political Theory. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Reviewed by Carl Benn
Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University)

Settlers in Indian Country is a short and dense study of sovereignty and alliance in relation to the interactions between Indigenous polities and anglophone governments in pre- and postrevolutionary America. Its main geographical and chronological foci are Iroquoia from the formal establishment of the Covenant-Chain relationship in the latter 1600s to the end of the 1700s. During this period, the Haudenosaunee sought to protect their independence within the ever-tightening constraints of the demographic shift between native and newcomer populations, the tragedies of the period's wars, the loss of most of their lands, the creation of restrictive reservation societies, and the diminution of their ability to resist unwanted intrusions into their lives from hostile outsiders. Charles Prior, a Canadian-trained reader in History at the University of Hull, also discusses the implications of the Chain's legacies for Indigenous affairs today and shares his thoughts on how settler society's constitutional legacies have been influenced by the treaty-making process.

Among a number of ideas explored, the author asserts that formal recognition of the Covenant-Chain relationship in the 1670s affirmed Haudenosaunee dependency upon the Crown, which required the Five – later Six – Nations in their confederacy to recognize the imperial government's claims of sovereignty over their lands. He thinks that treaties associated with the Chain originally sought to protect eastern North American Indigenous peoples, but as the years passed the Chain increasingly became a tool to facilitate settler expansion. In reviewing the Royal

Proclamation of 1763, which in part may be seen as an articulation of Covenant-Chain principles in a rapidly changing world, he affirms that it contained “both the elements of the Indigenous ‘Magna Carta’ and the embryo of removal, reservations, and forced acculturation” (p. 56). This is a nice statement that captures the ambiguities associated with so much of colonial era diplomacy. Like other scholars, he sees a degrading shift in Euro-American/Indigenous relations occurring in the new United States following the Revolutionary War. In contemplating the larger history of anglophone America’s political evolution, he writes that we make a mistake in discussing political thought in the colonial and early-republican periods only in terms of Eurocentric discourse. Rather, he argues that we need to factor in the mitigating impact of Indigenous efforts to confront, constrain, and shape colonialist agendas. One of the means by which the First Nations did this – which he believes is crucial – was through the complexities of the metaphorical language spoken at councils, which generated respect from white authorities, and which was embedded in treaties between them. These included the regular recitations of Indigenous understanding of how workable foundational relationships had been established in the early-contact period, how Euro-Americans regularly had failed to live up to them, and how their shortcoming had to be corrected to restore “correct” cross-cultural connections. (In presenting this idea, Dr. Prior does not fall into the common trap of citing the “1613 Two-Row treaty,” which is nothing more than a 1950s fraud perpetrated by a white man, Lawrence Van Loon, to corrupt Haudenosaunee historiography.)

Overall, the author has produced a useful text; however, at only sixty pages in length, its limited scope prevents him from adding the context, qualification, and nuance that would be expected of a longer study. Hence, outstanding older books, such as Francis Jennings’s *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (1984) and *Empire of Fortune* (1988), or Daniel Richter’s *Ordeal of*

the Longhouse (1992) and Laurence Hauptman's *Conspiracy of Interests* (1999), would serve many readers better. It also does not have a bibliography, but anyone could use the footnotes to construct a relatively up-to-date list of key studies on the subject of native-newcomer diplomacy as a supplement to those published in previous studies or listed on electronic databases.

Settlers in Indian Country is a misleading title for this work and may cause innocent book purchasers to expect it will be something completely different from the text that would arrive in their post-boxes. For graduate students, however, the monograph would be a useful introduction to some of the intricacies of Indigenous sovereignty and could serve as a reading that instructors might assign for seminar discussions. Specialists may find it to be beneficial in refreshing their understanding on the subject.

SAMPLE

Maeve Kane's book: *Shirts Powdered Red: Haudenosaunee Gender, Trade, and Exchange across Three Centuries*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2023.

Reviewed by Karen Lewis
Tyendinaga Community Librarian (Retired)

Author Maeve Kane has produced a meticulously researched book that examines, through a Haudenosaunee lens, the important role of Haudenosaunee women in trade and diplomacy through the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.

She exposes the different understanding and expectations of gender roles and responsibilities in Haudenosaunee and British/French or other settlers' societies. The settlers' hope that conversion, school education, and change of dress would remake us in their image demonstrates their lack of understanding of Haudenosaunee ways. For the Haudenosaunee in the 1700s, church attendance established kinship ties with the settlers, while sending young people to their schools was diplomatic in nature. Trade items of clothing and blankets offered by the settlers were used or reworked to suit Haudenosaunee culture and identity.

Regarding the fur trade, it was interesting to read the author's evidence of how the number of beaver pelts trapped or traded depended in large part on whether there was illness or war, rather than on a decreasing number of beavers. Also of note was that trade items were developed and produced specifically for the Native trade i.e. blankets of certain colours and finishes.

The author also details Haudenosaunee displacement and loss of lands as a result of the American Revolution. While the French and British tried to win Haudenosaunee support, American tactics were more "burn and destroy." The role of women came to the fore again during negotiations for the Treaty of Canandaigua when "Haudenosaunee women used the language of repentance and civility to rebuke American colonialist aims and secure their own nations' sovereignty." Viewed through a British, French, or other European lens, the work and role of Haudenosaunee women in society was to cook, clean and bear children. As Kane reaffirms, the true role of Haudenosaunee women permeated all aspects of our society.

I thoroughly enjoyed the book. The research was most impressive including archival documents, books, and conversations with Haudenosaunee people of today. It strikes me that we still tend to change items from the dominant culture to represent our identity. I'm reminded of a friend who, years ago, finally found a Cabbage Patch doll for her daughter and totally changed the outfit to one of deer hide, and of my sister who, a few months ago, purchased a skirt to save time and added several rows of ribbons on the bottom.

I'm so happy to own this book and will recommend it, read it again, and lend it to a trusted few.

OBITUARY

Barbara Graymont, 1925-2019



(Photographs by Terry Abrams taken October 5, 2008: left, Dr Graymont at podium, right, Dr. Graymont with Dr. Arwin Smallwood)

On August 25, 2019, Iroquoianist scholar Dr. Barbara Graymont, former head of the department of history at Nyack College (now Alliance University) passed away. Barbara received her doctorate from Columbia University under the mentorship of Richard Morris, a giant in American Revolutionary War and United States Constitutional history. Among her instructors at Columbia at the time were internationally renowned historians, Richard Hofstadter and Allan Nevins. I was later honored when Barbara invited me to join her at one of these research seminars at Columbia.

An outstanding scholar, Graymont was best known for the following publications: *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972); editor of *Fighting Tuscarora; The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard* (Syracuse: University Press, 1973) and *Early American Documents and Laws, 1607-1787. Vol. X: New York and New Jersey Treaties*. (Bethesda, Maryland: University Publications of America, 1976). Besides her books, her scholarly articles appeared in journals such as *New York History*. Barbara even authored a

book for high school students - *The Iroquois* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House 1988; reprinted in a second edition in 2005). The review of *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* in the *William and Mary Quarterly* called her first book the “definitive account” on the subject. The *Western Historical Quarterly* ‘s review of her edited account of Clinton Rickard’s extraordinary life called it “no less important” than previous autobiographies of prominent Native Americans such as Black Hawk, Black Elk, and Wooden Leg.

I first met Barbara at my first attendance at the Iroquois Research Conference in 1974. Over the next decade, she would kindly send her handwritten notes to me commenting on drafts of *The Iroquois and the New Deal* (1981) and *The Iroquois Struggle for Survival* (1986), She would also answer my questions and encourage my submission of these two manuscripts to Syracuse University Press. Indeed, both Jack Campisi’s writings and Barbara’s article – “New York State Indian Policy after the Revolution,” *New York History*, 58 Oct. 1976), p. 438-474— heavily influenced me and my later research direction. The result was my *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse; Syracuse University Press, 1999) and my testimony in federal court on behalf of the Cayuga in 2000.

Barbara would also recount stories to me about the determined fight of the Tuscarora against Robert Moses and the New York State Power Authority that she had been told while preparing the autobiography of Chief Rickard and doing fieldwork on the reservation. She would point out that tribal resistance included the Tuscarora sabotage of the project by shooting out high beam lights to prevent night construction on the reservoir project. She also included the colorful stories of one Tuscarora woman, known as the ‘shit bitch’ [I withhold her name here] on the reservation who hurled excrement at construction workers. As a young historian, I was impressed that a historian, unlike most at the time, was doing fieldwork. With the encouragement

of anthropologists at the Iroquois Research Conference, especially Jack Campisi, and the joy of working with my late friend Gordy McLester, a Wisconsin Oneida historian, I saw the value of combining archival research with fieldwork, a method that helped me understand both sides of the cultural divide.

Tony Wallace once said to me that scholars have the obligation to share their findings in presentations or in other ways with the community where they did their interviews and fieldwork. Barbara Graymont understood this concept of reciprocity. Almost every July, she would attend the Jay Treaty commemorative ceremony in Niagara Falls. Importantly, she once told me that she was most proud that her writings were cited by the United States Supreme Court in the Oneida Indian land claims case in 1974.

RIP Barbara,

Laurence M. Hauptman

Distinguished Professor of History Emeritus

SUNY New Paltz

Thoughts on John Kahionhes Fadden

By Darren Bonaparte



(Dec. 26, 1938- Aug 18, 2022)

(Pictures of John Kahionhes Fadden provided by Dave Fadden)

The late Seneca scholar John Mohawk wrote about the “traditional Indian movement” that was revitalized in the 1960s. Akwesasne’s manifestation of it is well-known. The Longhouse wasn’t just a place for ceremonies. It was a mindset. It didn’t wait for the media to pay attention. It started its own. It published newspapers, books, and posters, all of which found a receptive audience both in Indian Country and around the world.

This Indigenous press focused on contemporary issues, as would be expected, but it also celebrated traditional Rotinonshionni culture. Art played an important role in bringing that world to life in the mind of the reader.

For those who read this literature growing up, it is difficult to think about the events of the Haudenosaunee Creation Story and the Great Law of Peace without thinking of the art of John Kahionhes Fadden. He illustrated not only the work of his father, Ray, but the covers and pages of countless books and articles by other authors. His work has a profound dimension of indigenous authenticity.

Did the Haudenosaunee influence Ben Franklin and other Founding Fathers in creating their new government? Some historians are not convinced, but I believe it because John Fadden drew a picture of it. That’s as good as a photograph to me.

During my time working for Indigenous media, at *Akwesasne Notes* and *Indian Time*, we would receive in the mail the occasional letter from John Fadden, our good friend up in the Adirondacks. When we would open it, it would be full of pen-and-ink graphics he created some no bigger than an inch or two. This was before computers took over, so they would be run through a wax machine and incorporated manually into the layout of both newspapers to fill up

little spaces here and there. Every one of them had his unmistakable style, creativity, sense of humor, and love for our culture. Placing them on the boards was a nice “final touch” to that week’s work.

John has begun his journey to Creator’s land in 2022, but I am sure that he knows that the Fadden legacy is in good hands and that the museum he and his father created will have an exciting and enduring future as the Six Nations Iroquois Cultural Center with his sons at the helm. Back at Akwesasne, the movement that his visionary art was such a huge part of is now a thriving way of life. It stopped being a movement a long time ago, but art is still a major part of all that it is.

Mission accomplished.

SAMPLE

Inside this issue

M. Becker,
Wampum Belts with Roads (Paths) or Covenant Chains
(Chains of Friendship) Design Elements and Their Possible
Standardization1

T. Brant, I. Brant, K. Bernhardt, E. Campbell, and K.
Lawford,
Improving Perinatal Services of Kanyen'kehá:ka and Their
Families: Making Our Words Known through a
Kanyen'kehá:ka Philosophy of Health and
Wellness54

Book Reviews.....84

Settlers in Indian Country, by Charles W. A. Prior (reviewed
by C. Benn)

Shirts Powdered Red: Haudenosaunee Gender, Trade and
Exchange across Three Centuries, by Meave Kane (reviewed
by K. Lewis)

Obituaries.....88

Barbara Graymont, honored by L. M. Hauptman

John Kahionhes Fadden, honored by D. Bonaparte

ISSN: 2474-2856

SAMPLE