

**The Emergence of the Mohawk Warrior Flag:
A symbol of Indigenous unification and impetus to assertion of identity and
rights commencing in the Kanienkehaka community of Kahnawake**

Kahente Horn-Miller

A Thesis

In

The Department

Of

Sociology and Anthropology

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

August 2003

© Kahente Horn-Miller, 2003

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 0-612-83836-6

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 0-612-83836-6

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

Canada

ABSTRACT

The Emergence of the Mohawk Warrior Flag:
A symbol of Indigenous unification and impetus to assertion of identity and rights
commencing in the Kanienkehaka community of Kahnawake

Kahente Horn-Miller

For centuries the Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) have struggled to maintain a certain level of autonomy by acting in accord with the principles of our constitution, the Kaienerekowa or Great Law of Peace. In the past, our interpretations of our law and of the core values of our society were greatly eroded and almost lost because of colonial influences. As Indigenous peoples we have found it necessary both to react to and to differentiate ourselves from the beliefs, values and practices that have been imposed on us. In recent decades, members of our communities have begun to take action, speaking up and creating artistic works about Indigenous culture and values. Our attempts to break free from foreign systems of governance, learning and religion sometimes use the tools of the dominant society. The work of Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall is one example of this phenomenon. The Mohawk Warrior Flag he designed has been flown all over the world, serving as a symbol of the unity of Indigenous peoples in our common struggle, becoming a beacon of hope, and illuminating the discordant relationship between the dominant society and Indigenous peoples. My research, which deals in part with the appearance of the Flag during the Oka Crisis and Lobster Dispute at Esgenoopetitj (Burnt Church), is part of this movement. It introduces a Kanienkehaka perspective on the Flag, reconstructing its history and applying the philosophy of the Kaienerekowa to give a voice to the people who turn to it for support in their ongoing struggles with colonialism.

Acknowledgements

Over the past four and a half years this research has been a source of much personal growth and cultural learning. A number of people deserve recognition and thanks for getting me through it.

First of all, I want to thank ake'nisténha Kahn-Tineta Horn who stays true to her convictions and who does everything a mother should to help her children grow. She has opened my eyes by doing what comes naturally in enacting her rightful role as a Kanienkehaka woman, mother and Warrior during the Oka Crisis. Most importantly, she shared her knowledge and insight with me in the years that have followed which have helped me to understand so much. Thanks go to my sisters Ojistoh and Waneek, who have both inspired me, given their insight, and have been a solid foundation to lean against when I needed it, and to Kanietio, who lives the teachings and remains true to herself. To my daughter Karonhioko'he and my nieces Kanontienentha, Tekanenhorens, and Ionatari:shon, I give them thanks for keeping me grounded in reality. To my daughter Kokowa who has been in existence as long as this thesis, I give thanks. To Ekiyan, who deserves much thanks. He came along at the right time and helped me to run that last mile. To Darren Bonaparte, whose respect, unwavering enthusiasm and insight kept me going. To Grace Lix-Xiu Woo and Reuben Lobe, I give thanks for their friendship and enthusiasm. To Joanie Lacroix and Phillip Jacobs, I give thanks for caring for my daughter as they do their own. To all of you, you are my 'community'.

I am grateful to the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq people who opened their homes and shared their insights and stories with me. To my Kanienkehaka brothers and sisters, Nia:wen kowa! I would also like to thank the people of Esgenoopetitj, most particularly

Miigam'agan and Gkisedtanamoogk and their three beautiful children, Clifford Larry, Melissa Larry, little William and their mother Alma Larry for making my family feel at home and helping me to see the community as it really is.

At Concordia, I would like to thank David Howes for seeing something in my work so long ago and encouraging me to take it further. Thanks to Dominique Legros and Daniel Salee for their interest in my ideas and to Jody Staveley and the rest of the support staff for their administrative support. Thanks to Taiaiake Alfred for his insight and support, you are an inspiration. And finally, thanks to all my fellow graduate students, in particular Tiffany Ryan for keeping me on track.

Special thanks to Stephen Augustine for completing the circle and to Tewenhni'tó:ken, Owisokon, Stephanie Morgan, Rick Pouliot, Kateniies, Marian Snow, Diane Thomas, Mark Fraser, Sara-Jean Green, Manon Tremblay and the staff at the Concordia Center for Native Education for your constant friendship, interest and support in my research. Loran Thompson, Tekarontake, and Francis Boots, Nia:wen kowa!

I would like to show my great appreciation for sources of financial and technical support throughout my graduate studies. The staff at the Kahnawake Education Center gave me financial support and kept on encouraging me. My family gave me what little they had and even more. Office space and part-time work was provided by Daniel Saleé of the School of Community and Public Affairs and the Concordia Center for Native Education.

This thesis is dedicated to Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall.

'On the edge of the sky' (1917-1993)

His work continues to inspire me in so many ways.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	vii
Introduction	1
The Issue	1
Small Condolence Ceremony	5
Research Question	11
Plan and Methodology	15
Chapter One	19
The Kaienerekowa or Law of Great Peace	21
Looking From Within	29
The Role of the Post-Modern Critique.....	34
Complementary Theory and Methodologies	37
Emancipatory Research	39
Connections and Ethical Dilemmas	40
The Fieldwork Experience	45
Some Reflections	52
Chapter Two.....	53
A Man Named Karoniaktajeh	55
Genesis of the Flag.....	81
Elements of the Flag	95
Chapter Three.....	112
The Oka Crisis	113
The Lobster Dispute.....	115
‘A Peoples’	120
Differing ideas of sovereignty	121
The Different Use of a Flag	123
Flag as Bonding Agent.....	126
Flag Illuminates a Relationship	129
Normal and Deviant Symbols	130
Phases of Identity Construction	136
Symbolic Expression and Intranational Focus.....	142
Chapter Four	150
Conclusion	165
References	169
Appendix A – Ganienkeh Manifesto	173
Appendix B – The Founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.....	185
Appendix C – Treaty of 1760, Peace and Friendship	208
Appendix D – Kanienkehaka Creation Story.....	215
Appendix E – Mi’kmaq Creation Story	224
Glossary of Terms	229

List of Figures

Figure 1. Photograph: Warrior Flag at Esgenoopetitj.....	13
Figure 2. Illustration: Deganawida. The Peace Maker	23
Figure 3. Photograph: Covenant Circle Wampum.....	26
Figure 5. Map: Kanienkehaka Territories	45
Figure 4. Map: Kespékewaq District	46
Figure 6. Photographs: Karoniaktajeh, Body Builder and Artist.....	55
Figure 7. Illustration: Indian Statue of Liberty	61
Figure 8. Illustration: Civilization.....	62
Figure 9. Illustration: I Want You For The Warrior Society	66
Figure 10. Illustration: Big Sister is Watching You	67
Figure 11. Illustration: American Indian Movement Poster	70
Figure 12. Painting: Statue of Captivity	78
Figure 13. Illustration: 500 Years of Indigenous Resistance	82
Figure 14. Illustration: Entrance to Ganienkeh.....	87
Figure 15. Painting: The Indian Flag	89
Figure 16. Illustration: The Neverending Longhouse.....	90
Figure 17. Illustration: Flag of Ganienkeh.....	91
Figure 18. Poster: Celebration of Ganienkeh's 6 th Anniversary	93
Figure 19. Photograph: Flag Created for Kahnawake Mohawk Warrior Society.....	95
Figure 20. Illustration: Wedding Invitation	102
Figure 21. Poster: Celebration of Ganienkeh's 7 th Anniversary	104
Figure 22. Illustration: Flag of the Mi'kmawei Mawiomí.....	108

Figure 23. Illustration: Early depiction of Mi'kmaq Man	109
Figure 24. Illustration: Proposed Mi'kmaq National Flag.....	110
Figure 25. Chart: Collective Conscience and Intranational Expression	147

Introduction

The Issue

It is necessary to realize that research in Indigenous culture must occur with an awareness of the particular social and political conditions in which it takes place. In the past, we were forced to accommodate ourselves to colonialism. We adapted in the face of severe cultural stress to ensure our economic and cultural survival as a nation, and our core values and sense of identity survived. It is within this environment, where Indigenous peoples are struggling to revitalize traditional languages, social structures and economically stable communities, that this thesis takes shape.

Before going any further, it is necessary to illustrate and validate the approach that will be utilized. The aim is to re-orient the reader to the Haudenosaunee* world view. This is crucial in order to understand the Warrior Flag.¹ It is also necessary to situate myself in this work and have the reader recognize who I am as a Kanienkehaka. I write in the familiar, using such words as 'I', 'my', 'our', and 'us'. This is in order to use myself figuratively as a kind of bridge, one that will diminish the cultural divide and bring to life the current realities of the Haudenosaunee. Thus, the perspective and methodology that will be used in this work are based on the traditional teachings of the Kaienerekowa that my people have managed to keep alive.

* Throughout this work the Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) and Mi'kmaq language terms will be used rather than English in order that the perspective of the author and the subject can be better understood. Please see the glossary for appropriate meanings.

¹ The term Warrior Flag will be used in the beginning of this thesis to denote the Flag as a whole and referred to as 'the Flag' throughout the thesis. In addition, in the course of this work, it will be shown that the Warrior Flag is also known as the Ganieneh Flag and Unity Flag and it will be further illustrated what the Flag means when referred to with those two different terms.

This work is simply an honest sharing of what I am made of. As it is, I am a Kanienkehaka of the Bear Clan of the community of Kahnawake. What makes me Kanienkehaka is based in my understanding of and relationship to the natural world. As there are no books to tell me what a Kanienkehaka is, only oral tradition and guidance from my elders, I have had to spend many years nurturing what I inherited from my ancestors. No one can tell me how to think or how to view the world. Only proper nurturing and strategic guidance have been my allies in this personal quest for understanding. Therefore many of the conclusions are based in the philosophy and teachings of my people. I had only to look there. As is customary, we have a responsibility to take the time to understand all viewpoints and come to what we call a meeting of the minds. This is what I have done and now I share it with you.

Though this thesis is centered in Haudenosaunee culture and world view, it corresponds to a more recent movement towards the affirmation of Indigenous methodologies and perspectives as viable tools in western academia. We are using the knowledge we inherited to understand ourselves better. During the late twentieth century, international law affirmed the equality of all men and women and the right of peoples to self-determination (Akwesasne Notes, 1995; Charter of the United Nations [1945] T.S. Can. No 7; Churchill, 1999). At least at this international level, the dominant culture no longer believes that it has the authority to legitimize, or de-legitimize, our status. As the institutions of the dominant culture begin to espouse egalitarian values that are familiar to us, there is some convergence in our goals and some hope that we can appropriate these institutions in support of our survival. The United Nations has taken

this to task in its Preliminary Report on the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples.

[T]he heritage of an indigenous people is not merely a collection of objects, stories and ceremonies, but a complete knowledge system with its own concepts of epistemology, philosophy, and scientific and logical validity. The diverse elements of an indigenous people's heritage can only be fully learned or understood by means of the pedagogy traditionally employed by these peoples themselves, including apprenticeship, ceremonies and practice. Simply recording words or images fails to capture the whole context and meaning of songs, rituals, arts or scientific and medical wisdom. This also underscores the central role of indigenous peoples' own languages, through which each people's heritage has traditionally been recorded and transmitted from generation to generation. – Dr. Erica-Irene Daes, Preliminary Report of the Special Rapporteur: Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples (1994, para.8).

International support for our perspective is essential because it benefits all of humanity.

Although, practices linked to the last century are still used to deny the validity of Indigenous peoples continued existence, to land and resources, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, and our own systems of living in our environments. International actions provide some attention and protection on a global scale, although sometimes our own priorities and the problems of individual cultures and communities get lost in the arguments. Solving such issues often demands an understanding of ourselves as Indigenous peoples and the use of such understanding in finding ways in which we can develop the tools to get answers to our concerns. This is where decolonizing methodologies comes into play.

In our own ways, our people have been struggling to eliminate the vast discrimination against us and our inherent human and legal rights. It is within this context that new forms of resistance to colonization are being developed. The creation and use of culturally appropriate tools is another means of ending the hold that colonization has on Indigenous peoples.

This did not start here. In fact, other Indigenous scholars (Smith 1999; Harris 2003; Churchill 1992) have covered a variety of issues concerning colonialism such as decolonization, empowerment strategies, the nature of historical documentation, methods of research, to name a few. The vast number of writings out there indicates the expansiveness of scholarly thought on the consequences of colonization and we are working our way out from under the hold it has on our peoples.

This thesis marks the first attempt at establishing Haudenosaunee philosophy as a valid paradigm for theory and methodology in western academia. As such, the Kaienerekowa will be used in conjunction with western practice to explore the meaning of the Warrior Flag. This exercise is part of a process of reaffirming of the validity of using Indigenous ideology to explain things. As Arif Dirlik states,

Indigenous ideology [emphasis my own], ... defies all the protocols associated with postmodern/postcolonial criticism ... Not only does it affirm the possibilities of 'real' native identity, but it asserts as the basis for such identity a native subjectivity that has survived, depending on location, as many as five centuries of colonialism and cultural disorientation. Not only does it believe in the possibility of recapturing the essence of pre-colonial indigenous culture, but it bases this belief on a spirituality that exists outside of historical time.²

The first step in this process is to reorient the reader. Using ceremony, I will attempt to situate you within Haudenosaunee world view and established thought paradigm, the Kaienerekowa. To begin in an appropriate manner, I will therefore begin with the Small Condolence.

² Dirlik, 1996, p. 6.

Small Condolence Ceremony

It is necessary to begin this process by taking the reader through a process of opening the eyes, ears and mind to achieve a 'washing away' in a sense of the old values and prejudices in order to reorient oneself to the Haudenosaunee world view. In order to do this, the reader will be taken through a narrative based on the Small Condolence ceremony based on interviews conducted with a longhouse person³ and personal experiences with the ceremony itself.

The formal Condolence ceremony is usually comprised of fifteen strings of wampum, each with words and actions associated with it. These fifteen strings are used in times of duress, such as when a chief or clanmother passes away. It is meant to remove the grief associated with the death and clear the eyes, ears and minds of the community in order that grief will not get in the way of life. Three of the strings may also be used for the small Condolence ceremony. This is used when one has gone through a difficult situation or when absolute objectivity is necessary. In this ceremony, the eyes, ears and throat of the person are cleansed in order that they may see and hear things clearly and also enable them to speak clearly on the issue at hand. This is meant to cleanse them after a difficult process in order that they can go on with their daily life or to achieve the highest level of objectivity and purity in making a difficult decision. This is why it will be used at the beginning of this thesis.

The leaves are turning and everything is becoming quiet. The dry stalks of the last harvest rustle as the cool wind blows through. You pull your sweater around you as you make the short walk to the longhouse. Your thoughts are on the coming winter as the chill seeps through your clothes. You enter and take your place next to your brothers and sisters of the clan. There is a low murmur of voices and sounds of people assembling as they settle in and enjoy the company and warm air. An old, hunched man enters, rubbing his knobby hands together as though to rid them of the chill of the autumn breeze. He

³ LT 07/31/02

takes his place next to his brothers and removes his floppy brown hat to reveal a head of wispy gray hair. From within a plain canvas bag he has brought with him he takes out a gustowa. With extreme gentleness and pride he places it upon his head, adjusting it ever so slightly. This act transforms him from an old stooped man to a regal chief of the clan. At this point other men and women enter through their respective doors and settle in. Slowly, the old man stands and takes his place near the central fire. He lifts his head and silently addresses the people with his startling blue eyes. It suddenly becomes quiet as we all place our thoughts and actions aside and put our attention on the Royaner. He begins to speak...

Onwa wenhniserate ionkwakia'taron ne iorikwa:ken ne aitewaka'enionnion tsiniiohtonha:kie tsina'titewatere ne onkwehshon:'a tanon'tsini:iot tsi rokwaterakwen ne ohontsia:ke. Ne ne a:ienre'k akwe:kon sken:nen tsitewanonhton:nion ne tsiniionkwe:take kenhnon:we iahitewaia'taie:ri oni tsi ionkwata'kari:te iah thaho:ten tekionkwakia'tonkion ne kanonhwa'ktenhtshera'. Ne kati ehnon:we iorihwa:ke tsi entewatke'we ne kanonhwaratonhtshera. Ehtho niihtonha'k ne onkwa'nikon:ra.⁴

(Today we have gathered and we see that the cycles of life continue. We have been given the duty to live in balance and harmony with each other and all living things. So now, we bring our minds together as one as we give greetings and thanks to each other as People. Now our minds are one.)

Onen non:wa ehnon:we nentsitewate'nikonhraie:ra'te. Iethi'nistenha Ohontsia tsi ne'e taiakohtka'wenha:kie tsinaho'ten'shon ionkionhehkwen. Iotshennon:nia't tsi she:kon teionkhihsniekie tsini:iot tsi shakohrienaien:ni ne shahakwata:ko ne tsiionhontsia:te. Ne ionkhihawihshon ne onkwehshon:'a tsinikari:wes ohontsia:ke teionkwatawen:rie. Ne kati ehnon:we iorihwa:ke tsi entewatka'we ne kanonhwaratonhtshera. Ehtho niihtonha'k ne onkwa'nikon:ra.

(We are all thankful to our Mother, the Earth, for she gives us all that we need for life. She supports our feet as we walk about upon her. It gives us joy that she continues to care for us as she has from the beginning of time. To our Mother, we send greetings and thanks. Now our minds are one.)

In a steady voice he continues. He gives thanks to the waters, the fish, the plants, the food plants, the medicine herbs, the animals, the trees, the birds, the four winds, the thunderers, the sun, grandmother moon, the stars, the enlightened teachers, and the powers of creation.

As he speaks we all sit and listen, some with our eyes closed and some with our heads bowed in concentration. As he finishes each section we reply with a 'huh' in unison. At the end he takes a deep breath, stands taller and begins to speak again...

⁴ This version of the Ohen:ton Karihwatehkwen is adapted from Thanksgiving Address: Greetings to the Natural World. Ohen:ton Karihwatehkwen: Words Before All Else printed by the Native Self-Sufficiency Center. Six Nations Indian Museum. Tracking Project. Tree of Peace Society.

Now is the time to listen. Many generations of our ancestors have struggled and survived so that we may be sitting here today...as a family. Through adversity we have managed to continue to keep a special relationship alive, our relationship with Mother Earth. And have the sacred ceremonies, which have enabled us to continue to renew this relationship. When we are born, we are born with the knowledge of what we will become and what our responsibilities are. As we grow older we begin to learn and understand what we are supposed to do, what our roles and duties are to Mother Earth and to one another. There is a young woman who has come to understand what her role is in this world. She has come to see that she is a mother, sister, daughter, and teacher. As a teacher she has presented us with her thesis, which we have been asked to evaluate.

He pauses as though searching for words and then continues...

We have a number of tasks before us. It is our responsibility as members of her clan and of the longhouse family to assist her in strengthening herself and provide a proper atmosphere so that she may carry out her responsibilities to the best of her ability. Our second task is to read her work and learn from it, but before we can do that we must have clear, open minds, our ears must be free from interference around us and our throats must be clear of obstructions so that we may respond with unbiased words. So, we are here today to conduct three strings of the condolence in order that we may approach her work in an objective way. This is how we may begin to help this young woman fulfill her role and responsibilities to the clan, community, and nation. She is giving us her words so that we may see and learn something we need to see. And in return, we must give her our words, thoughts and ideas so that she may improve this work and share it with others of Turtle Island.

Creation has given us the things we need to accomplish this task. We have been given the skin of the doe which we have made soft and pliable so that we can use it to cleanse the eyes. We have been given the feather of the eagle, which we can use to cleanse our ears. And we have been given the water which we can use to cleanse our throats.

He pauses and looks to a bench on his right where a young man stands up and walks towards him. He presents the Royaner with a good-sized piece of doe skin and then turns back to where he was seated. As the Royaner continues to speak the young man assembles a bucket of water with a large ladle and a feather and then sits down as though to wait for his next duty. The Royaner continues to speak...

Here is a piece of soft doeskin. This is so that we may gently clear our eyes of any debris that might not allow us to see clearly. We have a duty to see what she has put before us with unclouded judgment.

The Royaner then turns and walks to his right and approaches the bench where the men of his clan are sitting. He gently wipes the eyes of the first man seated there. As he approaches the next one, the man lifts his face to the outstretched hand of the Royaner and closes his eyes. The Royaner then gently wipes his eyes. As the Royaner goes on to the next one, the man smiles a small smile of peace and contentment. This process continues until each member of the clan has had their eyes cleansed. When the first clan is finished, the Royaner approaches the next bench where the women of another clan are seated.

As you sit and wait your turn, you watch silently as each person in the longhouse has their eyes gently wiped. You sit and think of what that piece of doeskin will feel like on your eyes. What will it smell like? Will it smell like smoke? How gentle will the Royaner be when he wipes your eyes? As you sit and wait you feel at peace. The air in the longhouse is quiet and there is a low murmur of voices mixed with the shuffle of the Royaner's feet as he goes from person to person. As the minutes go by he gets closer to you. Suddenly he stands before the person to your right. They lift their face to the Royaner. The Royaner gently wipes their eyes. You can smell the doeskin in his hand. It has a musky scent. The Royaner then stands before you and you turn your face to meet his hand. As you look up, you see his kind blue eyes looking down at you and then you close your eyes. He gently wipes first the left eye then the right one with gentle yet sure strokes. It feels like a soft piece of cotton gently moving across your eyelids. Then he is done. You blink once and smile a small smile as he moves on to the next person. As you wait for the Royaner to finish with the others, you remember the feel of the doeskin gently moving across your eyelids and its low musky smell. In your mind you ask yourself, can I see better? Are the lights and colors more sharp? Do I feel different?

The Royaner finishes with the last one and then turns to the young man on the bench at his right. The young man stands up and walks to the Royaner. He takes the doeskin from his outstretched hand and hands him the feather in return. The Royaner nods his head in thanks and turns to the middle of the longhouse. He begins to speak...

Here is a feather which I will use to clean our ears of any debris that might obstruct our ability to listen to what is put before us with open minds. It is our duty to listen carefully and hear what is being said in her work.

He then moves again to the first man on the bench to his right. With a deft flick of his wrist, he moves the tip of the feather around the man's left ear and then the right. As he moves on to the next one the first man rubs his left ear as though to get rid of a trace of the tickle left behind. The Royaner continues to do the same thing to the next man. He continues on until the first clan is complete. He then moves on to the next one. As you sit and wait you imagine what sound the feather might make as it goes around your ears. What will it feel like? Will it tickle you too? Will you laugh out loud? As you ponder these questions you watch the others as they get their ears cleaned. Some smile and rub

their ears with the palm of their hands. Some just sit and take a deep breath. Then, the Royaner is before you. With a flick of his wrist he moves the feather in a quick circle around your left ear. As it goes round you hear a whoosh and a snapping sound as the tip of the feather comes off your skin. He does the same to the right side and then moves on to the next person. You immediately recall the sensation and feel a slight tickle where the feather touched your skin. The longhouse is quiet as each person has their ears cleaned. All you can hear is the crackle of the logs in the stove at the center of the building. The shuffle of the Royaner's feet as he moves about is lost as you focus your attention on the sound of the fire. Suddenly you notice that the Royaner has reached the last person. He completes the cleansing and then turns to the center of the longhouse once more. The young man gets up and receives the feather from the outstretched hand of the Royaner. He hands back a large wooden ladle. The Royaner nods his head in thanks. The young man turns and picks up the bucket of water at his feet. As he does so, the Royaner speaks...

Here is the water that creation has provided for us. The rivers, lakes and streams run clear. If we look we can see the bottom where the fish and water plants make their home. The water also gives us life, we drink it to survive, and we use it to feed our plants so that we may eat. The water also cleanses our throats so that we may speak freely. It is our duty to share our thoughts and words so that she may learn and share this knowledge with others.

He then turns to the first seated man on his right. He shuffles over. The young man follows with the bucket of water. The Royaner dips it in and offers it to the man. The man gently cradles the bowl of the ladle in his hands and takes a sip. As he swallows, he closes and then opens his eyes. The Royaner offers the water to the next man who does the same. As he moves down the line and through the clan, the young man follows carrying the bucket of water. As you sit and wait you think of what cool, fresh water tastes like. Suddenly you feel thirsty and swallow in anticipation. What does this water taste like? Does it taste like water drawn on a hot summer day from a cool deep well? As you wait your turn, you think back and remember other times when water tasted so good you thought you could drink forever. Then, the Royaner and his helper are before you. As he offers you the ladle, you feel its cool wetness in your hands. You lean forward and take a sip. It tastes like water that has been drawn from a fresh mountain stream. You savor the taste for a second and then swallow. As it goes down you can taste an after taste that is like a winter wind blowing cool air down your throat. The Royaner moves on. When he reaches the last person, he places the ladle in the bucket and turns to the center of the longhouse. The young man returns to his seat and places the bucket at his feet. The Royaner begins to speak...

And so we have completed three strings of the condolence. These three strings are necessary so that we can now accomplish what is set before us. It is our duty to go and begin reading and learning from what this young woman has placed before us. We now can see what is before us with open and unclouded eyes, we can hear her words and ideas

with clarity, and we can speak and share our thoughts in return with a clear and unbiased voice. This is our task and so we must go and do our best, as it is part of our role and responsibility to help this young woman accomplish what has been set before her. So, take these words and begin.

The Royaner then turns to his right and shuffles over to the bench to sit down. As the people begin to move around you, you pull your sweater around you and stand to leave. The low quiet of the longhouse has been overtaken by the low voices and movement of the people around you. As you leave the building and enter the daylight outside, you see the sun shining its light on the earth before you. The colors are sharper! The sounds are clearer! You smile and swallow, testing your throat for obstructions. Someone speaks to you from behind...

It's a nice day eh?

You turn and see the old man with the blue eyes following you. You smile back and reply...

Yes. It's a beautiful day.

As you speak these words, you think to yourself – my throat is clear and so my voice is strong! You smile to yourself, turn and head home. You are prepared for what is to come. You settle in and begin to read...

Research Question

The Warrior Flag has been in existence since the early 1970s but did not become widely known until it was used during the Oka Crisis of 1990. This incident, remembered by the people at Kanehsatake where it started as “the time that our people stood up and said ‘no’”⁵, resulted in a stand-off between the Kanienkehaka and the Canadian Government over who had authority to determine and enforce the law.

As a focal point of the Crisis, the Flag raises the question concerning the philosophy associated with it. What does it tell us about the Haudenosaunee culture and world view? Was the philosophy invented by the Flag’s designer, Karoniaktajeh or was it a form through which the convictions of the Haudenosaunee people coalesced and found expression? Since the Oka Crisis, the Flag has shown up all over the world, in such far-flung places as Chiapas, Australia, and Germany, in Kuwait during Desert Storm, as well as in diverse disputes against the state closer to home such as tenants’ rights demonstrations in Toronto. The Flag flew again during the lobster dispute at Esgenoopetitj which means ‘we wait all night, in a small place of gathering’ and is also known as Burnt Church. This time Canada was in conflict with the Mi’kmaq⁶ and once again the core issue concerned what the law was and how this was to be interpreted and implemented. Its use is so wide-ranging and uncontrolled that it would be impossible to catalogue all of the places and circumstances in which it has made an appearance.

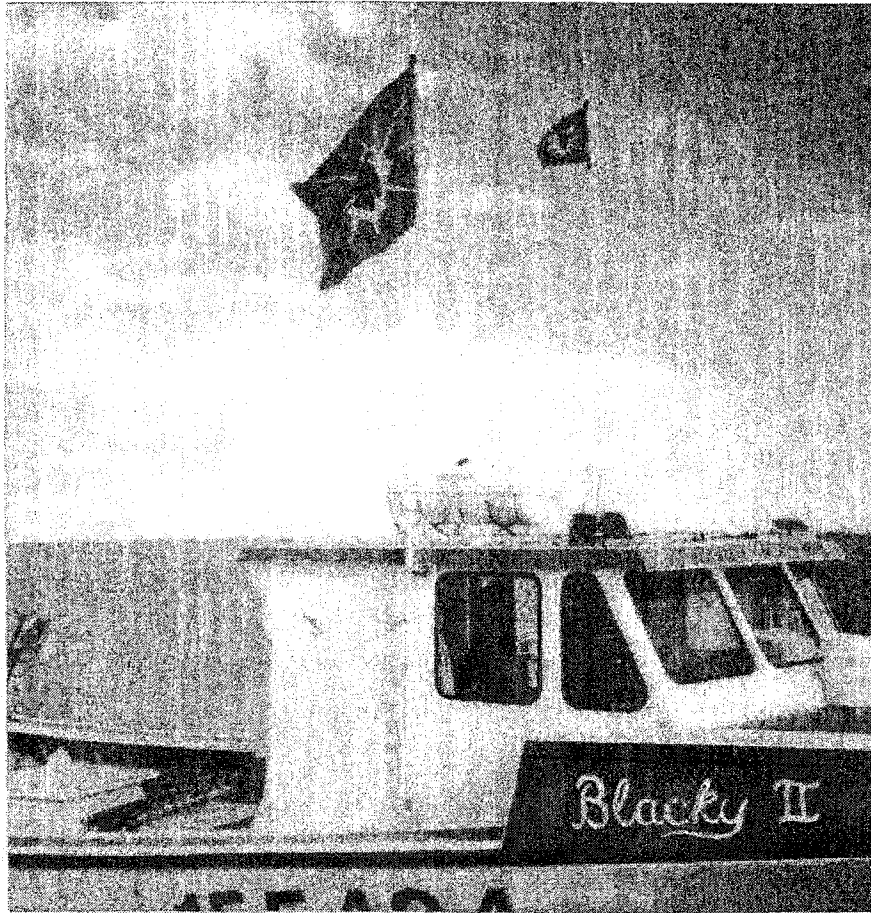
⁵ Onawario (John Cree). Kanehsatake traditionalist, November 10, 2001.

⁶ The name Mi’kmaq derives from the term nikmaq, a word in the language which means ‘my kind-friends,’ or, in the sense of its use as a greeting in the 1600s, ‘my brothers!’...In letters to France, the French referred to First nations people here as ‘Notres nikmaqs’ or ‘our brothers’, assign an unnecessary s on the end of an already plural form. This is what has come to be regarded as the tribal name. eventually ‘nikmaq’ was anglicized to Mikmak, Mickmack, Mick Mack, and Mic Mac to name a few. The launch of a television program in 1980, Mi’kmaq facilitated the return to a more accurate spelling and pronunciation of the name. The term Mi’kmaq has since become the most widely-used term and will be used in this thesis. 6 January 2003 <<http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mikmaq/mikmaqsp.htm>>.

The ability of the Flag to provoke comment and action is remarkable and needs to be understood. The purpose of this thesis is to examine what the Warrior Flag signifies for some of the Indigenous people who use it. My investigation revealed that issues of unity, resistance to colonization and self-determination are integral components to the genesis, use and perceptions of the flag. In this, I found that the Flag as a poignant symbol of the assertion of an Indigenous identity separate from the one imposed by the Canadian state. This identity is characterized by a connectedness to one another and to the land. Both Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq groups expressed this same relationship.

This assertion of a distinct Kanienkehaka identity forms the basis for much of the written and artistic work of the creator of the Flag, Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall.

Karoniaktajeh was a prolific writer, artist and radical thinker, some may say 'ahead of his time'. He passed away in 1993 at the age of seventy-six. What is most vividly remembered are his drawing and paintings depicting his most virulent ideas. His most prominent legacy is the Warrior or Unity Flag. The flag is a warrior in profile in a sunburst on a red background as illustrated.



7

Fig. 1. Photograph: Warrior Flag at Esgenoopetitj

The Warrior Flag, my research suggests, is a visual representation of the Kaienerekowa. Rooted in the laws of nature and meant for all Indigenous peoples of the world, the Kaienerekowa is understood as being a legally constituted social order separate from the Canadian state. It is from this source that meaning for the flag is drawn in order to create a distinct identity. As Gerald Taiaiake Alfred writes,

Values and symbols are drawn from the traditional cultural complex and operationalized as key elements of the reformed identity. The various permutations of the collective identity are understood as forms of nationalism because they maintain traditional cultural boundaries and create group self-identification as a political community distinct from the state, and consistently committed to the right of self-determination.⁸

⁷ Photo: Tina Young, Esgenoopetitj.

⁸ Alfred, 1995, p. 182.

This process is viewed by Alfred as a form of nationalism. It is this deeply rooted nationalism combined with a revitalization of cultural symbols that speaks to the Indigenous nations through the Flag. Strengthening our relationship to creation is the root of the Kaienerekowa and unity is implicit in this relationship. Relating to the natural world on an equal level fosters a sense of unity with it. This is reflected in the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén (The Words That Come Before All Else or Thanksgiving Address) and was carried into the Kaienerekowa when it was developed as a means of stopping blood feuds and unifying the five nations in peace. The Kaienerekowa turns the philosophy of unity into a legally constituted social order. The Warrior Flag, I argue, is a successful visual representation of the philosophy of the Kaienerekowa, and that is why the people of Esgenoopetitj understood what the Flag represents without knowing its history.

Plan and Methodology

In the following chapters I describe what the Flag symbolizes for some of the Indigenous peoples who use it. Its genesis in the Kanienkehaka communities and subsequent utilization in Esgenoopetitj revealed that issues of unity, resistance to colonization and self determination are integral components to the creation, use and perceptions of the Flag. Karen A. Cerulo's work on national symbols (1995) will serve as a foundation to understanding how the Flag is a poignant symbol of the "collective conscience" (Durkheim 1933) of a common Indigenous identity. This identity and all that underlies it, has remained separate from the one imposed by the state. When the ways and thinking of the Indigenous peoples are understood, then this "hidden culture" as described by Daniel Corkery for Ireland (Spicer 1992), will be revealed. I will also demonstrate how the Flag is a symbol that serves to remind Indigenous peoples of their culture, connections, and responsibilities to Mother Earth and to one another.

Chapter One is devoted to locating the reader in the fieldwork experience and situates me as a "native anthropologist" (Narayan 1993). Here I place myself within the research project as a Kanienkehaka and illustrate the two frames of reference that dominate the lives of my people, the native and non-native perspectives. Through this research exercise, I have come to see that theory and methodology based in the Kaienerekowa is complementary to western theories and methodologies found in the critique of anthropology that forms the basis of post-modern anthropology. These theories include: phenomenology (Jackson 1996), ethnographies of the particular (Abu-Lughod 1991), issues of narrative (Bruner 1986), reflexivity (Bordieu 1977, 1992), Geertz's "Thick Description" (Geertz 1973) which set the framework for a comprehensive

understanding of the Flag. My aim is to show how Indigenous methodologies can be incorporated into the western ethnographic experience of research and writing. The fieldwork experience will then be described with regards to this unique relationship.

Chapter Two is devoted to theoretical matters, including an examination of western theoretical considerations within the dialogue engendered by post-colonialism (Tyler 2001; Giddens 1995; Ahmed and Shore 1995), an area of controversy for Indigenous scholars but one which may be loosely defined as an area of debate where the voices of the formerly colonized gain strength (Smith 1999). As the situation of Indigenous peoples changes and their relationship with the dominant culture evolves, their true history and culture is revealed. Encompassed within are the concepts of self-determination and sovereignty as they relate to Indigenous populations. They are concepts that have multiple definitions based in each Indigenous culture's own perceptions, and therefore can be used to illustrate how the formerly "hidden" cultures may serve as guidelines for the governance of Indigenous communities on their own terms. I propose that the Flag is a manifestation of ideas that nourish this movement towards collective action. This is supported by Homi Bhabha's concept of 'hybridity' (Bhabha 1994) which illustrates how such things as flags are an inevitable manifestation of the changing relationship between the native and non-native. This is most clearly evidenced in the use of the western term 'nation' that is used by Indigenous peoples as a way to remove themselves from under the jurisdiction of the dominant structures. This issue of identification will be touched on with relevance to the Flag using the work of Edward H. Spicer who examined the position of formerly hidden cultures in relation to issues of boundaries and cultural blindness. Finally, in order to put the Flag into context,

this chapter will also examine the manifestation and use of national symbols using the work of Karen A. Cerulo and her examination of national symbols as codes for the subjective nature of the nation.

Chapter three is primarily devoted to the perspectives and views of the Kanienkehaka people and the Mi'kmaq people of Esgenoopetitj as they relate to the genesis, use, and meanings of the Flag. It begins with the story of the man who developed the Flag, Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall, then goes into the historical development of the flag and the ideas behind it, and illustrates the elements of the Flag in relation to the world view of the Kanienkehaka and their common relationship to other Indigenous nations and the land. Using Cerulo's work on national symbols, the Flag is examined in the context of the Oka Crisis and the Lobster Dispute to illustrate how it has come to take on meaning for both groups.

Chapter Four serves to illustrate the commonalities in the world views of Indigenous peoples and how they see their relationship to the land. In order to illustrate this, this chapter will discuss the idea of Indigenous connectivity through similarities in the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq Creation stories, the Indigenous relationship to the land, the four main elements of nature, material connections and adaptations, and the common struggle for the land. It will illustrate the common relationship of all Indigenous peoples to the land that is based in respect, equality, and thanksgiving.

This dissertation's Conclusion serves to draw out some final points in my thoughts about what connects Indigenous people to Mother Earth and to one another and how the Flag is a reminder and reflection of this connection – “We are leaving here with heads held high, with pride and dignity in having defended the land...Never again will

the governments of Quebec and Canada be able to treat the Indian people as a mere thorn in the side.”⁹

⁹ York and Pindera 1991, p. 397.

Chapter One

In bringing Indigenous perspectives on Indigenous culture, knowledge, and thinking to academia, will be my contribution to the development of Indigenous scholarship - scholarship which has been largely unheard by most western scholars. I will do this by presenting myself as a native anthropologist; explain what that involves; I will demonstrate how the predominant western and Indigenous worldviews and theoretical orientations can result in a distinct interpretation of a body of evidence, thus contributing a new perspective to academia; introduce an Indigenous theory and method based in Kanienkehaka culture; and present my fieldwork experience.

The Haudenosaunee have an extensive knowledge base and way of teaching that must be utilized in order to understand the Flag to its fullest. Using methods and theories rooted in Indigenous knowledge is now becoming an established field all on its own. Linda Tuhiwai Smith who examines this as part of her work Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples states,

I believe that our survival as peoples has come from our knowledge of our contexts, our environment, not from some active beneficences of our Earth Mother. We had to know how to survive. We had to work out ways of knowing, we had to predict, to learn and reflect, we had to preserve and protect, we had to defend and attack, we had to be mobile, we had to have social systems which enabled us to do these things. We still have to do these things (1999: 12).

This thesis comes out of that very same context and environment that Smith writes about.

Bringing this into the academic setting, the perspective I use in my work might be considered 'postcolonial' in that I am concerned with presenting our history from our perspective and empowering my people.¹⁰ Critique of this concept concerns the fact that the mainstream term 'post-colonial' is an idea that leaves no room for Indigenous

¹⁰ Friedman, 1992, p. 837; Dirlik, 1994, p. 332.

perspectives and methodologies and it is felt that the postcolonial moment for Indigenous peoples has not arrived.¹¹ Indigenous peoples continue to be the victims of colonialism. They took the best of what we had – democracy, land, and resources, and then imprisoned us. The ongoing effects are seen in the fact that we are still living on reservations, carrying official identification cards given to us by the Canadian Government, we are not allowed to have our own forms of governance in our communities, and because of this, we are not economically self-sufficient. So, I will step outside of this debate and into an area that I find more familiar, decolonization. According to Smith, decolonization is “a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power.”¹² This process involves issues of reclaiming Indigenous history and culture and spelling it out to the world in our own ways. Smith states,

*Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology. They are ‘factors’ to be built into research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood.*¹³

This is further characterized as an Amerindian Autohistory by Georges Sioui in his work “For an Amerindian Autohistory”. He states,

*Amerindian autohistory is an ethical approach to history, based on two premises. First, in spite of European appropriation of Native territory, Amerindian cultural values have influenced the formation of the Euroamerican’s character more than the latter’s values have modified the Amerindian’s cultural code...Second, history is not yet aware that studying the persistence of essential Amerindian values, through testimony by the Amerindians themselves, is more important in relation to the social nature of historical science than are the frequent analyses of cultural transformations, which are technically interesting but too often of negligible social impact.*¹⁴

¹¹ See Weaver, 2000 for a further discussion on this issue.

¹² Smith, 1999, p. 98.

¹³ Smith, p. 15.

¹⁴ Sioui, 1992, p. 21.

This process of reclamation has been happening for some time, but the symbolic 'brick wall' that is represented by the state has been there to prevent us from having control over our lives and resources. As such, it is within this developing dialogue that the active re-presentation of the history and decolonization of the Haudenosaunee is taking place. In order to understand this better, it is necessary to understand what shapes the Kanienkehaka world view.

The Kaienerekowa or Law of Great Peace

The very nature of the culture and world view from which I gather my strength, thoughts, and understanding of the world is one of true equality. The Kanienkehaka have the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén* (the words that come before all else), ceremonies, and political procedures that verify this fact. A particular relationship with the natural world is what shapes the Kanienkehaka world view and a tangible manifestation of this, is found in the Kaienerekowa.¹⁵

It is designed to affirm the independent status of nations and individuals engaged in the quest for a unified approach to mutual problems. These relationships are patterned after the natural world. The Kaienerekowa contains all the codes of conduct, thought and knowledge needed for the people to function, to understand our ceremonies and to

¹⁵This relationship with the Kaienerekowa is what the western culture would call ideology but the word that we use to describe this is the word 'tsionkwetáh:kwen'. This word, literally translated, means 'the things that we really believe in'. It reflects our connections to one another and to nature, in that these are natural connection, ones that we don't have to think about and analyze. They are from nature and so they just are there to exist with us. So, we don't have to think about whether it is true or not, it just comes from inside, from that very core that is tied to Mother Earth when our mothers place our placenta in the ground after birth. In order to accurately portray this, this term tsionkwetáh:kwen will be used when necessary.

maintain social and political life. These codes are based in nature. So the symbolism is easy to understand and follow. One simply has to look at the world around them to understand the Kaienerekowa in its strength and elusive simplicity.

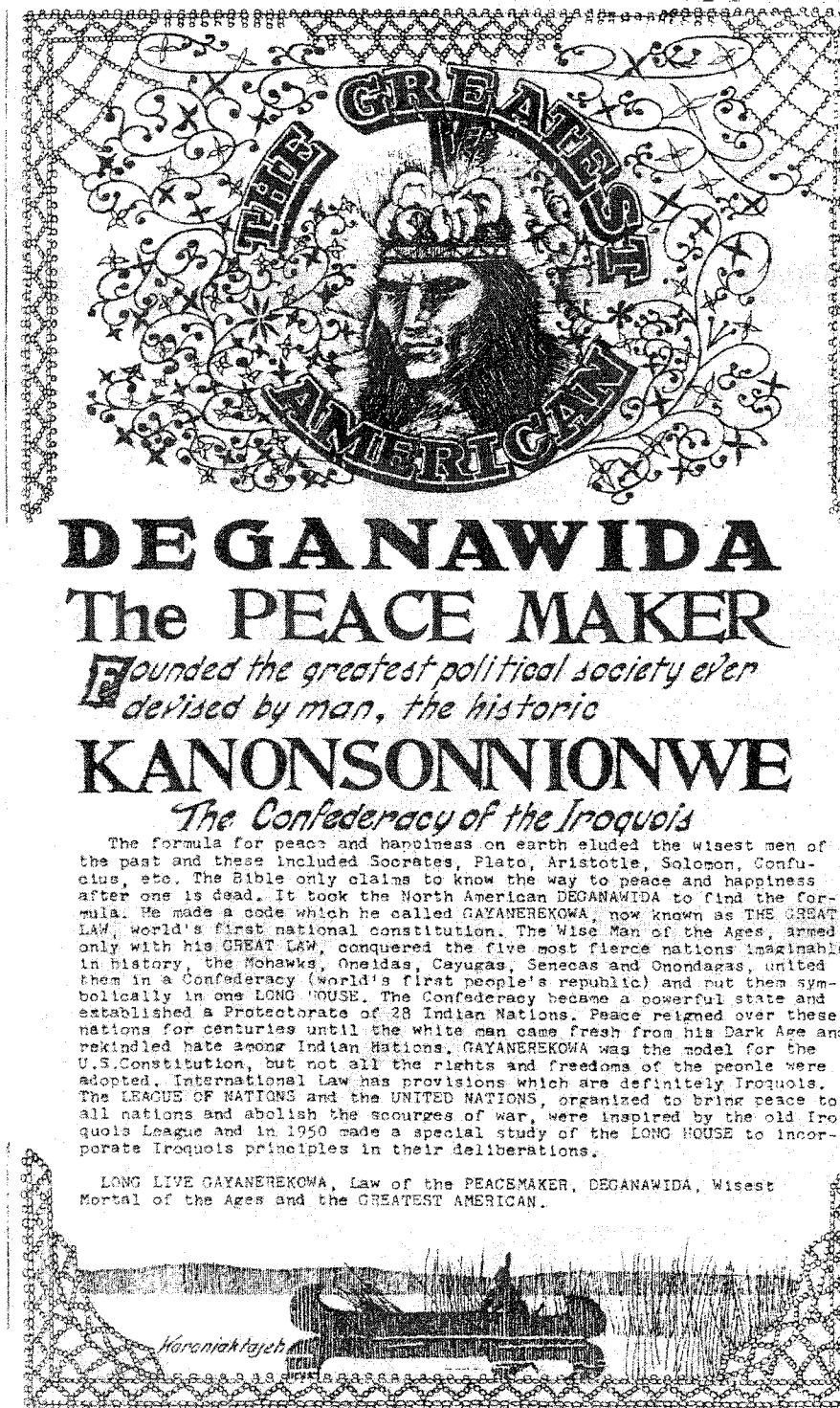


Fig. 2. Illustration: Deganawida. The Peace Maker

¹⁶ "Deganawida. The Peace Maker". Drawing by Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall (undated). Reprinted From Campbell, 1985, p. 74. The words are the artist's interpretation of the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

The legend of Deganwida and the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy has been passed down for many generations through the oral tradition. Oral re-enactment gives the people a stronger feeling for the context. Only in the last one hundred years or so has it been recorded in three versions that are widely used.¹⁷ As such these records have created a situation where they are not consistent. In order to understand the fundamental aspects of the original, it is necessary to examine all the versions in existence. For lack of time and space, this will not be attempted here. Rather, the central facet of the story will be discussed in order to illustrate the Kaienerekowa's relevance in the discussion of the Flag.

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy is a unity of five nations: Kanienkehaka, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca¹⁸, organized into a symbolic longhouse structure with the Great Law or Kaienerekowa as its governing constitution.¹⁹ The longhouse was the original dwelling of the Haudenosaunee People.

¹⁷ "Version 1- The Newhouse version, gathered and prepared by Seth Newhouse, a Canadian Mohawk, and revised by Albert Cusick, a New York Onondaga-Tuscarora. This version has been edited and published by Arthur C. Parker of the Rochester Museum in "The Constitution of the Five Nations, or the Iroquois Book of the Great Law" (New York State Museum Bulletin, No. 184, Albany, 1916).

Version 2 - The Chief's Version, compiled by the chiefs of the Six Nations Council on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, 1900. This version appears in the "Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations," edited by Duncan C. Scott (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 5, Ottawa, 1911).

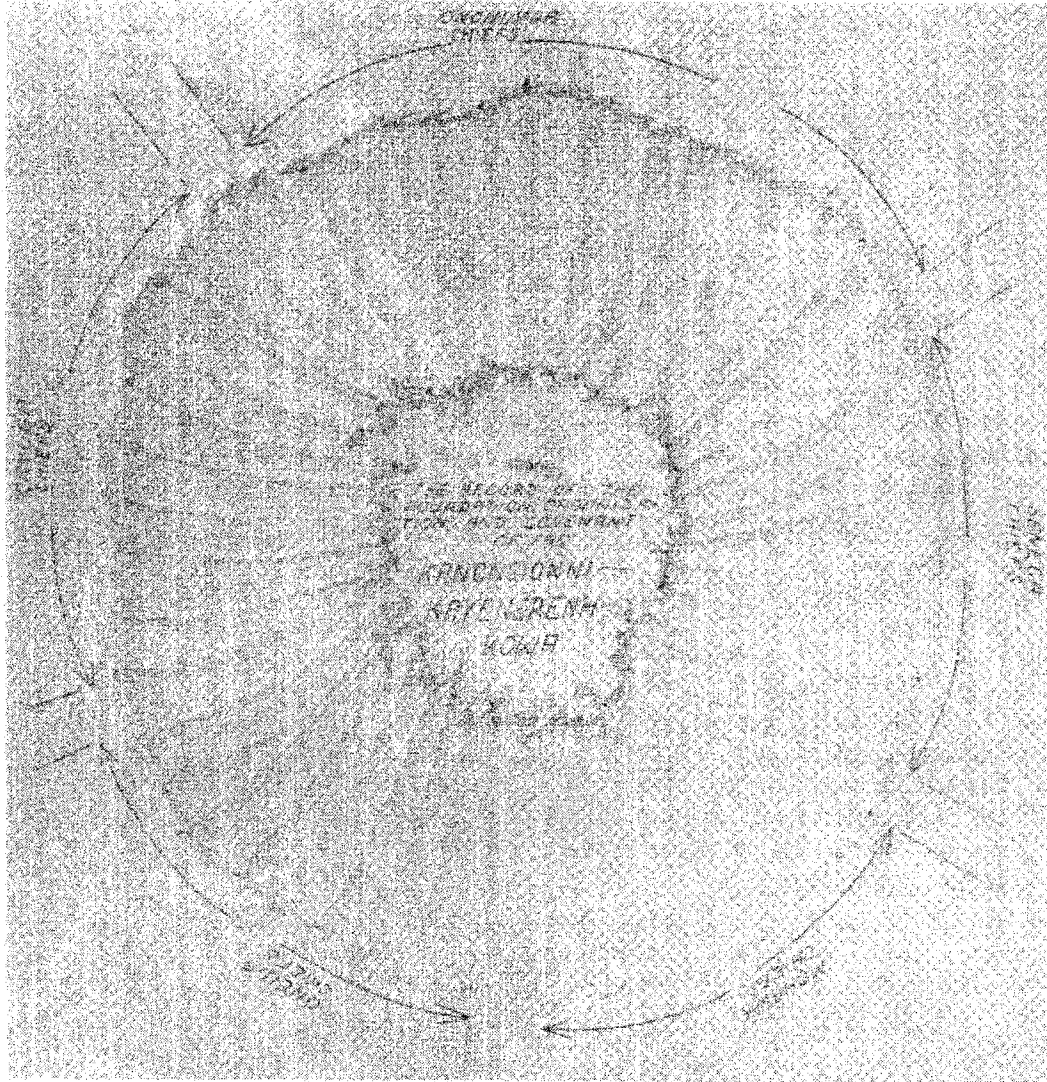
Version 3 - The Gibson version, dictated in 1899 by Chief John Arthur Gibson of the Six Nations Reserve to the late J.N.B. Hewitt of the Smithsonian Institution, and revised by Chiefs Abram Charles, John Buck, Sr., and Joshua Buck, from 1900 to 1914. This version, which is still in manuscript, was translated into English in 1941 by Dr. William N. Fenton of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, with the help of Chief Simeon Gibson.

A revision and expansion of his own earlier version was dictated by Chief John Arthur Gibson in 1912 to Alexander A. Goldenweiser of the Anthropological Division, Geological Survey, Ottawa, Canada. This is still in Manuscript, untranslated, in the care of Dr. Fenton." In: *The White Roots of Peace*. Paul A. Wallace, vii.

¹⁸ In the early 1700's, the Tuscarora nation began the long process of joining the Confederacy as the sixth nation. They went in under the wing of the Seneca who acted as their elder brother and now they sit beside the Senecas when there is a Grand Council. This is why the Confederacy is sometimes called the Six Nations Confederacy.

¹⁹ For a detailed story of the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, see Appendix B - The Founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

The six nations of the Haudenosaunee are united for peace and mutual protection under the Kaienerekowa, based on the three principles of peace, righteousness and power. The Confederacy was formed to stop the bickering and fighting that was occurring between the original five nations. Due to various circumstances, the Kaienerekowa did not spread to other parts of the world and unite other nations in peace as it was originally intended to do. The Covenant Circle wampum represents this unification of the six nations under the principles of the Kaienerekowa.



20

Fig. 3. Photograph: Covenant Circle Wampum

The Haudenosaunee people feel that the 'Giver of Life' or 'Creator', delivered a message to the people through Deganawida, also known as the Peacemaker. The message, the Great Law or Kaienerekowa, was a way to find peace involving three fundamental principles:

- a) *Righteousness: meaning the justice practiced among people using their purest and most unselfish minds in harmony with the flow of the universe.*

²⁰ Tehanetorens, 1993, p. 6.

- b) *Reason: meaning the soundless of mind and body, and the peace that comes when the minds are sane and the body cared for.*
- c) *Power: meaning the authority of law and custom, backed by such force as is necessary to make justice prevail.*²¹

The Kaienerekowa encompasses all aspects of the social, political and spiritual lives of the Haudenosaunee people. The Law provides for a method of counseling and decision-making, involving ceremonies and procedures which build toward a consensus of the people.

Our relationship to the natural world is important. Our daily and ceremonial lives reflect an equal relationship with nature. The actions, songs, and dances of our ceremonies serve as a way for us to communicate to this. Thus it would be expected for the Kaienerekowa to be patterned after the natural world. It is felt that the peacemaker looked to nature to see how the plants and animals maintained a peaceful coexistence so that he could find a way to unite the nations of the Haudenosaunee in peace. Dekanawida would have had insights far beyond ordinary people and been inspired by what he learned. He tried to pass this on to a people who did not write but were very intelligent.

One way that this special relationship is reflected in the everyday lives of the Haudenosaunee is that an important aspect of any meeting or ceremony is the Thanksgiving Address or *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen*.²² An attitude of thankfulness and

²¹ Mohawk Nation Office, 1982, p. 3.

²² *Whenever the statesmen of the League shall assemble for the purpose of holding a council, the Onondaga statesmen shall open it by expressing their gratitude to their cousin statesmen, and greeting them, and they shall make an address and offer thanks to the earth where men dwell, to the streams of water, the polls and the lakes, to the maize and the fruits, to the medicinal herbs and trees, to the forest trees for their usefulness, and to the animals that serve as food and give their pelts for clothing, to the great winds and the lesser winds, to the Thunderers; to the Sun, the mighty warrior; to the moon, to the messengers of the Creator who reveals his wishes, and to the Great Creator who dwells in the heavens above who gives all the things useful to men, and who is the source and the ruler of health and life. Then shall the Onondaga statesmen declare the Council open.* Wampum #7. Ohontsa Films, 1993, p. 9.

acknowledgement is a guiding principle of the culture.²³ The use of this has been outlined in the Kaienerekowa and serves as a constant reminder for us to be mindful of this special relationship that we have to mother earth as a Kanienkehaka man illustrates,

People say we loved the natural world. Did they ever think why did our people care so much about the natural world? That's what gave us life, that's what kept us alive. That's what helped us to sustain a life. That's why we respected it so much and we taught our children to respect it. Because, if you lose respect for that which helps to raise you, feed you, take care of you, every way you can think of. If you lose respect for it, and lose your relation to it, what do you have? [T 01/17/02]

The Kaienerekowa has an obvious nature to it. Based on natural law, one only has to look around them at the plants and animals to understand it. An example of this way of looking to nature to explain the laws and guiding principles of the Kaienerekowa is illustrated by one of the informants discussing how deer mate, the natural process of selection, and why the buck with the largest antlers is the head of the herd.

The does chose the buck that was going to strengthen the herd. Not just because he had the biggest antlers, they went by his mind, by his health and by his blood. He could be the strongest buck in the world, the wisest buck in the world, but if he had their blood flowing in their veins, they would not mate with him. That's why the Great Law is the way it is. It says you the women are invested with progenitors, that they should be the progenitors of the blood. It was up to them. The wild deer will not mate with one who has the same blood in their veins. They can sense it. They know it. They know their own science. That's why the Great Law is patterned after them. The buck is the only one with antlers. The doe doesn't have antlers and when you see him among the people, you know they've chosen him to represent them. It goes by that. [T 01/17/02]

According to the Kaienerekowa, the chiefs or *Royaner* wear the antlers of the deer to denote their position of office. The antlers are a reminder of these natural principles and how they form the basis of our society and culture. Most people can see this relationship between man and the natural world when their minds are free. The answers are all around us, all we need to do is be aware of our surroundings and look to nature. Natural law is based on what we see around us. This is illustrated by the following:

²³ For further discussion on the themes of renewal, dualism and continuity in two versions of the Thanksgiving Address in the Great Law of Peace and the Code of Handsome Lake, see Carol Cornelius, 1992.

Us, we believe in the sun, the snow, because these are real to us. Oriwiiio, that's reality. Kariwiiio, its real, you can touch it. That's reality. Kariwiiio:ostonshera is the sacred reality. That snow is sacred reality. It's precious. That's why we say iokonoron, we don't say it's raining. It's obvious that it's precious. Ioko tsi kanoron, iokonoron – it means it's obvious, you know for real its there. And you know how sacred and precious it is. Because it creates the underground streams, the streams, the lakes, and quenches the thirst of all life. That is why we say that that water that falls from the sky, it's obvious that its precious. We don't say it's raining. [T 01/17/02]

Thus the Kaienerekowa contains all the codes of conduct, thought and knowledge needed for the people to function and maintain a social, political and ceremonial life. These codes are based in natural law and so they are easy to understand and follow. One just has to look around them at the natural world to understand the Kaienerekowa in its simplicity. In essence, what this shows us is that we have been given everything we need to survive.

Looking From Within

The very idea of someone being able to think objectively about the culture and community that they come from and then communicate that perspective into an ethnographic document worthy of academic peer review seems almost an impossible task to most. The debate surrounding this difficult role of the native anthropologist encompasses issues of objectivity, reflexivity, and a multiplex identity. Fortunately, in my case, these western notions are complementary to the Indigenous theory and research methodology that I am trying to put forth.

For Indigenous peoples, because of the holistic view of the universe, pure objectivity is impossible. One must always take into account their place in the natural world. One is always a participant observer.

To be acutely aware of your place is reflected in the Kanienkehaka *Seven Generations Principle*. This is a guiding principle for any individual – one must consider how all your actions will affect the current population and also the seven generations yet

unborn. This promotes accountability and responsibility for the self and for our descendants. It's a strong survival mechanism. In this way, you are accountable for your decisions and actions as your ancestors were before you. It is felt that the strength of this principle as a foundation for the individual is one of the reasons why we still exist. The fact that this has been effectively taught and adhered to is illustrated by the simple fact that the Kanienkehaka peoples and culture are still alive.

The function of education in traditional cultures is to ensure that each person becomes a fully functioning member of the society. Knowledge is generated by all members of the society, therefore one is teacher and student at the same time. Traditionally there were no distinctions, therefore you had to be a good listener and explainer at all times. In this instance, I will use myself as an example to show how I used traditional teachings in the research process.

The Consensual Decision Making process will be used to show the kind of thinking and conduct that should underlie Kanienkehaka actions, thoughts, and words which have been transmitted to the research setting.

The goal of the Consensual Decision Making Process is to make a decision that is in the best interests of all the people about any issue. Consensus does not mean that all agree but that all understand and abide by the decision. In entering the Consensual Decision Making Process, whatever ideas are contributed by the people assembled, the needs and attitudes of each is considered and should complement the process of coming to a final decision. Also, the individual has a duty to be directly involved, and to bring their ideas into the discussion within their clan. This acknowledges that each person is valued and has brought their own special insights. The final decision will be fully

satisfactory to some, satisfactory to others and relatively satisfactory to the remainder, and will reflect elements from each group. This is a slow careful process requiring the reaching of a full understanding by each individual and not a decision made by a 'leader'. A leader is a facilitator not a boss. Free people do not need leaders, they need representatives to speak on their behalf.

All the members of the clans arrive and the men and women enter the longhouse by their respective doors. The men and women then sit together in their clans. The Wellkeeper²⁴ puts over the council fire, the items to be deliberated on. The Warchief presides over the meeting to ensure that collective rational thought and behavior are followed. It all begins with a small condolence. The small condolence is very important to the deliberation process, as it sets the mind for what follows. Each clan then selects a spokesperson who speaks on their behalf and conveys the decision or questions to the next clan, who then deliberates. The three clans then deliberate. Without going into further detail, what is relevant here is the attitude and posture of the people who are assembled for the meeting and the principle that they follow.

When an issue is discussed, the clans consider the pros and cons of the issue. Three criteria must be met:

Peace: Does it preserve the peace that is already established?

Righteousness: Is it morally correct?

²⁴ The Wellkeeper's function is like a secretary in the council meeting. He ensures that it stays on topic and reminds the people of what the issue is and all that has been said. He then records the final decision for future reference. Originally this was done mentally or with mnemonic devices such as wampum but now it is recorded on paper.

Power: Does it preserve the integrity of the nation? What does it do for the present and how does it affect the future seven generations from now?²⁵

During deliberations persons are asked throughout this process if they fully understand. If not, the process stops until this is accomplished. The deliberations may go on for hours, days, or even weeks. One cannot simply be stubborn and refuse to understand as they will be questioned. Each must follow the criteria of peace, righteousness and power at all times.

Every person has a responsibility to expand and exercise their minds. The forces of life have given the human being the potential to use the mind to create a better life through peace, power and righteousness.

Through my participation in the decision making process I have learned that:

- All opinions have to be considered
- All must be completely reasonable
- All should come with an open mind
- All must fully understand each other's viewpoint
- Each participant cannot repeat a position once it has been fully explained and understood
- If a person does not agree with the views that have been stated, they must fully explain their dissenting views
- No one can impose their will nor make a decision for another
- All must understand the viewpoint and agree of their own free will

²⁵ The Seven Generations concept means that decisions made today must benefit the people seven generations into the future.

- If there is no consensus, the consensus is to retain the status quo

This process illustrates that every body of knowledge within an Indigenous society informs other aspects of the culture. Therefore, there should be awareness when doing research among Indigenous groups that one cannot discuss political organization without understanding economy, social organization, spirituality, history and so on. Within this, the sources of knowledge also inform each other. Instruction by one's parents or grandparents, knowledge imparted by means of oral histories or stories, knowledge gained by introspection or from a spiritual source and knowledge gained from the physical world all inform each other. In the end you have a more comprehensive view of the whole of the issue being studied. That is why I used this criteria outlined in the Consensual Decision Making Process as the basis for the tools for this Indigenous theory and methodology.

This process provides a clear example of what forms the basis of our relationships with one another and to the natural world – equality. Thus, when I approached people for an interview, I did not remain the aloof researcher, but attempted to relate to them on a personal level so they would feel comfortable sharing their knowledge. In turn, I made every effort for them to understand me and my work by sharing what I learned so we could eventually have a 'meeting of the minds'. In the writing of this thesis, I also use Indigenous language and concepts and ceremony where possible in order to continue with this theme. I continue to impart as much of myself into this dialogue in order to facilitate understanding.

The Role of the Post-Modern Critique

Objectivity is supposed to be the standard by which all academic research is conducted, yet with the current debate in post-colonial studies, different voices are speaking up and telling academia that this is not so. This, in turn, has forced the disciplines to incorporate such issues as reflexivity and alternative writing methods in their pedagogical approaches. Some of these approaches, I found, were complementary to the Indigenous research methodology that I used.

Post modern critique in anthropology centers in the issues of power relationships which break down the separations between subject and object or researcher and subject. It is not just a creation of the academic world but rather an answer to what is going on in the world. Therefore, rather than being an 'objective' outsider, the researcher partakes in the same world and establishes relationships with the people and the world they are working with. The reflexive nature of the research process is to be conscious of the self in the ethnographic process. This is referred to as reflexivity or intersubjectivity. Reflexivity humanizes rather than structures a society according to another's ideas. It attempts to bring together all aspects of the culture being studied. This is complementary to the Indigenous world view where it is seen that the world is not made up of an individual with the natural world revolving around them, rather, everything and one are interconnected. We spend our lifetime learning about all aspects of the natural world and in the end, hopefully, we get as close as humanly possible to understanding and connecting with it. Thus, in combination, an intermixing of these theoretical perspectives will produce different and interesting ethnographies.

The native anthropologist has a role to play in this area. Many of us who study our own are already acutely aware of the contrasting roles of students and community members much less that of a researcher. We are acutely aware of this on a daily basis. In my own community, I am consistently self-conscious about the fact that I have a very high level of education compared with much of the population. I see that pursuing higher levels of academic studies are not fully valued and so I play down this aspect of my person and place myself as mother, daughter, bear clan member, and community member at the forefront of most public interactions. As such, during this research I became acutely aware of my role and responsibility as a researcher and as a community member. I went through my own process of decolonization with regards to my own assumptions about research and through a negotiation of this I found myself empowered and able to empower my people with my work.

Through my years in academics, I always found that theory was treated with such reverence that I was mystified and afraid of it. Through this research process, with the emancipation of my own voice and mind, I have come to see the truth about western theory. Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith contends, "the Western academy claims theory as thoroughly Western...has constructed all the rules by which the Indigenous world has been theorized, Indigenous voices have been overwhelmingly silenced."²⁶ Like Smith, I too was under its spell. I realized at some point that I could never go back to the way I thought before, I feel that my mind is too free. This freedom comes from realizing that no one agrees on theory; that there is an overlap in theory and hypothesis; and that theory and method are not entirely separate. Therefore there is room for me to bring in my own theory and methodology based in Kanienkehaka culture. As illustrated

²⁶ Smith 1999, p. 29.

by the Consensual Decision Making Process, we acknowledge that each person has brought their own insights and instructions to the world. This variety is what makes life intriguing and beautiful. Conformity to something made up is unnatural. We ask, why would anyone want to live a long life if it was simply routine to conform? A longer life presents challenges and awareness not available to one in youth. In order to create a place for those who are to come, it is more challenging to look for all these varied views that exist in each of us.

The questions that face any native researcher are ones that deal with the self and your multiplex role in your culture and in the academic milieu. I constantly grappled with issues like the effects of research on my defined and perceived role in Kanienkehaka culture, or the question of did it take ones own to study ones own? and how do I stand in terms of the people I am writing about? Add to this the complicated issue of empowerment. I have found that these are all valid questions that I was able to answer by using the Kaienerekowa as theory and method. Simply put, 'you do what comes naturally'²⁷ and it is your job to explain and listen as in the Consensual Decision Making Process, as you negotiate your way through the research.

Part of the freedom that this garners lies in the ability to find new ways of learning. With this, the potential is large for new intellectual experiences. Decolonization, therefore, requires a multifaceted approach. The ideology of decolonization is developing in many fields - anthropology, law, education, social work, health care, the fine arts, environmental studies, theology and other fields. I have also

²⁷ This is a premise that was taught to me by my mother, Kahn-Tineta Horn, who learned it as a young girl in the longhouse as she sat quietly and listened to the people deliberate and participated in ceremonies.

found theoretical perspectives and methods that have come out of the post modernist movement play a complementary role in this research process.

Complementary Theory and Methodologies

The phenomenological method is above all one of direct understanding and in-depth description. It is an attempt to describe human consciousness in its lived immediacy, before it is subject to theoretical elaboration or conceptual systematizing. In the words of Paul Ricoeur, phenomenology is 'an investigation into the structures of experience which precede connected expressions in language' (1979:127).²⁸ This approach allows for detailed descriptions of Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq lived reality and presents a way of resisting the isolating effects of theoretical models and logical explanation used in anthropology. It is complementary to the Kaienerekowa in its lessening of the distance between me as a researcher and the people. Every experience I have with them, whether academic in nature or not, is a lived one, it plays into their memories of the past, present and thoughts about the future where each one flows into the other.

This interrelated web of significance makes up the lebenswelt or lifeworld. Jackson defines the lifeworld as "that domain of everyday, immediate social existence and practical activity, with all its habituality, its crises, its vernacular and idiomatic character, its biographical particularities, its decisive events and indecisive strategies, which theoretical knowledge addresses but does not determine, from which conceptual understanding arises but on which it does not primarily depend."²⁹ This idea in its purest sense makes it difficult, as a native anthropologist to apply western theoretical models to

²⁸ Jackson, 1996, p. 2.

²⁹ Jackson, 1996, p. 8.

what was experienced in the research setting. It is the world of immediate experience, of sociality, common sense, and shared experience that exists for us independent of and prior to any reflection upon it. In Husserl's words – The Life-world is a realm of original self-evidences...experienced as the thing itself."³⁰ The relevance of this idea becomes evident when the Kanienkehaka term for ideology is introduced.

Another important notion that comes out of the post-modernist movement is the idea of humanism. This method subverts the most problematic connotations of culture – homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness, and predictability. This method allows for a humanistic perspective to be part and parcel of the final text.³¹

Taking Geert's notion of 'thick description'³² seriously, incorporating humanism into the language of research and text subverts the process of othering. It is a way to move away from generalizations and homogenization of the communities and their intricate differences. Pierre Bordieu's concept of habitus speaks to this way of doing research by recognizing the culturally specific ways not only of doing and speaking, but also of seeing, thinking and categorizing. Habitus tends to be "naturalized" in that it is taken for granted or assimilated into the unconscious so that habitus is a necessary condition of action and shared understanding.³³ Thus, by looking at all the interrelatedness of Indigenous culture, it presents a more comprehensive view of how symbolic capital has been generated and also leaves room for the researcher to examine their role in how this is translated into ethnographic research.

³⁰ In, Jackson, 1996, p. 16.

³¹ Abu-Lughod, 1991.

³² Geertz, 1973.

³³ Anthromorphemics 26 June 2003 <<http://www.webref.org/anthropology/h/habitus.htm>>.

The particulars of the individual experience are crucial to understanding the group. Introduced by Lila Abu-Lughod, this is a way of 'writing against culture' and is described by her as "showing the actual circumstances and detailed histories of individuals and their relationships would suggest that such particulars, which are always present...are also always crucial to the constitution of experience...reconstructing people's arguments about, justifications for, and interpretations of what they and others are doing would explain how social life proceeds."³⁴ In a sense, it allows the people to speak for themselves. This methodology is used in this written work on the Flag. As shown later on in the description of the Flag and its meaning for the people that use it, I try to use as much as possible the voices of the people themselves and through using their own Indigenous language to do so. Doing this, is a way of illuminating peoples lives and not reducing them to some Eurocentric notion of the other by placing my analysis on their words. In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that values do play an important part in the research process. It is fortunate that more and more scholars are becoming more open to other sources of knowledge. It goes against nature to disqualify an important source of knowledge based on preconceived prejudices. This seems in opposition to scholarly pursuit.

Emancipatory Research

To be born into a colonized people is to be born into a highly politicized people. I and other Indigenous scholars are acutely aware of that fact. Taking into consideration a multiplex identity³⁵, native anthropologists oftentimes become involved in efforts to ameliorate social inequities their agendas usually involve the decolonization of their

³⁴ Abu-Lughod, 1993, pp. 153-154.

³⁵ Narayan, 1993.

communities. Research with a decolonizing agenda has been called community action or emancipatory research (Frideres 1992; Robinson *et al.* 1994). It often involves deconstruction of western accounts of history and construction of accounts which represent the Indigenous experience. This has been termed “writing back” (Ashcroft *et al.* 1989). Writing back in this instance involves incorporating Kanienkehaka perspectives and approaches to knowledge creation, which are generally holistic, subjective and experiential. Thus I will present a body of Indigenous knowledge from an Indigenous perspective.

Connections and Ethical Dilemmas

There were a number of ethical dilemmas which I confronted during this research and all have a part to play in the research process, and have to do with things such as drawing on established connections, hit and run research, official permission, and research consent forms.

The research field was one of a series of connections that had to do with who I am as a Kanienkehaka and as an Indigenous person. The first part of the research took place amongst people with whom I have clan and blood ties. This made the research process both easy and difficult at the same time. It was easy enough to obtain the interview but found difficulty in trying to negotiate my role as researcher and ‘family’ member at the same time. I managed to deal with this adequately. The process is outlined in the description of the fieldwork experience.

Amongst the Mi’kmaq at Esgenoopetitj, the best way to describe the research process comes from their word for the land – *ootsitgamoo*, which means ‘the area of

surface upon which we were placed to share with all others'.³⁶ This sense of sharing that the word speaks to, is what I felt when I began the second phase of research in Esgenoopetitj. I found the people to be open and welcoming to my presence and the presence of my children, whom I brought with me. They often-times knew of my family background. I think that this fact, along with me being Kanienkehaka, an Indigenous person like themselves, made the research process easier. As I left the community, I felt a certain amount of guilt that I hadn't been able to spend more time with the people and as a result I was conducting a sort of hit and run research. I wanted for them to know me better. As it was, within the two weeks I was there I tried to the best of my ability to impart as much of myself as possible by sharing stories, giving gifts of pottery Flags, Flag pins, buttons, and patches. I wanted the experience to fall as much away from the normal western research practices that were mentioned in passing and make the experience one of mutual sharing and cooperation. Like a pebble in the water, our rings overlapped for a time, but we touched each other's lives forever. My children and I felt somehow connected to these people. This feeling can best be illustrated by the Kanienkehaka word for goodbye – *Onen ki wahi*, which means 'we are both on the earth's surface but we will not see each other for now, we are out of each other's sight.'

The next issue deals with obtaining official permission to do research in Indigenous communities. The system put in place by academic institutions goes contrary to how research should be done in Indigenous communities. More recently, people who do research in Indigenous communities have begun to approach who they perceive to be the community government to ask permission to conduct a research project. This is

³⁶ Augustine, Stephen. "Re: Thanks and words." Email to the author. 27 June 2003.

usually the Band Council³⁷ in Canadian Indigenous communities. In my research I found that those who use the Flag in both the Kanienkehaka communities and Esgenoopetitj use it not only in protest of the actions of the Canadian State but also in protest of the Band Council and their perceived relationship with the Federal Government. Therefore, for me to approach the band council for permission would have been a complete contrast to the beliefs and actions of the people that use it. It would have been the same as me going to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and asking for permission to speak with my family. As such, I did not go to the Band Council to ask for permission but instead went to the people directly.

Another issue is with regard to official consent forms for research. This is a foreign method of obtaining research that is in opposition to the traditions of Indigenous peoples, where you give a gift before or after the interaction to ask for and give thanks for the sharing of words. As I wanted to be perceived as an equal, I felt that to using a foreign system of obtaining information by asking for a signature before the interview started would be in contrast to tradition. As I wanted to be perceived as an equal, to do so would have set the stage for the wrong impression of me and perhaps not facilitate the proper kind of rapport that was necessary. So in order to satisfy ethical guidelines I obtained a letter from my guide in the community of Esgenoopetitj who was with me at most of my interviews.

³⁷ The Band Council is an imposed system of governance gradually implemented by force under the Indian Act which was established in 1876. This system is a system based on elections that replaced traditional forms of governance in Indigenous communities in Canada. This system holds considerable power over the lives of the people and is the only recognized authority by Canada. Thus, the perspective of this sector of the communities is missing and can only be gleaned from internet and media documentation.

In conclusion, I feel it is necessary to impart with simple guidelines for doing research in Indigenous communities. First of all it is necessary to recognize that the power of intuition or feelings is valid in Indigenous cultures. Indigenous people study you for a while before accepting you. Second, Indigenous reasoning is usually deductive rather than inductive. Knowledge of the parts does not provide an understanding of the whole. The purpose of the entire phenomena must be understood before the parts that make it up can be understood. There are benefits to being an Indigenous researcher but for those who are not from the people that they are studying with in, it would be relevant to take the time to learn how to incorporate elements of the culture into the research process or at least take the time to understand them. Try to approach on an equal level and involve yourself as much as you are allowed. In the writing process, be extremely reflexive. To be yourself and include yourself does not go against Indigenous belief, it only complements it and the people who understand it. This is described by Heather Harris in PhD dissertation Remembering 12,000 Years of History: Oral History, Indigenous Knowledge and Ways of Knowing in Northwestern North America. She states "Indigenous peoples learn by direct experience. As each piece of knowledge is obtained it is integrated into the existing body of knowledge held by the learner and it is shared with others to be incorporated into the body of knowledge held by the community. Indigenous knowledge is not paradigmatic, each new piece of knowledge has the ability to add to or alter the body of existing knowledge incrementally."³⁸ With these tools, I believe it is possible for non-culture members to write accurate ethnographic materials. I also believe that it takes considerable time, effort and sensitivity to be able to accomplish it. Ethnographies are now written with the ethnographer included as part of the overall

³⁸ Harris 2003, p. 248.

document (Abu-Lughod 1986; Stoller 1995). It is this idea of the interrelationships of peoples, things, and experiences that shapes the Indigenous world view and should be brought into the research setting. Therefore this thesis is a synergism of Indigenous theory and method and western theory and method.

I am in concurrence with Linda Smith when she says, "Indigenous peoples have been, in many ways, oppressed by theory."³⁹ We have been oppressed by theories applied to us which don't make sense to us, and which have been developed with very little or no input from us. We have been subjugated by theories which explain us in ways that are not familiar and we have been subjected to theories which we have had very few opportunities to redress. In our own way, we have fought back. Indigenous people know how to mislead researchers, we are experts at it. But, if we trust, then we are completely truthful and helpful. Now that we are able to be in the system, we have begun to make contributions. Indigenous theorizing in academia is a new endeavor and grounded in our experience rather than a western interpretation of Indigenous experience. Smith argues that Indigenous theory-building is important for helping us to make assumptions and predictions about the world, for helping us strategize our resistance, for understanding what we are being told and for predicting the consequences of what we are being promised.⁴⁰ This thesis is part of that exercise. I am attempting to create Indigenous theory which can assist in the development of an explication of Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq culture from an Indigenous perspective.

³⁹ Smith, 1999, p. 38.

⁴⁰ Smith, 1999, 38.

The Fieldwork Experience

Between November 2001 and June 2003 I conducted ethnographic fieldwork with Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq people. The Kanienkehaka informants are from three Kanienkehaka communities surrounded by the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec - Akwesasne, Kahnawake, and Kanehsatake.

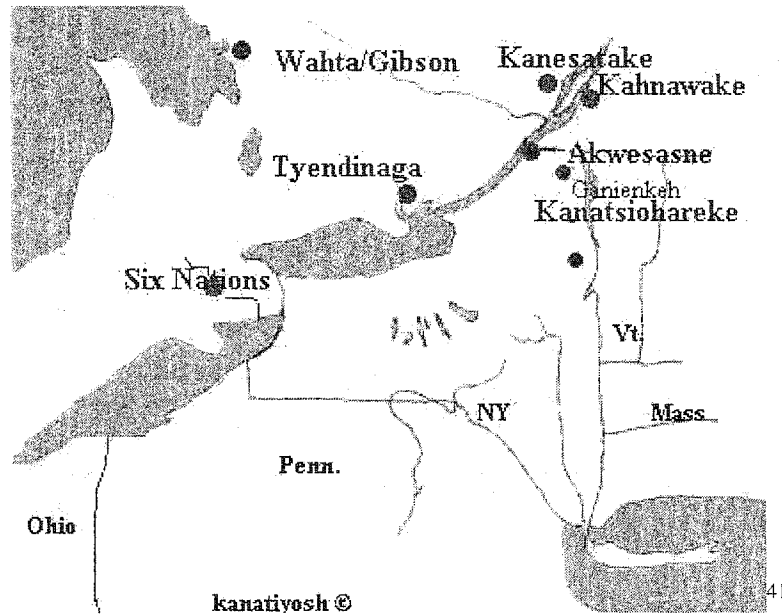


Fig. 4. Map: Kanienkehaka Territories

The *Mi'kmaqé* which means 'Mi'kmaq people', are divided up into seven districts, each with their own representatives on the Mi'kmaq Grand Council or *Mi'kmawei Mawiomi*, meaning 'the central fire of the Mi'kmaq'.⁴² The informants in this research are from the community of Esgenoopetitj in the Mi'kmaq *Sakamowit* of *Kespékewaq*.⁴³ Esgenoopetitj means 'we wait in a small place of gathering' and

⁴¹ <http://www.peace4turtleisland.org/pages/mohawkmap.htm>

⁴² Augustine, Stephen. "Re: Thanks and words." Email to the author 27 June 2003.

⁴³ Kespékewaq means 'last land'. The Territory is one of seven Sakamowit that makes up the land of the Mi'kmaq. 9 September 2002 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/net/territory/>>.

originally was a place of gathering. As such, most of the major Mi'kmaq sites are referred to as 'fire' or 'place of waiting'.⁴⁴

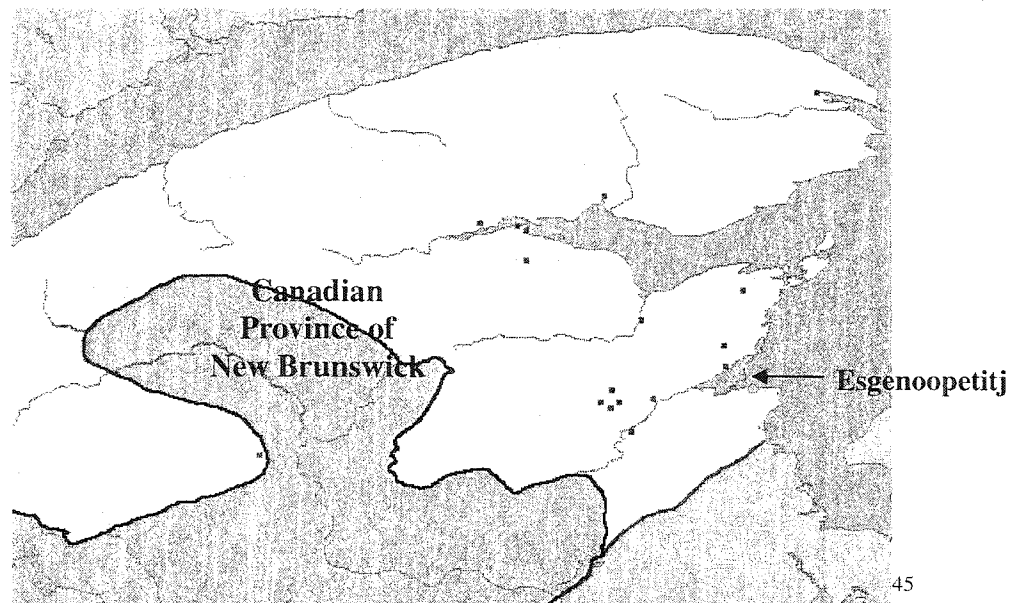


Fig. 5. Map: Kespékewaq District

The process of choosing the subjects in the Kanienkehaka communities initially began with a few individuals compiled in a tentative list. Shortly after beginning the interviews, it became apparent that the list was not going to be sufficient. The process of choosing the informants had taken on a life of its own. Each one, it seemed, led me to the next one. This went on until the allotted time had expired. Among the Kanienkehaka informants, criteria for who was to be interviewed centered on their involvement in Longhouse tradition or their relationship to Karoniaktajeh. Most of the Kanienkehaka informants have been active in the Longhouse community for some time and as a result have a past history with Karoniaktajeh. By virtue of their beliefs and involvement with the Longhouse community, they also have been active in the Native Rights Movement through such activities as the takeover of land at Ganienkeh in 1974. I have known many

⁴⁴ SA 06/09/03

⁴⁵ 9 September 2002 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/net/territory/kespekewaq.asp>>.

of these informants for some time through my involvement in the Longhouse community, their friendships with my Mother, and my work with the Kahnawake Mohawk Nation Office.⁴⁶

In the community of Esgenoopetitj, the criterion was more dependent upon the family that I stayed with. The process began by my introduction to a male friend of the family who became my unofficial guide to the community and inadvertently my main informant. About half-way through my stay, I realized that because my guide was male, he was leading me to mostly male informants. As I became familiar with the community, I began to search out subjects on my own. This allowed me access to the women of the community which would provide me with a different perspective. I found that the women were willing to invite me in and felt comfortable in sharing their insights with me. Their perspective has come to play an important role in this research; their stories provided a deep organic understanding of the Flag in relation to the Lobster Dispute.

With most of the informants from the Kanienkehaka communities, the interview took place in their home or workplace. A few of the Kanienkehaka informants came to my home to do the interview. In the community of Esgenoopetitj, a majority of the interviews took place in the informant's home. There were a few that took place in the home of my guide and also where my family and I stayed as guests.

The Warrior Flag as a subject, in the minds of the informants relates to past events and cultural aspects that are not written down but rather learned and passed down through their community's oral history. In all cases, the ethnographic fieldwork consisted of

⁴⁶ This is the secretariat for one of the Longhouses in the community of Kahnawake. In 1997 the office worked to support the efforts of the Mi'kmaq People in their dispute with the Quebec Government over forestry issues.

open-ended interviews that took place on an individual basis. In order to gain insight into the history and use of the flag, this type of interview was necessary.

In this process I drew upon my own experiences in the meetings of the People's Council of the Longhouse where thorough discussion takes place in the clans, each person has a voice and no one is interrupted. There were many times when I would wait for a long time in silence. This methodology allowed for the most space and comfort in which the speaker could feel free to share their ideas with me. After getting over the idea of having a recording device in front of them, the subject often went into a long narrative, bringing into their responses a history of their community, culture and their community's more recent actions in relation to the use of the Flag. Many times, at the end of the interview I realized that they had covered areas which I desired them to, without much prompting on my part. It was as though the interview took on a life of its own as the informant lead me through their narrative. As I sat with them in their warm kitchens, I often felt the impression that they were sharing a great deal with me but in such a way that it seemed like I was a young child being told a wonderful story. They would weave history stories and personal anecdotes into the telling. I find this kind of interaction often in Indigenous communities.

Many remarked at how easy and comfortable it was to converse with me and expressed deep emotions, often tears were almost shed and lay sparkling in the corner of their eyes. As I explored their level of comfort with me, I found an explanation in the fact that traditional methods of data gathering such as the interview process have been validated in non-aboriginal society and do not engender a situation of trust and personal comfort that is necessary in a unique research situation such as Kahnawake or

Esgenoopetitj. Research validation comes from citing past questionable research by non-native researchers. Adverse reaction to research comes from Indigenous peoples' past experience with researchers in Indigenous communities. Smith illustrates this in her reflections on her reasons for writing her book,

Stories about research and particularly about researchers (the human carriers of research were intertwined with stories about all other forms of colonization and injustice. These were cautionary tales where the surface story was not as important as the underlying examples of cultural protocols broken, values negated, small tests failed and key people ignored. The greater danger, however, was in the creeping policies that intruded into every aspect of our lives, legitimated by research, informed more often by ideology...At a common sense level research was talked about both in terms of its absolute worthlessness to us, the indigenous world, and its absolute usefulness to those who wielded it as an instrument. It told us things already known, suggested things that would not work, and made careers for people who already had jobs.⁴⁷

Thus, I knew in advance that I had to be sensitive to this aspect of Indigenous culture and I prepared myself for this as I began my research.

My own background and the bond of a common Indigenous history gave me the level of sensitivity that was necessary. As I did the interviews with the Kanienkehaka informants, I was always conscious of my own background, my family and communal connections, and the previous work I had done at the Kahnawake Mohawk Nation Office. I never dressed up or wore makeup. I did the same in the community of Esgenoopetitj. I decided to bring my children with me and I had a feeling beforehand that if I did so, seeing me as a Kanienkehaka mother rather than just a researcher would put the people at ease. Here too, I made a point of not dressing up, wearing no makeup and giving gifts of pottery, Warrior patches, pins and stickers to those who spoke with me. What also helped was the fact that, many of my informants knew of my mother through her activism in the Native Rights Movement and as her daughter they were proud to meet me. As well, they knew of my sister Waneek and her role as an Indigenous athlete and role

⁴⁷ Smith, 1999, p. 3.

model through her involvement with the Canadian National Women's Waterpolo Team during the 1999 Pan American Games in Winnipeg, Manitoba and 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney Australia. In combination, all these factors allowed me to gain a fuller experience and depth of information in a short time period.

The informants in both research areas would always try to find people we both know in common. I have noticed that this is a regular occurrence among Indigenous people who meet for the first time. This explanation for this lies in that fact that they are trying to find others to validate what they've told you. Truth is everything because they are trying to tell you of their version of what they see. If anyone twists reality, it is a grave act, and always remembered. Another factor in this was the notoriety that the 'Mohawk' Nation had garnered world-wide through the Oka Crisis in the summer of 1990. This fact and seeing my children with me helped the Mi'kmaq informants to place me in a distinct community. This, I felt, was an important point in the measure of how comfortable they felt with me and contributed greatly to their acceptance of me in their community. I could never have done the interviews over the phone.

Indigenous People in most cases seem to prefer face to face interaction. Data gathering using any other method such as a phone call, a formal interview with a set series of questions and a booth or table might be hung-upon, thrown away, and ignored. Indigenous people are leery of census and survey people and tend to fabricate information which is recorded. This might relate to the need to study a person first before they give any information.

In both situations, I would begin the interview process with a basic statement that I was interested in knowing about the Warrior Flag. Among the Kanienkehaka subjects,

in order to situate them in the history I would ask them to give me a background of their own personal involvement in the longhouse. We would then go through their relationship with Karoniaktajeh and then move into a discussion of the flag itself. With regards to the Mi'kmaq, I began with an explanation of myself as a Kanienkehaka and briefly explained my previous research on the Flag among my own people and how their own use of it during the Lobster Dispute led me to their community. We would go through their personal history and then a history of the community. This would then lead up to a discussion of the Lobster Dispute. I asked about the Flag, where they first saw it and how it came to their community and what it represents for them in the context of the Lobster Dispute. I would also ask them what they thought the symbols meant. Ultimately the discussion would frequently lead back to the culture and history of their people and Esgehoopetitj and the Canadian state's current actions against them. At the end of every interview, the subject would ask me about the Flag and what I had learned about it. I would find myself spending another hour or so with them telling them about its history, meaning and use during the take-over of Kanienkeh Territory and the Oka Crisis of 1990. In a sense I reciprocated with a gift of understanding, sharing what I knew so that it might help them in some way. This spoke to the shared bond of all Indigenous people who face similar struggles.

In conclusion, the fieldwork and writing experience for the native anthropologist is an exercise in reflexivity. It presents challenges and insights about the research process and subsequent analysis that will be overcome using tools found in Kanienkehaka culture in synergy with western theory and methodology. Doing so is to contribute to the

growing work of my peers. In this ethnography, the fieldwork experience presents the first step in this process. The next step is to examine the genesis of the Flag.

Some Reflections

The original impetus for this work comes from personal and familial experiences with the creator of the Warrior Flag – Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall. This interaction inspired me to study the man himself and his work in order that others may see what I saw – that here was an extremely intelligent man, living alone, who devoted much of his life to the development and enhancement of Haudenosaunee survival. This work is designed to serve as an introductory stage in a more comprehensive project concerning this man's work and his influence. Originally I wanted to do a biography but, as there is no written work on his contributions to Haudenosaunee thought and not much about him in the historical record, I began to realize that his philosophy is more important. This has been preserved in his writings, paintings and in the memory of the people that knew him. What became more relevant than looking at the man himself, is his philosophical perspective, which is symbolized to a large degree by the Warrior Flag – probably his most prominent legacy. This focus on the Flag itself, rather than on the man, will serve as a vehicle for accessing a broader range of reflections that form a part of the oral cultural tradition that I inherited.

Chapter Two

Karoniaktajeh ('on the edge of the sky') was a self-educated man who read extensively on many different subjects, especially philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle.⁴⁸ In doing so, he came to his own understanding of the way the Church and the State had collaborated to oppress his people. Karoniaktajeh spent most of his adult life helping his people become aware of traditional elements in the lives of Indigenous peoples. He lived below the poverty level on whatever people would give him, choosing to concentrate on his work while his supporters looked out for his modest needs. He realized that art was one direct and effective means of communicating to make change. He used evocative images in his artwork and in his writing to encourage our people to reconnect with our Kanienkehaka identity and heritage. He was the founder and editor of many texts such as the Longhouse News and Warrior Society Newsletter which inspired those who read them to act and react. Through his work, he strived to reshape the twisted nature of facts of history, or 'twistory' as he coined it. Karoniaktajeh chose not to accommodate but challenge all those who read his writing. He made those who looked upon his work take a closer look and find what already exists within themselves, and from there to determine their identity and future for themselves.

His work inspired action by creating a sense of pride in being Kanienkehaka and by helping many Kanienkehaka people realize that our own perspectives on history were as valid as any other. The images he created, both verbally and in his paintings, made it easy for people to see the dimensions of our struggle and to understand the ongoing importance of the Kaienerekowa – the original philosophy of peace taught by the founder

⁴⁸ He also read the entire Encyclopedia Britannica.

of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.⁴⁹ Karoniaktajeh felt that the outright 'lies', the destruction of our language, of our culture and of our way of life, were the result of the Church's interference, imposition and indoctrination and of Canada's colonial policy. As a strong proponent of the traditional Longhouse, he concluded that the Kaienerekowa was more than just a spiritual guide. It provided all the mechanisms needed for the Kanienkehaka to behave and live as a nation. All that was needed was for the people to assert their nationhood.

Karoniaktajeh worked diligently at spreading this message through his painting and writing. One of the most evocative images created by Karoniaktajeh is the Warrior Flag, originally conceptualized in a painting sometime in the early 1970s, then drawn as a flag before the *Rotiskenrakete* or Men's Society took the idea and put it to use.

This chapter will describe Karoniaktajeh, provide a glimpse of the ideas that underlie his writing and paintings and therefore the Flag; present a history of the genesis of the Flag examined in the context of Homi Bhabha's concepts of mimicry, hybridity and third space; and finally examine the main elements of the Flag with regard to Kanienkehaka culture.

⁴⁹ There is an extensive literature explaining the history and composition of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

A Man Named Karoniaktajeh

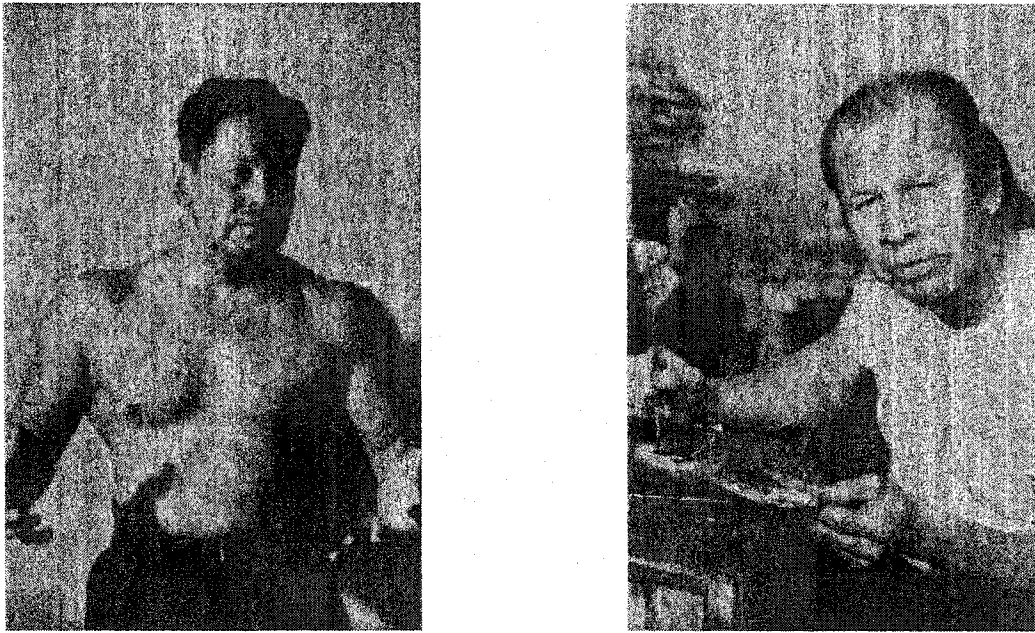


Fig. 6. Photographs: Karoniaktajeh, Body Builder and Artist

Karoniaktajeh was born in 1917, in the Kanienkehaka territory of Kahnawake on the south shore of *Kaniatarowanenneh* or the St. Lawrence River⁵⁰, directly across from Montreal. Throughout his adolescence and youth he remained in Kahnawake and, like most of the people at Kahnawake at the time, ‘Louis Hall’⁵¹ was raised in the Roman Catholic faith. The church wanted him to be a priest, but he wrestled so strenuously with the dogma he was taught that he eventually broke away from the church.

Karoniaktajeh was in Kahnawake in the 1950s when the Canadian and United States governments expropriated the land along *Kaniatarowanenneh* for the construction of the Seaway, wiping out many farms including Karoniaktajeh’s and those of both of my great grandparents. This is a pivotal point in the modern history of the Kahnawake community. It is often referred to in conversation when talking about various local issues

⁵⁰ Onawario (John Cree). Kanehsatake traditionalist, November 12, 2001.

⁵¹ I use his English name here because at this point in his life, he did not identify closely with his Kanienkehaka heritage and used this name instead of his Kanienkehaka one, Karoniaktajeh.

such as family ties, land, politics, and history. It was as though the heart of our riverside community had been removed. Much of our culture and society had to do with the river – trading, visiting other Kanienkehaka communities, fishing, recreation, etc. Most importantly, the river was a place which had high social function, and the community has had a hard time finding something to replace that. It was at this time that Karoniaktajeh went back to the Longhouse⁵², which was meeting secretly to keep tradition alive.⁵³ The old longhouse building was along the river and was cut off from the community by the Seaway, so it came to be practiced in people's homes or in the woods. Eventually it came to be practiced out in the open. After a new building was erected where the people could gather in the late 1950's, Karoniaktajeh went to all the Longhouse socials where he enjoyed being surrounded by the atmosphere of empowerment. The spirit of youth always gave him a feeling that there was a better future for the Haudenosaunee people. As a dedicated athlete, he ran a small gym behind his house where young men trained in wrestling and boxing. He never married nor had any children, which was unusual for Kanienkehaka men at that time. He worked diligently to revive the *Rotiskenrakete* (Warrior Society). He was in the Longhouse in 1972 when the *Rotiyaner* (traditional Chiefs) decided to re-institute this society. In 1974, he inspired the takeover of the Kanienkeh Territory in New York State. For the Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples involved, it brought about a great deal of violence and suffering. It was a situation where the Kanienkehaka people were challenging New York State's claim to Kanienkehaka land. According to a Kanienkehaka woman, Karoniaktajeh said 'no way, we'll take it

⁵² It is believed that we are all born as Longhouse peoples. We are taken away from the traditions at birth, and to participate again is to 'go back' to it, a process begun by being reinstated through ceremony.

⁵³ This fact is commented on by Edmund Wilson in his work entitled *Apologies to the Iroquois* but has never been looked at extensively. Thus it remains part of the oral tradition of Kahnawake:ronon. Wilson, 1959, p. 88.

and they have to prove how they got it'.⁵⁴ This idea is what served as the basis for the actions of the people and the resulting negotiations with New York State. Finally, New York State Governor Mario Cuomo negotiated with the people at Ganienkeh for two years to settle this dispute. The State could not prove their rightful ownership of the land. In succeeding, this was the first time in modern history that the Haudenosaunee people successfully reclaimed a part of their traditional territory and kept it.

Frantz Fanon discusses the idea of the native intellectual in his work *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). The native intellectual works to remind the people of what negative behaviors and notions they have adopted from the colonial world and that the goodness and truth that is contained in the traditional customs of the people should be revitalized. This is what Karoniaktajeh attempted through his writings and paintings. As a Kanienkehaka states:

He[Karoniaktajeh] took something that was given to us by the Creator, he made it a point to understand what it was, and how we should be using that instrument to strengthen our political positions and to strengthen the soul of our people. He wholeheartedly believed in the Kaienerekowa and he made it his life to translate all of that to the younger generation. [LT 01/21/02]

Further, Fanon states that the native intellectual goes through a process of liberated consciousness where, in three phases, he 'goes back over the line'⁵⁵ and radically condemns the methods of the regime. The first phase is assimilation where he adopts the culture of the occupying power. Karoniaktajeh grew up in the community of Kahnawake and participated in the Church and schools that were implemented in the community. In his unpublished autobiography, Karoniaktajeh writes of the point at which he began to move away from the Roman Catholic religion. His autobiography and written works do not go into much personal detail and focus more on the external factors

⁵⁴ KH personal communication July 1, 2003.

⁵⁵ Fanon, 1963, p. 221.

of his life including politics and a condemnation of religion and government which resulted in him being hated and ostracized by people in the Haudenosaunee community. His work was frequently misunderstood and interpreted to mean that he advocated violence as a way to resolve issues. Due to the lack of written and oral history, it is difficult to understand what exactly his life was like as a boy. In this, he makes only a brief reference to his life before this momentous event.

Why did I leave a mighty institution to throw myself at the mercy of a hard, tough, cruel world? Especially since I was such a regular church goer. I even went to mass every morning for a whole year when I was ten years old. Because of my good grades in school, even in the uninteresting bible and religious studies, in which I scored 100%, one of the priests of the local R.C. Church used to talk to me regularly. He wanted me to become a priest. I wanted to be a number of things but being a priest was not one of them. I knew so much about religion that in arguments with the Protestant boys I always prevailed. I was proud to be a member of the "greatest religion in all history", or so I thought.⁵⁶

In this regard the culture of the occupying power is found in the religious institutions and systems established in Kahnawake. Karoniaktajeh became immersed in the Roman Catholic religion by regularly going to church and attending meetings as a young boy. Karoniaktajeh had no awareness at this time as to the effects of these institutions.

Then, according to Fanon, facing a sense of disturbance, the native intellectual reinterprets the current situation of his culture from an exterior position. Karoniaktajeh made some realizations about the church when he was nineteen.

I happened to be reading a novel when I suddenly came to a quotation: "and the Good Book says...". Ah, said I to myself, "The word of God. I wonder what God has to say this time." I read on, "Joshua raised his hand and stopped the sun...". Hey! Wait a minute, I said to myself. This is the word of God? It must be the word of some dumb God who doesn't know how the solar system works that he created! If Joshua stopped anything to keep away the night, he stopped the earth and not the sun, for it's the earth revolving on its axis that makes night and day. If the Bible is the Word of God, how is it that God doesn't know that the earth turns around once every day and that it's in orbit around the sun? It seems strange that I've known something since I was eight years of age that God doesn't know. I decided then and there that the Bible cannot be the Word of

⁵⁶ Hall, 1993, p. 15.

God and that they are putting words in God's mouth. This alerted me to pay more attention while in church, to the ceremonies, to the dogmas and doctrines. This is a slow way of doing things, but I knew of no other way then. It took many years of studying, scrutinizing and analyzing the old words and ceremonies. One by one I started to disbelieve the doctrines.⁵⁷

It seems that from this point on and by his own volition, he began a process of discovery and learning about his Kanienkehaka heritage which he began to share with others during the late sixties and early seventies. Because Karoniaktajeh's transformation experience was so untypical of his generation and for his community and he created such groundbreaking ideas, among his own generation he didn't quite fit in. Protest amongst the older people at the time of the land expropriations for the Seaway consisted of staying in your house until they bulldozed the earth around you and you had to be carried out. This is what my own great grandparents did. To actively speak of colonization, oppression, and the harmful effects of the Church doctrines was unheard of, especially since so many were of the Catholic faith. As such, his work crossed generation gaps and he established deep connections with the next generations.

It is a credit that one so intelligent would totally reject a very old doctrine such as Catholicism and over time begin seeing merit in an ancient native philosophy. This process for Karoniaktajeh is described by a Kanienkehaka man,

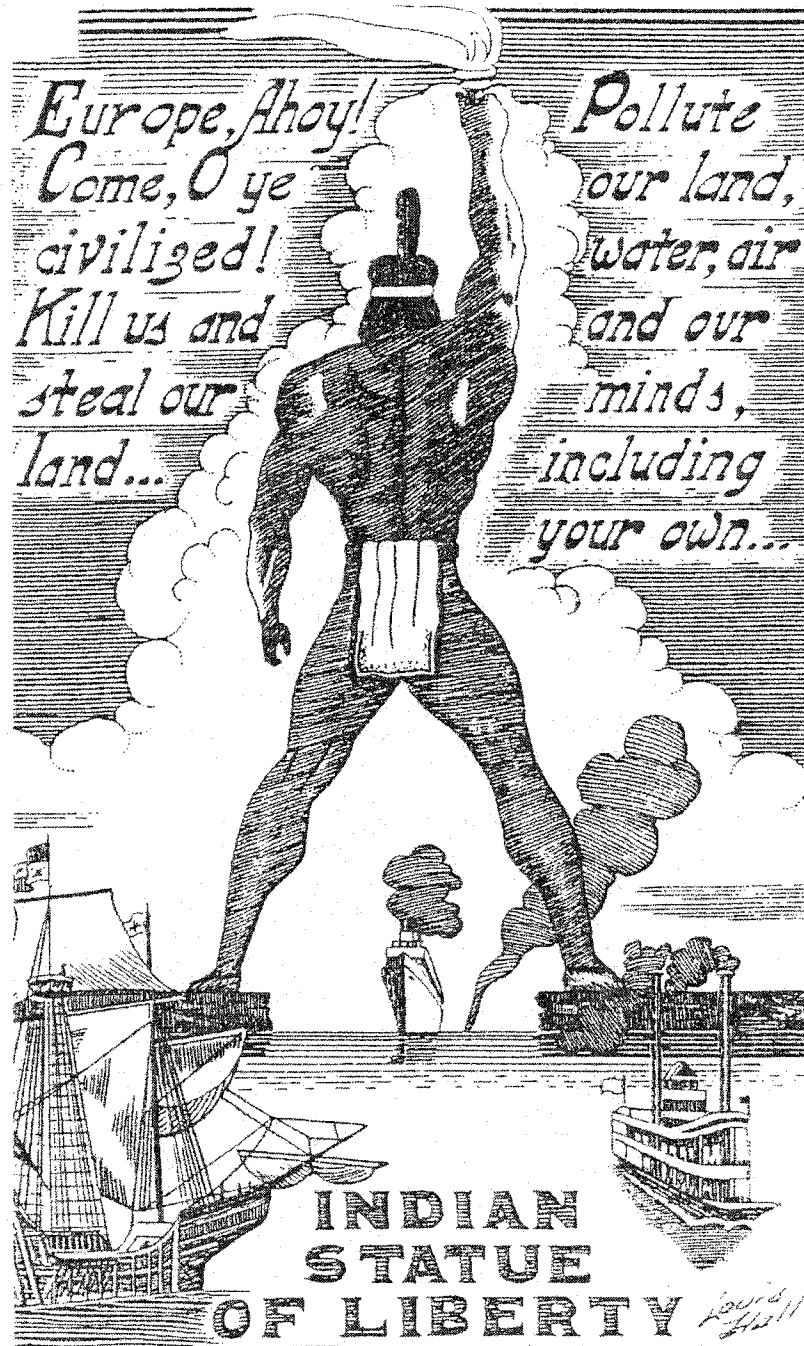
Louis was a self taught man. He educated himself... he did what so few people do, is to de-process themselves, de-colonize themselves, to strip down, take their egos away, take their barriers away. Take their preconceived notions of the world and life and he stripped all that away, himself in his own time, and through this process you grow a different kind of person. [DM 01/05/02]

Karoniaktajeh's perspective is a unique one because he experienced colonialism, a break from it, and the renewal and finding his way to traditionalism and from this position he actively reinterpreted the culture and history of his people. In this, his work illustrates his

⁵⁷ Hall, 1993, p. 16.

growing awareness of the effects of colonization and criticizes the imposed institutions of government and church in the community as described by a Kanienkehaka man and illustrated in the following drawings.

You can tell in his early writings how much he despised the Christian philosophy being put on Onkwehonwe people. How diversely opposed these teachings are to him. And the pain and the negative influence that it had on him and that it has on his people...He said it the way he felt. It was anger and it was hurt. It was like – 'get this mister white man'. So he reflected to the community what he believed to be a very painful disservice.[FB 12/04/01]



58

Fig. 7. Illustration: Indian Statue of Liberty

⁵⁸ Hall, 1998, p. 42.



59

Fig. 8. Illustration: Civilization

These drawings illustrate his awareness, anger and pain.

Fanon goes further to illustrate that from this new vantage, from an awakened consciousness set in the circumstances of their life, the native intellectual will then project this view on the populace. As Fanon States, “old legends will be reinterpreted in the light of a borrowed estheticism and of a conception of the world which was discovered under other skies.”⁶⁰ In this, Karoniaktajeh, with a more clear focus of the effects of church and state on his people, reinterpreted history and began presenting it from a different and radical point of view as a Kanienkehaka explains,

It just happened that the time span that he was in this world, Kahnawake was going through this awakening. And he played a major role in that awakening, which was positive for us. Because of his writing, he used to have a magazine, a little paper stapled together, a newsletter. They used to come up and take it to the different communities. He used to have some really strong positions, not necessarily his position, but positions dictated by the great law and sovereignty and how a government should be posed against outside.[LT 01/21/02]

⁵⁹ Campbell, 1985, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Fanon, 1963, p. 222.

In these works he used words like 'nation' and 'territory' to describe the collective. In this way he used the dominant language in such a way that it became a source of strength rather than a means of oppressing the people as it had been used before when the traditional languages had been beaten out of the Indigenous children and they had been forced to speak English.

Karoniaktajeh also understood the power of oral tradition. He used writing in his drawings and paintings as ways to share his knowledge in order to strengthen the people. His method was a way of relating the visual imagery to his message in a way that is characteristic of the ways of our ancestors. In the past, wampum belts were used as mnemonic devices in order to aid in the oral recitations of the Kaienerekowa and various treaties. Using writing in his works brings the observer closer to the message because oral tradition is personal. For example the oral tradition used to communicate the treaties becomes part of us because each time a recitation occurs or a story is told, it is relived. This is also reflected in the fact that we live by principles of the agreements we make. It is also illustrated in the fact that Karoniaktajeh opened his door to anyone who wanted to come in and learn. There are many stories the people recount about how they used to go and visit with him and talk with him while he painted. This is described by a Kanienkehaka woman,

...what we had to do was play with the ideas.. of who you were, what you really believed in, what your tradition really was and what the root was. So it was truly, the opportunity to learn from oral tradition. Because he didn't pull out a book, he didn't pull out the things that would be contradictory to the stuff, the only books he pulled out was a bible to show us parts of the bible, he pulled out copies of a Jewish text and different things like that, but for our own stuff, he would show us pictures of his paintings and talk about what was in them and why he put them there and the reason why he used colors a certain way.
[O 11/21/01]

Thus, he freely shared his knowledge with the young people who were trying to find their way back to the Kanienkehaka culture. Many people did not even know they were lost until someone told them. This process described by the Kanienkehaka woman,

He wasn't there to entertain. If you wanted to talk philosophically, or to question, he would talk to you. And get you to see all sides of things but he would also relate it back to the culture, and within our culture where it came from what it was what it was about.
[O 11/21/01]

Karoniaktajeh could take a long time to fully explain something and so the young people would go back again and again to seek out his understanding. In this, he gave freely of himself and his knowledge and always relayed it back to the Kaienerekowa. This method of teaching incorporates the teachings of the Seven Generations Principle, he saw the need of the young people to understand and attempted to answer to it.

Fanon goes on to describe that what comes out of this period of distress and difficulty is characterized with a sense of the negative like disgust but also underneath as he expresses “all the laughter can be heard”. Humor in Indigenous cultures is recognized as a way of keeping things in balance and bringing about clarity of mind, especially in difficult situations. The Kanienkehaka word used to describe this is *tehoteriwakwenten* which means ‘a balanced mind which has taken a matter to the ridiculous extreme’. In tense situations, someone will say something that indicates how ridiculous and how extreme it is and then it brings everybody back to balance. According to a Kanienkehaka woman humor was used in this way regularly during the Oka Crisis of 1990. She states, “When we were in Oka, our lives were on the line and the only way we could face it and deal with it was through humor. Humor was always something very truthful. Looking at the situation and seeing how ridiculous it was, and everybody would laugh because they

saw the truth of it.⁶¹ She went on to describe the situation of one of the Warriors known as Lasagna. He had become involved in the dispute by accident because he was in the Kanehsatake Treatment Center drug and alcohol rehabilitation program when it broke out. During the height of the tension when the people were surrounded by the Canadian Army and there were daily threats of being killed, Lasagna was heard saying "I don't like this part of the program!" At that point, everyone who heard his comment began laughing over it. This is an example of *tehoteriwakwenten*. This use of humor has to do with keeping everything in balance. This is reflective of the natural world where everything is supposed to be in balance. As Onkwehonwe, intuitively, we work to maintain this balance. As such, in Karoniaktajeh's work, there are many examples of this particular understanding of humor in communicating a serious message of our precarious situation as Kanienkehaka. It is our laughter which wakens us and forces us to take in oxygen which then feeds the brain and body thus promoting us to act to keep the balance. This is exemplified by the following illustrations.

⁶¹ KH, personal communication July 1, 2003.

AHSAREKOWA THE WAR CHIEF



62

Fig. 9. Illustration: I Want You For The Warrior Society

⁶² Hall, 1998, p. 93.



Fig. 10. Illustration: Big Sister is Watching You

⁶³ Hall, 1998, p. 108.

In these posters created by Karoniaktajeh, he makes a play on the propaganda posters of the First and Second World Wars. Thus, old and new symbols combined with humor are used in such a way that the message is easily recognized and speaks to the inherent need to maintain balance. Thus if something is happening to Indigenous peoples, in a humorous way, Karoniaktajeh attempts to make the people aware of what they have to do.

The third phase, Fanon calls the fighting phase. In this, the native intellectual will unsettle the people. He turns himself into an 'awakener of the people', thus his work is characterized with a sense of fight, revolution and nationhood. The process begins by promoting past cultural referents that show evidence of their continued existence and provide a sense of historical continuity. According to Fanon, this is not enough. In time the native will realize that you do not need to show proof of your culture by pulling out elements from its past. The struggle then becomes current as they begin to substantiate their existence in the fight that is waged against the oppressors. For, as Fanon states – "You will never make colonialism blush for shame by spreading out little-known cultural treasures under its eyes."⁶⁴ Therefore, their existence is demonstrated in the current reality of the people. By adaptation through the period of colonialism, the culture has become what it has become and this must be recognized. For, as Fanon states, "the native intellectual who wishes to create an authentic work of art must realize that the truths of a nation are in the first place its realities. He must go on until he has found the seething pot out of which the learning of the future will emerge."⁶⁵ Karoniaktajeh took out of the 'seething pot' of the Red Power Movement and Civil Rights Movement and

⁶⁴ Fanon 1963, p. 223.

⁶⁵ Fanon 1963, p. 225.

responded to the needs of the native people at that time which were for pride, unity and collective action. He even designed the poster for the American Indian Movement, the most powerful native movement in modern times.



Fig. 11. Illustration: American Indian Movement Poster

⁶⁶ The writing on the painting states: *American Indian Movement. Pledged to fight white man's injustice to Indians, his oppression, persecution, discrimination, and malfeasance in the handling of Indian Affairs. No area in North America is too far or too remote - when trouble impends for Indians, A.I.M. shall be there - to help the native people regain human rights and achieve restitutions and restorations. Paintings and words by Louis Hall. Dec. 1973.*

He gave of his knowledge freely as described by a Kanienkehaka woman,

...you could tell that he like himself and he like who he was and he truly believed that what he was saying was the way that it was supposed to be. And it wasn't tainted. It was pure. The intent was pure....this man was real. He was real. He was talking about tradition the way tradition should be talked about. [O 11/21/01]

Thus, with an open heart and mind, he made himself available to everyone and if someone had an idea, with his thinking, writing, and painting skills he helped them to bring it to life.

We went to him because he could write. We went to him because of his knowledge. We needed help in organizing; we needed help in getting our message out. He never questioned what we were going to do. Doing something, whether it was wrong or right was better than doing nothing at all. And so he supported us on all of these different things. And we could always count on him. That is why we could go to Karoniaktajeh and say, Louis, this is what we want to do. He would say, what do you want from me? Do you have any ideas? We want your ideas and he would give us his ideas.[T 01/17/02]

Karoniaktajeh, as the secretary for Ganienkeh, wrote press releases, communiqués, and the Ganienkeh Manifesto which was a statement to the world of the reasoning and purpose behind the establishment of the new Kanienkehaka community. An excerpt is as follows,

The vanguard of strong, resolute men, women, and children who shall establish the Indian State are traditionals. They know their rights and are exercising it. The establishment of the Indian State gives North American Indians an international personality and the right to establish foreign relations with other nations—all the rights mentioned above are guaranteed by the United Nations. Because of the nature of the movement, it is an international affair, not an internal matter.⁶⁷

The Manifesto incorporated historical facts combined with the current actions and included a Pledge of Allegiance. On his own, he wrote and distributed numerous publications such as the Longhouse News, Warrior's Handbook, and Rebuilding the Iroquois Confederacy as a way to share his knowledge. Another good example of this comes from his work with the young men of Kahnawake. At this time, in 1968 the young men of the Kahnawake longhouse community established the *Mohawk Singing Society*

⁶⁷ See Appendix A Ganienkeh Manifesto for the full version.

which was a society devoted to gathering the young men of the community together to learn the songs and traditional ceremonies. In response to the growing awareness of the rights of Indigenous peoples, the *Mohawk Singing Society* eventually turned into the *Warrior Society* in 1972. For this, Karoniaktajeh created art in pictures and posters that spoke to this awakening and awareness and attested to the fact that the Kanienkehaka culture and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy was still alive and well and that the people should participate in it. One man describes Karoniaktajeh's influence at the time,

I think a lot of us when we are in our teenage years, our early twenties, are full of all the piss and vinegar I guess they say. And yet we don't have a direction to follow and some take a road that leads them into bad situations whether today drugs and alcohol, at that time there was the same options and yet you had a group that decided that they were going to take the culture. They were going to take the culture and going to be proud of it and they were going to perpetuate it because they had Louis Hall who basically said here's the blueprint. These ceremonies and this culture and the Great Law that showed them not only that they had the right but they had the responsibility. And they took that to heart. I think it was just a real combination of timing.[SM 02/24/02]

Karoniaktajeh provided the direction and support the young men needed. He made clear what was already there. This is described further,

I think he gave them the support that they needed...I think those men at the time were looking to embrace something, to prove themselves, to show the world that traditional people were alive and well, and proud of who they were and that they weren't going to practice their religion in their basement anymore. As young men do, they weren't afraid to show who they were and at the same time you had someone like Louis there who supported them. Who supported that what they believed what was right and that it was their responsibility. It wasn't just a fad... It's the combination that took place. It was something where you had men that took the initiative and you had somebody that could really relay and not only justify it and promote that what they were doing was an initiative that was based on a responsibility too.[SM 02/24/02]

Karoniaktajeh showed the young men what their responsibilities are. This responsibility that is spoken of comes from the teachings of the Kaienerekowa and stems from the tie to the earth and relationship with the natural world. This was an underlying theme in much of Karoniaktajeh's work and led to political actions, clear examples of which are the writing of the *Warrior Manifesto*, the Kahnawake evictions in 1974 where non-natives

were forced to leave the community, and the establishment of the Ganienkeh Territory in that same year. His influence is described by a Seneca Man,

I think by itself, it would have been just writing and painting. By itself, the singing society would have been a singing society. Yet the combination led the singing society to grow into the warrior society and led Louis Hall into being a major influence on that singing society becoming the warrior society and all the changes that took place in Mohawk country after that. They are just phenomenal. To have that and then within a few years have land being repossessed, a community reestablishing itself then the spin-offs that came from Ganienkeh.[SM 02/24/02]⁶⁸

This same man recounts the story his father told him of when he 'woke up' during the Kahnawake evictions in 1974. He said his father was in Kahnawake during the time of the evictions. He was recuperating, he got burned on the job and he just so happened to be here for the summer recuperating and all the evictions happened and he was outside where the SQ (Surété du Québec) were holding the people that they'd arrested. And they were holding people back from going in and he remembers being able to see in the window, a woman being beaten up by the SQ and he said seeing that, "its like, you know that fear of authority that most people have? That broke. And he hauled off and jumped on a SQ to try to get in there and it's like everybody suddenly started to wake up. Like coming out of a shell, a hold that was over them." Until then, they were afraid to go in and help their own people. But then, he said, "he just woke up and he just grabbed the SQ in a head-lock and he was pounding him and another SQ jumped on him and another person jumped on the SQ. That broke the spell." This man further states that what happened to his father is what Karoniaktajeh wrote and painted about.

⁶⁸ It is believed that the spirit is transmitted through dancing, music and singing because it has always played an important role in motivating the people. For example the War Dance is used before warfare to bring up the spirit and unite the people, singing played an important role in pacifying Atotarho which then allowed for the formation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. For an understanding of the significance of Atotarho, see Appendix B The Founding of the Confederacy.

The Warrior Manifesto, written in the late seventies or early eighties, reinterpreted the men's roles as outlined in the Kaienerekowa. It advocated the use of force to back up what Karoniaktajeh felt were legitimate claims, and to correct long-held grievances about the collective dispossession of the Onkwehonwe. In all his work, he never told anyone what to do. He just gave them an interpretation and philosophy base in Kanienkehaka tradition and culture which they used to back up their actions. In time, his efforts culminated in various political actions and the creation of the Flag.

Since Karoniaktajeh always remained in the community and never left to do ironwork in the United States, he had a consistent and clear understanding of the mentality, feelings and emotions of the Kanienkehaka People and therefore knew what elements were necessary to provoke action. Today, 'use of force' is to write, speak and influence using knowledge based in Onkwehonwe culture. Examples abound that speak to this idea, one only has to pick up the newspaper or turn on the television to witness it. In his own way, Karoniaktajeh explored the history and culture of the Kanienkehaka in his work and then began to attack the legitimacy of the church and the Canadian Government at some unknown point, advocating that the Kanienkehaka should return to the original philosophy of the Kaienerekowa. He saw the benefits in going back to the traditional ways, as described by a Seneca man,

Louis had for years before, been talking about a lot of things the government was doing...and I think he had been studying a lot of how the world benefited from the Great Law and some of the strengths of the Great Law....I wouldn't say instills in people but people instill in it, more than anything. And I think that was one of the most unique things about Louis that the Great Law can sit on a shelf and yet once people understand it, that not only does the Great law give them power but they give it power again.[SM 02/24/02]

Karoniaktajeh worked to help people understand the Kaienerekowa through his writing and painting. He understood that by practicing the ceremonies, telling the stories,

interacting with one another, what underlies the white roots of peace is renewed. Many feel that the Kaienerekowa has a life of its own. It will go on because it is related so closely to the natural world which does not stop just because we are not paying attention to it. In this, the power comes from awareness of who you are and where you come from and what your instructions from Creation are. It is then that the collective action takes place and revitalization occurs.

Through his understanding of the Kaienerekowa, he realized the importance of having a strong mind – “We are born with brains, intellect, energy, fighting spirit, hands and feet. All the equipment needed to do the noble work or dirty work we expect God to do for us.”⁶⁹ This ‘strength of mind’ has always been a significant characteristic of the Haudenosaunee, because it is imbedded in the Kaienerekowa as *kanikonhriio* or ‘a good mind’, also known as reason. Karoniaktajeh felt that our innate strength had been harmed through the exposure of successive generations to the indoctrination of the Church and through his work he tried to rebuild the strength of the people from within.

For the Kanienkehaka, what is presented in the Kaienerekowa comes from what people learn from nature, from the experience of our people in times of warfare and in times of peace. By taking the mysticism out of the traditional teachings, Karoniaktajeh shared his knowledge and helped people to become aware of the natural world again, of the natural teachings of the ancestors. He unwrapped them from their ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ labels that they had been placed in by the church and state. He brought them back into the everyday world and shared them in his own particular way. He opened them up and exposed them for what they are, natural truth. This is expressed by a Kanienkehaka man,

⁶⁹ Hall, 1997, p. 21.

When he talked of the innocence of our people...The Great law pushes honesty, horiwiiio, the truth. So when you are taking any kind of positions, you base it from our belief, our value system and you intertwine that with the great law that we are taught. And then you come forward with whatever you are going to say, and whatever you are going to say, you are not bending it one way or the other, you are going to tell it like it is. That's the truth. That's what he was talking about. Our character was totally accustomed to the truth and no other interests hidden. And that's what he was talking about. When we spoke to one another, what came out of your mouth was a fact, horiwiiio, the truth. And he says, we as a people, that's what we were accustomed to.[LT 01/21/02]

What Karoniaktajeh wrote and painted about was real, straight to the point and has been described as common sense. It is reflective of the basic philosophy that Indigenous peoples follow, in that you must look to the natural world around you to learn what you need in order to survive.

Many of Karoniaktajeh's works are controversial because they are seen by some to be sexist, violent and racist. Going back to Fanon's idea of the native intellectual, the reaction, positive or negative to his work serves to provoke awareness and reaction. This, according to Karoniaktajeh, was better than no reaction at all. This issue speaks to the great divide that exists between the Kanienkehaka culture and the dominant society. The Kanienkehaka have come to understand Karoniaktajeh's work in a variety of ways, negative and positive. There are some longhouse people who were embarrassed by the hard-line that Karoniaktajeh took, because it was an earlier time and they were not ready to deal with the pain and suffering caused by colonization. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

To see, to read and to hear it articulated the way Louis Hall put it, serves to reinforce what I believe is the pain, the collective pain that native people throughout the Americas still hold but are not ready to talk about. We are still told that we should have somebody else's soul. That doesn't fit in our spiritual beliefs. I believe that he talked about that at a very early time but it was taken very negatively. Even some longhouse people were very embarrassed by the hard line that he took. But that's the way he was. [FB 12/04/01]

In contrast, the mainstream society, without justification, vilifies him and pigeonholes him as a 'radical'. In order to understand Karoniaktajeh's point of view it is necessary to

realize that he relished in this and welcomed the challenge that other people's ideas presented. As a Kanienkehaka woman states,

Most of his paintings were highly political and he didn't care what people thought about what he was putting in there. Because he said people needed to learn about who they were here, from the heart. You need to live it, breath it, taste it, feel it. [O 11/21/01]

There are always two sides to everything. In this sense, the positive and negative reactions to his work promoted dialogue on various issues. It is in this spirit of dialogue that is generated by the teachings of the Kaienerekowa that he functioned as a writer and painter. He was known to write editorials to newspapers all over the world in response to various issues and corresponded with people from all over the world on numerous topics. As for the sexism in his works, in his own words is illustrated the observation of a Kanienkehaka man as to Karoniaktajeh's response to the questions of a female reporter when she asked why he painted these women with large breasts and long slim legs he responded with,

That's the way I like 'em. That's the way I see our people. And he's right, we are a beautiful people. We are. [DM 01/05/02]

In his drawings and paintings he makes powerful looking Onkwehonwe who are beautiful and strong.



Fig. 12. Painting: Statue of Captivity

This kind of representation is meant to provide a sort of mirror image to the current realities of Indigenous peoples. The strong body of the man symbolizes the strength of

the Kanienkehaka peoples which has been subjugated by the dominant society. It also counteracts the stereotypical images of the native that have become the norm such as the fat, drunken and lazy Indian or the strong and silent Indian sidekick as seen in Hollywood western movies. These are contrasted to the ideal types of the dominant society. The wider culture has been critical of 'ideal types' for the last thirty to fifty years because in the wider society, ideal types often represent only one group – historically it is white Anglo males, but if one were to use such a criticism against Karoniaktajeh's work, that he was promoting another type of ideal, you would be missing his point entirely – the empowerment of Indigenous peoples, not to the exclusivity of others. His reply to such criticism of his work would most likely be - What is wrong with defining our image on our own terms?

The way that many natives practiced their culture and identity in acceptable and legal public displays was through pseudo methods whereby they used feathers, clothes, beads, etc. which unwittingly conformed to the Hollywood based images. It conformed to what was made up about us. In opposition, Karoniaktajeh used symbols to counteract this that communicated the philosophy of the Kaienerekowa to help the people recognize and validate who they already were as Onkwehonwe. By making an 'ideal type' of native, he is communicating to men and women their heritage, beauty, spirit and strength. It is then our responsibility in being given all these things to act on it. As stated by a Kanienkehaka man,

Beauty, strength, confidence. Which I think I would add to, was in his art. You know, being an artist, there's always a message. And it's always political. That was part of his message, be proud of yourself. Be beautiful. Be strong. Be tall. Have confidence. And a lot of, and I would say that a hell of a lot of people missed that message in his art. They only saw the politics, or – 'poor me this is what the white man had did to me'. And yes, they should say the white man did this to me. But you know then after that then stop it. And look, say what am I going to do now? And Louis brought all these things out. Be

proud of yourself, be beautiful, happy, tell stories, joke. Make me laugh first before we sit down and have a very serious political discussion. [DM 01/05/02]

The 'propaganda' posters depicting the man and the woman calling out to the people are literally calling the People to wake up and be conscious of a whole series of things – the health of their physical bodies, their history, their culture, their language, the responsibilities to one another and to Mother Earth, to name a few. It is then from that point of awakening that action must take place if the Kanienkehaka People are to survive.

Karoniaktajeh's motivations are best described by his interpretation of why Moses freed the Israelites as described by a Kanienkehaka who was told this interpretation as a young man,

Louis' interpretation of it was why did Moses free the Israelites and wander the desert for forty years? People always hear the story of he freed them and wandered for forty years. But one of the things that I always understood was what was needed to break the whole mentality of slavery. That in forty years, the first year that they became free, they left the kingdom the pariah they wandered into the desert and in that first year children were born. They were born free, they were born a free people but they had just broken free. Their parents were slaves, their grandparents were slaves, and their great-grandparents were slaves...Children are born, and they are born free, the parents who were born free, and the grandparents who were slaves. The fortieth year, there are children born who were born free, they were born to parents who were born free, and to grandparents who were born free and now they are ready to build their nation... And I think what we are looking at now in Indian country, during the late sixties and seventies, you had people who broke free of all of that...The authority was the Canadian government, the authority was the Canadian police, the authority was the band council who was empowered by the Canadian government backed up by the QPP at the time and now the SQ. You didn't break that. Finally one group, one generation. A small part of one generation broke through that. The next generation is now is us and we've lived our lives without having any of those chains there - of intimidation, of having that unquestioned authority. [SM 02/24/02]

This story illustrates what Karoniaktajeh worked towards accomplishing through his writing and paintings. He wanted the People to have the freedom to live as Onkwehonwe, practice their culture and ceremonies, be proud of who they are as Kanienkehaka or Indigenous peoples, and continue to fight for this and spread the teachings of the Kaienerekowa.

Genesis of the Flag

One the most evocative images created by Karoniaktajeh is the Unity or Warrior Flag, originally conceptualized in a painting, then drawn as a flag before the *Rotiskenrakete* took the idea and put it to use. The Flag has since become a well-recognized symbol in resistance movements among both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and serves as the backdrop to other artistic illustrations for these various movements. For example, a publication put out by a Toronto based group called *Arm The Spirit*.

500 YEARS OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE



70

Fig. 13. Illustration: 500 Years of Indigenous Resistance

⁷⁰ *500 Years of Indigenous Resistance*. Toronto: Arm the Spirit, 2002.

This illustration shows how the elements of the original flag have been adopted into the images that now come out of the native rights movement. The sunburst pattern and red background are used to provoke awareness and communicate a message of survival. In this regard, Karoniaktajeh's art has come to play an important role in helping Indigenous people articulate their views.

No one has really been able to say for sure when Karoniaktajeh first came up with the idea for a flag. In his research, he saw that nations all over the world have a flag and so he felt that the Onkwehonwe should have a flag as well. He may have harbored this idea for as much as ten years before it was ever put on canvas. How this manifestation of European heraldic tradition has come to embody the beliefs of an Indigenous populations will be examined using Homi Bhaba concepts of mimicry, hybridity and third space.

Since the time of contact, there has been both mimicry and hybridization in parallel existence in the Kanienkehaka communities. According to Bhaba, mimicry then is a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline which appropriates the other as it visualizes their power.⁷¹ As they moved into the 19th century and colonization forced foreign systems and beliefs on the Kanienkehaka peoples, a certain amount of mimicry and hybridization naturally occurred. Both of which served to preserve Kanienkehaka culture and identity and also to give them a partial presence in North America. Thus there are instances of Kanienkehaka men going off to war, the establishment of the band council and tribal systems of governance on the reserves, attempts by members to gain recognition for the nation at the United Nations level, and the taking up of other religious belief systems, to name a few.

⁷¹ Homi Bhaba, 2003 <http://www.eng.fju.edu.tw/Literary_Criticism/postcolonialism/bhabha.htm>.

Bhaba's concept of hybridity is what occurs when other denied knowledges (of the colonized 'other') enter into the dominant discourse. This reverses the effects of colonialist disavowal of the other by tilting the basis of its authority.⁷² When aspects of the colonizer's and the colonized societies are brought, coerced, or drawn together, they may repel, mingle, or do a bit of both. What results are cultural changes that manifest themselves in literature, art, music; and taking Bhabha's concept one step further; in politics. It is a place where there occurs the production of new forms of cultural meaning.⁷³ A clear example of this is seen in the use of rap and hip hop music to express the current realities of Indigenous peoples by Indigenous youth or the use of mainstream media to communicate Indigenous culture as seen in the programs shown on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network.⁷⁴ It is within this context that the Flag was created. As a flag is a European construct, for it to be displayed so prominently amongst Indigenous peoples is extraordinary.

Examples of such Kanienkehaka musical, artistic, and literary hybrids abound as the post-colonial period of history looms near. Going back to Fanon's idea of the third phase of liberated consciousness, Indigenous peoples; in an attempt to shake off the metaphorical chains of colonization; are finding ways to communicate their current realities. Using aspects of the dominant culture, we adapt them to our traditional cultures so as to ensure our continued survival as distinct peoples. What results are various hybrids, of which one is the use of a flag to communicate the Indigenous world view. A clear example of hybridization can also be seen in the coexistence of the band council

⁷² Homi Bhaba, 2003 <http://www.eng.fju.edu.tw/Literary_Criticism/postcolonialism/bhabha.htm>.

⁷³ Graves, 2003 <<http://www.victorianweb.org/post/poldiscourse/bhabha/bhabha2.html>>.

⁷⁴ This is a television station that is carried by networks across Canada and uses only Indigenous programming.

and traditional Longhouse systems of governance in the communities. The Kanienkehaka communities present a clear case where the colonized and the colonists have affected and influenced one another. The result is a new world of writing, art, music and politics that can not be compartmentalized according to land, language, and political borders. It thus speaks to the wider global Indigenous community and situates the Kanienkehaka in a liminal⁷⁵ state with regard to what they once were and what they envision themselves to be. This is defined by Bhaba as the 'third space'.

This third space presents a place where familiar points of reference and meaning are lost. The Kanienkehaka are experiencing the push and pull that characterize this state of being. There is also a constant fear we will die as a people because that is what many were told as youngsters, that we were 'a vanishing race'.⁷⁶ Further investigation on this may show that issues of blood quantum, language revitalization and implementation of strict laws of community membership are part of the outcome of such tension and turmoil. According to Bhaba, "the non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space – this third space – where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences...Hybrid hyphenisations emphasize the incommensurable elements as the basis of cultural identities."⁷⁷ Thus, there is no mirror in which to look for recognizable concrete forms. This 'third space' challenges the old notion of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by an ancient past, kept alive in the national traditions of the people. The Kanienkehaka experience seems to fit this description of the 'third space'. The effects among the Kanienkehaka are an awakened consciousness of history, tradition, culture,

⁷⁵ Turner, 1988, p. 506; Turner, 1969.

⁷⁶ KH personal communication, July 3, 2003.

⁷⁷ Homi Bhaba, 2003 <http://www.eng.fju.edu.tw/Literary_Criticism/postcolonialism/bhabha.htm>.

community and politics and a resultant series of events such as the move to establish an Independent North American State of Ganienkeh, and the Oka Crisis of 1990. The Kanienkehaka continue to mimic the colonizing society by attempting to use things like the concepts of 'sovereignty' and 'nation'⁷⁸ to get back to what is believed to be authentic Kanienkehaka ways of living and doing things. I propose that the Flag is also an example of this. In order to explore this idea further, it is necessary to examine the genesis and elements of the Flag.

Early on in the research process it became apparent that there was more than one flag. In fact there are two flags. One is known as the Unity flag or Ganienkeh flag which stems from its creation in the context of the assertion of sovereignty in the early seventies with the establishment of the Independent North American State of Ganienkeh. The second flag is known as the Kahnawake Warrior Flag or Mohawk Flag which emerged at

⁷⁸ Defining these terms are difficult because the Kanienkehaka world view is different from that of the dominant culture. The dominant language is English and so English terms are used to describe foreign concepts. As such, the Kanienkehaka ideas of sovereignty and nation stem from the principles of non-interference that is one of the oldest principles of international law. It is this principle that shapes the treaty relations that the Haudenosaunee had with other nations and is based on the Two Row Wampum Principle which is symbolized by a belt containing four rows of alternating white and black wampum – *This belt symbolizes the agreement and conditions under which the Iroquois welcomed the white peoples to this land. "You say that you are our Father and I am your son." We say, "We will not be like Father and Son, but like Brothers." This wampum belt confirms our words. These two rows will symbolize two paths or two vessels, traveling down the same river together. One, a birch bark canoe, will be for the Indian People, their laws, their customs and their ways. The other, a ship, will be for the white people and their laws, their customs and their ways. We shall each travel the river together, side by side, but in our own boat. Neither of us will make compulsory laws or interfere in the internal affairs of the other. Neither of us will try to steer the other's vessel.* Tehanetorens, 1993, pp. 10-11.

Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776) makes reference to this freedom encompassed in this idea of sovereignty in his *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1902). He states-*There is not a Man in the Ministry of the Five Nations, who has gain'd his Office, otherwise than by merit; there is not the least Salary, or any Sort of Profit, annexed to any Office, to tempt the Covetous or Sordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy Action is unavoidably attended with the Forfeiture of their Commission; for their Authority is only the Esteem of the People, and ceases the moment that Esteem is lost. Here we see the natural Origin of all Power and Authority among a free People, and whatever artificial Power of Sovereignty any Man may have acquired, by the Laws and Constitution of a Country, his real Power will be ever much greater or less, in Proportion to the Esteem People have of him* (Vogel 1972, 259). Further, the terms sovereignty and nation are used with reference to indicate the inherent rights of all Indigenous peoples to survive on the land of their ancestors without oppression and persecution and the second term indicates the Kanienkehaka people as a distinct group from Canada.

another time of assertion of sovereignty in the late 1980's. It is the one that is most prominent, a fact which will be discussed in greater detail in the examination of the use of the Flag by the Kanienkehaka.



Fig. 14. Illustration: Entrance to Kanienkeh

In May 1974, a group of Kanienkehaka seized a 612-acre former summer camp for girls at Moss Lake in upstate New York and claimed it as sovereign Kanienkehaka territory. They named this new territory Kanienkeh. The non-native residents of the surrounding area organized in opposition, forming a group called COPCA (Concerned Persons of the Central Adirondacks). After some shooting incidents where two non-

⁷⁹ Words in left bottom corner - *We shall resist by every means any aggression, any violation of the treaties, any disturbance of our people in the free use and enjoyment of our land, any usurpation of our sovereignty, any encroachment and oppression. We pledge that the noise shall be heard from one end of the world to the other.*

Drawing and text by Karoniaktajeh showing a sign posted at entrance to Kanienkeh, Kanienkeh flag in background, and copy of the sign (left) now posted in Kanienkeh's Communications Center. Reprinted from Landsman, 1988.

native citizens and a nine year old girl were injured, New York State through the Department of Environmental Conservation and then later through the Department of State negotiated with the Kanienkehaka for their removal from the original site. These negotiations resulted in a precedent setting agreement that involved the resettlement of the Kanienkehaka in 1976 to another section of the state near the town of Altona in Clinton County. Once again, opposition formed among the surrounding residents but to this day, almost twenty nine years later, Ganienkeh still exists.

It is felt that the move to Ganienkeh was the ultimate focal point for self identification as Onkwehonwe and a place to enact sovereignty.⁸⁰ At this same time all over the United States and Canada, there was a growing awareness amongst Indigenous groups culminating in events such as Wounded Knee in 1973 and The Longest Walk in 1978 in the United States and the establishment of the National Indian Brotherhood in 1968 and the Cree fight against the James Bay Hydro Electric Dam in 1972 in Canada.

At Moss Lake, Karoniaktajeh lived above the gym. There, he lived quietly, drawing, painting, and carrying out his duties as secretary for the People of Ganienkeh. It is said that within the first year of occupation at Moss Lake, he called a special meeting. It was in this meeting that he introduced the Unity Flag. This has been confirmed by a number of people who were there. According to one Kanienkehaka man,

And while we were in Ganienkeh that first summer...I guess it was probably around August or something like that. Louis Hall called a meeting and said he had something to show us. And what he showed us was the Unity flag that he had come up with and painted on canvas...What he showed us was about a three by four piece of canvas, I don't remember the exact measurements, or three by five canvas and it had a red background. And then in the center it had the sun, and it had the rays of the sun going to every direction. And in the center of the sun was a profile of an Onkwehonwe person. And basically what you saw, you saw a profile of an Onkwehonwe, you saw the sun and you saw the background. He proceeded to explain what it was. He thought for a long time,

⁸⁰ See Appendix A Ganienkeh Manifesto for an understanding of the motivations which underlay the establishment of the territory.

for many years, that the Onkwehonwe people needed a flag. Through studying history, he saw that countries around the world had a flag that represented their nations. And they came up with different colors and designs that identified who they were. And he always felt that Onkwehonwe people needed the same thing. But in his way of thinking, he didn't say well the Mohawks need something, he didn't say the Six Nations People need something, he said all Onkwehonwe people. He was thinking of north, central and south America. [KM 01/18/02]

He showed the people his conceptualization for the flag painted on a piece of wooden board and explained what each symbol meant and what the flag was to be used for. Relating back to his self education, it is felt that Karoniaktajeh spent a long time conceptualizing his idea for the Flag. The first flag may have originated from this painting.



Fig. 15. Painting: The Indian Flag

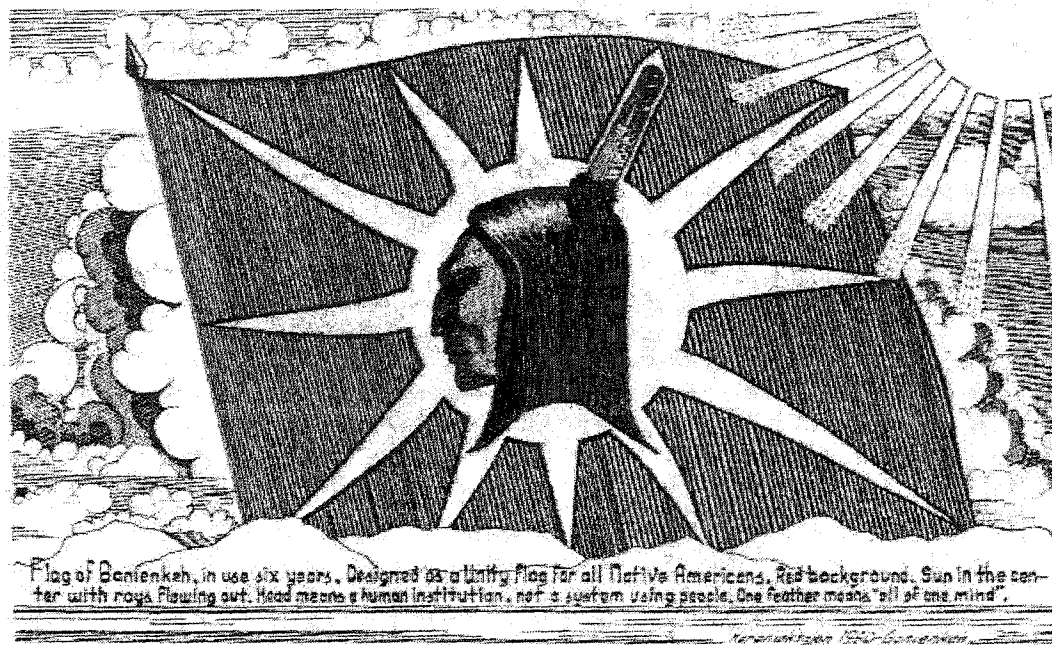
What is interesting to note is that the yellow lines behind the warrior profile resemble those on the Union Jack. Perhaps at some time he looked at this painting and saw this resemblance to the Union Jack. Reflecting upon this and the effects of colonization on the traditional culture of his people, maybe he began to see the sunburst as a more positive image which corresponded to his message and then changed the Flag to reflect this? This is only speculation and it is difficult to define the stages of the Flag's development because there is no written documentation on this. The only way to discern this is by looking at his other work. In doing so, one can see that the ideas that underlie the Flag can also be found in other drawings that he did. For example this depiction of *The Neverending Longhouse*.



Fig. 16. Illustration: The Neverending Longhouse

Significant elements in this illustration are the sunburst pattern over the door and the perpetual nature of the longhouse building which both relate to the same elements in the Flag which will be described a little further on. Therefore, this drawing shows us that Karoniaktajeh spent many years learning and developing his ideas in other ways that eventually culminated in the Flag.

This drawing by Karoniaktajeh depicts this first Flag that was used in Ganienkeh.



81

Fig. 17. Illustration: Flag of Ganienkeh

There are slight stylistic differences in the sunburst pattern but essentially they are the same. This final rendition was painted on arm bands worn by the men and a billboard at the entrance to the Ganienkeh territory and hand sewn into a flag by some women. This moment is described by a Kanienkehaka who was a young man at the time.

I remember the first arm patches that he painted on canvas. Because we were in Moss Lake it was the ultimate focal point for self-identification. It was a political statement, a social statement, a spiritual statement, an economic statement. We are here, we are free

⁸¹ Reprinted from Campbell, 1985, p. 30.

and we are going to build a nation. It was very ideological. And so Louis had this idea to...he saw strength in numbers like he got from everywhere else, Ghandi and Martin Luther King. He just like many different leaders or philosophers or artists before him all said all the way from Deskahe to all the way down the line to Dekanawidah always saw strength in numbers, saw strength in unity. He wanted to create a symbol where everybody could identify with, where everybody could agree on alright this is what this means...He said this is not a warrior flag, or the warrior society's flag, this is not the Mohawk nation flag. This is just an idea for all native people to rally around. To basically rebuild our nation...Spiritual nation. Which comes politics, economy, infrastructure and all that kind of stuff. [DM 01/05/02]

It was meant to be a symbol of the unification of all Indigenous peoples in a common struggle for survival. The hand-made version of the Flag was used by the community of Ganienkeh and didn't change until the late eighties when another version was created and mass-produced. In his other works for the community of Ganienkeh, Karoniaktajeh continued to incorporate the drawing of the Flag in his other billboards and posters for the community of Ganienkeh as illustrated in the poster for the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ganienkeh Territory.

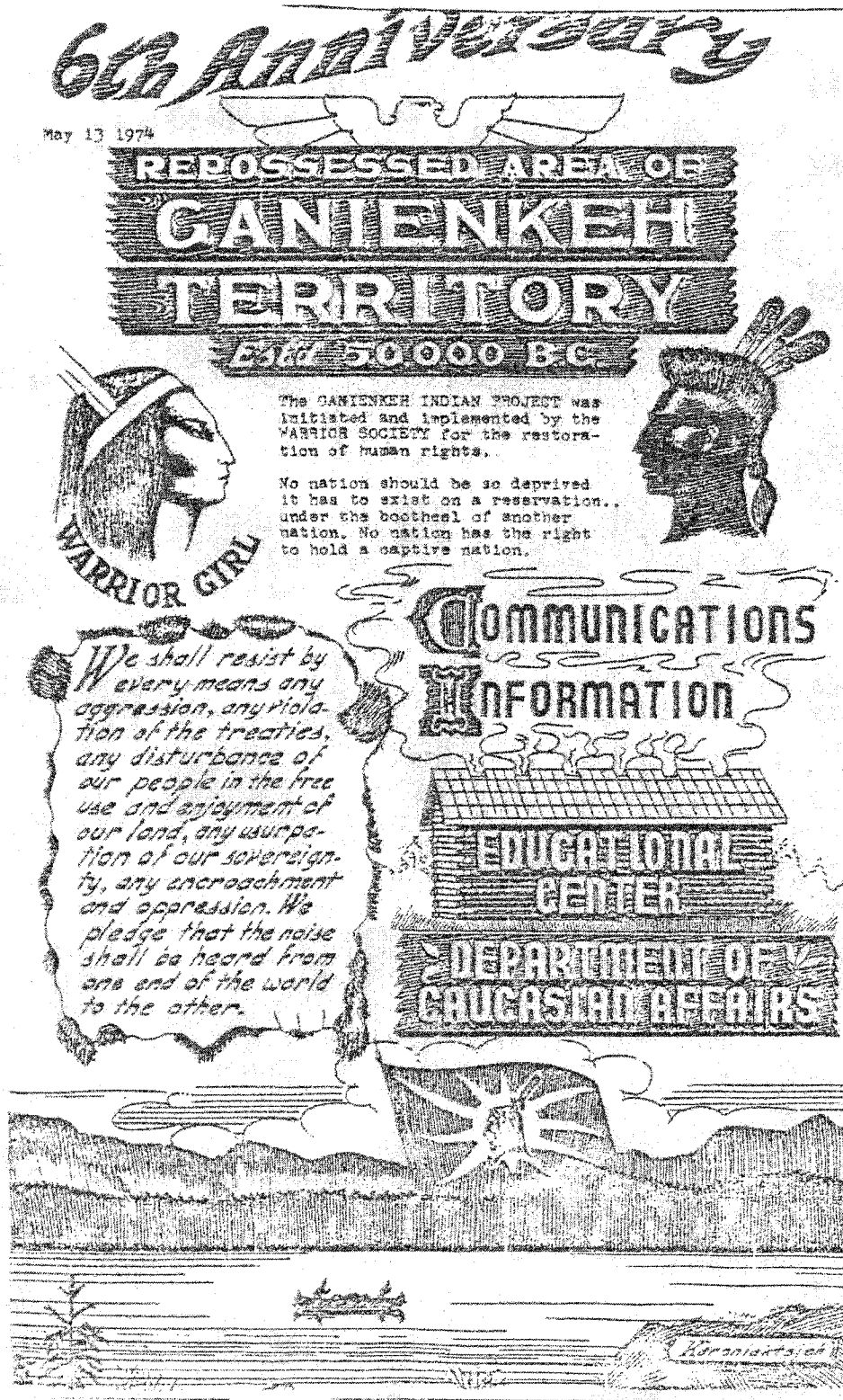


Fig. 18. Poster: Celebration of Ganiienkeh's 6th Anniversary

⁸² Campbell, 1985, p. 30.

Here, the Flag is included near the bottom juxtaposed against a natural backdrop.

In 1988, the Kahnawake *Rotiskenrakete* Warrior Society requested that Karoniaktajeh make a flag specifically for them. The community of Kahnawake was organizing a bridge blockade in response to a series of raids on the community's thriving cigarette industry. This industry had brought considerable sums of money into the community, strengthening its economic structure and providing a certain economic self sufficiency that had never been achieved before under the Indian Act system. The promotion of economic self sufficiency had been a consistent theme in the work of Karoniaktajeh for some time. He saw economic prosperity as a basis for a strong community, thus leading to the unification and maintenance of strong Indigenous peoples. Karoniaktajeh expressed this method of survival in his work *Warrior's Handbook*,

As a race, Injuns are small in numbers. Most are browbeaten into meekness and humility. Many die young. Many are on welfare which kills initiative and fighting spirit...What must they do to avoid the easy road to extinction? Injuns must change their style. Instead of meekness and humility Injuns shall have to stand on their hind legs and fight for their rights. They must struggle to create their own economy. They should not continue to depend on the precarious white man's economy which has a bad habit of collapsing every once in a while and many Indians starve to death. Working for the white man is depending on his economy. To make sure of continued existence, Injuns should grow their own food, make their own bread, etc. Injuns should produce their own cloth to make their own clothes. Make their own styles...Injuns should cut their own lumber and make their dwellings according to their own architecture...Help each other. One of the ways of survival.⁸³

The new flag that Karoniaktajeh designed contained the same symbols as the original flag and the only difference was in the face and hairstyle. The Warrior head depicts a traditional Mohawk hairstyle, the scalp lock as seen in the picture below. Warriors often shaved or plucked their hair leaving only a scalp lock. The hair at the back of the lock

⁸³ Hall, 1997, pp. 62-3.

was left long. This scalp lock was a challenge to the enemy to get the scalp if he could. The hair in the back was left long so that it could be held while removing the scalp.⁸⁴

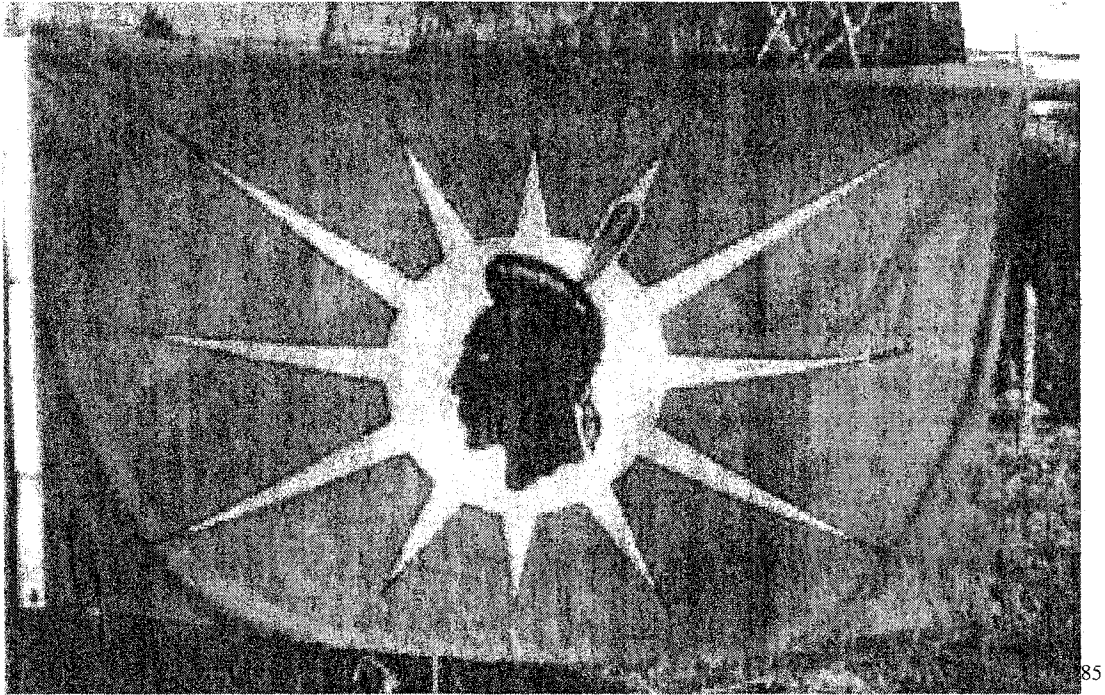


Fig. 19. Photograph: Flag Created for Kahnewake Mohawk Warrior Society

The Kahnewake Mohawk Warrior Flag is now the one most easily identified and available for sale in flag, patch, pin, and sticker formats.

Elements of the Flag

The elements of the flag itself reflect Karoniaktajeh's own interpretation and understanding of the Kaienerekowa and the Kanienkehaka relationship to the natural world. Each symbol not only serves as a reflection of particular laws or wampum but can also be traced to core symbolic elements of Haudenosaunee spirituality and daily life. Not only are they a reflection of Haudenosaunee culture but also of other Indigenous

⁸⁴ Gabor, 1993, p. 25.

⁸⁵ 1 July, 2003 < <http://users.aol.com/Donh523/navapage/mohawk.htm>>.

cultures and their beliefs. Karoniaktajeh, as a very well-read man attempted to make the core symbolic elements relevant to all Onkwehonwe by making them not specific to any one Indigenous culture. Thus, the four main symbolic elements of the original Flag presented so long ago in Ganienkeh, are the Warrior in profile, the single feather, the sunburst, and the red background. Using the original Flag, these will be discussed in detail.

The Warrior Profile serves as a reminder to the men of their path in life, their responsibilities to their clan, community and nation enacted through daily life, ceremonies, and warfare. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

The sun, in our tradition, we always say the sun is our eldest brother. He is the mighty warrior. And so this is why the sun is used. Our education comes with the rising of the sun. As men, from the time we begin puberty, it is the sun that begins to teach us. It's like all our uncles, when our voices go through the change, our education as a man begins then... We are taught all the things and shown our relation to our mothers. That these are very sacred people. The man should never forget that. That is his past, his present and his future. This is who he is....And that's why when he goes through that first fast, those are the first things that come to his mind when he is not eating, when he gets cold at night, when he is in that circle, when he can't leave that circle. But always he is under the watchful eye of his uncles. That's why he is to remember that. When his voice finally changes, when he finally gets his medicine, he knows what his medicine is and who he is, what he is about. That's when he is making his medicine bag. There are three main things that go in there – there is a piece of the soil from the territory of his mother, his umbilical cord which his grandmother saves, that's his connection to his mother, his first drink, his first food, his first breath, everything came through there, his very existence came through there. That's why they're called kanistensera. Kani, this is onerista, your connector, kasestensera, that's your power. Your power in your mother, that's where it comes. That's why the umbilical cord was put in that medicine bag, that's why that soil was put in, and then his medicine is put in. He carries that wherever he goes. That's why they call them rotiskenerakete, because he carries the okenra. Okenra is the soil. Rotiskenerakete – “he's carrying the soil”.[T 01/17/02]

Therefore the warrior in profile serves as a symbolic reminder to the individual of their roles and responsibilities. If the people follow their natural instructions, logically it will then bring about peace, power, and righteousness.

In discussing the Warrior profile, it is necessary to examine the two styles of hair, the direction of the profile, and the blue eye in order to distinguish between the original version and the one created for Kahnawake and illustrate their relevance to the people.

The original Flag depicts a Warrior in profile that has long hair falling to the shoulders. All Indigenous nations have particular traditional hairstyles that they use. It was indicated that in order for the flag to be identifiable by all who use it, the symbols needed to be such that all may readily identify with it. Therefore the hair was made to fall at the shoulders. Long dark hair is common amongst Indigenous peoples, what makes the cultures different is how they style it. Therefore when we take our hair out of our traditional styles at the end of the day, it falls at the shoulders and we end up looking similar. This aspect along with the others, as will be illustrated is meant to promote a sense of common identity, therefore enabling all to use the flag for their own means, no matter what nation they are from.

With reference to the Kahnawake Mohawk Warrior Flag, in times of war, the men of the Haudenosaunee would shave their heads, leaving a round patch at the back of the skull, referred to as a scalp lock. Its purpose was to taunt the enemy into attempting the scalp the warrior or to make it easier for rapid travel through the trees. Long hair would be more easily snagged and be an impediment to rapid travel needed in times of war. The men would also place ornaments such as silver and feathers in this scalp lock. In preparation, hardwood ash⁸⁶ was also rubbed on the bare scalp in order to remove stubble, also making so that the hair would take much longer to grow back. In times of

⁸⁶ Hardwood ashes are also used in the Hatowi ceremony, a healing ceremony in which the false faces rid the people and buildings of bad spirits. The ash is rubbed into the hair of the individuals sitting in the center of the longhouse, which is then left in for three days. Hardwood ash is also used in the preparation of corn for consumption. The kernels are boiled in the ash and the lye works to remove the husk from the kernel. The corn turns from yellow to red in this process.

peace the hair was allowed to grow. The Flag introduced at Ganienkeh has hair that is long. It has been suggested that perhaps this was another way for the Flag's symbols to indicate and promote peace.[JT 07/23/02] The Kahnawake Warrior's Flag has a more stylized version of the scalp lock, perhaps indicating the need for resistance, because it was designed in a time of tension and conflict as discussed above.

The direction of the Warrior profile is explained in two ways. First of all, it depends on which way the wind is blowing, thus it has no significance. It is also facing west in all the depictions of it in Karoniaktajeh's drawings and paintings. The significance of the western direction lies in the fact that it is the opposite direction from which people are removed from the Longhouse upon death and buried, as one Seneca man states,

Mostly what I remember is the feather, the sun, and the direction that he was looking. That was important because some felt that looking to the east is usually the direction that somebody is laid to rest. So he made the face look to the west which wasn't insulting to, didn't mean anything negative to any other nation that he knew of. That was something that was important, was the direction that the face was going in.[SM 02/24/02]

Many Indigenous cultures have ceremonies that communicate a close relationship with the sun. As a life-giving force for all plants and animals, perhaps this element of the Flag is meant to appeal to the commonalities of all our traditions and similar beliefs.

In the Kahnawake Mohawk Warrior Flag, the Warrior Profile has a blue eye. The meaning of this particular aspect of the Kahnawake Warrior Flag was not made clear in the interviews conducted. Three theories emerged. The first is that it was a printing error. The two men from Kahnawake who worked on making the painting into a flag were in such a hurry that they didn't notice until it was complete that the eye was a different color and by that time the project was complete so they didn't bother changing it. The second version is that Karoniaktajeh had blue eyes and this was a way of putting

himself into the flag. Perhaps it was his second chance to do so. The third version is that Karoniaktajeh, being realistic, knew that the Kanienkehaka had mixed with non-native and therefore through successive generations had begun to look different. In accordance with Bhaba's concept of hybridity, we have become a hybrid of our former selves. For example, there are instances of Kanienkehaka people with red hair, blond hair, blue eyes, and fair complexions yet they declare themselves to be and are recognized as Kanienkehaka. This is not typical of our Kanienkehaka ancestors who had black hair, dark eyes and dark skin, characteristic of many Indigenous peoples. As such, it is felt that including the blue eye was in recognition of this fact, and relates to the fact that he wanted the people to be realistic about their circumstances. This would point to the history of the people in times of war when they would adopt non-natives as replacements for the family members who had died. In many cases, these people came to speak the languages and follow the Kaienerekowa, one case in point is the story of Mary Jemison who had been adopted by the Senecas in 1758 at the age of fifteen, and stayed with them of her own choice. She spent the rest of her life as a Haudenosaunee wife and mother, raised a family and even came to hold an esteemed position in the Women's Council of the Confederacy.⁸⁷

The single feather is written in Karoniaktajeh's other work as representing the concept of one mind. This incorporates the Indigenous philosophy of the unity of body, mind, and spirit into a single entity such as the person or people as a whole. The Kaienerekowa is reflective of this, as it contains laws that speak to the social, political and spiritual aspects of daily life. As a Seneca man states,

⁸⁷ See James E. Seaver's account of her life in *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824) and Lois Lenski's fictional take on her life in *Indian Captive. The Story of Mary Jemison*, originally published in 1941.

The reason he used one feather, which was the specific question that was asked to him, why didn't it have three feathers....mostly at that time it was mostly just seen in Mohawk country, and he explained that one feather represented that unity, represented all under one. Under the eagle, an eagle feather wasn't something to any nation that would be insulting. It was something to be proud of, the eagle feather. Within the six nations we have two nations that wear the eagle feather down. The Cayugas and the Oneidas have an eagle feather that hangs down. Yet in some communities, an eagle feather hanging down means death, defeat, means negative things to see the eagle feather in the down position. So he decided to have the one eagle feather and it would be standing up. Because there was no native community that he knew of at the time, and I don't believe there is one to this day that an eagle feather standing up means anything insulting. [SM 02/24/02]

As such, the eagle is also a positive symbol for many other Indigenous nations. This idea is reflected in the use of its feathers in ceremonies, regalia, and in the burning of natural plants such as sage, sweetgrass and Indian tobacco which bring our words of thanksgiving up to the skyworld where our ancestors dwell. It is felt that the eagle has the ability to bring messages to the skyworld because of its natural ability to soar at great heights.

Unity is a fundamental aspect of the Kaienerekowa and can be of diverse people who help each other and respect their differences. Unity does not mean sameness or homogenization. Onkwehonwe know that each other is unique, each has something that is celebrated and we look to find what that person has brought with them that can help everybody else. It is this kind of unity which brings about *kariwiio* or 'a good mind' and is represented using the single feather as in the work of Karoniaktajeh and by wampum beads,

*A bunch of wampum strings, three spans of the hand in length, the upper half of the bunch being white and the lower half black, and formed from equal contributions of the men of the Five Nations, shall be the token that the men have combined themselves into one head, one body, and one thought, and it shall symbolize their ratification of the Peace Pact of the League, whereby the Chiefs of the Five Nations have established the Great Peace.*⁸⁸

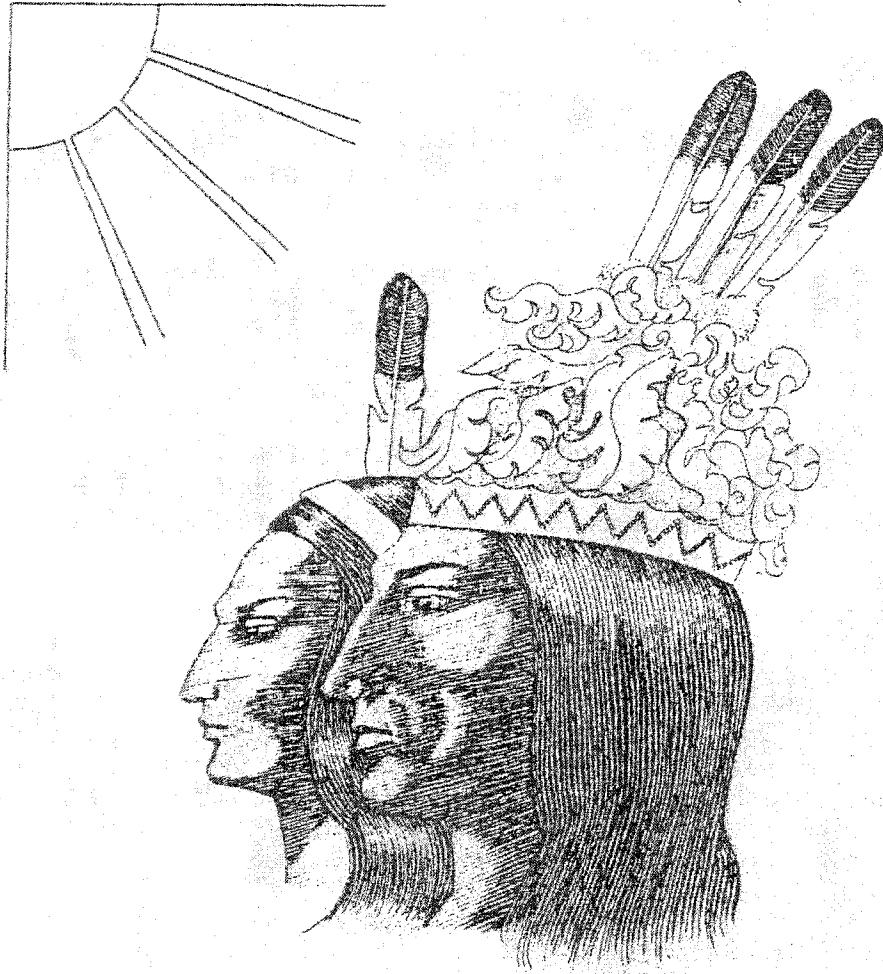
⁸⁸ Tehanetorens, 1993, p. 22.

Thus, a single feather denotes this same conception of unity of the person and of all Indigenous peoples together.

The sun's rays go out in all directions and give life to the plants, animals and humans. It is considered the elder brother or *rotiskenrakete kowa* and plays an important role in the ceremonial, symbolic and spiritual life of the Haudenosaunee. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

...he found the sun played a very important part in all Onkwehonwe peoples culture in the way they looked at life, the way they looked at nature. For us we call the sun our eldest brother. Right across Onkwehonwe country no one ever had anything negative about the sun. He thought that was a positive symbol.[KAM 02/18/02]

It is this close relationship with nature that is reflected in the ceremonies. For example the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén* is said before any gathering. It is a way of thanking the natural world and acknowledging what has been provided, it has instructions as to what it is supposed to do and we have our own that tell us what to do. Therefore, this aspect of the Flag reminds the men and women of their responsibilities to themselves, their communities, their nation, and to the Confederacy. This is represented in much of Karoniaktajeh's illustrations. For example,



*You shall love each other the rest
of your days.
Let your love be strong and as constant
and enduring as our elder brother the Sun.
Be as steadfast and true to your duties as
our Mother the Earth...*

Translated from the Mohawk

Karoniatagich

Fig. 20. Illustration: Wedding Invitation

⁸⁹ Reprinted from Campbell, 1985, p. 94.

This card was made to celebrate a marriage that took place in Ganienkeh and likens the strength of the sun to the bond between a man and a woman.⁹⁰ Further, the symbol reminds the man of his responsibility as a warrior. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

The sun was the older brother – Rotiskenrakete kowa. The eldest brother, the great warrior. He put that in the back of the profile of the Onkwéhonwe, the warrior as he called. He says you've got the natural warrior and you've got the human warrior. Our natural warrior which is the sun, the sun rays go out and it gives energy and power. And that's the responsibility of our warriors, to give energy to our people and make sure our power is protected. The responsibility of the warrior – Rotiskenrakete.[LT 01/21/02]

Taking this idea of responsibility further, this symbol also serves as a powerful reminder to the men of their relationships to one another and to the natural world, as a Kanienkehaka man states,

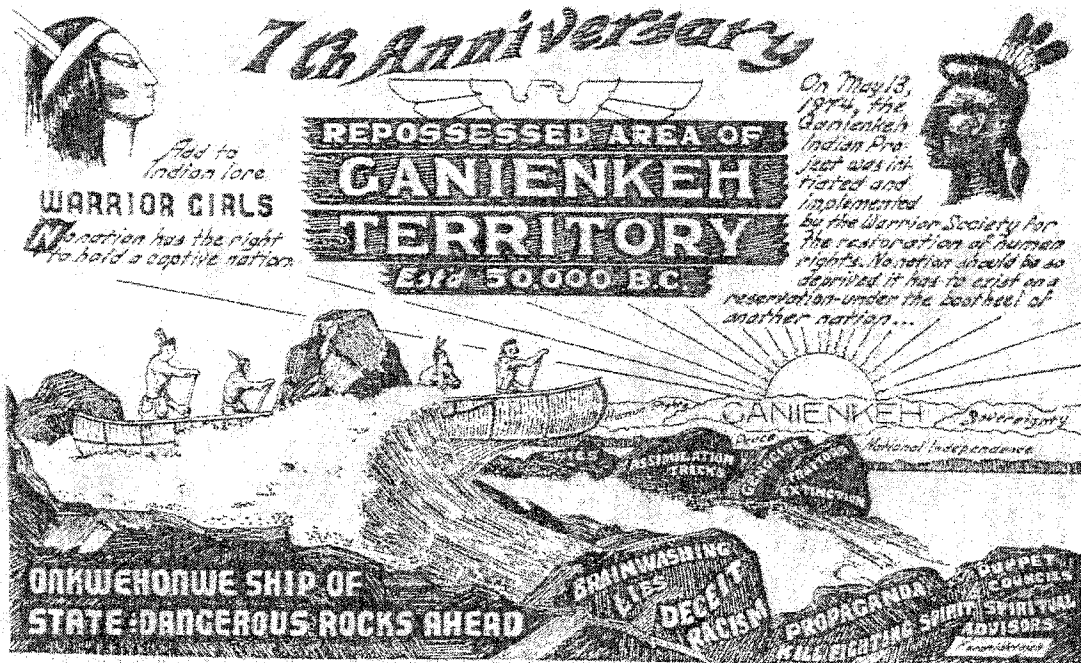
...it's supposed to remind us about our relationships, the rotiskenrakete are the direct relationship to the eldest brother, sun. We are the younger brother of the day sun. The rotiskenrakete, that's important spiritual connectedness. And I believe my friend did that that way because of that belief. That sunburst is the "karakwio" is a direct older brother of the rotiskenrakete in any generation.[FB 12/04/01]

As well, the symbol illuminates the contrast of the relationships that the men and women have with mother earth. The women are reminded every day by virtue of being women, as the earth is referred to as the 'mother earth'. Whereas, the men are reminded by sun. There are different ceremonies that speak to these relationships that the men and women have to the earth. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

Our education comes with the rising of the sun. As men, from the time we begin puberty, it is the sun that begins to teach us. It's like all our uncles, when our voices go through the change, our education as a man begins then. In the years before we are raised by our mothers, and our grandmothers and our aunts. We are taught all the things and shown our relation to our mothers. That these are very sacred people. The man should never forget that. That is his past, his present and his future. This is who he is. [T 01/17/02]

⁹⁰ In this picture, the man is wearing three feathers on his gustowa or headdress which shows that he is Kanienkehaka. In Haudenosaunee tradition, the women wear one feather while the Royaner wear deer antlers and a number of feathers on their gustowa. The number of feathers indicates what nation they belong to. The Onondaga wear two feathers standing up, the Oneida wear one feather up and one down, the Kanienkehaka wear three feathers up, the Seneca wear one feather up, and the Cayuga also wear one feather up. Blanchard 1980, pp. 76-77.

The illuminating powers of the sun is also symbolically represented in the fact that it sheds light on the injustices and wrongs that hinder the path or river of life heading towards true peace, power, and righteousness. This idea is represented in Karoniaktajeh's work, as seen in this poster for the seventh anniversary of the establishment of Ganiienkeh.



91

Fig. 21. Poster: Celebration of Ganiienkeh's 7th Anniversary

In this drawing, the sun illuminates what the territory of Ganiienkeh symbolizes for the Kanienkehaka, sovereignty and national independence. It sheds light on the sharp rocks and rapids which symbolize brainwashing, lies, deceit, racism, propaganda, assimilation, and genocide, etc., that are before them and may prevent them from achieving this goal. The illuminating power of the sun is also a fundamental aspect of any deliberations. As such, meetings are not to go past sundown. If a decision is not yet made when the sun sets, the meeting stops until the following morning when the sun rises again.

⁹¹ Reprinted from Campbell, 1985, p. 44.

The rays of the sun in the Flag reach out in all directions. This is reminiscent of the white roots of the Tree of Great Peace that reach out in all directions and serve as a path for other nations or individuals to follow back to find shelter under the safety of the Kaienerekowa as stated,

*Roots have spread out from the Tree of Great Peace, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south, and one to the west. These are the Great White Roots, and their nature is Peace and Strength.*⁹²

Thus, the rays also are a guide to follow back to the Kaienerekowa. This is illustrated by a Kanienkehaka man,

The rays of the sun – the spikes in the sun rays, it reaches from one end of the continent to the other. It just shines all over the world. He says that at that time the language was starting to change and indigenous was coming in – the indigenous people all over the world. He says our message has to reach those people, the Kaienerekowa. He says, actually the Kaienerekowa is all over. We don't know. The message was given all over but it has been suppressed so long by colonizing interests that there are only a few people left. But when you talk to these people, it comes to the surface. Our ways are the same. It may be explained a little different, but our ways are the same. It becomes a part of the same message.[LT 01/21/02]

The sun is also a circle. This can be directly related to Law or Wampum 58 of the Kaienerekowa which makes direct reference to the chiefs of the five nations standing with joined hands in a circle in unity. It states,

*There are now the Five Nations League chiefs standing with joined hands in a circle. This signifies and provides that should any one of the chiefs of the League leave the Council and the League, his crown of deer's antlers, the emblems of his chieftainship title, together with his birthright, shall lodge on the arms of the union chiefs whose hands are so joined. He forfeits his title, and the crown falls from his brow, but it shall remain in the League ...You, the League of Five Nations chiefs, be firm so that if a tree should fall upon your joined hands, it shall not separate you or weaken your hold. So shall the strength of union be preserved.*⁹³

⁹² In this particular translation of The Kaienerekowa or Great Law of Peace, a symbolic translation of this law reflects the natural process of growth of roots spreading out from the base of the tree in every direction and is reflected back onto its function for the League of Nations - If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace (Kaienerekowa), and shall make this known to the Statesmen of the League, they may trace back the roots to the Tree. If their minds are clean, and if they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the Council of the League, they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

⁹³ Ohontsa Films 1993, Wampum #58. A further meaning of this is that if any time any one of the chiefs of the League choose to submit to the law of a foreign people, he is no longer in but out of the League, and persons of his class shall be called "They have alienated themselves." (Tehonatonkoton). Likewise, such

Thus, the circle symbolizes their joint function in the league and maintaining a firm grip to keep the circle complete. As well, each who makes up the circle are equal to everyone else.

The meaning of the red background is not so clear. It is described as representative of redness of blood, which is a life-giving force; the red nations, which are supposed to mean the Indigenous nations of the world juxtaposed to the yellow and white nations of the far east and Europe; the red man, which is another descriptive term for Indigenous peoples; fierceness, which is often described using the color red, as in 'seeing red'; courage, often represented using the color red; power, which is described using the color red, perhaps relating to the power of fire and blood which are both red; and life, relating back to the color of blood. As a Seneca man states,

It's that red in that flag. That's that symbolism of what that red is. That kahsastensera, that power. That power that comes from within every single man, woman and child. When that is released, there is no overcoming it. [SM 02/24/02]

It is the power that comes from a collective body of people all with the same intent. He goes on to state what that means in the context of Ganienkeh,

And what a lot of people need to understand is it's that red, is that kasastenserah. It's that power that, even just a small group of people, if they unify under it and collect that power how strong it is...how many of us were there at any given time? 30, 40 people? You know. There wasn't that many people, but every single one was strong.[SM 02/24/02]

When the time comes that that power is necessary, the Kaienerekowa teaches that one must look inward and around them in order to find it. It is a natural ability for righteousness that exists in every one. Therefore the red background serves as a reminder

of the humanity, the life that the Onkwehonwe have been given and therefore the responsibilities to the mother earth for sustaining that life.

The Flag has essentially remained the same as it was on the day that Karoniaktajeh unveiled it to the community of Ganienkeh. As a self-educated man, he had gone far to free himself from the 'shackles' of the Church and state that held him and discovered the beauty and strength of his culture. He came so far that it seems almost incredible to think that he managed to find four simple yet powerful symbols and combine them into a Flag that serves as a conduit to the philosophy and culture of the Haudenosaunee and thus to the Indigenous way of thinking. The Flag created by Karoniaktajeh seems to speak to something in many people who move forward and take a united stand. This is not the case for most other Indigenous flags. A case in point being the flag of the *Mi'kmawei Mawiomi* or Mi'kmaq Grand Council and a more recently proposed Mi'kmaq flag that comes from a symbol carved in rock.⁹⁴ These flags speak to the Mi'kmaq people as a collective and are not been used by any other Indigenous group.

The *Mi'kmawei Mawiomi* Flag was designed to represent the Mi'kmaq Grand Council. This flag has been manufactured and also appears on a passport that is being developed by the *Mi'kmawei Mawiomi*. It is commonly referred to as the Santé Mawiómi Flag or the Grand Council Flag. Like the Warrior Flag, it also incorporates symbols from traditional culture that speak to their special relationship with Mother Earth.

⁹⁴ 11 July, 2003 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/flags/>>.

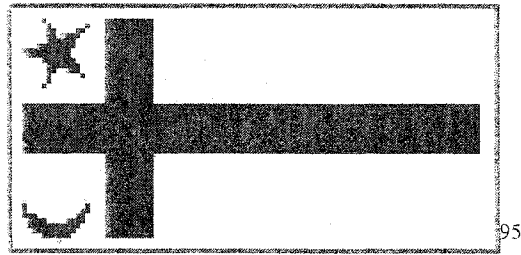


Fig. 22. Illustration: Flag of the Mi'kmaawi Mawioomi

Wapék or white denotes the purity of Creation; *Mekwék Klujjewey* the red cross represents mankind and infinity and the four directions; *Nákúset* or the sun denotes the forces of the day; and *Tepkunaset* or the moon denotes the forces of the night.⁹⁶ The cross also represents Glooskap as he lay on earth as illustrated in the Creation Story of the Mi'kmaq.⁹⁷

The life giver caused a bolt of lightening to strike and hit the earth. It formed the shape of a person. The head was in the direction of the rising sun. The arms were outstretched and the feet were in the direction of the setting sun. [SA 06/09/03]

Glooskap is a legendary being who represents strength, creativity and wisdom. In the past, this same symbol was tattooed onto the upper torso, as represented in this drawing.

⁹⁵ 11 July, 2003 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/flags/>>.

⁹⁶ 11 July, 2003 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/flags/>>.

⁹⁷ SA 06/09/03



Fig. 23. Illustration: Early depiction of Mi'kmaq Man

⁹⁸ "Acadian Amerindian or Mi'kmaq marked with the cross symbols that so intrigued and puzzled early missionaries." Engraving by J. Laroque, after Jacques Grasset St. Sauveur, C-21112 Public Archives Canada. In: *The Myth of the Savage And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*. Olive Patricia Dickason. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984, p. 103.

As a result, the Mi'kmaq are referred to as the 'people of the cross' in historical documents. At some point, a new Mi'kmaq flag was proposed as illustrated.

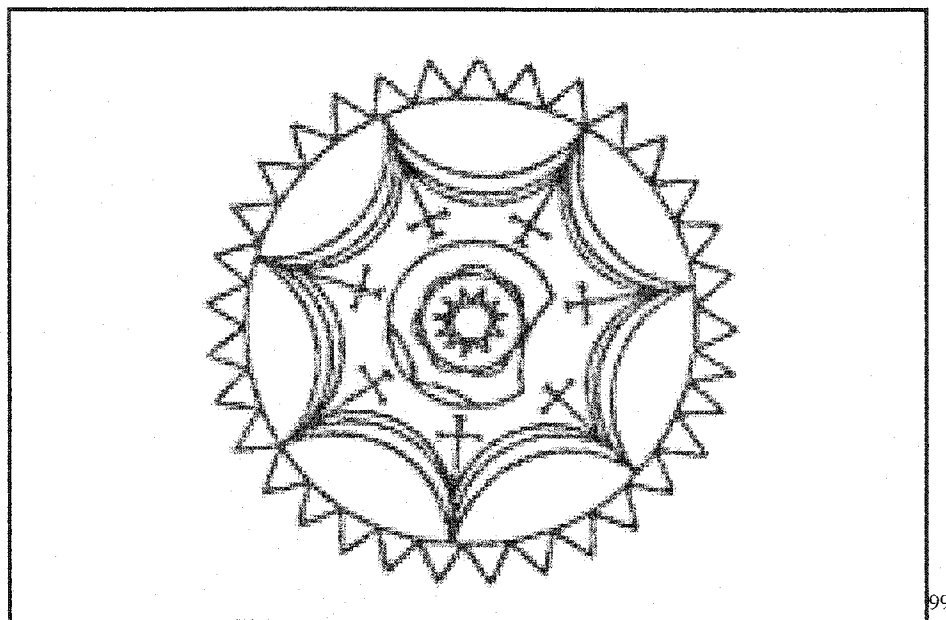


Figure 24: Illustration: Proposed Mi'kmaq National Flag

Created by John Sylliboy and Maqtewékpáqtism Paqtismaq, this red symbol was carved into a rock when the Mi'kmaq Nation was formed, when the original seven districts became one Nation. It is a symbol of the uniting of the Mi'kmaq People into one Nation. Represented in it are *wikuomk* or dwellings which represent the people of *Míkmákik*; seven hills which represent the original seven *sakamowit* or districts of *Míkmákik*; *lluiknek klujjewey* or seven crosses which represent the original seven *Sakamow* or District Leaders; *Nakúset* or the sun and *Tepkunaset* or moon which together represent *Kisúlkw* or the Creator.¹⁰⁰ There is no knowledge if this flag has been sanctioned or adopted to replace the Grand Council Flag. These flags illustrate how the culture of the

⁹⁹ August 11, 2003 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/flags/awitkatultik.html>>.

¹⁰⁰ August 11, 2003 <<http://www.mikmaq.com/flags/awitkatultik.html>>.

Mi'kmaq is at the forefront of the mindset of the peoples and are relayed in elements in the two flags. These elements are ones that speak to the Mi'kmaq peoples only and their meanings are not easily referenced to the cultures of other Indigenous peoples as is the case with the Warrior Flag.

It is remarkable to consider the fact that, even with slight modifications in the hairstyle, the Flag still holds the same meaning for those who look upon it. The image of the Flag is powerful because it isn't selling seasons tickets, beer, or oil. It functions behind the scenes, providing references to traditions and culture which connect Indigenous peoples to one another and to the natural world.

Karoniaktajeh took images of Onkwehonwe from the popular culture and turned them around to make them powerful as symbols and meaningful to us all as Onkwehonwe. This image may officially belong to the Men's Society of Kahnawake but it is meant for everyone to use. If someone sells a t-shirt or a pin with the image on it, so be it. If someone uses aspects of it to communicate their own message, so be it. As such, Karoniaktajeh would be happy to see that the message is spreading further, as he intended it.

Chapter Three

The Flag first came to international prominence in the summer of 1990, during the Oka standoff at Kanehsatake. There, it flew alongside other Indigenous flags and the symbol of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the Hiawatha Belt¹⁰¹ depicted in a flag. Since that time, the Flag has shown up all over the world and continues to represent for many, unity and resistance. These concepts form the basis for various events such as Ganienkeh, the Oka Crisis, Ipperwash, Gustafsen Lake, and the Lobster Dispute at Eskenoquetij (Burnt Church). Upon cursory examination, they appear as simply Indigenous people unified in resistance against the Canadian state. As such, they are different times and places but similar events. They are all an Indigenous response to loss of land and resources by a show of strength and a call for assistance from supporters. They are acts that reflect the messages that Karoniaktajeh wrote, drew and painted about.

We have heard the voices of the people who were affected by his work and examined what Karoniaktajeh intended with the Flag. From another perspective the Flag could be seen as an accommodation to, or an appropriation of, the dominant culture's assumptions about how society should be represented, for the flags are the quintessential

¹⁰¹ The Hiawatha Belt is described as this - *A broad dark belt of wampum of thirty-eight rows, having a white heart or Great Tree in the center, on either side of which are two white squares, all connected with the heart by white rows of wampum shall be the emblem of the unity of the Five Nations. The first of the squares on the left represent the Mohawk Nation and its territory. The second square on the left and the one near the heart, represents the Oneida Nation and its territory. The white heart or tree in the middle represents the Onondaga Nation and its territory, and it also means that the heart of the Five Nations is single in its loyalty to The Great Peace—that the Great Peace is lodged in the heart—(meaning with Onondaga Confederate Chiefs), and that the Council Fire is to burn there at Onondaga for the Five Nations, and further, it means that the authority is given to advance the cause of peace whereby hostile nations out of the Confederacy shall cease warfare. The white square to the right of the heart represents the Cayuga Nation and its territory and the fourth and last square represents the Seneca Nation and its territory. The two lines extending out from each side of the squares of the belt, from the Mohawk and Seneca Nations, represents the Path of Peace by which other nations are welcomed to travel, to come and take shelter beneath the Great Tree of Peace or join the Iroquois Confederacy. White here shall symbolize that no evil or jealous thoughts shall creep into the minds of the leaders, the Chiefs, while in council under the Great Peace. White, in this case, is the emblem of peace, love, charity and equity and it surrounds and guards the Five Nations.* Tehanetorens, 1993, pp. 7-8.

symbols of the colonial powers. This way of looking at flags is discussed by Karen A. Cerulo in her work *Identity Designs. Sights and Sounds of A Nation*. Cerulo's work will be used to examine how national symbols such as the Flag gain meaning for a collective population such as the Kanienkehaka and Indigenous peoples world-wide. Aspects of her work such as intranational expression, normal and deviant symbols, and the phases of identity construction will be explored with relevance to the Flag's use by the Kanienkehaka during the Oka Crisis of 1990 and by the Mi'kmaq at Esgenooptetitj during the Lobster Dispute of 1999 to 2001.

The Oka Crisis

The issues that surround the Oka Crisis involve the Kanienkehaka people's association with the land and resistance to the violation of their dignity. The conflict during the Oka Crisis is simply a continuation of conflict from the 1880's. The relations between the *Kanehsata'keró:non* and Les Messieurs du Séminaire de Saint Sulpice had previously culminated in the dispossession of Kanehsatake lands. The Sulpicians created a situation that forced the Algonquians who had resided at Kanehsatake to establish a separate community to the north and the Kanienkehaka that were left were punished for producing goods for profit and for cutting wood for their personal use. The lands left vacant were either seized by the Sulpicians or filled with new settlers. Mass conversions to Protestantism contributed to the heightened tensions between the Kanienkehaka at Kanehsatake and the Sulpicians. In the 1880's, the Seminary of Saint Sulpice conspired with the Canadian government to move the people of Kanehsatake to another reserve named Gibson in the Muskoka region, presently known as Wahta, which means 'maple'. In fact, this was an eviction. These were charges against the Kanienkehaka for cutting

wood and burning down the Catholic Church. The people were incessantly pressured to give up their land, remove and relocate and viewed this as unreasonable and unjust. The pressures took its toll and in 1881, thirty-three families relocated to Wahta without compensation. They were told that beautiful land and houses awaited them. When they arrived, there was nothing and as a result, many died. The majority of *Kanehsata'keró:non* refused to move and chose to remain at Kanehsatake. They were harassed by the Sulpicians and chastised by the Department of Indian Affairs for not relocating to Gibson. The continual and systematic harassment and dispossession of *Kanehsata'keró:non* continued well into the twentieth century with a proposed right of way by the Canadian National Railway in 1911, 1938, and 1951, the Seminary sold common land to a Belgian holdings company in the 1940's without the knowledge or consent of the people, and in 1951 the Municipality of Oka made plans for a golf course in the pines in 1951¹⁰² and when the first nine holes were put in, there was a protest jamboree in Oka Park.

A treatment center in "the Pines" called Onen'tò:kon Treatment Center created tension between the Municipality of Oka and *Kanehsata'keró:non*. The opening created tension, discord, and distrust. In 1989, the people of Kanehsatake were made aware of proposed expansion of the existing nine-hole golf course into an eighteen-hole golf course. This would mean the expropriation of more land that belonged to Kanehsatake. Once again, small protests began to happen and legitimate means were used to try to stop the plans¹⁰³, but despite this, the municipal council of Oka decided to proceed with the golf course expansion in March of 1990. It was decided then that more direct action was

¹⁰² Tsi Niionkwarihò:ten Cultural Center, 2003.

¹⁰³ For details, see York & Pindera, 1991.

needed and the 'occupation' of the Pines occurred. A twenty-four hour watch was established in order to protect the area from development. A sign was erected that read,

*These lands are under the native sovereignty of the Mohawk people of Kanesatake (sic) so respect the natural beauty of the land for the future generation.*¹⁰⁴

As the momentum grew, a fire was lit that was kept burning and symbolized the resolve of the occupiers.¹⁰⁵ The tensions grew and preparations were made by both sides as the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) prepared for an assault to remove the blockade.¹⁰⁶ On July 11, 1990, at approximately 5:00 am, the Sûreté du Québec's Tactical Intervention Squad came in as the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* was begun. Tear gas and concussion grenades were used first to try to disperse the people assembled, at the same time more and more Kanienkehaka began to converge on the area. At approximately 8:40 am, an aggressive assault was made on the barricade by the SQ with a volley of concussion grenades, automatic rifle fire and more tear gas. This aggressive action was responded to with a volley of returning gunfire over the heads of the SQ. Soon after, an ambulance arrived and took away Corporal Marcel Lemay, one of three casualties of the entire conflict.¹⁰⁷ This began the seventy-eight day standoff known as the Oka Crisis.

The Lobster Dispute

Burnt Church, on the Miramichi Bay, is home to three populations, English, Acadian, and the Mi'kmaq who call their land Esgenoopetitj. The Burnt Church band is comprised of Esgenoopetitj, Neguac and Tabusintac. The Lobster Dispute surrounded issues of acquired resources and survival. It stems from a series of court cases involving the Indigenous struggles over treaty, land, harvesting rights - namely *Syliboy* in 1928,

¹⁰⁴ Tsi Niiionkwarihò:ten Cultural Center, 2003, p. 34.

¹⁰⁵ Tsi Niiionkwarihò:ten Cultural Center, 2003, p. 35.

¹⁰⁶ Tsi Niiionkwarihò:ten Cultural Center, 2003, p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ Two elderly men, Lacroix and Armstrong died as a result of the stoning by LaSalle protesters at the Whiskey Trench.

White and Bob in 1965, *Calder* in 1973, *Guerin and Simon* both in 1985, *Sioui*, *Sparrow*, and *Denny, Paul, and Syliboy* all in 1990, *Van der Peet*, *N.T.C. Smokehouse*, and *Gladstone* in 1996, and *Delgamuukw* in 1997¹⁰⁸ and *Marshall* in 1999. The *Marshall* Decision builds on a clear pattern of Canadian Supreme Court jurisprudence on the matter of land, treaty, and harvesting rights.

On September 17, 1999, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on the *Donald Marshall* case, recognizing the Mi'kmaq treaty right to earn a livelihood by fishing. The court said the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq should never have been convicted of illegally catching eels because the *1760 Treaty of Peace and Friendship*¹⁰⁹ acknowledged a right that the Mi'kmaq have to hunt and fish freely, therefore opening the door to the catching and selling of species like. Notably, it also constrained the federal government's power to regulate the Mi'kmaq fishery, instructing that it may act to limit the Mi'kmaq only in the interest of conservation and after direct consultation with the Mi'kmaq themselves. Until this point, the Mi'kmaq only took a mere one percent of the 'resource'. Before the arrival of Europeans, the Mi'kmaq hunted and fished along the eastern coast from Maine to Newfoundland and into Labrador. Mi'kmaq place names indicate that they hunted and fished for subsistence according to the seasons, as Mi'kmaq historian and Hereditary Chief, *Sigenigtog* Stephen Augustine states, "we used the materials that were available in the place at the time." He also spoke of the non-native failure to see this connection.

Non-natives fail to see our connection to the land and our identity coming from the land and the elements that in that particular geography—you have certain kind of bird, a certain kind of tree grown there, a certain kind of animal, a certain kind of fish. People generally identify themselves with those elements—that's their clothing, their food, their shelter, their medicine, their tools, and how they travel about—canoes, kayaks, those big whaling boats that the North West Coast Indians have. [SA 06/09/03]

¹⁰⁸ See Coates, 2000 for an overview.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix C Treaty of 1760, Peace and Friendship.

The special connection that the Mi'kmaq of Esgenoopetitj have with the Miramichi Bay on which they fish is also demonstrated by the story of the Lobster and Eel as told to me by Stephen Augustine.

One day the lobster was complaining that the eel was getting in his way when he came to the river. He made a deal with Glooskap to become strong to battle the eel for sovereignty of the river. Therefore he was endowed with powerful muscles in his hands and therefore had big powerful claws. He waited in the bend of the river for the eel to show up. When the eel arrived the lobster fought with him and chopped him up. The eel left in disgrace. The lobster had won. Now, the eels spend the winter in the mud and when the lobster arrive they go to sea in the Northumberland Strait. When the lobster goes, the eel comes back. They follow a cycle.

When the Mi'kmaq fished for lobsters and eel, they didn't chase after them. There is a unspoken rule that you don't eat food that is frustrated, angry, or died of fear or you will take that on. Therefore they make it as easy as possible for animals to die. They are hit in the heart or vertebra. The lobster come ashore and are raked from the shoreline and the eels are speared at night.¹¹⁰

This story is reenacted in the Mi'kmaq community of Big Cove every spring. It illustrates their philosophy regarding the use of the natural resources. They follow the natural cycles waiting for the animals to come to them rather than hunting them down and instilling fear. It is said that when you eat animals that died a violent death, you take on this feeling in you and it will make you very sick. These ideas go against the Department of Fishing and Oceans fishing strategies. Therefore, you fish and hunt when the time is right, not when the government wants you to. With this philosophy, there was clearly no legal justification in Canadian law for the federal government's acting against the Mi'kmaq fishery.

The Mi'kmaq fishermen of Esgenoopetitj were quick to take to the water in October 1999 near the end of the fishing season shortly after the Marshall Decision of September 17, dropping an estimated 4, 000 traps. In response, the non-native fishermen of the surrounding areas went and actively destroyed the native traps by removing the

¹¹⁰ Stephen Augustine, personal communication. June 9, 2003.

doors to make them unusable because they felt that the area would be over-fished and the stocks destroyed. As a result, there was increased tension and violence. In response, Christian Peacemaker Teams came into the community to observe and Warriors showed up from across the country. The Flag began to appear on clothing, cars, and flying on flag poles.

The chaos created by the Marshall Decision, sent the Department of Fisheries and Oceans scrambling to negotiate interim agreements with the 34 Native Bands affected by the Supreme Court ruling. The interim deals were different for each band, taking into account the different sizes and interests of the various groups, but they were generally set out to govern fishing over the next year. They gave native people the same access as non-natives to commercial and food fisheries, providing boats, gear, training and economic development initiatives, like new equipment or facilities. Some bands incorporated the new deals with the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy (AFS)¹¹¹, while others opted to keep the agreements separate.

Within a week of the violence in Burnt Church, N.B., in October 1999, all but two of the bands agreed to a self-imposed, 30-day moratorium on fishing. The Mi'kmaq of Burnt Church, on the pressure of the community at large rejected the plan outright, calling for the implementation of the fishing strategy they had developed and vowed to fish on the water the following spring.¹¹² By August, 2000, bolstered by the Indigenous support, once again the Mi'kmaq at Esgenoopetitj refused to sign and went out on the

¹¹¹ Established in 1992 to ensure stable fishery management, the AFS was in response to the Supreme Court of Canada 1990 Sparrow decision that defined Aboriginal peoples' right to fish for food, social and ceremonial purposes. Coates, 2000.

¹¹² The federal government has the power to regulate the fisheries, but consider their management of the Northern Cod in Newfoundland and the Moratorium. It was based on scientific quotas, similar to the strategy that they forced on the Mi'kmaq.

water to set traps. This frustrated the non-native fishermen and brought about increased violence against the Mi'kmaq, such as confrontations on the water and the burning of the sacred arbor at Diggle Point. In response, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Minister Herb Dhaliwal called in his own men, referred to as the 'DFO', and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to monitor the situation. The DFO began to try to stop the Mi'kmaq fishermen from laying their traps and were caught on video ramming the boat of a Mi'kmaq fisherman, forcing all those onboard to jump into the water to save their lives. This only served to increase the tensions in the community. This continued for the rest of the season and started up again during the 2001 season.

Finally, in August, 2002, the new Department of Fisheries and Oceans Minister Robert G. Thibault, announced the signing of an interim agreement with the Chief and Council of the community, who did not have the support of the majority of the community. The interim agreement is meant to inject millions of dollars into the community to foster self reliance by providing thirty-four fishing licenses, an increased snow crab quota, upgrade existing commercial vessels, provide training, provide for a feasibility study for a resort on the Tabusintac River, provide for cooperative science projects, provide for cooperative fisheries management to include the people of Esgenoopetitj, to provide for the hiring of community Fisheries Guardians, provide funding for community outreach projects, establishment of quotas for food fishing and ceremonial fishing and within this, the sale of lobster is prohibited. The response by community members is aptly described by Kwegsi Lloyd Augustine, a hereditary chief of the Mi'kmaq Grand Council. In an internet appeal, he states,

The agreement was entered into under duress. The government of Canada used our hunger and poverty, violence against us, our vulnerable position, the threats of the Crown, the charges against all of our people who were defending our rights, as coercion

against us. All this was used to get our people to "agree" to a fishery agreement that the community did not want...The United Nations Human Rights Committee has ruled that the extinguishment of our aboriginal and treaty rights is violation of fundamental human rights. History will show this present injustice and it will be said that the Mi'kmaq people signed under great duress. Peace cannot arise out of injustice and no "certainty" can result from the imposing of an unequal agreement. The Crown, and Canadians, will get no lasting benefit from these "deals" involving the annihilation of our rights, except the despair and resentment of generations of our children and people.¹¹³

In order to understand how this Flag has taken on meaning for a local and international audience the work of Karen A. Cerulo will be used to examine how national symbols take on meaning for a population. Throughout, unity and resistance are key concepts that will be explored in the context of the Oka Crisis of 1990 and what that mean to the people of Esgenoopetitj and how that relates to what the Flag means for the Mi'kmaq in the context of the Lobster dispute of 1999 to 2001.

'A Peoples'

Although the term nation is used widely by Indigenous peoples, for the purposes of the argument, it is necessary to substitute it for the term 'a people', as it is defined by Edward H. Spicer in *The Nations of a State*. This term better communicates the ideas behind the Flag which reminds us that in the beginning, agreements were made between the Europeans and Indigenous peoples that established mutually beneficial relationships for survival. In this, each group was to maintain its own culture and language. In time, the Europeans began the long and steady process of usurping the land and all its inhabitants. One way was through the establishment of borders, thus putting physical restrictions on the Indigenous peoples. How the word 'nation' is defined by the dominant society includes this concept of 'boundedness'. In this, a state sets fixed territorial

¹¹³ *Injustice? Duress and the Burnt Church First Nation. Fisheries Agreement with Canada. By Kwegsi, Hereditary Chief of the Mi'kmaq Grand Council. August 16, 2002. 29 April, 2003*
<<http://www.turtleisland.org/news/news-onemans-kwegsi.htm>>.

boundaries on a map where the legal citizens of the state reside. Whereas Spicer argues that the boundary of a people is not that simple because it depends on the shared meaning of the individuals. The Flag, because it is used in other places and by other people besides the Kanienkehaka, communicates to the shared meaning and relationships that Indigenous peoples have with one another and the Mother Earth. It is this shared meaning and culture of Indigenous peoples that characterizes them as a bounded entity which can be understood using the Benedict Anderson's concept of 'Imagined Community' where it is imagined because "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."¹¹⁴ Thus, Indigenous peoples move freely amongst each other irregardless of lines drawn on a map. They are not tied by a land mass but by their relationship to the land. In contrast, a citizen of a state is a member regardless of how they feel about that state, because the state defines them as such and has forms filled out, symbols to stand by, anthems to sing, and laws to follow that testify to that fact and their responsibility is to the state and not to the people and land. The state enforces with threats and violence.

Differing ideas of sovereignty

In order to understand the power of the Flag, it is first necessary to examine why the Flag brings out such strong emotions, both positive and negative. As such, national symbols crystallize the nation's identity by enabling the state structures to tell their citizens who they are in contrast to what is unfamiliar. As Cerulo states, "National symbols enable a unique collective 'self', distinct from any other entity in the international arena. Via these symbols, political leaders inject the essence of the nation

¹¹⁴ Anderson 1998, p. 6.

into every citizen.”¹¹⁵ In the western thought, this is what comprises true sovereignty – freedom from external control.¹¹⁶

In contrast, Indigenous peoples have a different idea of this concept. For example, the Kanienkehaka language does not even contain a word to describe this but the idea is encompassed in three words – *kahsatstenhsera*, meaning ‘power’, *kanikonhriio*, meaning ‘a good mind’, and *skennen*, meaning ‘peace’. These three concepts form the foundation of the Kaienerekowa, our constitution, which places the Kanienkehaka apart from other nations or states. It is what gives us our ‘sovereignty’, expressed by the two row wampum principle¹¹⁷, which the foundation of the treaties. The Mi’kmaq, did not have a word for this concept until the Europeans arrived on this continent. There was simply no need for it. Instead, they also used words in combination to communicate similar ideas as described by Stephen Augustine, *melgigenowati* which means ‘the strength of our clasping hands together’ and *tepluotatin* which means ‘we are standing in a circle holding hands until we speak with one voice’. As such, the word that is used to describe sovereignty as it is widely understood in the dominant society is *elegeowoti*, which means ‘the way or method of kings’. A different term is used because it expressed the different relationship that the Mi’kmaq had with the people who came from Europe.

The Flag speaks to the Kanienkehaka and Mi’kmaq interpretations of sovereignty, which enable the people to think of themselves as a unique collective as Kanienkehaka, Mi’kmaq, Cree, or simply first nations, Indian, or Indigenous. The Flag allows for the individual to relate it back to their own culture. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

¹¹⁵ Cerulo 1995, p. 15.

¹¹⁶ Merriam-Webster Dictionary 7 July 2003 <www.m-w.com>.

¹¹⁷ See Footnote 76 for an explanation of this principle.

The flag doesn't have only one meaning. It might have ten thousand meanings but it's up to the individual. It may have ten thousand meanings, it may have twenty thousand. The individual is going to make his mind up what it stands for. People in North Carolina, they carried that flag up. You got Cherokees, North Carolina, they use the flag. The flag is not only around six nations, it's all over. [SS04/19/02]

In a similar vein, for the Mi'kmaq, it relates to their ideas on unity and resistance. As a Mi'kmaq woman states,

A: To me when the Flag goes up it seems like it's a warning, a good warning that they back off. To me it's a pretty powerful flag and they know what to expect and it's good for us to because it gives us that confidence. Not confidence but more strength.

K: It gives you guys strength?

A: For all the Warriors and all the people in the community too.

K: What does it represent to you? What would be the word you use to describe it, either in Mi'kmaq or in English?

A: That's melgigenoti. In Mi'kmaq that means power and support. It does give us a good feeling. It makes us stronger and we also know that they our neighbors, the native communities that are standing with us too. Everybody feels so happy, we got the power here. [AM&ML 01/31/02]

This shows that the Flag relates directly to feelings and conceptions of unity and strength that come out of the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq culture. This same idea is also communicated in the Mi'kmaq word *melgi-glosoagan* which means 'the strengthening of our words until only one voice is heard'.¹¹⁸ In Kanienkehaka language, this is expressed as *skanikonhra* which means 'one mind'. One mind comes from the Consensual Decision Making Process. *Skanikonhra* creates the strongest consensus in the world because it can only be strong when it comes from the people.

The Different Use of a Flag

What is interesting is the fact that a flag is a foreign concept that comes from the European heraldic tradition. When asked why Karoniaktajeh used a Flag to communicate his message, a Kanienkehaka man stated,

¹¹⁸ Augustine, Stephen. "Re: Thanks and words." Email to the author. 27 June 2003.

It's very simple, but we've never had nothing to relate to in that manner. We've had war bonnets, we've had gustowas, we've had Indian shirts. For a long time we just had the ribbon shirt. And then people started relating to that. But it doesn't make the same statement that the flag does. The Indian clothes, it all reminded us of our history, of who we were, of what we should be doing, of what we should be teaching our children. The flag is more direct, like Louis was. More direct, to the point, here's the problem, now open your ears, open your eyes, listen to it. See. And then when you do, everything that he subconsciously put into that flag, you recognize yourself. You want to do something because now you realize I'm an Indian! Whatever they're doing to their people they're doing to me! [LT 01/21/02]

Like other flags, this one serves as a direct reminder of the rich Indigenous culture and heritage that is there for us. What is important lies in the fact that the Flag is not an imposed symbol from above and its meaning comes out of the common culture and history of the people who use it. Whether they are Kanienkehaka or Mi'kmaq doesn't matter, it seems to speak to everyone as an Indigenous collective or 'a people'.

The unification of Indigenous peoples as symbolized by the Flag comes from a common and close relationship to the natural world. The Flag is also said to represent a spiritual movement at its base, the Kaienerekowa. This spiritual base lies in the life force of the natural world which we see all around us, which we are a part of, and also forms the basis of the Kaienerekowa. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

That flag represents a spiritual movement at its base...The Rotiskenrakete have a responsibility to hold up peace and then to be mindful and support of the community and that's what the flag symbolizes. It's not just the resistance it's also maintenance of who we are in our communities. We don't ever hear anybody talk of what the duties and responsibilities of the Rotiskenrakete. Our first one is to be kind and loving to our women and children and our other relatives. That's the first duty, the defense of our territory is three or four notches down. That's my understanding. It's prominent, but my first duty as a Rotiskenrakete is to make sure that there is no abuse of the children and proper care is taken. That's the way the old people taught me. The Rotiskenrakete are diplomats of a way of life that is so misunderstood, our traditions and traditional values. [FB 12/04/01]

The Flag then, serves to remind the people of their duties as they are codified in the Haudenosaunee Constitution, the Kaienerekowa. If its laws are followed, then peace will be achieved. As Cerulo states, "national symbols codify the subjective nature of the nation: its moods, desire, and goals – its complexion. They function as modern totems

that merge the mythical, sacred substance of the nation with a specified, manifest form, one that is grounded in the everyday experience of sight, sound, or touch. By blending subject and object, national symbols move beyond simple representation of nation. In a very real sense, national symbols become the nation."¹¹⁹ The Flag then has come to represent the Indigenous collective or 'Imagined Community' as illustrated earlier.

In addition, despite the minor changes in the design, it is interesting to note that the different versions of the Flag essentially mean the same thing.¹²⁰ Usually, any alteration of the components of the flag will change the flag's meaning. As Cerulo states, "Study upon study demonstrate structure's centrality to the communication process, as it orders or organizes the various components of symbols. Thus, the syntactic combination of a symbol's components conveys a meaning that differs from that of any single component of the symbol."¹²¹ Each symbol has no inherent meaning, rather it is the culture that injects it with meaning and that meaning can change when it is combined with other shapes or colors and becomes part of a message.¹²² In this case, this has not happened. All versions of the Flag have retained essentially the same meaning. Perhaps further research will be able to explain why this is so. The Flag has become one of the symbols for Indigenous people who are coming out of colonization, they are free.

As a Kanienkehaka man states,

They don't interpret it as what the flag was designed for. They don't consciously interpret it.....the red designates the native people, the yellow designates the sun, the face designates native people, the feather designates unity. They don't see that. They see it as a symbol of something good, something proud, of good resistance. Positive resistance. And so do every native people across the country, they all view it in their own way. But it's the symbolism of power and strength...I think every time the flag is displayed out of resistance, it impresses new people...The flag has its own life, has its own spirit, and

¹¹⁹ Cerulo, 1995, p. 4.

¹²⁰ Although it is important to note here that the Warrior Flag is the one most readily seen and sold.

¹²¹ Cerulo 1995, p. 37.

¹²² Cerulo 1995, p. 47.

people capture that spirit for the needs of their day. And so far it's been a positive. It has a positive effect. It has its own spirit, there's power in it. It's a very positive spirit...What matters is where it shows up and why. That's what impresses people. With it, they stand together in solidarity for something. [KAM 01/18/02]

It evokes in the observer a sense of goodness, pride and fighting spirit characteristic of the many Indigenous groups that are involved in various struggles across the continent. It doesn't speak to any one group in particular but allows for the individual to identify with it in their own way. This freedom then evokes similar acts of resistance elsewhere which are really methods of survival as a response to genocide of a people. It stimulates the will to live.

Flag as Bonding Agent

National symbols act as a bonding agent between citizens and across communities. Cerulo discusses how symbols bring individuals out of themselves and into contact and communication with others. They represent a power that bind citizens in shared consciousness, linking them despite differences in wealth, social standing, power, or age. An example of this may be seen in the use of the Olympic Flag, which serves to unite people into a global community every four years or so. This same linking and shared consciousness was expressed by both Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq in Esgenoopetitj. As illustrated, a Kanienkehaka man states,

A lot of people would say that 1990 came out of...that whole movement from all the way back from the evictions to Moss Lake to Kanienkeh, Louis' writing and kind of getting people fired up. So 1990 came out of that. It just so happens that you guys flew the flag during 1990, and it took on this, it seems to have taken on the meaning of what you guys did in 1990. What happened in 1990, in fighting back. So it's carried on from there. anybody that I've asked outside of Kahnawake, from any other, especially from the Mi'kmaq, in Burnt Church. That's what they remember seeing. They remember seeing it on TV. And it meant a lot to them. That's what the flag means, it means unity, it means for them in their own struggle – we don't feel so alone. For them, they look at it and they remember 1990. [SS 04/19/02]

The Flag then speaks to unity in a common struggle. It makes Indigenous people feel connected as they man their barricades at lonely roadsides in the middle of nowhere or sit

on fishing vessels in the middle of the night. There is a simultaneous reaction from disparate peoples all over the world. This connection was communicated by a Mi'kmaq man,

It's empowering to us too because we have held because of the wars the Mohawk they were our enemies but they were a very worthy enemy at that. It kind of empowers us to see that the people who are enemies at one time now are fighting the government on the same issues that we have. So it's like it really our stature too. Side by side and we take pride in that. And we don't look at the Mohawk as enemies now. Which we look back in the stories of the wars up in Listuguj and Tabusintac. There are still people buried up there yet. [CL 01/30/02]

Emile Durkheim has written of this type of connection, "By uttering the same cry, pronouncing the same word, or performing the same gestures in regard to these [symbolic] objects, individuals become and feel themselves to be in unison" (Durkheim 1915:262).¹²³

Further to this idea, national symbols can also become a rallying center. The actions of ritual, honor, statements of purpose and justification bring the symbol to life. This is characteristic of the resistance to the United States and Canada that occurred at Ganienkeh, Oka and Burnt Church. As Cerulo states, "By merging action and symbol, a national collective creates and recreates the ideals embodied by the symbol."¹²⁴ The work of Karoniaktajeh created an awareness that then fostered a resistance movement that began at Ganienkeh, was carried to Oka and eventually found its way to Burnt Church. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

It has been flown in areas where there has been problems confronting our people. Onkwehonwe. There's a big mistake, we are not in defiance. We are defending. We don't defy Canada and so on. We stand up to defend our rights. It's not resistance. It's not resisting. It's making public and making Canada aware that we have rights. We are not resisting their interests, because their interests are for their people. And we have an alliance with Britain, United States, and we know they have interests and we want them to know that this is our country, we've never been defeated, we've never sold it and we've

¹²³ Cerulo 1995, p. 17.

¹²⁴ Cerulo 1995, p. 21.

never given up our rights. And we want them to know that our rights still exist. We are making them aware. [LT 01/21/02]

The Flag then continues to bring awareness to the issues that Indigenous peoples face each time it is used. As people look upon it, it evokes the memory of where else it has been used before, the strategies, and the outcomes of those situations. The people of Esgenoopetitj expressed how when they looked at the Flag, it reminded them of Oka, which in turn confirmed the rightness of their actions in their own struggle, and made them not feel so alone. We know that when we stand up for the land and what's on it, it is always the right thing to do. As illustrated by a Mi'kmaq woman,

It just reconfirmed of how we were being treated. Nothing has ever changed for the past five hundred years of being in contact with them. That they were still trying to control our people and have done nothing but try to destroy our nation and to do away with them. If it was up to them, they would do away with us today. Nothing has changed because they are still trying to assimilate us every which way and for the most part its been done in their eyes. But, in our eyes, they haven't. And they never will.

K: So it made you think of your own situation?

Yes, because its, the stand we made for Burnt Church wasn't a stand we made just for Burnt Church. It reflected every nation that we have to stand up for our rights. Like the very first time I heard about the Mohawk flag, when I first seen it, was that time when they had in Kanesatake when they stood up against the army. To me in my eyes, they won from the very beginning. Before it even ended. They were not just representing their nations, they were representing all our nations. To me that was very powerful, so when we had our fishing and the Mohawk Flag, they said the Mohawk Warriors are coming, I was – what a relief! They are our army coming to help. It was like that is our defense. Those were our Warriors, I was very proud. Very proud to get to meet them and know them. [JB 02/03/02]

Therefore, the Oka Crisis and the Lobster Dispute were both a recreation of the ideals of unity, resistance, and survival embodied in the Flag because the people were reminded of their natural instructions. This communicates to the spiritual roots that Indigenous peoples have to one another and which can never be destroyed unless we are all killed off and forgotten. The roots lie in the common responsibilities and power they have as Indigenous people, and therefore they have to act and defend the land and the resources for the future generations. As Michael Walzer states, “[The nation] is invisible; it must be

personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived...these images [national symbols] provide a starting point for political thinking" (1967: 194).¹²⁵ Therefore, the Flag serves as a symbol of unity for all Indigenous peoples involved in a common struggle for survival. The symbols in it provoke us in ways that speak to particular aspects of our Indigenous cultures but on a more fundamental level connect us all. The Flag then, is a tangible reminder of our common relationship to the natural world.

Flag Illuminates a Relationship

In addition, national symbols can also illuminate the relationships between dominant and subordinate groups such as the Canadian state and the Indigenous peoples. This will be illustrated using Cerulo's concepts of normal and deviant symbols. According to Cerulo, normal symbols are defined as "those whose syntactic features meet the expectations of their targets. In essence, in Cerulo's words, the "normal symbols project a 'user-friendly' quality. They provide citizens with a tangible opportunity to experience their nation – an open invitation to don their collective self."¹²⁶ In contrast, deviant symbols are in disparity to the current cultural schema, they do not correspond to the dominant frame of reference and subordinate peoples such as the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq use them as a way to regain power. In a sense, the receiver is caught off guard and the sender is in complete control. Understanding deviant symbols requires extra effort because the frame of reference is not there to guide the receiver in deciphering the message. They provoke confusion and uncertainty. More effort is required on the part of the receiver, therefore they will not be so mindless and take time to reflect on the symbol.

¹²⁵ In Cerulo 1995, pp. 4-5.

¹²⁶ Cerulo, 1995, p. 137.

As Cerulo states, "When bombarded with deviant images and designs, receivers members must work to apprehend the message. This active response is likely to increase cognitive activity, message recall, and subsequent action."¹²⁷ As previously illustrated, this active response is what Karoniaktajeh intended. As a deviant symbol, the Flag presents an 'alternate environment' (Ernest Becker 1973), a place that is apart from the usual realms that dominate the powerless, it is a place where Indigenous culture and community can be celebrated. In response, the dominant structures attempt to change the meaning of the deviant symbol to suit their objective, retaining control over the Indigenous population. The resultant negative imprint has come to play a part in how some Indigenous peoples view the Flag. As such, the Flag has the unique capacity to negotiate between the two ideas because depending on who looks at it, it can be either a normal symbol or a deviant one.

Normal and Deviant Symbols

The Flag is comprised of a 'normal' set of symbols, normal to Indigenous peoples. As previously discussed, the elements of the Flag, the warrior profile, the feather, the sun burst, and the red all relate to concepts that are common in their cultures. Normal symbols fall within the parameters of the symbolic grammar typical to the group targeted by the message; these symbols conform to the target group's rules and conventional modes of expression."¹²⁸ That is why, most Indigenous peoples can relate to it, as expressed by a Kanienkehaka man,

Look at the kids today. They go to meets, sports events. What do they take? They take the flag. When the world trade center went down, it was guys from here, when they went there they brought the warriors flag...there is a picture someplace where they show it to recognize that the Mohawks have been here. The flags not only for Mohawks but ironworkers. The guys worked there and when they went in, they brought their flag. I

¹²⁷ Cerulo, 1995, pp. 142-143.

¹²⁸ Cerulo, 1995, p. 120.

don't know who it was but they brought a flag. Doesn't make any difference who it was. They're showing representation, and that flag symbolizes, going back again to the native people, the Onkwehonwe people. [SS 04/19/02]

Thus, the Flag as a normal symbol, is in concert with the current cultural schema, therefore it requires no extra effort to understand therefore it is highly predictable and approachable. It promotes awareness and then action. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

Educate yourself as to why is that flag flying where it's flying. Don't listen to rumors but find out the facts, find out the truth, Kaienerekowa, the truth, before you act. But make sure you do act one way or the other. [LT 01/21/02]

The power of the symbol lies in its ability to communicate clearly and generate strong audience connection. Added to this, national symbols are often placed in the profane sphere. Cerulo's research shows that some symbols exhibit a secular component, as stated, "Although all anthems and flags enjoy a sacred status, normal symbols often reside in both the sacred and secular arenas. Citizens frequently report a 'hands-on' experience with normal symbols – one not enjoyed by their deviant counterparts."¹²⁹ The Flag is different in this regard, it has a sacred and secular content as it appears in both a ceremonial or political context and on stickers, clothing, in tattoos, and wall ornamentation.

The Flag may be seen as a deviant symbol because it is used by Indigenous people to illustrate a unique culture in opposition to the dominant one which has been forced upon us. In this case, as Cerulo's work illustrates, deviant communication is the best one to capture audience attention and therefore the efficacy of the message is heightened. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

All that means is the men of the society or the men of the community. That's all it means. It has no meaning of warrior or nothing. Non natives put a tag on us. And we used that tag and we used it against them. As soon as the warrior society was mentioned it was like – watch out the Indians are coming, get underneath your blankets and lock your

¹²⁹ Cerulo, 1995, p. 136.

doors. That's what it meant to them. It meant fear to them – warrior society. And they're the ones who have given us that name and we accepted that name. And we use it psychologically on them. And it still works today...And it still works. We're in 2002 and it will still work. Go put a road block up right now. Want to see people go nuts? You'll have a million cameras on you. The warrior society, what's going on. Start rumors in town that something is going to take place over here. People are going to go nuts. And everybody's going to want to know what's going on. Everyone. Not only in Kahnawake, in different territories. [SS 04/19/02]¹³⁰

In accordance with Bhaba concept of hybridity, the Flag represents a modern day 'hybrid' of centuries old psychological warfare tactics used by the Kanienkehaka to generate fear in a population. The Flag is also used as a means of generating attention on an issue such as the usurpation of land at Oka and loss of a fishing livelihood at Esgenoopetitj. At Esgenoopetitj, the Flag represented added support for the Mi'kmaq in the Lobster Dispute issue. As a Mi'kmaq woman states,

You know, they hid behind their wives and kids.

K: Who?

These white fishermen. They had their wives and kids on board. My god I could not believe that. Every time they hid behind their blessed wives and kids. And your flag was out there.

K: What do you think it did to them to see it? The white fishermen.

They didn't expect it. They didn't expect the support we were going to get. It scares them.

K: Why do you think it scares them?

Because we have support from other reserves and when they found out there was going to be, they probably knew that the Warriors were coming. And all the rumors, the way it was... We knew we had support from all over. [EY 01/31/02]

Thus, the Flag becomes a way of bringing needed attention to issues that will hopefully result in action.

¹³⁰ The fear of the Mohawk relates to the fact that, historically, stories have been made up by the dominant society about the Mohawks which they use to scare themselves with. The Jesuit use of Iroquoian images to communicate Christianity is documented by John Steckley in his work "The Warrior and the Lineage: Jesuit Use of Iroquoian Images to Communicate Christianity" *Ethnohistory* 39 (Fall 1992):4.

Deviant symbols also present an assault on the symbols of the dominant state, such as the Canadian Flag. This method of juxtapositioning contrasts a new symbol with a traditional one or a popular symbol with that of the ruling elites. – ‘in this way, the protestors force a confrontation between what ‘is’ and what ‘should be’.”¹³¹ In response, the dominant society attempts to use that symbol to their own purposes. It tries to put meaning on it so that it becomes powerless for the user. This occurred with the Flag at Oka, as a Kanienkehaka woman states,

...when it came to Kanesatake, the government we have propaganda here, even though the government was wrong here. They attacked. They used that flag and they put it up there as this is bad, these are bad people. These are drug smugglers, these are cigarette smugglers. These are people that break the law...Even today. If you see something that goes on the government or the media sees as bad, what is the first thing that you see? What do they show? They put that flag up there, in the background. They show '90.
[OJC 12/07/01]

This image of the Flag juxtaposed against the backdrop of the Oka Crisis has been put forth time and time again by the media. A Kanienkehaka man speaks of how the Canadian government and mainstream media continually attempt to turned the situation of the Oka Crisis and the Flag into a negative symbol,

They didn't have a problem with the cigarettes. It was because we were political and now we were taking this money and were starting to do things in our communities, starting organize, starting to build communications, starting to support the schools, trying to bring new ways into the schools. We became a threat. The band councils knew that the people on welfare were getting jobs. There were more people working in Kahnawake than they could remember. Outside communities were benefiting. They were afraid that our buying power was going to influence too many people around us. As long as we were doing good, then Chateaugay and everybody else was doing good. They knew that they had to stop it. What did they do? They used propaganda. CIA tactics.
[TM 01/17/02]

As the economic stability and power of the Kanienkehaka increased, this became a threat to the dominant society. As an expression of their perceived victory, at the end of the Crisis, the Flag was taken away from the Kanienkehaka by the Canadian Army as they

¹³¹ Cerulo 1995, p. 31.

entered the military buses to go to Farnham Military Base where they would be processed before being taken to court. This action is a sign of victory on the part of the dominant society, but the Kanienkehaka refused to concede defeat, as illustrated,

Just before the warriors were loaded onto the military buses, the soldiers had ripped away their flags. But the Mohawks refused to concede defeat. They whooped and yelled as they broke free from the plastic handcuffs. Reaching through the windows of the buses, they clenched their fists and punched into the air. Somehow one of them had managed to smuggle a warrior flag onto the bus. In a final gesture of defiance, the flag was unfurled and the convoy headed for Farnham under the insignia of the Mohawk Warrior Society.¹³²

The Indigenous concepts that underlie the elements of the Flag are foreign to the dominant society. The resultant negative interpretation has also come to play a part in how some Indigenous peoples view the Flag. Influenced by the dominant media and education system, they have begun to incorporate the negative view of the Flag as their own.

Some actions of individuals who use the Flag are perceived to be negative by the dominant society and as a result the Flag has also become a deviant symbol for some Indigenous people. It does not correspond to their usual frame of reference. Increased Indigenous involvement in gun battles over casinos, drug and gun running, and cigarette smuggling have resulted in instances where the Flag is juxtaposed against such incidences. These issues are perceived negatively by media and therefore the Flag has come to take on a negative connotation as well. As one Kanienkehaka man states,

The flag was misrepresented by drinking and disturbing the community while wearing the flag or representing themselves as warriors. What was meant to be protecting the people was actually threatening the people. Akwesasne was a perfect example.

The cigarette trade brought increased wealth to the community of Akwesasne in the 1980's. Casinos and other businesses were built to increase the economic self-

¹³² York, 1991, p. 400.

sufficiency of the community. A struggle ensued over the inclusion of gambling in the community which resulted in a great deal of factionalism. There were those that believed in economic self-sufficiency under the rights instilled by the inclusion of the Kanienkehaka in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and others that didn't want gambling at any cost. Many of the people who saw merit in the casinos professed themselves to be part of the Warrior Society. The casino issue brought violence to the community, which goes against the principles of the Kaienerekowa as an instrument to peace and so some people are perceived to have misrepresented what the Flag stands for. That is why there are comments made like this one. He goes on to say,

To me it meant something, but after Akwesasne it kind of tarnished it. It took something. Because our own people were shooting at one another. That was against our great law. When the peacemaker told us to bury our weapons under that tree to take it out only when a foreign nation attacks us. We never use force against our own. We broke that law. That's why to me, I still respect the flag for what Louis Hall wanted it for. I find it hard, when you watch TV today, if there is violence, if there is something wrong. What's the first thing they show on TV?

K: The flag?

Yeah. Its got a symbol now of violence.[OJC 12/07/01]¹³³

This same conception was carried over to some of the Mi'kmaq at Esgenoopetitj as illustrated by a Mi'kmaq woman,

First of all the Warriors kind of scared me. Because with the camouflage and everything, it was more like seeing a war. That's still not native to me when you wear that kind of clothing. And a Warrior is more like – we are going to go out there and fight and nothing is going to stop us. Stuff like that eh. And I said – Oh my God. They are forgetting about the rest of the people here. And it was kind of scary. It was scary for me and probably scary for a lot of people. Right away they didn't want Warriors. Even though there was a reason behind it. At the time I had no understanding of it. It scared me more than anything. I kept saying – there must be a better way of dealing with this without anyone getting hurt. And I think a lot of people felt the same way. Let's talk it out or work it out. This shouldn't be the way, fighting, getting killed or getting hurt. We

¹³³ At the height of the casino dispute at Akwesasne in the late 1980's, the community was greatly factionalized. The murder of two men has cast a shadow over Akwesasne. It must be resolved before they can move on.

tried to stop it any way we could. Some of us any way. And we almost became Warriors ourselves. [EW 02/08/02]¹³⁴

For many at Esgenoopetitj, their only view of the Oka Crisis was through the television. As a result, they were confined to a limited interpretation of the Flag which in many cases was perceived to be a symbol of something negative. Therefore, the Flag, in a particular way has become a deviant symbol, not only in the eyes of Canada, but for some Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq as well.

Phases of Identity Construction

Cerulo goes on to examine how national symbols develop in conjunction with and in support of each phase of identity construction. Therefore, because these symbols objectify the national identity, the referents that mold that identity also edit the nation's symbolic expression.¹³⁵ The three phases will be discussed with relevance to the Flag.

Phase one is when individuals conceive of themselves as insular entities. The nation becomes cognizant of itself as an independent entity, as distinct within the world community. People have spoken of this in terms of a wake up call. This is recalled by a Seneca man in his story about his father during the Kahnawake Evictions who 'woke up' to what the state was doing in the community. This story and the evictions itself are examples of the awareness of a separate Indigenous identity. Cerulo maintains that in this phase, the nation configures its Indigenous traits into a unique self image. As the awareness grew, symbols emerged from Kanienkehaka culture that spoke to it. For example, symbols of further defiance and sovereignty, such as the move to Ganienkeh.

¹³⁴ Warriors were misrepresented so that people would be afraid of them. Many of them started out afraid, but grew stronger as events went on. Once they reached into themselves and exercised their own strength, they understood what a Warrior is. See *The Man Behind the Mask*. Hélène Sévigny. Saint-Lambert: Les Éditions Sedes Ltée, 1993.

¹³⁵ Cerulo 1995, p. 56.

We have more in common with each other, so it makes sense that we would coalesce and defend each other against those who would want to spread us apart.

With regard to the Mi'kmaq, their actions during the Lobster seasons of 1999, 2000, and 2001 are symbols of this same idea. As a Mi'kmaq man states in an internet appeal,

Once again, the community of Burnt Church and the Mikmaq Nation are fighting the Canadian government for the future of the next 7 generations. The Mikmaq people of Burnt Church are determined to protect their peoples ancient Inherent right to fish, which has been exercised since time immemorial. This Inherent right was recognized in the 1760-61 Treaties with the British and upheld in the 1999 Supreme Canadian Court Marshall ruling. The Canadian government through the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) has chosen to ignore their laws and turn a blind eye to their Marshall decision by denying us our Inherent right to our own resources and the ability to sell our catch in order to sustain ourselves. The Mi'kmaq people of Burnt Church have utterly rejected any and all of the Canadian governments attempts to legally extinguish our rights and freedoms through agreements. We will not perpetuate the process of self-infringement, self-denial and self-extinguishment of rights and freedoms that belong to the future generations. We are bound and determined to not repeat the mistakes of the past by co-operating with an adversarial Canadian government.¹³⁶

Thus, the situations of Oka and Esgenoopetitj brought about a heightened awareness of the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq culture and the dominant society's fear of the Indigenous peoples using our own hands and minds to sustain ourselves through our relationship to the natural world.

In the second phase, individuals come to see themselves in relation to other objects in their environment. Once again, the Kahnawake Evictions, the move to Ganienkeh, and the Oka Crisis are good examples of this because they illustrate the awareness of the culture and land that the Kanienkehaka were instructed to look after. As a Kanienkehaka woman states,

¹³⁶Esgenoopetitj First Nation (Burnt Church First Nation). From James Ward, Commander, East Coast Warrior Society, 30 September 2002. 29 April 2003 <<http://www.hartford-wp.com/archives/41/349.html>>.

It took thirty years for people to begin to understand and respect what the traditional people were all about. It took a lot of years and it took, you couldn't just talk about it. You had to show it by action, so people understood what it was...All our actions were to show people that you had to do by action for people to understand what you are doing. And so that, that's what we did. We were considered radical or nuts. It was important to show the next generations that this is what you need to do...You fight for your land protect your land for your future generations. [LM 12/04/01]

In this, the oral culture was not enough, so a physical example had to be devised. The Flag served as a reminder of this responsibility, as a Kanienkehaka man states,

We evolve as a people and unite under one flag. You identify to it and recognize your responsibilities. He was trying to awake Indian people to accepting or shouldering their responsibilities. Everybody makes the excuse, I work here for this reason, I work here for that reason. But maybe so. But when there is a national interest in front of you then it's your responsibility to forget why you are at that job and put your self on that line to defend our national interests...It took on the meaning of unity at Oka. Other nations throughout North America, they related the Indian interests to that flag. Whenever they see the flag they realize that there was a battle going on that needed attention. I believe that it is to awaken our people to the fact that maybe your community is nice calm and peaceful at this time but in our community we are flying the flag to alert everyone and ask everyone for help, assistance to come to our aid. [LT 01/21/02]

In this phase the people learn their position relative to a set of significant others, and later, generalize others. In this regard, the Canadian state becomes referenced as a common other as illustrated by two Mi'kmaq women as they spoke of how the dominant state has forced a change in their relationship with Portage Island across from the bay on which the community is situated.

A: See, it's not just lobster that we are fighting for here. They're taking a lot of things away from us you know - How we always lived and how we survived, and our ancestors and how many people have drowned and been buried around and close to that island.

M: It is a burial ground.

A: It is, because I remember one time my father used to tell me, he had a few stories about that island. It's not just the lobster.

M: They are disturbing sacred ground. When they are out there with the helicopters, there is a bird sanctuary, there's fish out there, there's lobsters, there's others that died out there traveling over the ice.

A: We still go and pick our clams. You have to leave before high tide comes in.

K: Do you feel safe going there any more?

A: Not anymore. [AL&ML 01/31/02]

The situation heightened their awareness of their common responsibilities to the land in contrast to the perceived destruction of it by the dominant society. The Flag then speaks to this situation by unifying the Indigenous peoples in contrast to the perceived enemy, which in this case is the Canadian state.

In phase three, an assessment of their indigenous traits occurs to include reflection on their immediate environment. This is when the 'us and them' way of thinking comes in to play, with the non-native viewed as an outsider. As the nation learns its position, it watches the reactions of the world community and develops its own identity. With this, the Kanienkehaka began to draw on and strengthen the culture and identity of the people and think ahead. Thus, the traditional culture and identity became the people's frame of reference and actions like the move to Ganienkeh and symbols like the Flag formed in relation to that. The identity that formed is one strongly rooted in traditional culture of the Kanienkehaka. With regard to the situation at Esgenoopetitj, the Mi'kmaq always had a decent relationship with the surrounding communities. This changed with the Lobster Dispute as one Mi'kmaq man states,

Here they are calling us violent. If we were so violent, then why did we take the two people that were on the boat and deliver them to the cops? We could have easily brought them to shore and let the people handle them. They never charged them for coming in and cutting our traps. We are getting charged in all this. Why? Because we are native. We are crazy, we are different. We have darker skin, we are more violent. Well, I'd imagine they would do the same thing too if we were to go out into the Baie St. Anne and just start cutting their traps. They would come out and shoot us. The RCMP would bring in the army and try to get us. They would probably try to do the same thing they did in Oka. Shoot us down. [LP&IP&SP 02/06/02]

This clearly illustrates how the Mi'kmaq perceive themselves to be in opposition to the surrounding non-native community and the dominant state. The issue has brought out the tensions that were already there and fostered a situation where the Indigenous populations have been placed in clear contrast to the non-Indigenous populations by the people

themselves. It is felt that the contrast is and will always be there. The situation just highlighted it and brought it out in other forms such as the destruction of Mi'kmaq lobster traps, boat ramming, and the burning of a sacred arbor.

In this regard, Cerulo states that there are two outcomes. The national symbols may reflect the nation's integration experience. The more the people of the nation identify with its colonizer, they will incorporate portions of that country's flag into their own. This is not the case with the Indigenous peoples who use the Flag. Another cognitive process of this phase described by Cerulo as 'splitting' has more relevance to the use of the Flag. The 'nation' specifies an image by distinguishing it from others. The process builds an identity with reference to what it is trying to contrast. This is what occurs with the Flag. It was developed to contrast the Kanienkehaka culture from the one imposed by the Canadian state.

In this last phase, national symbols can be looked at to determine how cohesive the people are. With regard to flags, the simplicity or complexity of the design may reflect the cohesiveness of the group. According to graphic design theory in Cerulo's work, "By limiting the inconsistencies and ornaments, basic graphic structure restricts information to the foundational elements of graphic design. Thus, it offers the most concise, economical method of conveying a graphic message."¹³⁷ Basic syntactic structure offers minimal informational input through the use of basic symbols, few color distinctions, and a modest numbers of fields or sections. These symbols favor primary colors over secondary colors and are more visually stable, therefore there is little distortion and they are less jarring to the eye. Using this idea, Cerulo illustrates how core nations of the world who are more powerful in the international setting use flags that are

¹³⁷ Cerulo, 1995, p. 48.

simple in design such as Japan or Canada. When a group has a high level of cohesiveness, less symbols are needed to communicate to that. In contrast, when there is a lower level of cohesiveness, more symbols are needed to remind the population of why they are together. This is reflected in the symbols of nations on the periphery of the international arena such as North Korea or Croatia. With regard to the Flag designed by Karoniaktajeh, it has four main elements – the warrior profile, the feather, the sunburst, and red background. It was designed in the early 1970's at a time when the Red Power Movement was gaining strength and the Indigenous peoples of North America were acutely aware and mobilizing together on various issues, for example Wounded Knee at Pine Ridge, South Dakota. The Flag then came out of a time of high cohesiveness for Indigenous peoples and was easy to understand and relate to, as illustrated by a Kanienkehaka man,

Because people can relate to it easily. It's inexpensive to make and it's easy to carry around. It's very easy and it speaks for itself. And people can rally around it. What's on the flag is very important, because if you get it too complex, you are creating a lot of conversation around it and a lot of different interpretations. Whereas you keep it simple, a child can understand what it means. [LT 01/21/02]

I found that when I asked the Mi'kmaq at Esgenoopetitj what the Flag meant, they were able to relate to me a similar message of unity and resistance that the Kanienkehaka had expressed, all without having known about its genesis and meaning in the Kanienkehaka communities. Irregardless of cultural, territorial, or linguistic differences, the Flag has the ability to speak to different peoples.

As we face common struggles, we unify with a common bond that is rooted in our common tie to the land. This unification is similar to the way nations lump themselves with their geographic neighbors. What I am proposing with regards to the flag is that the Indigenous people that use it are lumping themselves with their philosophical neighbors,

this is the philosophy that concerns the tie to the land and resources and opposition to colonialism.¹³⁸ With regard to the national symbols that Cerulo speaks of, depending on the solidarity of the population, this determines the complexity of the national symbol. If it is unified, the less elements are necessary to communicate that collectivity, the more fragmented the population, the more elements necessary to communicate the collective ideal. In the case of the Flag, it is a simple design consisting of four elements. As such they speak to fundamental principles of all Indigenous cultures and the common relationship to one another and to the land. Using Anderson's idea of the 'imagined community' once again, this common relationship is what forms the basis of the Indigenous community which utilize the Flag in various circumstances. Therefore, it is the similarities of world view and relationship to the earth that unite the members of this larger group rather than the physical space. It is a meeting place for the minds of the people, a place where they assemble, merge and form a collective entity that overrides the reality of any one individual. It is present in all areas of social life. Therefore, the Flag is comprised of a simple design that can easily and powerfully communicate its message.

Symbolic Expression and Intranational Focus

Kanienkehaka oral history and written documentation consistently have maintained a sovereign position, upholding the principles of the Two Row Wampum principles found in the treaties that were signed with the Dutch, French and English. The attempt undertaken by the dominant structures to assimilate us weakened the identity of the Kanienkehaka for a time, to a point where we covered up our differences by removing our traditions, material culture, and language from view. As a result, over time much of

¹³⁸Whereas in the case of non-natives who use the Flag, their neighborhood is one based in resistance to something such as homelessness in Toronto.

it was almost forgotten or lost as we took on the beliefs, material culture and language of our oppressors. An increasing awareness fostered by the work of Karoniaktajeh and others contributed to the strengthening of Kanienkehaka identity. Out of this, the Flag has been used by the Kanienkehaka to communicate a strong identity and consciousness as illustrated by the establishment of Ganienkeh, the right to economic development during the boom in the Kahnawake cigarette trade in the 1980's, and then during the Oka Crisis of 1990. All of these speak to a heightened awareness of the cultural differences between the Indigenous peoples and the dominant society, communicated by the use of the Flag and words like 'nation' and 'territory' in discourse with the dominant society.

Using Cerulo's argument concerning symbolic expression and intranational focus, the Oka Crisis will be shown to be a 'high intranational focus' event. This event propelled the Flag into the international spotlight and injected it with meaning for all Indigenous peoples.

The struggle that took place during the summer of 1990 put Indigenous resistance and human rights issues on the Canadian and international stage. The symbols that were used to communicate Kanienkehaka identity, those who were involved, and their actions for land in Kanehsatake have come to symbolize Indigenous resistance in North America. Many, when first asked what the Flag meant, would answer with the word 'Oka'. An awareness and awakening seems to have been communicated to many who viewed the Oka Crisis on television.

As a distinctive symbol with vibrant colors, the Flag is hard to miss. Each time a situation occurs that involves Indigenous peoples, the Flag is usually there. If you have been in a similar situation, when you see it flying in these contexts you understand what

is happening or if you are currently involved in one, you don't feel so alone. The Flag acts as a trigger for the mind. Where the Flag is flying, Indigenous people who view it can relate to the issue more clearly and see their responsibilities as Onkwehonwe. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

Maybe you lied or you were lied to half of your life. All of the sudden a situation comes up and you are listening very carefully and the truth comes out. And all of the sudden you relate your situation to what was just said. And your mind opens up. Your mind sees itself and how it relates to you. The truth. The flag does that. It opens up the mind to see how you relate to what is going on wherever that flag is. And from there you will know what your responsibilities are. [LT 01/21/02]

In essence, it serves as a sort of wake up call which then provokes action. This was described by a Kanienkehaka woman when she spoke of her young son,

In '90, when 'N' was little, and he'd do his shift and then he'd come home, get cleaned up, eat and then he'd go back out. And sometimes we would go with him. He would go to every checkpoint, stop and talk to the guys – do you need anything? And he was saying something about – they're tired. It's long. He's been there. He knew what they were feeling. They have to remember that it's for the kids. We have to do this for the kids. And Node, was five years old, was listening to this. And we're pulling out and he'd hang out the window, he'd put his arms up and yell "keep it up!" Yyou should hear! A couple of guys there, they turned and they looked and screamed "yah!". I mean, coming from a five year old kid! I know a lot of times it made me sit here and cry. I could imagine how those men felt. [CS 04/19/02]

The responsibilities of the people at Oka were to protect the land for the future seven generations. It is this same sense of responsibility to the culture, community, and future generations that is communicated by the Flag.

For many of the Mi'kmaq at Esgenoopetitj, the Flag was directly related to the Oka Crisis and in some instances it was referred to as 'the Oka Flag'. The Flag evoked memories of the actions of the Kanienkehaka at Oka as one Mi'kmaq woman states,

... we had the longest contact too with the white people. That really affected us hard because when you have that long, you make that first contact, you have that long relationship, you have your people just wiped out, you have generations of people not knowing your nation. The memories are still there, its just not that strong. Even the way I was raised, I didn't really know I was anything, just an Indian really. In my view I thought everybody was an Indian. But even the French. There was nothing special about being an Indian. There was not that empowerment. Whereas It's different with our kids. Kids are ingrained with something that has only been recently added.

When did you feel empowered?

Oka. [CL 01/30/02]

It roused a sense of empowerment and served to remind the people of their own responsibilities as Onkwehonwe thereby justifying their actions during the Lobster Dispute.

The Oka Crisis, may be seen as an independence movement, or nationalistic episode which are characterized as 'high focus events'. These are, in Cerulo's words, events that create high drama and "monopolize collective concern, directing attentions away from all else but the incident in question. Further, such events place the nation in the forefront of the collective mindset; nation takes precedence over interest group or individual and symbols come out of that to reflect this heightened collective mindset. High-focus events tighten intranational focus by stimulating a heightened "community of the mind."¹³⁹ This was also illustrated at Esgenoopetitj, as a Mi'kmaq woman states,

We've learned there is only one Creator that creates all and we have to understand why we are here. I think some people do understand. Talk about peace. That's a very strong word, love. Love conquers all. And that will bring peace. And I felt that this summer, I felt that and I told that to the children because they asked me this question – if Mr. Dhaliwal was here, what would you tell him? Everybody got to answer that and I was the last one. And I said, I'd tell him thank you for bringing our people together. It's unity. And it wasn't just one nation, it was all nations. I'd thank him. It was a hard struggle but you could see the love. You could see the unity, sharing, caring, support, understanding. There was laughter, crying. It was there, it was all there. And you see all the people that came. It was beautiful. That's what I got from it. It was a hard struggle. There was days I sat down and I cried. There's days we got together and we laughed. Combine all that, that's what I got out of that. There was a lot of fear and when people came, that fear left. We felt strong again. We can relax and be at ease. At first you felt like you were standing alone. And when you seen the people coming from all over, all nations, there was good hearted people out there. And I am not talking about just one when I speak about people. They are all fighting for that peace, that unity, but in a different way. [EW 02/08/02]¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Cerulo, 1995, pp. 96-97.

¹⁴⁰ The strength came out at the moment of the Crisis then settled for a while. Each reflected on what they did. They had to get used to being strong and that takes time. This kind of activity is what the Canadian government does not want to happen. But it did. It has changed us forever and Canada knows it.

The Oka Crisis and the Lobster Dispute, did just that. They monopolized the collective, bringing together all factions of the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq communities in a common struggle. Therefore, it served to unite the population in opposition towards a common foe, the Canadian state.

In order to understand the high focus event, it is necessary to illustrate it in contrast to the Moderate and Low focus events. In Figure 21 *Chart: Collective Conscience and Intranational Focus*, the three types of events are illustrated. Each focus event is characterized by a specific form of social solidarity that reflects a specific cognitive state. This chart also illustrates symbolic expression relative to the level of social cohesiveness that occurs as a result of the type of event.

COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE AND INTRANATIONAL EXPRESSION

ELEMENTS	HIGH FOCUS EVENTS	MODERATE FOCUS EVENTS	LOW FOCUS EVENTS
EVENTS	• pinpoint collective attention • Monopolize collective concern • Nation in forefront of collective mindset • Nation over interest group or individual • Heightened 'community of the mind' • Opposition toward common foe	• citizens attend to common elements: progress, development, change • Collective attention becomes specialized • Secondary goals: different sectors of population see different means to an end • Collective attention more dispersed than in high-focus events, less fragmented than during low-focus events	• fragment collective attentions • Atomize group concerns • Upset daily order and routine • Some events emphasize individual or smaller units (family) over collective • Threaten the very organization of a nation • Loyalties and commitments of citizens become displaced • Personal interests replaces collective loyalty
	Independence movements Victory in war Nationalistic episodes	Periods of socioeconomic development Minor political unrest Times of social reform	Enemy invasions or war Large-scale disasters Revolutions
SOCIAL SOLIDARITY	• patterns of behavior recreated in physical space of intense and rich nature of the cognitive experience • Displays of mechanical solidarity—brings collective's cognitive cohesion to visual forefront	• differentiation of specialized interests that manifest in organic relations • Cognitive currents are present yet flexible, they coincide with behaviors reflecting 'different, special functions which definite relations unite.'	• no behavioral expressions of bondedness • These periods associated with anomie • 'disjointed nature of collective mindset is reflected in atomized state of action.'
SYMBOLIC EXPRESSION	• symbols are sparse in content and basic in design • Sparse, basic symbols reference the core meanings already in the forefront of the collective's attention		• symbols are dense in content and embellished in structure • Communication requires detail and elaboration

Adapted from Cerulo, Karen A. *Identity Designs. The Sights and Sounds of a Nation*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995, pp. 96-101.

Fig. 25. Collective Conscience and Intranational Expression

As illustrated, the social solidarity as a result of the high focus event is one that needs very little assistance in maintaining. The symbols that correspond to this situation are sparse in content and basic in design because the meaning is already in the forefront of the collective's conscience. The Oka Crisis, as previously explained was a situation whereby collective attentions of the Kanienkehaka and of all Indigenous peoples were focused on one thing, protecting the Mother Earth. The rightness of this cannot be disputed. This cohesiveness of Indigenous peoples surpasses borders and razor wire and is based in common beliefs, which will be illustrated further. As Cerulo states, "where a national audience 'comes from,' that is, its cultural roots, may bear less effect on a nation's symbolic voice than where that audience 'is,' that is, its experience at the social movement during which symbols emerge."¹⁴¹ Therefore, the Flag communicates to this high level of cohesiveness, in that it contains only four main symbols that communicate Karoniaktajeh's message easily.

In contrast, moderate intranational focus is when attention is more dispersed than during high-focus events but less fragmented than it would be during low-focus events. Further, low focus events bring about a more fragmented collective where personal interests take precedence over the collective. Thus, what comes out of this is more dense in structure and content because of the disjointed nature of the collective. Therefore it takes more effort to bring about cohesiveness and as a result, as Cerulo states, "To ensure full comprehension of a message, symbols must accommodate high detail and flexible expression. Leaders must be able to add sufficient information to their message,

¹⁴¹ Cerulo, 1995, p. 115.

combining and recombining its material, until it effectively conveys meaning to a diverse target.”¹⁴²

The Flag therefore gained prominence and meaning for the international Indigenous community through the Oka Crisis of 1990. Utilizing the work of Karen A. Cerulo, it has been shown how this Flag has become a powerful symbol of not only Kanienkehaka but Indigenous peoples as a collective. As illustrated, the Flag provokes a heightened awareness and responsibility for action. Thus, the people unify and form a common front against the forces that have been established to destroy their culture and people, namely the hierarchy represented by the Church and state. The hierarchical control structure that is suffused throughout the institutions that have been implemented in our communities makes it almost impossible to bring about this cohesiveness. It is a system that is completely contrary to *kahsatstenhsera* or the power of the people. In this regard, three main interpretations of the Flag have become prevalent among both the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq populations that were the focus of this study. They are—awareness, unity and resistance. When situations emerge that require these three ideas to be evoked, the Flag is used in this regard as illustrated by its use during the Oka Crisis and by the Mi'kmaq, during the Lobster Dispute at Esgenoopetitj.

¹⁴² Cerulo, 1995, p. 101.

Chapter Four

The meaning of the Flag for Indigenous peoples comes down to the simple idea of connections. The Flag, as Karoniaktajeh intended, is a way for us to place ourselves and then talk across cultures. This dialogue has been going on for centuries. The Flag is a modern representation of this phenomenon. The ideas encompassed in the Kaienerekowa exist in many other Indigenous cultures world-wide. Because of this, we all feel a great sense of connection to one another that surpasses the different languages we speak, the diverse songs dances, and ceremonies we perform, or the assorted styles of clothing we wear or foods we eat. This connectivity has been touched on throughout this work and will be elaborated further by looking at Indigenous spirituality illustrated through the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq creation stories¹⁴³; the Indigenous relationship to the land; the four main elements of nature; material connections and adaptations; and finally, the common struggle to maintain the connection to the land.

Before going any further, it is necessary to convey how I came to understand what the Flag really means. It is a result of a journey I took in June of 2003 to the Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec. There I began to understand the strength and depth of our connectedness as Indigenous peoples and appreciate the true power of the Flag. I went there with the intent of speaking with Mi'kmaq historian Stephen Augustine about his version of his people's tie to the land and to introduce a Mi'kmaq friend to him who is searching for his own roots. What I felt at the end of that day was that I had finally completed a journey. It is a journey that began some thirteen years ago during the Oka Crisis. There I watched members of my immediate family involved in a struggle for

¹⁴³ See Appendix D-Kanienkehaka Creation Story and Appendix E-Mi'kmaq Creation Story for full versions.

survival, not only for their own lives but also for the land. At that time I didn't appreciate what they were doing but blindly took on the symbols of the movement in the hopes that some understanding might come out of it. One of the symbols I wore was the Kahnawake Warrior Flag. It evoked things in me that I didn't understand - a sense of history, heritage, pride, connection to the earth, and connection to my people, the Kanienkehaka. After the Crisis I embarked on a long journey to find out what this meant.

This journey brought me to the Museum of Civilization this past June, where my friend and I were guided by Stephen Augustine through the museum storage areas and then the new permanent exhibit in the First Peoples Hall that opened on January 30, 2003. This exhibit is developed around four themes: *We are still here*, *We are diverse*, *We contribute* and *We have an ancient relationship with the land*. The completed exhibition includes more than 1,500 historical objects and works of art, as well as approximately 500 documents and illustrations. Thirteen guiding principles were developed for the elaboration of the First Peoples Hall. These principles addressed issues of voice and of the relationship of messages to artifacts. They established the principal themes and main exhibition areas and proposed the adoption of a contemporary exhibit design.¹⁴⁴ As we walked, Stephen Augustine wove facts together that told a story of the connections between the Indigenous peoples of North America. His elaborations on the four themes of the exhibit served to illustrate the ties that go deep into the spiritual, natural and material realms of the natural world we live with. Later on, as we reflected on that day, my friend and I felt a connection to each other and to Stephen Augustine that went deeper than just our friendship but communicated to these ties that Stephen

¹⁴⁴ Communiqué *The First Peoples Hall. Celebrating First Peoples in Canada*. Canadian Museum of Civilization 9 July, 2003 <http://www.civilization.ca/media/show_pr_e.asp?ID=290>.

Augustine had tried to describe using the many items in the storage areas and in the exhibit. This is what will now be explored.

Indigenous peoples have a different kind of spirituality and way of life. It is one that comes from our connection to our conception and understanding of the natural world, the natural working of cause and effect in our universe, and of our responsibilities to it. There is a highly developed sensitivity to each others feelings, as well as a high degree of non-verbal communication, which is felt to be a survival mechanism. The belief that all elements of the universe are equally valuable and inextricably related is the centre of the Indigenous worldview and results in a very different way of creating knowledge and relating to the world and to other human beings.¹⁴⁵ It is really how natural phenomena evokes an emotional response that goes beyond understanding. It is more than what we see, but what we feel. This sensitivity is at the bottom of our lives and influences everything we do. This is why the Kanienkehaka give thanks through the recitation of the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén* before and after every social gathering.

In modern times however, we try to block it out by trying to be 'objective' about things that happen. There are many instances of family imbalance and strife that occur on a daily basis in our communities. We blame it on such things as substance abuse brought about by colonization. This is not to deny that it is a serious problem, but there is another way of looking at it that reflects our relationship to the spirit world.

In the past, every Kanienkehaka family had what might be called 'charms' in English. They were little spirits that helped the plants to grow, the fish to return to the rivers, the deer to their grazing in the forest. The spirits require us to feed and honor

¹⁴⁵Our reflexes are finely attuned to our surroundings and this sensitivity can be an asset or an impediment depending on what you are doing.

them. The people fed those charms and they were satisfied. It is to remind us to be mindful of these spirits, never to forget our interdependence. As the communal style of living began to erode, the connections between 'homeowners' or families and the charms were lost. It is felt that the charms have since become hungry and now feed on people and their relationships which creates breakups, divorce, and family dysfunction.¹⁴⁶ In turn, this communicates to the fact that as humans, we are put here for a short time to safeguard and steward the land, sea, and air. Part of this job requires us to honor the spirits that are in the plants, animals, water, and air.

Going further, the cosmos also have a role to play in this relationship and have a role to play in our daily life. Many Indigenous peoples make reference to 'Grandmother Moon' or 'Elder Brother the sun'. These referents speak to the close relationship that the people have with the cosmos. They are referred to as our relatives. It is the sun that gives the life energies which makes the plants grow. The moon is what moves the tides and regulates a woman's fertility. It is the stars which guide us during the night. All of these relationships have not changed over time. They are still referred and communicated to in the daily lives of the Indigenous peoples as evidenced in such things as the recitation of the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* before any event, a sweetgrass braid tied to the rear-view mirror in their cars, the growing of sweetgrass and sage in the family garden, the use of the cradle board to carry young babies, the giving of tobacco in exchange for knowledge, in the Flag created by Karoniaktajeh, and in the Flag of the *Mi'kmawei Mawiomi*.

In the description of the four main elements of the Flag created by Karoniaktajeh, we saw how they are meant to relate to the culture and ceremonies of the Indigenous

¹⁴⁶ Personal communication, TS 06/20/03

peoples. It also speaks to the connections that Indigenous peoples have to the earth which are illustrated in our Creation Stories. These stories give value, meaning and it places the people within the natural world. Thus, parts of the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq stories¹⁴⁷ will be used to illustrate the similar connections to the natural world. There are similarities and differences in the stories that speak to the particular social and material environment within which they come from, but that is not what is important here. What is important is that they tell the important story of how life began for the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq and illustrate the relationships with the earth and provide further understanding of the use of the Flag in events like the Oka Crisis and the Lobster Dispute.

Creation Stories world wide reflect the world view of the Indigenous peoples. It is hard to tell where the story ends because many Indigenous peoples believe that it doesn't end but continues on as does the natural world. This conception communicates to the cyclical nature of the universe where there is birth, life, death and birth again, and it goes on and on.

It is the ceremonies that provide a place where Indigenous peoples receive help and guidance from Creation to find the path that exists. According to the Kanienkehaka beliefs, if we practice the ceremonies and follow our original instructions, then we will be able to care for the earth for the future seven generations. This is why the children are taught about the Creation Story at a young age. This and participation in the ceremonies are two of the starting points. Another is when the babies are given their names in the Naming Ceremony. In Kanienkehaka tradition, names come from the elements of nature

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix D Kanienkehaka Creation Story and Appendix E Mi'kmaq Creation Story for complete versions of the stories.

and are animated to illustrate the constant movement of nature. For example the name of my eldest daughter Karonhioko'he means 'she takes the sky out of the water'. I was told by one of the Bear Clanmothers who helped me to find it that it comes from the Creation Story. The segment where the name comes from is as follows,

Tharonhiawakon then uplifted the Tree of the Standing Light, he placed his pregnant wife at the edge of the hole, and he pushed her through into the space below. Aientsik fell. Below her, allop the universe was water. The animals of the water saw her falling, but because the sky was blue, as well as the water, they did not know if she was falling from the sky, or coming up from the bottom of the lake. All of the water animals had an argument about this. The otter said that she was coming up from the bottom of the lake. The beaver agreed, as did the muskrat. The geese and the ducks, however, said that she was falling from the sky. They flew up, and breaking the fall of Aientsik, let her rest upon their backs, and brought her gently down to the surface of the water.

Upon discussion about this event in the story with other women, we have come to the conclusion that when the *Aientsik* fell from the upper Sky World, this created a separation of the water and the sky which also represents the birth of consciousness and unconsciousness or in more general terms, awareness. Further research on this point may show a myriad of connections to other aspects of Kanienkehaka philosophy, but for lack of space and because of the subject matter, this has not been done here. Rather, it is used to illustrate the Kanienkehaka awareness of the natural world. This idea of awareness of the natural world is also seen in the Mi'kmaq Creation Story where Glooskap is created and is animated by the life-giver.

The life giver caused a bolt of lightening to strike and hit the earth. It formed the shape of a person. The head was in the direction of the rising sun. The arms were outstretched and the feet were in the direction of the setting sun. I was not until the second bolt of lightening hit the earth, that the first one who spoke we call Glooskap. He was given his toes, his fingers, his hands. He was given seven sacred parts to his head, he had to listen to his world. When we are born the first thing we hear is our mother's heart beat, also Glooskap was given his eyes so he could look and see his world around him. He was also given two holes in his nose. From there he sensed his place in this world. He also was given his mouth so he could drink the water that is in abundance for everybody. Also to be able to share the food we eat that comes from mother earth, to take the medicines that we gather from the animals and birds and the plants and the trees. And last that came from Glooskap's mouth was words. And our elders tell us if we can listen first and look and sense and share our foods and medicines, water and the air and then be able to

Speak, then in this way we have been able to honor and give respect to all life and everything around us.

So Glooskap was still lying on this earth, because it was not until the third bolt of lightening hit the earth that he was given his freedom. He stood up and he said - oh giver of life, thank you for giving me my life. Grandfather sun, thank you for giving me my shadow. My heart, my lungs and my life, my blood. And Mother Earth, thank you for giving me all life that I need to continue to survive and to live. Thank you for the birds that fly in the sky, the trees and plants, the animals and the fish that are in the waters. So Glooskap started to explore his world around him.

In this segment, Glooskap achieves consciousness through each of the senses. It also illustrates connection to the earth.

These Creation Stories serve as reminders of the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq people's connections to the earth and our responsibilities to it and each other. If one were to look in the Kanienkehaka and Mi'kmaq language, one would see how it reflects the ongoing nature of the universe. For example, this sense of perpetual motion in life is reflected in the fact that there is no Kanienkehaka word for 'thank-you'. The word used when necessary is *nia:wen kowa*, which means 'whatever we are doing right now is finished for now'. Therefore understanding is not instantly gained upon one's birth but is a life-long process of learning and effort. As a Kanienkehaka states,

When we are young we learn, and we start out. We start out with certain teachings. We are helped and made aware of what the philosophies of our people have always been. And throughout your life those philosophies have to remain the same. That's what being traditional is about. That philosophy and those principles. And that law that we are to follow. That's who we are. That's what we are.[T 01/17/02]

Teaching the Indigenous world view through telling the Creation Stories and living it through such things as a name or using the Flag facilitates the survival of the culture of the Indigenous peoples. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

It's from that, from listening to the old ones. And them talking about this is our land, this is our mother and nobody can ever take our mother away. And they used to say as long as one of us believes, as long as one of us speaks the language, as long as one of us adheres to our laws, this land will always be ours. It just takes one person to keep that alive. When no one speaks the language no more, when nobody believes in these things no more, that's when we don't have a mother anymore. Because she is disconnected from her children. They're lost, they don't know each other anymore.[T 01/17/02]

Keeping ourselves connected to the earth through the social, political, and spiritual aspects of daily life is how Indigenous knowledge is maintained.

It is these world views, in addition to language and culture that makes Indigenous peoples different from their neighbors. It also shows the connections between them, in their relationships to Mother Earth which is based on equality.

This relationship is one of true equality because the Indigenous peoples association with the earth is one of a guardianship role. In this, we have been instructed to work with nature and respect it. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

The hardest part is to live right, to live by the truth. To live with that respect, not only other human life, but to respect all life. The rest of human life is useless if the rest of life isn't here. We depended on it. People say we loved the natural world. Did they ever think why did our people care so much about the natural world? That's what gave us life, that's what kept us alive. That's what helped us to sustain a life. That's why we respected it so much and we taught our children to respect it. Because, if you lose respect for that which helps to raise you, feed you, take care of you, every way you can think of. If you lose respect for it, and lose your relation to it, what do you have? [T 01/17/02]

This relationship is illustrated by the Kanienkehaka Creation Story when *Okwiraseh* says,

I have planted human beings on the earth for the purpose that they shall continue my work of creation by beautifying the earth, cultivating it and making it more pleasing for the habitation of man,

and in the Mi'kmaq Creation Story where Glooskap gives thanks to Creation,

He stood up and he said - oh giver of life, thank you for giving me my life. Grandfather sun, thank you for giving me my shadow. My heart, my lungs and my life, my blood. And Mother Earth, thank you for giving me all life that I need to continue to survive and to live.

Both stories illustrate the idea of giving thanks for what is provided in nature rather than asking for it.

Because the earth is alive, the Indigenous peoples love the earth as they would a mother. This is reflected in the female centered structures such as the sweat lodge, the

tipi, and the longhouse,¹⁴⁸ and in ceremonies where feminine energy is honored. The responsibilities of the women was also highlighted by their actions during the Oka Crisis, as a Kanienkehaka man states,

To me when you say the strength of the nation, is the people and the man standing there could be a woman or man. Because in our nation the women stand up. In '90, who stood up? Who stood up and took all the pounding? It was the women. The men stood back and waited to protect them and let the women choose what they wanted to do. They wanted to go up and face them. The women made decisions, the way it was supposed to be. The way it was in the beginning the women made the decisions. That's why the women hold the clan titles, hold the land. That's why the women have the authority to remove a chief if he doesn't heed to their warnings. So it all comes down to the women. How do you build a nation? You start off with the women...They are the foundation. That's the difference in the white society, the women are like a tool. The men are the saviors, but it really isn't that way. Without those women, who are going to reproduce? Nobody...To our nation, the women was the root of the tree and she held everything together. She let anything topple over she foresaw way before. She looked ahead in the future. She looked at the children. When the children were growing, she taught them, she gave them the teachings they would need when they were adults. Even the boy, for the first ten years of his life he was being taught by his mother about the kanaserakowa, and how to act. How to have respect and how to love. How to talk softly...So when the women would look around and see all the children playing they could tell who was going to be a chief who was going to be a clan mother by the way they acted, by the way they treated one another. So that's why they chose the chiefs, who was going to sit there. They would choose and go to each clan and say okay these are the names that are going to be put up to be a chief. [JOC 12/07/01]

In this regard the actions of the women during the Oka Crisis reflected their position as the center of the nation. We have the ability to bring forth life and so we are considered the foundation and so this is honored in our ceremonies and social and political structures.

All of these aspects that honor Mother Earth and the feminine principle of creation are also illustrated in Mi'kmaq culture. In Esgenoopetitj, it was illustrated in how the men and the women spoke in different ways about the Lobster Dispute. When I spoke with the men, the situation was one of fishing rights and sovereignty. When I

¹⁴⁸ The Kanienkehaka word for longhouse is kanonhsesne kahwatsi:re which means 'the building where the fire is, where the family is'. This is a place for the clans, the family, elders and women. It is this fire that is the heart of the family and the domain of the women.

spoke with the women, the situation stemmed from loss of tradition, culture and tie to the land, as illustrated by a woman who spoke about Portage Island.

K: What motivated you to get involved in the fishing?

AL: Actually I'll tell you. I wanted to have lobster. I always wanted lobster to eat and that was my point, I was going to get lobster anyways. And we got this right. We were going to have lobster every day of our lives and store it for winter. I was not planning to sell the fish, it would just go for the purpose of our food. When my father used to fish lobster, we were eating them every day. He would bring a dozen or two. It's the same thing with, we always had fish that was six days of eating fish. I think Sunday was the only time when we had meat. Other than that it was mackerel, herring, lobster, bass, chad, eels, trout. Every type of fish. Summertime, we were picking clams and my father used to go to Portage Island and pick hard shell clams. They call them Bar Clams now. Cohogs and oysters and all that. All the fish except snow crabs. We don't get snow crabs here. You got to way out to deeper water... Basically. I wanted my food back. And then this crisis happened anyways and I didn't like it. I didn't like the way it was carried on. [AL&ML 01/31/02]

She expressed a deep desire to have access to the traditional food sources that had nourished her people for so long. The very fact that she talked of the importance of this island illuminated the differences between the men and the women. These differences structure their relationships to the four main elements. Which are, for the Mi'kmaq, the birds, plants, animals, and fish and the Kanienkehaka, the plants, the animals, the water, and the earth. This was illustrated by Stephen Augustine,

We are always going back to saying we honor our ancestors, we honor our relations. Everything our ancestors did is more or less explained in that context, that we are also mindful. And our ancestors are not just people. They are birds, plants, animals and fish. Because they are inside of us when we are interred into the ground again. We go back to our ancestors, the birds, the plants, animals they go back. And that's the notion of why we have that terminology – we are all related. [SA 06/09/03]

The Indigenous relationships to the elements are reflected in the clan structures, ceremonial and material life, and environment. The various relationships to these elements is reflective of the different environments that Indigenous groups live in. In the exhibit this was illustrated by a depiction of an archeological dig, where objects from other cultures far away are found in other areas. These are called disturbances, but to Stephen Augustine, they illustrate how we talk across cultures.

We have the archeological interpretation which more or less plays out the creation story, explaining the relationship, the spiritual physical connection between us and the land. And those four main elements – the birds, plants, animals and fish. It seems those are the ones that contribute majorly to particular cultures. And particular cultures have a more closer linkage to a certain aspect. Like the Mi'kmaq people and a few others on the east coast, the birch bark seems to be quite a major influencing element within our culture. Dealing with the mode of transportation to shelter to containers to moose calls and in fact to the idea that when we died we were wrapped in birch bark and interred into the earth. And this is how we relate this connection to the birch bark. It doesn't overlook the fact that stone and wood have a major impact in our culture and bone and the skin of animals for our clothing, snowshoes, toboggans, sleds. Everything you look at comes from the land and the only other containers we had were the reed rush baskets that were found in archeological sites. [SA 06/09/03]

It was at this point in the tour that I began to really see and understand the connectivity of our peoples. I realize now that this is what I was feeling in 1990 and was why I wore the Flag. To fully comprehend what it meant, I needed to be in the right place and time with a teller of the oral history and interpreter of the objects. I see now that it is the material culture that leaves an imprint for others to view this connection in a tangible format.

It's the strata with all the disturbances. All the different coats, all the different cradleboards, all the different canoes, kayaks and toboggans. They are talking across each other. Indigenous people are borrowing ideas, borrowing from each other. Nobody had a patent or copyright or whatever. The only way to protect these kinds of technologies and ideas was to get it out far and wide. And everybody adapt to their environment. Like the snowshoes for instance. Snowshoes, the Innu very closely threaded with thin thread. That's because of the cold weather and the powdery snow. While in the south the snowshoes are longer, they have heavier cordage from Moose. That's because the snow in the south was wet and hard and crusty sometimes. So it makes for a different kind of snowshoe. [SA 06/09/03]

This same respect and sharing underlies and forms the formal relationships between peoples. As Indigenous peoples became numerous, there grew a need to establish formal relationships to provide a safe and happy environment where all could coexist. Therefore they had to be based on a mutual coexistence where culture, ideas and language would not be imposed by each on the other. This idea is found in the Two Row Wampum principle that forms the basis of the treaties signed to by the Haudenosaunee. It is also the basis of treaties signed by the Mi'kmaq, an example of which is the Watertown Treaty of 1776. As Stephen Augustine described it, it was an agreement signed between

the Americans and the Mi'kmaq, two weeks after the Americans declared their independence. The Mi'kmaq recognized them as a separate nation and had remained neutral throughout the fighting, thereby protecting New Brunswick. Stephen Augustine showed the wampum that illustrates the first Mi'kmaq to be baptized and discussed the idea of relationships further. The wampum illustrates Mi'kmaq Chief Membertou and the Black Robe holding onto the cross together.

With the keys of the Vatican, the black robe promised to the Mi'kmaq that they would be protected by the church. The Mi'kmaq chief promised that they would protect the French missionaries from being attacked by all the *Indigenous peoples*. *It was a coming together of the church and the Indigenous people. Also Membertou promised the burying of the axe in the earth putting their weapons first and then putting the French weapons on top and then the pipe ceremony being initiated promising to maintain peace. If the French were to bring their weapons, then it was that the only time the Indians would get their weapons was after the French took them. That's why the Mi'kmaq buried their weapons first. That they wouldn't attack and the only way that they would do it was out of self defense. The church symbol is to promise to the Mi'kmaq that they would protect Indians from exploitation from traders and so on. As a result of that Indigenous government and relationship here brought out by the symbols of the wampum belts, these are all agreements here. It began first with animals, birds and fish and plants. Then they were mostly between people because we began to be numerous and so relationships had to be established with one another. The words were deposited on seven spirits or elements, or whatever the tribal recognition of what the seven spirit elements meant.* [SA 06/09/03]

These connections that Indigenous peoples speak of, were well established when the European peoples came to these shores. It was with this intent that the original peoples attempted to establish relationships with the newcomers. As such, they didn't succeed. Now, this relationship with the land has been eroded and there is a struggle happening to maintain this tie to the land. It is within this struggle that one can see the survival of the teachings, as a Kanienkehaka man states,

If our children are ever going to follow our road, then that road has to remain consistent. That road has to remain connected all the time. You can't have pavement then dirt, pavement then dirt, because sometimes you don't know when to put the brakes on to slow down and it creates accidents. And sometimes they are tragic. This is what people have to start knowing about, understanding what all these things mean. The stories that our people pass down to us are not just stories to tell a story. These were the tools of learning. We don't know what year it was created, all we know is there is a creation. And the creation stories, are not to profess how it was created, it is the story of life and what our connection to the world is. Each of those worlds are at different generations. Most people can only go back as far as the woman falling from the sky world. They

don't know the world before that. It is the world of our grandparents. The woman falling through the skyworld, that is the world of our parents. Here and now where we live is our world. That's why we say raksota, raksa:ani[grandfather] – whatever our grandfather did in his life, we are the effect of that. [T 01/17/02]

These are not just names, stories, or social events but are tools for learning and maintaining a distinct Indigenous identity. They remind us of where our responsibilities lie as Onkwehonwe by enabling us to act out our relationship with the earth as our ancestors had done. For many Indigenous peoples, they see that their responsibilities lie in providing a future for the next seven generations by protecting the earth. As a Kanienkehaka man states,

It doesn't matter who the artist is or what his history is. There is something deeply embedded in each and every one of us. Its something you can't get rid of. Its like trying to drain the blood from their veins. That's who they are, that's what they are. Irregardless of what they are. The umbilical cord is still connected to the same mother. We've all got the same mother. None of us have our umbilical cord plugged in across the ocean. Its all right here. No matter how civilized they think they've become, or how Christian they think they've become, how update, progressive they think they've become. When they are down and out, when they get sick or anything happens, they go to the courts, they go to the hospital, but in the end they always go back to their roots. Whether its for medicine, or for anything, they always manage to come back to the longhouse.[T 01/17/02]

That is why events like the Oka Crisis and the Lobster Dispute at Esgenoopetitj occur.

As a Mi'kmaq woman states,

We were really going out there to make a stand of what our rights were, what we believed in and that we were going to continue doing what we had to do for our future generations. As what, as the caregivers of this community, what we had to do. That's for our children. That was the first year. It was my sister Karen that went right out and she just took her last welfare checks and bought traps, line, everything that she needed to go out and she went out and fished all that spring. The second year I was learning how to tie the traps, buoy them, bait them, go out there and just I know we weren't going out there to make a living off it but to make that stand there again that we were determined to go out there and continue fishing for our kids, for the treaties, our rights. And I think really that's been the biggest part of why a lot of the women keep partaking in that, it's to make that stand. [JB 02/03/02]

This illustrates the determination and effort on the part of Indigenous peoples as we struggle for the land. This is contrasted to the 'culture of possession' of the dominant society by a Kanienkehaka man,

There was a reason why when the old people would pick medicine and talk to a plant. Because they took a grandchild with them. They talked to that plant and all the while the child observed and they had so much respect for the grandparents. They said, my grandmother and grandfather respect the plant so much to talk to it, they really must be something special. That stays in their head forever. And that's how they grow up respecting natural things. But when a father, gets his horse that means so much to him, his best friend his dog, and his eldest son which is the most precious thing to him, these are his priorities. He dresses up his son like a clone to him, his black boots, his stretchy pants, and his little red jacket, and little black helmet. And they go on his land, jumping over his creeks, going through his woods, and killing his fox....These are his possessions that he can do with as he likes. It didn't matter, his children didn't matter, his grandchildren didn't matter. Nobody matters, but this was his possession. Culture of possession. And when we say Canadians and Americans have no culture, they do, culture of possession.[T 01/17/02]

This idea of the 'culture of possession' that is spoken of is also reflected in the dominant society. We see it in how the government of Canada has worked to usurp Indigenous peoples of our access to land and resources through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The Indian Act has effectively created physical borders around our people called reserves and administered funds in return for that land, treating us like we are children to be taken care of. The Canadian state has a different relationship to the land. This different view of the land has been expressed by Frederick Turner (1980) as a way to 'take possession without becoming possessed',

This view of possession gained huge authority as Christians began encountering natives of the wilderness...these dark ones seemed plainly to have succumbed to their wild habitats. No. The thing to do was to take possession without becoming possessed, to take secure hold on the lands beyond and yet hold them at a rigidly maintained spiritual distance. It was never to merge, mingle, to marry. To do so was to become lost in an eternal wilderness.¹⁴⁹

The protection of the land and resources is the responsibility of the Indigenous peoples. It is something that has never been relinquished. As children are born, they are instructed during their Naming Ceremony in front of the people who are to take part in the rearing of the child as to what their responsibilities are. This is done in full view of every person assembled so that they may be reminded and remind the child throughout their life of

¹⁴⁹ Turner, 1980, p. 238.

what they are to do, how to live their lives and conduct themselves accordingly. When a person dies, their role in this is acknowledged, those assembled are reminded once again, of how the person worked to maintain the land for the future, which are those who sit there listening. This is what it means to be Onkwehonwe or *Otskijinu* which means 'dweller on the surface of the world'. You are part of nature.

In conclusion, there are many more similarities and connections that can be made, but it is unnecessary to do so here. One only has to take a closer look at the world around them, at the people they meet, even in a museum setting, in my case, to understand the connectivity of Indigenous peoples. It goes beyond the color of our skin, eyes and hair, the material things we share, the knowledge about the plants and animals that we passed to one another. This connection goes deep into Mother Earth, its white roots bring spiritual nourishment to us as we face our daily struggles with such things as social problems, land theft, racism, and cultural survival. It unites us all in our cultures, ideas, ceremonies, world views, and our attempts to alleviate ourselves of the affects of colonialism. It is a connection that will manage to survive because we see its expression in the past and present through things such as the Flag created by Karoniaktajeh.

Conclusion

One of the primary intentions in this thesis has been to provide another perspective of Kanienkehaka culture, one that comes from within the Kanienkehaka community. Using ceremony, Indigenous language and the knowledge and understanding shared with me by my friends and family, I have shown how the Flag is an expression of the connections that Indigenous peoples have to one another. It communicates a common past, present and future with regard to our ties to the land and our survival through colonialism. Stephen Augustine, with much generosity and humanity, showed me that. The qualities that I saw in him speak to the ideas and ways invoked by the continued use of such words such as *kahsatstenhsera* or *melgigenowati*. With these qualities and our languages and ceremonies we have maintained our connections with Mother Earth by not placing ourselves above other living things. This is what our survival is about, remaining true to our original instructions.

This work is the first time anyone has taken the time to look at Karoniaktajeh as a man, an artist, a writer and an intellectual who inspired many Indigenous people to act. All the bits and pieces of the story that were amongst the people have now begun to be gathered into one interpretation of his life and of the Flag. This is but one version, and is meant to serve as a means of provoking awareness and perhaps giving others the impetus to look deeper within their communities to see what richness is hidden beneath the surface that will tell a remarkable story like that of the Flag.

At the time of the writing of this thesis, it has been almost ten years since Karoniaktajeh passed away. As I look around my community of Kahnawake, I still see his pervasive influence on my people. At the recent Echoes of a Proud Nation Powwow,

held in the community each year, the Mohawk Warrior Flag could be seen everywhere. The powwow is an event that not only brings many nations together to share in the celebration of Indigenous cultures through the dances and songs, but also in the foods. It is a time to renew old friendships and serves as a gathering of the wider family of our common humanity.

Powwows always run the risk being kitschy with plastic dreamcatchers or fluorescent colored feathers and 'Made in China' stickers. But it has its redeeming qualities such as the traditional songs, dances, regalia and use of a wide variety of Indigenous languages. At the 2003 powwow, the Mohawk Warrior Flag could be seen flying over a fish and chip stand operated by local people, printed on various items at the Ganienkeh booth, on a man's traditional dance regalia, on car windows and license plates in the parking lot, painted on houses throughout Kahnawake, and for sale on t-shirts, flags, and key chains. Yet, it was not carried in with the official color guard of the Grand Entry Parade that opens the powwow grounds each day.

The irony lies in the fact that the most visible symbol used by Indigenous peoples in the last one hundred years was absent from any official aspect of a powwow originally meant, in part, to commemorate the events and actions of the Kanienkehaka people during the Oka Crisis. This aspect of this annual event has been lost and it has become a wider celebration of Indigenous cultures. This is okay. Whether people realize it or not, the little stickers they put on the back of their car windows, or the fake tattoos they pay a dollar for at the annual powwow each summer are a pervasive symbol of who we are as Onkwehonwe. Its unofficial acceptance shows me that the Flag still belongs to the people, as Karoniaktajeh intended.

As time passes, the oral, and now written history will keep Karoniaktajeh's memory and work alive. The most important point about him and his work is summed up in this statement,

Louis was a self taught man. He educated himself, he did what many people, or he did what so few people do, is to de-process themselves, de-colonize themselves, to strip down, take their egos away, take their barriers away. Take their preconceived notions of the world and life and he stripped all that away, himself in his own time, and through this process you grow a different kind of person. [DM 01/05/02]

Loved, hated, and misunderstood by many, Karoniaktajeh became a person who was aware and what he learned as a result, he chose to share with others. In this way, he has left us with a beautiful gift of his writing and art,

Louis hall was different. I believe that Louis Hall had in his heart and in his hands the people. He never had any monetary interest to do it. He always painted the soul of the people in my mind, to me the design of what is considered the warriors flag is a gift to the future from his ancestors through his hands. [FB 12/04/01]

In this way, he was only doing what our ancestors had done through wampum, communicate our responsibilities to one another and to Mother Earth,

The flag is only a vehicle for a message, the message of unity and resistance. The wampum belts are only symbols. It's not the belt that is important, it's the message that people have. Those are just beads, you can always make more beads. You can always string a new belt.[T 01/17/02]

On a surface level, the Flag is understood as a symbol of unity and resistance. On another level, it communicates a message that transcends the material world and evokes long developed beliefs and feelings that directly relate to the natural world. Karoniaktajeh's message will last because they are the same 'words' that have been spoken for centuries that communicate to what is inside us. Our actions speak louder than our words.

Indigenous peoples everywhere understand that message in the Flag because it speaks to their own past, present and future. Its use in times of crisis, such as the Lobster Dispute at Esgeenoopetitj are pervasive examples of the power of the Flag, in its ability to

evoke emotion, whether a feeling of pride and unity in an Indigenous person or fear and anger in an east coast fisherman. When they saw the Kanienkehaka standing up to the Canadian Army at Oka during the summer of 1990, it spoke to their own needs and desires and evoked that same pride and fighting spirit as Karoniaktajeh intended. In his words, it becomes a winning battle because it is based in what is right.

Enchanted Hut

Words by Louis Hall

Let go all sorrow, misery and woe
 Ye sad and dejected who enter here.
 Joyfully render a knockout blow
 To anxiety, awe, hang-ups and fear.
 Pow-wow with ol' Karoniaktajeh,
 Laugh and joke your woes away.
 Everyone, with abandon—dance!
 The struggle was always won
 By those who took the chance
 And at the same time had fun!
 Sing those rousing songs of yore,
 Beat the drums of ancient lore,
 Bring forth the old Indian anthem,
 To hell with civilization's tired beat
 Give us wild primordial rhythm
 To delight our eager dancing feet!

Karoniaktajeh was wise to see the need for such a symbol and took a chance. Who dares to make a flag? Nations make flags. The Flag speaks of him and of us as Onkwehonwe. It crosses those linguistic, cultural, and social boundaries and says 'we are here'. I wonder if Karoniaktajeh realized that by running this flag up a pole, he had also replaced an old white one that had been there for years. One that had been there so long we thought it was part of the clouds.

References

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Writing Against Culture." Recapturing Anthropology. Ed. Richard G. Fox. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press. Distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1991.
- Ahmed, Akbar S. and Cris N. Shore. "Is Anthropology Relevant to the Contemporary World?" Introduction. The Future of Anthropology. Eds. Akbar S. Ahmed and Cris Shore. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Incorporated, 1995.
- Alfred, Gerald R. Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities. 8th ed. London: Verso, 1998.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Bernard, H. Russell. Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994.
- "Bhaba, Homi. Mimicry; Hybridity; Third Space; Postcolonial Culture." March 24, 2003 <http://www.eng.fju.edu.tw/Literary_Criticism/postcolonialism/bhabha.htm>.
- Bhabha, Homi. The Location of Culture. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Blanchard, David. Seven Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka. Kahnawake: Center for Curriculum Development. Kahnawake Survival School, 1980.
- Basic Call to Consciousness. Ed. Akwesasne Notes. Rev. ed. Summertown, Tennessee: Book Publishing Company, 1995.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Structures, Habitus, Practices." P. Bourdieu, The Logic of Practice. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Bruner, Edward M. "Ethnography as Narrative." The Anthropology of Experience. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Cambell, Richard Dean. The People of The Land of Flint. Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1985.
- Cerulo, Karen A. Identity Designs: The Sights and Sounds of a Nation. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995.

Charter of the United Nations. 1945. Can. T.S. 1945 No 7, 26 June.

Churchill, Ward. Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians. Monroe, Me.: Common Courage Press, 1992.

Churchill, Ward. "The Crucible of American Indian Identity: Native tradition versus colonial imposition in Postconquest North America." American Indian Culture and Research Journal 23(1) 1999: 39-67.

Coates, Ken. The Marshall Decision and Native Rights. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

Colden, Cadwallader.

1902 "History of the Five Indian Nations, Which are Dependent on the Province of New York." (2 vols.; New York: New Amsterdam Book Co., 1902), I, xvii-xix. This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian. Ed. Virgil J. Vogel. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1972.

Cornelius, Carol. "The Thanksgiving Address: An Expression of Haudenosaunee Worldview." Akwe:kon Journal (Fall 1992): 14-25.

Daes, Erica-Irene. Preliminary Report of the Special Rapporteur: Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994.31. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Commission on Human Rights, UNESCO, 1994.

Dirlik, Arif. "The Past as Legacy and Project: Postcolonial criticism in the perspective of Indigenous historicism." American Indian Culture and Research Journal 20(2) 1996: 1-31.

Dirlik, Arif. "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism." Critical Inquiry (Winter 1994): 328-356.

Friedman, Jonathan. "The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity." American Anthropologist 94 (Dec 1992): 837-859.

Gabor, Bob. Costume of the Iroquois. 3rd ed. Ohsweken: Irocrafts, Ltd., 1993.

Geertz, Clifford. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Giddens, Anthony. "Notes On The Future of Anthropology." Epilogue. The Future of Anthropology. Eds. Akbar S. Ahmed and Cris Shore. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Incorporated, 1995.

Graves, Benjamin. "Homi K. Bhaba: The Liminal Negotiation of Cultural Difference" Political Discourse-Theories of Colonialism and Postcolonialism April 1, 2003
<<http://www.victorianweb.org/post/poldiscourse/bhabha/bhabha2.html>>.

Hall, Louis Karoniaktajeh. A Tale of One Mohawk: The Autobiography of Poet, Writer and Artist Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall. Ms. 1993.

Hall, Louis Karoniaktajeh. Rebuilding the Iroquois Confederacy. Kahnawake: Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch. Kanien'kehaka A'onakerahsera, 1998.

Hall, Louis Karoniaktajeh. Warrior's Handbook. Reprint. Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch Kanien'kehaka A'onakerahsera, 1997.

Harris, Heather. "Remembering 12,000 Years of History: Oral History, Indigenous Knowledge and Ways of Knowing in Northwestern North America." Diss. U of Alberta, 2003.

Heaney, Tom. "Issues in Freirean Pedagogy." Graduate Studies in Adult Education. National-Louis University, Chicago. 22 June, 2003
<www.nl.edu/ace/Resources/Documents/FreireIssues.htm>.

Jackson, Michael. "Phenomenology, Radical Empiricism, and Anthropological Critique." Things As They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology. Ed Michael Jackson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Jackson, Ted., Don McCaskill, Budd L. Hall. "Learning for Self-Determination: Community-Based Options for Native Training and Research" Canadian Journal of Native Studies 2(1) (1982): 1-9.

Mohawk Nation Office. Statement of the Haudenosaunee Concerning the Constitutional Framework and International Position of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Kahnawake: Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch. Kanien'kehaka A'onakerahsera, 1982.

Narayan, Kirin. "How Native Is a 'Native' Anthropologist?" American Anthropologist 95 (1993): 671-686.

Ohontsa Films. Gayanerekowa. The Great Law of Peace. As Brought to the Confederacy of the Iroquois By Deganawida The Peacemaker. Kahnawake: Ohontsa Films, 1993.

Sioui, Georges For An Amerindian Autohistory. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999.

Spicer, Edward H. "The Nations of a State." 1492-1992: American Indian Persistence and Resurgence. Ed. Karl Kroeber. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.

Stoller, Paul. Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power, and the Hauka in West Africa. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Tehanetorens. Wampum Belts. 3rd ed. Ohsweken: Irocrafts, Ltd., 1993.

Tsi Niionkwarihò:ten Cultural Center. Karihwatàtie Cultural Journal. 2nd ed. Kanehsata:ke: Tsi Niionkwarihò:ten Cultural Center, 2003.

Turner, Federick. Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against The Wilderness. New York: Viking Press, 1980.

Turner, Victor. "Passages, Margins, and Poverty: Religious Symbols of Communitas." High Points in Anthropology. Second Edition. Eds. Paul Bohannan and Mark Glazer. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988.

Turner, Victor W. The Ritual Process: structure and anti-structure. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969.

Tyler, Stephen A. "Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult to Occult Document." Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Writing Ethnography. Ed. James Clifford. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Wallace, Paul A. The White Roots of Peace. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946.

Weaver, Jace. "Indigenoussness and Indigeneity." A Companion to Postcolonial Studies. Eds. Henry Swartz and Sangeeta Ray. Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000.

York, Geoffrey and Loreen Pinder. People of the Pines: the Warriors and the legacy of Oka. Toronto: Little, Brown & Company (Canada) Ltd., 1991.

Appendix A

Ganienkeh Manifesto

The following is a copy of the first written material distributed by Ganienkeh to the public. The document concludes with a representation of a sign that was hung near the entrance to the Ganienkeh encampment.

Ganienkeh--"Land of the Flint"--ancient homeland of the Mohawk Nation, whose descendants, with traditional natives from other Indian nations, are now moving back to repossess their natural heritage. Other native nations throughout the world have regained their lands and governments. The North American traditionals are sure that the Government of the United States and its general public shall see the justice and the rights of the American Indian people to such a move.

Ganienkeh shall be the home of the traditional Red man. Here, according to the rights accorded every one else in the world, the Red man shall exercise his proven government and society according to his culture, customs, and traditions. According to the rights of the human, he has the right to operate his state with no interference from any foreign nation or government. Here the people shall live according to the rules of nature. Here the Great Law of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy shall prevail. The people shall live off the land. The co-op system of economy shall prevail. Instead of the people competing with each other, they shall help and co-operate with each other. Here, they shall relearn the superior morality of the ancients.

It is not a backward step. The way to a proper, moral government, a practical and worthy economic system and a proper, moral human relationship is true progress. What

is regarded as progress in this day and age is a road to destruction. Advanced technology abuses nature. The result has been the pollution of air, land, water and the human mind. A brief reflection reveals how abused nature repays in kind. The competitive society breeds frenzy, panic and tension. Under such strain, the human mind breaks down. The continued abuse of nature shall result in the complete mental, physical and social breakdown of the competitive society. The main objective of human intelligence should be the peace and happiness of mankind on earth, not the profits saturation of a few tycoons and the worship of advanced technology. The kind of progress has brought the world to the brink of destruction.

Let there be a ray of light somewhere. Instead of abuse of nature let there be an appreciation of nature. Ganienkeh calls all native American Indians who wish to live according to their culture, customs, and tradition. Traditional Indians who answer the call and participate in the project shall be asked to prepare to meet unusual situations. Indians lived a million years without money and technology. They lived off the land. (Today's existing co-operative communities refuse Family Allowance, Welfare relief, Old Age Pension and still live very comfortably.) Utilizing the co-op community system, the Indian State of Ganienkeh shall be a money-less state. The requirement is enough land to grow for all, enough grazing land for beef cattle or buffalo and enough timberland for building materials; and people who are ready to work towards success.

The Mohawk Land was lost in an earlier century by fraud and its possession by New York State and the State of Vermont constitute illegal usurpation. No deed signed by Joseph Brant and the New York State agent can extinguish the rights of the Mohawks to their own country. The native North Americans not only have the rights but are duty

bound to CORRECT THE WRONG COMMITTED BY JOSEPH BRANT AND THE NEW YORK STATE AGENTS AGAINST THE MOHAWK NATION. No individual Indian nor any individual Nation of the Six Nations Confederacy has the right to sell or give away land without the consent of the Grand Council of the Six Nations Confederacy. This was one of the findings of the N.Y. Senate investigating commission which ended in 1922.

Joseph Brant, who was not even a member of the Six Nations Confederacy, having before disqualified himself, did on March 29, 1797, with an alleged "power of attorney" make a deal with the New York State in which he gave away all the Mohawk land to the said New York State. Several months before in November of 1796, the same Joseph Brant with the same "power of attorney" gave away large tracts of land in Ontario to his British friends. It was called 999 year leases *at no cost*, that is, no revenue was to accrue. Brant loved the white people so much or was mesmerized by them, that he pauperized outright, his own people to please his white friends.

In a letter to the representatives of the United Nations at San Francisco, California, April 13, 1945, the Six Nations Confederacy stated strongly that Joseph Brant was never given the right to give away their lands. Even if they had given Brant the alleged "power of attorney" it still would be invalid as the deal would have to be consummated in the Grand Council of the Six Nations Confederacy. The fee simple is still vested in the Six Nations and the Mohawks have the aboriginal title to ancient Ganienkeh. No self respecting nation on earth would accept the dirty deal handed out by Joseph Brant and the New York State agents.

The Mohawk Nation, supported by traditional North American aboriginal natives from other native nations such as Ojibways, Crees, Algonquins and others, shall move into the Mohawk homeland of Ganienkeh. The combined nations shall establish the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh. The Great Law—Gayanerekowa—which has lately spread all over native North America, shall be the Constitution of the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh. The Mohawk Nation is not breaking away from the Iroquois Confederacy. It is repossessing its homeland with the help of other Red Indian traditionals and at the same time exercising its human rights accorded every one else in the world. Other native nations of Asia and Africa have regained lost lands and human rights. The United States restored Okinawa to Japan. We expect that the United States shall see their way to render the same justice to American Indians.

To any premise that the Mohawk project is an internal matter of any white people's government, certain steps are hereby taken along with pointing out that the Indian Nations have long had their own organized governments and society, greatly preceding the people who have taken by usurpation authority of this area of the world and these steps include declaring to the world, news of this move on the part of the traditional Indians of North America. There shall be communication to every nation on earth and to their embassies at the United Nations with a request of foreign relations with the countries contacted, even if only on paper. That the Indian State of Ganienkeh has this right as guaranteed by the United Nations as the same right that has been provided to new nations, who are actually old ones who have formerly been likewise defrauded of their land and governments.

The U.S. is a member of the United Nations and sworn to uphold its principles. The U.N. proclaimed its Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 1948 and it provides in Art. 15: (1) Every one has the right to a nationality. (2) No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

We too are human and should have the rights accorded every one else in the world; the right to our nationality, the right of our nation to exist, and the right to an area of land for our own territory and state where we can exercise our own proven government and society.

Notices shall also be sent to the President of the United States and to the Governors of the State of New York and Vermont. A request for foreign relations will be submitted to the U.S. Government. The procedure being followed to regain the ancient Mohawk homeland is consistent with human rights. Nature did not give certificates of possession to people she consigned to certain areas. Ours is the strongest naturally legal right known to man, aboriginal right.

Message to Congress, July 8, 1970

“The first Americans—the Indians—are the most deprived group in our nation. On virtually every scale of measurement—employment, income, education, health—the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom. This condition is the heritage of centuries of injustice...The American Indians have been oppressed and brutalized, deprived of their ancestral lands and denied the opportunity to control their own destiny”

--President Richard M. Nixon

Today's white man may say that the injustice was done two centuries ago and it has nothing to do with them. The present Mohawk action is today, 1974 and will the white man continue to keep justice from the Indians? The Mohawk project is the way to real self determination—"control over their own destiny". It is the way for the Red Indian race to regain lost pride, lost belief in humanity and to offset escapes from reality like alcohol, drugs and suicides that are destroying the Indian people.

From the PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

1450

(circa?)

Onondaga

I am Deganawidah and with the Five Nations' Confederate Rotiyaner I plant the Tree of the Great Peace...Roots have spread out from the Tree of Great Peace...and the name of these roots is the Great White Roots of Peace. If any man or any nation outside of the Five Nations shall show a desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace...they may trace the root of their source...and they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree...

1945

San Francisco

We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourges of war...and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights...and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for law can be maintained...do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

The noblest work of man is to find the formula for peace and happiness for every one on earth. To that end the most urgent needs of the nation of mankind are proper, moral governments, a practical economic system that eliminates poverty and advanced human relationship. Down through the ages, the world's wisest men have ever tried to find a formula of peace and happiness for suffering and deprived humanity. We've read of the efforts of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and many others. Wise as they were, they all failed in this, mankind's greatest work.

Searchers for the formula have consulted the Holy Scriptures for instructions on devising a proper, moral government, but the teachers of the Good Book only spoke of Kingdoms, which are total dictatorships and had no idea of the government of, for and by the people. As no one has the right to be king or queen, it showed no idea of truly proper human relationships. Not knowing how to eliminate poverty, the holy teachers advocated poverty. Ask starving Indians in Northern Ontario reserves of destitute areas in Indian if they are happy and at peace. They represent people in the last stages of poverty and live in absolute misery and wretchedness. The Holy Scriptures laid no claim to have a formula for peace and happiness on earth, only in the "after-life"—after you're dead. That's no good for people suffering the tortures of the damned in this life.

The East had its own famous wise men, among whom was Confucius. Wise as they were, they too could not find the key to peace and happiness, and proper moral government, a practical economic system and human relationship. It took the North American Deganawida to find the formula. He took from natural righteousness (Kariwiiio) and made a Code which he called Kaienerekowa—known as the Law of the Great Peace. The Wise Man of the Ages, armed only with his Great Law, conquered the

five most fierce nations imaginable in history; the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas and the Onondagas, united them in a Confederacy (Kanonsonnionwe in Mohawk), put them symbolically in one Long House and created peace and happiness that lasted until the white man came with his Dark Age. Kaienerekowa was the world's first national constitution and the first international law, the first code of human rights. The Iroquois Confederacy was the world's first people's republic with sovereignty for every one. All other countries were kingdoms and in a kingdom only the monarch has sovereignty. Everything and every one belonged to the king. The entire world may thank the Peacemaker Deganawida for whatever rights and freedoms its people enjoy, BUT not all the rights and freedoms in the Great Law were adopted. The copiers kept full justice from their people. They left loopholes through which they may continue subtly to oppress humanity...

There has been a continuous psychological warfare waged against the American Indians. It's every bit as deadly as the one with guns. The casualties are the drunks, drug addicts, suicides, renegades and traitors, all destroyed people. Indians are made to feel cheap and inferior. It results in identity conflict. Most Indians cannot find work in white man's mainstream and have to go on welfare relief and are called "welfare bums" to help them slide down in their self valuation.

The establishment of the Independent North American State of Ganienkeh offers a positive solution to the problems of the Indians. They can get away from the deleterious effects of welfare relief life. They can get away from the slums of the cities. They will live in fresh unpolluted air. They shall help build an Indian State. They shall regain lost pride. They shall do it themselves. No longer shall white man's government

say Indians are a burden on their country's economy via welfare relief. A well run co-operative community needs no financial help whatever. The white man will no longer be hurt where it hurts the most, in the pocket book. Wouldn't that alone be an inducive persuasion to the white man to let go the captive Indians? There may be some broken down, brain-washed Indians, who because of fear and inferiority complex shall be afraid to go to Ganienkeh—at first.

The vanguard of strong, resolute men, women, and children who shall establish the Indian State are traditionals. They know their rights and are exercising it. The establishment of the Indian State gives North American Indians an international personality and the right to establish foreign relations with other nations—all the rights mentioned above are guaranteed by the United Nations. Because of the nature of the movement, it is an international affair, not an internal matter.

The prospective members of the new Indian State shall be ready to use herbal preventative medicine, to keep sickness to a minimum (see Chief Smallboy's healthy camp). By following the above, the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh shall be free of white men. For the protection of their rights, culture, custom, and traditions of the Indian people who participate and join in the project, the following is proposed:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BY THE NATIONS WITHIN THE INDEPENDENT NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN STATE OF GANIENKEH

Pledge of Alliance

Assembled this day on repossessed Mohawk Land, representatives of various North American Indian Nations have come to agreements with the host Mohawk Nation in

matters attending the establishment of the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh on the said Mohawk Land and the assembled Indian Nations agreed on the following:

1. That the host Mohawk Nation was dispossessed of its land by unjust actions on the part of a foreign people and its repossession was a result of a joint effort of the abovementioned Indian Nations whose signatures appear below; therefore the said North American Indian Nations concerned shall share in equally the benefits, protection, privileges, resources, production and the government of the said Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh.
2. That the assembled North American Indian Nations do make, ordain, publish an ALLIANCE and take the Pledge on the Wampum that they shall forever defend and protect each nation in the Alliance and the Great Law of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, mankind's first and greatest national constitution.
3. That the assembled Indian Nations shall implement the Co-operative economic system to run the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh and that each member nation shall take a certain area to locate its co-operative communities and that every subject of the said Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh is a member of the co-op, with the right to an equal share of the production and to this end, every subject of the said Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh shall pledge to do his share of the work to so earn his share of the production.
4. That the assembled Indian Nations shall live off the land, grow food on every available acre, keep livestock and preserve the environment.

5. That each member Nation continue to exercise its own customs and traditional Indian spiritual ceremonies and each member Nations shall permit the other members to adopt any spiritual ceremony if they so desire.

To make sure that the project succeeds in al its phases, it has been proposed that all traditional Indians joining and participating in the project take the pledge of allegiance to the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh, while holding the string of sacred Pledge Wampum in hand and the following words to be used in taking the Pledge are herby suggested:

"I, _____do pledge on the Sacred Wampum that I shall support, defend and protect the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh. I accept that Great Law of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy as the Constitution of the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh and do pledge to obey its laws and to defend it to the best of my ability. I do pledge to work in the interest of all the people of the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh who are engaged in developing the Indian State into an example of proper, moral government and society. I accept the co-operative economic system as the most practical and worthy of the human state and do pledge to do my full share of the work to help in its success. I pledge to co-operate fully with others who are taking this Pledge of Allegiance to the end that the people of the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh may realize fully their human rights and know peace and happiness."

MOHAWK CAMP

This area is part of the land under the legal and aboriginal title of the Mohawk Nation. We Mohawks have returned to our homeland. With the help of other traditional Indians, we shall make a home for any and all Indians who wish to live according to their own customs, culture and traditions.

Native nations all over the world have regained their lands. The U.S. restored Okinawa to Japan. We assume that this rendering of justice shall be extended to American Indians and that this land shall be restored to the Mohawks.

This CAMP is out to prove that the traditional Indians can live off the land without electricity, money, welfare relief or aid of any kind. White people are asked to help by not interfering. All we need is to be let alone and live in our own way.

All nations began with a camp.

Canvass signs at road entrances of camp.

Sign ends with a plea to let the Red man run his own life.

Any help from other nations, in the form of letters to the U.S. Government, appealing to its justice and to render the same to American Indians or through pressure by way of the United Nations shall be greatly appreciated.

The facts in the above GANIENKEH MANIFESTO was compiled by Louis Hall.

Secretary—Caughnawaga Branch

Six Nations Confederacy

Appendix B

The Founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy

North of the beautiful lake now called Ontario, in the land of the Hurons, was a long winding way; and at a certain spot was the Huron town, Kakanaien. Nearby was the great hill, Thironatharataton. In the village lived a good woman who had a virgin daughter. Now strangely this virgin conceived and her mother knew that she was about to bear a child. The daughter about this time went into a long sleep and dreamed that her child should be a son whom she should name Tekanawita. The messenger in the dream told her that he should become a great man and that he should go among the Kanienkehaka to live and that he should also go to the Onondaga Nation and there raise up the Great Tree of Peace. After the usual time the virgin gave birth to a boy, but the grandmother greatly disliked him and she scolded her daughter.

"You refuse to tell me the father of the child," she said, "and now how do you know that great calamity will not befall us, and our nation? You must drown the child."

So then the mother took the child to the bay and chopped a hole in the ice where she customarily drew water and threw him in, but when night came the child was found at his mother's bosom. So then the mother took the child again and threw him in the bay but at night the child returned. Then the third time the grandmother herself took the child and drowned him, but in the morning the child nestled as before on its mother's own bosom.

So the grandmother marveled that the child, her grandson could not be drowned. Then she said to her daughter, "Mother, now nurse your child for he may become an important man. He cannot be drowned, we know, and you have borne him without

having marriage with any man. Now I have never heard of such an occurrence nor has the world known of it before."

Beginning with that time the mother took great care of her child and nursed him. She named him Tekanawita in accord with the instruction of her dream.

The child rapidly grew and was remarkably strong and healthy. His appearance was striking and his face was most handsome.

When Tekanawita had grown to manhood he was greatly abused by the Huron people because of his handsome face and his good mind. He was always honest and always told what he believed was right. Nevertheless he was a peculiar man and his people did not understand him.

Many things conspired to drive him away for the Hurons had no love for such a man. Their hearts were bitter against a man who loved not war better than all things.

After a journey by canoe across the lake,, he came into the hunting territory of the Kanienkehaka. He journeyed on to the lower fall of the river now called the Mohawk and made a camp a short way from the fall on the flat land above it. He sat beneath a tall tree and smoked his pipe in quiet meditation.

A man of the Kanienkehaka passed by and seeing the fire and the stranger, approached him cautiously to discover what weapon he had, if any. The Kanienkehaka saw that the stranger had no weapon. Returning to the town a short distance away the presence of the odd stranger was reported. Then the chiefs and their men went out and assembled about the man who smoked. One of the head men was delegated to question the stranger and so he asked, "From where came you?"

"I am from Kakanaien," the stranger replied.

"I am of the Hurons, whom you call the Crooked Tongues because our speech is slightly different," answered the stranger, "My mother is a virgin woman."

"Then," said the speaker, "by what name are you known?"

"I am Tekanawita, so named because my virgin mother dreamed that it should be so and no one else shall ever be named by this name."

"What brought you here to us?" asked the speaker.

So then Tekanawita answered, "The Great Creator from whom we all are descended sent me to establish the Great Peace among you. No longer shall you kill one another and nations shall cease warring upon each other. Such things are entirely evil and he, your Maker, forbids it. Peace and comfort are better than war and misery for a nation's welfare."

Then answered the speaker of the Kanienkehaka, "All that you say is surely true and we are not able to contradict it. We must have proof, however, before we submit ourselves to you whereby we may know that you indeed possess rightful power to establish the Great Peace."

So answered Tekanawita, "I am able to demonstrate my power for I am the messenger of the Creator and he truly has given me my choice of the manner of my death."

"Choose then," said the speaker, "a manner of destruction for we are ready to destroy you." Tekanawita replied, "By the side of the falls at the edge of a precipice stands a tall tree. I will climb the tree and seat myself in the topmost branches. Then shall you cut down the tree and I shall fall into the depths below. Will not that destroy me?"

Then said the speaker, "Let us proceed at once."

Tekanawita ascended the tree and it was chopped down.

A multitude of people saw him fall into the chasm and plunge into the water. So they were satisfied that he was surely drowned. Night came but Tekanawita did not appear and thus were the people sure of his death, and then were they satisfied.

The next morning the warriors saw strange smoke arising from the smoke hole of an empty cabin. They approached cautiously and peering in the side of the wall where the bark was loosened they saw Tekanawita. He was alive and was not a ghost and he was cooking his morning meal.

So the watchers reported their discovery and then were the chiefs and people truly convinced that indeed Tekanawita might establish the Great Peace.

The Troubled Nations

For man years the Onkwehonwe had fought continuous wars. So long had they fought that they became lustful for war and many times Entekhakakwa, the Sun, came out of the east to find them fighting. So successful were the Onkwehonwe in fighting that they said the Sun loved war and gave them power.

The nations of the Onkwehonwe sometimes fought other nations together and sometimes alone. Often they even fought amongst themselves. The Kanienkehaka and Senecas had no sympathy for each other and sometimes raided one another's settlements. The same feelings were felt by all nations of the Onkwehonwe.

Because of bitter jealousy and love of bloodshed, sometimes towns would send their young men against the young men of another town to practice them in fighting.

Even in his own town, a warrior's own neighbor might be his enemy and it was not safe to roam about at night when Soikhakakwa, our Grandmother, the Moon, was hidden.

Everywhere there was danger and everywhere mourning. Men and women showed signs of the misery they felt. Feuds with outer nations, feuds with brother nations, feuds of sister towns and feuds of families and of clans made every warrior a stealthy man who liked to kill.

Then in those days there was no Great Law. Our founder had not yet come to create peace and give united strength to the Onkwehonwe.

In those same days the Onondagas had no peace. A man's life was valued as nothing. For any slight offence a man or woman was killed by his enemy and in this manner feuds started between families and clans. At night no one dared leave their doorways lest they be struck down by an enemy's war club. Such was the condition when there was no Great Law.

South of the Onondaga town lived an evil-minded man. His lodge was by a swamp and his nest was made of bulrushes. His body was distorted by seven crooks and his long tangled locks were adorned by writhing live snakes. Moreover, this monster was a devourer of raw meat, even of human flesh. He was also a master of wizardry and by his magic he destroyed men but he could not be destroyed. Atotarho was the name of the evil man.

Notwithstanding the evil character of Atotarho, the people of Onondaga, the Nation of Many Hills, obeyed his commands though it cost many lives they satisfied his insane whims, so much did they fear him for his sorcery.

The time came, however, when the Onondaga people could endure him no longer. A council was called to devise a way to pacify him and to implore him to cease his evil ways. Haionwatha called the council for he had many times sought to clear the mind of Atotarho and straighten his crooked body. So then the council was held in the house of Haionwatha. It was decided that half the people should go by boat across the creek where it widens and that others should go by foot along the shore. Atotarho was not in his lodge by the swamp but in a new spot across the wide place in the creek.

The boats started and the people walked. From the bushes that overhung the shore a loud voice sounded. "Stand quickly and look behind you for a storm will overwhelm you."

In dismay the people arose in their canoes and turned about. As they did so the canoes overturned and the men were plunged into the water and many were drowned. A few escaped and then all survivors returned to the village. So had Atotarho frustrated th attempt to meet with him.

Attain the people prepared to pacify Atotarho. Three times they agreed to attempt the undertaking. So on the second occasion they went by canoe and by land, those who went by canoe followed the shore and those who went by land walked on the pebbles close to the waters edge.

Again the cunning Atotarho saw them and calling down Akweks (eagle) he shook him, and the people in a wild rush scrambled for the feathers, for the plumes of Akweks are most beautiful an men are proud when their heads are adorned with them. There was fighting and blows were struck. Evil feelings arose and in anger the people returned to the village. The mission of conciliation was forgotten.

The next day Haionwatha called the people for the third time to deal with Atotarho. A council was held in the lodge of a certain great dreamer. This man said, "I have dreamed that another shall prevail. He shall come from the north and pass to the east. Haionwatha shall meet him there in Ganienkeh and the two together shall prevail. Haionwatha must not remain with us but must go from us to the Kanienkehaka."

There was discussion among the people behind Haionwatha's back and the dreamer's council prevailed. The people decided to employ Osinoh, a famous shaman.

Haionwatha had seven daughters whom he loved and in whom he took great pride. While they lived the conspirators knew he would not depart. With the daughters dead they knew the crushing sorrow would sever every tie that bound him to Onondaga. Then he would be free to leave and try to forget his own sorrow.

Haionwatha could not call the people together for they refused further to listen to his voice. The dreamer's council had prevailed.

At night Osinoh climbed a tree overlooking his lodge and sat on a large limb. Filling his mouth with clay he imitated the sound of a screech owl. Calling the name of the youngest daughter he sang:

Unless you marry Osinoh, you will surely die, whoo-hoo!

Then he came down and went to his own home.

In three days the maiden strangely died. Haionwatha was heartbroken and sat sitting with his head bowed in his hands. He mourned, but no one came to comfort him.

In like manner five other daughters passed away and the grief of Haionwatha was extreme.

Clansmen of the daughters then went to the lodge of Haionwatha to watch, for they knew nothing of Osinoh's sorcery. They gathered close against the large trees and in the shadows of bushes. The clansmen suspected some evil treachery and were there to discover it.

There was no moon in the sky when Osinoh came. Cautiously he came from habit but he was not afraid. He drove his staff in the ground, he breathed looiud like a magic totmen animal snorting and then he climbed the tree. He spat the clay about th tree to imitate the screech owl and as he did he said, "Si-twi, si-twit, si-twit." Then he sang "Unless you marry Osinoh, you shall surely die, whoo-hoo!"

The morning came and Osinoh descended. As he touched the ground a clansman shot an arrow and pierced him. Straight to the ground fell Osinoh and the clansman rushed at him with a club.

Osinoh looked up. "You are unable to club me," he said. "Your arm has no power at all. It weakens. Today I shall recover from this wound. It is of no purpose to injure me."

It was true indeed. The clansman could not lift the club to kill Osinoh. Then Osinoh arose and went home and in three days the daughter died. So perished all by the evil magic arts of Osinoh.

The grief of Haionwatha was terrible. He threw himself about as if tortured and yielding to the pain. No one came near him so awful was his sorrow. Nothing would console him and his mind was shadowed with the thought of his heavy sorrow.

"I shall cast myself away, I shall bury myself in the forest, I shall become a

woodland wanderer," he said. Thus he expressed his desire to depart. Then it was known that he would go to another nation.

Haionwatha "split the heavens" when he departed and his skies were torn in two. Toward the south he went and at night he camped on the mountain. This was the first day of his journey. On the second day he descended and camped at the base of the hill. On the third day he journeyed onward and when evening came he camped in a hickory grove. This he named Oneanokhareskeh. In the morning he came to a place where round jointed rushes grew. He paused as he saw them and made three strings of them and when he had built a fire he said, "This 2would I do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would console them for they would be covered with night and wrapped in darkness. This I would lift with word of condolence and these strands of beads would become words with which I would address them.

So at this place he stayed that night and he called the spot Ohontokonwa, meaning Rush-land.

When daylight came he wandered on again altering the course of his journey turned to the east. At night he came to a group of small lakes and upon one he saw a flock of ducks. So many were there and so closely together did they swim that they seemed like a raft.

"If I am to be truly Roianer (noble)," he said aloud to himself, "I shall here discover my power." So then he spoke aloud and said: "Oh you who are like a raft! Lift up the water and permit me to pass over the dry bottom of the lake!"

In a compact body the ducks flew upward suddenly and swiftly, lifting the water with them. Thus did he walk down the shore and upon the bottom of the lake. There he

noticed laying in layers the empty shells of the water snail, some shells of white, and others purple. Stooping down he filled a pouch of deer skin with them, and then passed on to the other shore. Then did the ducks descend and replace the water.

It was here that Haionwatha desired for the first time to eat. He then killed three ducks and roasted them. This was the evening of the fifth day.

In the morning he ate the cold meat of the roasted ducks and resumed his journey. This was the sixth day and on that day he hunted for small game and slept.

On the morning of the seventh day he ate again and turned his way to the south. Late in the evening he came to a clearing and found a bark field hut. There he found a shelter and there he erected two poles, placed another across the tops and suspended three shell strings. Looking at them he said, "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do not do what they say. If I should see anyone in deep grief I would remove these shell strings from the pole and console them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover what I say I would surely do." This he repeated.

A little girl discovered smoke arising from the field lodge and she crept up and listened. She advanced and peered through a crack in the bark. Then she ran homewards and told her father of the strange man.

"The stranger must be Haionwatha," said the father, "I have heard that he has departed from Onondaga. Return, my daughter, and invite him to our house."

The girl-child obeyed and Haionwatha went to her house. "We are about to hold a council," the father said. "Sit in that place on one side of the fire and I will acquaint

you with our discussion." Before darkness every evening the council dissolved and at no time was Haionwatha called upon for advice nor was anything officially reported to him.

On the tenth day of his Journey during the debate in the council Haionwatha quietly left and resumed his wandering. Nothing had been asked of him and he felt himself not needed by the people. Late in the evening he came to the edge of another settlement and as was his custom he kindled a fire and erected a horizontal pole on two upright poles. On this he placed three strings of the wampum shells. Then he sat down and repeated his saying: "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do not do what they promise. If I should see any one in deep grief I would remove these shells from this pole and console him. The shells would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover, I truly would do as I say." This he repeated.

The chief man of the village saw the smoke at the edge of the forest and sent a messenger to discover who the stranger might be. Now when the messenger reached the spot he saw a man seated before a fire and a horizontal pole from which three strings of small shells were suspended. He also heard the words spoken as the stranger looked at the strings. So then when he had seen all he returned and reported what he had seen and heard.

Then said the chief man, "The person whom you described must truly be Haionwatha whom we have heard left his home at Onondaga. It is he who shall meet the great man foretold by the dreamer. We have heard that this man should work with the man who talks of the establishment of peace."

So then the chiefs sent a messenger to say, "Our principal chief sent me to greet you. Now then I wish you would come into our village with me."

Haionwatha heard the messenger and gathered up his goods and went into the village and then he had entered the chief's house the chief said, "Seat yourself on the opposite side of the fire so that you may have an understanding of all that we do here in this place."

Then Haionwatha sat there for seven days and the chiefs and people talked without arriving at any decision. No report was made officially to him. So he did not hear what they talked about.

On the eighteenth night a runner came from the south. He was from the nation residing on the seashore. He told the chiefs of the eminent man who had now come to the town on the Mohawk River at the lower falls. Then the messenger said, "We have heard of the dream from Onondaga which told of the great man who came from the north. Now another great man who shall now go forward in haste to meet him shall change his course and go eastward to meet in the village of the Kanienkehaka, the great man. There shall the two meet in council together and establish the Great Peace." So said the messenger from the salt water seashore, who came to tell Haionwatha to journey east.

So the chiefs of the town where Haionwatha was staying chose five men as an escort for him. They must go with Haionwatha until he reached the house where Tekanawita was present. So then on the next day the chief himself went with the party and watched carefully the health of Haionwatha. The journey lasted five days, on the fifth day the party stopped on the outskirts of town where Tekanawita was staying and then they built a fire. This was the custom, to make a smoke so that the town might know

that visitors were approaching and send word that they might enter without danger to their lives. The smoke was the signal of friends approaching. The Kanienkehaka knew the meaning of the signal so they sent messengers and invited the party into the village.

When Haionwatha had entered the house where the people had gathered the chief asked him whom he would like to see most. Then Haionwatha answered, "I came to see a very great man who lately came from the north." The chief said, "I have with me two men who shall escort you to the house where Tekanawita is present." Then the people went out and the two men escorted Haionwatha to Tekanawita. This was on the twenty-third day. Then Tekanawita arose when Haionwatha had entered and he said: "My younger brother I perceive that you have suffered from some deep grief. You are a chief among your people and yet you are wandering about."

Haionwatha answered, "That person skilled in sorcery, Osinoh, has destroyed my family of seven daughters. It was truly a great calamity and I am now very miserable. My sorrow and my rage have been bitter. I can only rove about since now I have cast myself away from my people. I am only a wanderer. I split the heavens when I went away from my house and my nation."

Tekanawita replied, "Dwell here with me. I will present your sorrow to the people here dwelling."

So, Haionwatha had found someone who considered his distress and he did stay. Then Tekanawita told of his suffering and the people listened.

The five escorts were then dismissed and Haionwatha gave thanks to them and told them to return to their own region again. Then the escorts said, "Now toady it has

happened as was foretold in the dream. The two are now together. Let them now arrange the Great Peace.” Then they returned home.

When Tekanawita laid the trouble before the council he promised to let Haionwatha know their decision. The chiefs deliberated over the sad events and then decided to do as Tekanawita should say. This then should remedy the trouble. Then Tekanawita went to his lodge and as he came to it he heard Haionwatha say, “It is useless, for the people only boast what they will do, saying ‘I would do this’, but they do nothing at all. If what has befallen me should happen to them I would take down the three shell strings from the upright pole and I would address them and I would console them because they would be covered by heavy darkness.” Tekanawita stood outside the door and heard all these words. So then Tekanawita went forward into the house and went up to the pole. Then he said, “My younger brother, it has now become very plain to my eyes that your sorrow must be removed. Your grief and your rage have been great. I shall now undertake to remove your sorrow so that your mind may be rested. Have you no more shell strings on your pole?”

Haionwatha replied, “I have no more strings but I have many shells in a tanned deer’s skin.” So he opened his bundle and a great quantity of shells fell out. So then Tekanawita said, “My younger brother, I shall string eight more strands because there must be eight parts to my address to you.” So then Haionwatha permitted the stringing of the shells and Tekanawita made the strings so that in all there were thirteen¹⁵⁰ strings and bound them in four bunches. These must be used to console the one who has lost by

¹⁵⁰ According to Tewenhni’tó:ken, a Kanienkehaka faithkeeper, there are in actuality 15 strings of wampum – 14 strings of sympathy (7 for those in mourning and 7 for those who are supporting those in mourning. The seven represent the eyes, ears, throat, mind, stomach, spirit, and heart or emotion). and 1 black wampum for dignitaries such as a chief, faithkeeper or clanmother.

death a near relative. "My younger brother, the thirteen strings are now ready on this horizontal pole. I shall use them. I shall address you. This is all that is necessary in your case."

So then he took one bunch off the pole and held it in his hand while he talked. While he talked one after another he took them down and gave one to Haionwatha after each part of his address.

The words that he spoke when he addressed Haionwatha were eight of the thirteen condolences.

When the eight ceremonial addresses had been made by Tekanawita the mind of Haionwatha was made clear. He was then satisfied and once more saw things rightly.

Tekanawita then said, "My younger brother, these thirteen strings of shell are now completed. In the future they shall be used in this way. They shall be held in the hand to remind the speaker of each part of his address, and as each part is finished a string shall be given to the bereaved chief (Roianer) on the other side of the fire. Then shall the Roianer hand them back one by one as she addresses a reply; it then can be said, 'I have now become even with you.'"

Tekanawita then said, "My junior brother, your mind being cleared and you being competent to judge, we now shall make our laws and when all are made we shall call the organization we have formed the Great Peace. It shall be the power to abolish war and robbery between brothers and bring peace and quietness."

"As emblems of our Roianer titles we shall wear deer antlers and place them on the heads of Roianer men."

Haionwatha then said, "What you have said is good, I do agree."

Tekanawita said, "My younger brother, since you have agreed I now propose that we compose our Peace song. We shall use it on our journey to pacify Atotarho. When he hears it his mind shall be made straight. His mind shall be like that of other men. This will be true if the singer remembers and makes no error in his singing from the beginning to the end, as he walks before Atotarho.

Haionwatha said, "I do agree, I truly believe the truth of what you say."

Then Tekanawita said, "My younger brother, we shall now propose to the council of the Kanienkehaka the plan we have made. We shall tell our plan for a confederation and the building of a house of peace. It will be necessary for us to know its opinion and have its consent to proceed."

The plan was talked about in the council and Tekanawita spoke of establishing a union of all the nations. He told them that all the chiefs must be virtuous men and be very patient. These should wear deer horns as emblems of their position, because as he told them their strength came from the meat of the deer. Then Haionwatha confirmed all that Tekanawita had said.

Then the speaker of the council said, "You two, Tekanawita and Haionwatha, shall send messengers to the Oneida and they shall ask Otatsheteh if he will consider the plan."

When Otatsheteh had been asked he replied, "I will consider the plan and answer you."

When a year had passed, there came the answer of the Oneida council, "We will join the Confederacy."

So then the Kanienkehaka sent two messengers to Onondaga asking that the nation consider the proposals of Tekanawita. It was a midsummer day when the messenger went forth and the Onondaga council answered, "Return next year at high sun." So the two great men returned home and waited until the next midsummer. Then the midday came and the Onondaga council sent messengers who said, "We have decided that it would be a good plan to build the fire and set about it with you." Tekanawita and Haionwatha heard this answer.

So then at the same time Tekanawita and Haionwatha sent messengers to the Cayuga nation and the answer was sent back. The Cayugas said they would send word of their decision. When a year had passed the Cayugas sent their answer and they said, "We do agree with Tekanawita and Haionwatha."

Now the Senecas were divided and were not agreed because there had been trouble between their war chiefs. Messengers were sent to them but the Senecas could not agree to listen and requested the messengers to return the next year. So when the messengers returned the councils did listen and considered the proposals. After a year had passed they sent messengers to say that they had agreed to enter into the Confederacy.

Then Tekanawita said, "I now will report to the Mohawk council the result of my work of five years." Haionwatha then said, "I do agree to the report."

The Establishment of the Great Peace

Tekanawita requested some of the Mohawk chiefs to call a council, so messengers were sent out among the people and the council was convened.

Tekanawita said, "I, with my co-worker, have a desire to now report what we have done on five successive midsummer days, of five successive years. We have obtained the consent of five nations. these are the Kanienkehaka, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. Our desire is to form a compact for a union of our nations. Our next step is to seek out Atotarho. It is he who has always set at naught all the plans for the establishment of the Great Peace. We must seek his fire and look for his smoke."

The chief speaker of the council then said, "We do agree and confirm all you have said and we wish to appoint two spies who shall volunteer to seek out the smoke of Atotarho."

Two men then eagerly volunteered and Tekanawita asked them if they were able to transform themselves into birds or animals, for such must be the ability of the messengers who approached Atotarho. The two men replied, "We are able to transform ourselves into herons and cranes."

"Then you will not do for you will pause at the first creek or swamp and look for frogs and fish."

To men then said, "We have magic that will transform us into humming birds. They fly very swiftly."

"Then you will not do because you are always hungry and are looking for flowers."

Two other men then said, "We can become the Dare, the white crane."

"Then you will not do because you are very wild and easily frightened. You would be afraid when the clouds move. You would become hungry and fly to the ground looking about for ground nuts."

Two men who were crows by magic volunteered but they full of mischief.

So then in the end two men who were powerful by the magic of the deer and the bear stepped before the council and were chosen. The speaker for the council then reported to Tekanawita that the spies were ready to go. Then they went.

No Tekanawita addressed the council and said, "I am Tekanawita and with me is my younger brother. We two now lay before you the laws by which to frame the Kaienerekowa. The emblems of the chief rulers shall be the antlers of deer. The titles shall be vested in certain women and the names shall be held in their maternal families forever." All the laws were then recited and Haionwatha confirmed them.

Tekanawita then sang the song to be used when conferring titles. So in this way all the work and the plans were reported to the Mohawk council and Haionwatha confirmed it all. Therefore the council adopted the plan.

When the spies returned the speaker of the council said, "Skhanonton, our ears are erected." So the spies spoke and they said, "At great danger to ourselves we have seen Atotarho. We have returned and tell you that the body of Atotarho has seven parts, his hair is infested with snakes and he is a cannibal."

The council heard the message and decided to go to Onondaga at midsummer.

Then Tekanawita taught the people the Hymn of Peace and the other songs. He stood before the door of the longhouse and walked before it singing the new songs.

Many came and learned them so that many were strong by the magic of them when it was time to carry the Great Peace to Onondaga.

When the time had come, Tekanawita summoned the chiefs and the people together and chose one man to sing the songs before Atotarho. Soon then this singer led the company through the forest and preceded all, singing the Peace songs as he walked. Many old villages and camping places were passed as they went. Now the party passed through these places:

Old Clearing
 Overgrown with Bushes
 A Temporary Place
 Protruding Rocks
 Between Two Places
 Parties Opposite at the Council Fire
 In the Valley
 Drooping Wing
 On the Hillside
 Man Standing
 I Have Covered It
 Lake Bridge
 Between Two Side Hills
 Lake Outlet
 At the Forks
 Long Hill
 Broken Branches Lying
 The Spring
 White
 Corn Stalks on Both Sides
 Two Hillsides
 The Old Beast
 All these places were in Ganienkeh.

Now they entered the Oneida country and the great chief Otatsheteh with his chiefs met them. Then all of them marched onward to Onondaga, the singer of the Peace Hymn going on ahead.

The frontier of the Onondaga country was reached and the expedition halted to kindle a fire, as was customary. Then the chiefs of the Onondagas with their headman welcomed them and a great throng marched to the fireside of Atotarho, the singer of the Peace Hymn leading the multitude.

The lodge of Atotarho was reached and a new singer was appointed to sing the Peace Hymn. So he walked before the door of the house singing to cure the mind of Atotarho. He knew that if he made a single error or hesitated his power would be weakened and the crooked body of Atotarho remain misshapen. Then he hesitated and made an error. So another singer was appointed and he too made an error by hesitating.

Then Tekanawita himself sang and walked before the door of Atotarho's house. When he finished his song he walked toward Atotarho and held out his hand to rub it on his body to give to Atotarho its inherent strength and life. Then Atotarho was made straight and his mind became healthy.

When Atotarho was made strong in rightful powers and his body had been healed, Tekanawita addressed the three nation. He said, "We have now overcome a great obstacle. It has long stood in the way of peace. The mind of Atotarho is now made right and his crooked parts are made straight. Now indeed may we establish the Great Peace.

"Before we do firmly establish our union each nation must appoint a certain number of its wisest and purest men who shall be rulers, Rotiianer. They shall be the advisors of the people and make the new rules that may be needful. These men shall be selected and confirmed by their female relations in whose lines the titles shall be hereditary. When these are named they shall be crowned, emblematically, with deer antlers."

So then the women of the Kanienkehaka brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rotiianer and one man, Aienwaers, as war chief.

So then the women of the Oneidas brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rotiianer, and one man, Kahonwatiron, who should be war chief.

So then the Onondaga women brought forward fourteen chiefs who should become Rotiianer, and one man, Aienwaers, as war chief.

Each chief then delivered to Tekanawita a strong of lake shell wampum a span in length as a pledge of truth.

Tekanawita then said: "Now, today in the presence of this great multitude I disrobe you and are not now covered by all your old names. I now give you names much greater." Then calling each chief to him he said, "I now place antlers on your head as an emblem of your power. Your old garments are torn off and better robes are given you. now you are Roianer, each of you. You will receive many scratches and the thickness of your skins shall be seven spans. You must be patient and henceforth work in unity. Never consider your own interests but work to the benefit of the people and for the generations not yet born. You have pledged to govern yourselves by the laws of the Great Peace. All your authority shall come from it.

"I do now order that Skanawate shall in one-half of his being be a Roianer of the Great Peace, and in his other half a war chief, for the Rotiianer must have an ear to hear and a hand to feel the coming of wars."

Then did Tekanawita repeat all the rules which he with Haionwatha had devised for the establishment of the Great Peace.

Then in the councils of all the Five Nations he repeated them and the Confederacy was established.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Parker, Arthur. Parker on the Iroquois (William Fenton, Editor), Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1971, pp. 14-29, in Blanchard 1980, pp. 55-81.

Appendix C

Treaty of 1760, Peace and Friendship

Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded with the Delegates of the St. Johns and Passamaquoddy tribes of Indians at Halifax, February 1760.

Whereas Articles of Submission and Agreement were made and concluded at Boston in New England in the Year of our Lord 1725 by Sauguaaram alias Loron Arexus Francois Xavier and Meganumbe, Delegates from the tribes of Penobscott Naridgwalk, St. Johns and other tribes inhabiting His Majesty's Territories of Nova Scotia and New England, in manner and form following Vizin.

Articles of Submission and Agreement at Boston in New England by Sauguaaram als Loron Arexus Francois Xavier and Meganumbe Delegates from the tribes of Penobscott Naridgwalk St. Johns Cape Sable and other tribes of the Indians inhabiting within His Majesty's Territories of Nova Scotia and New England.

Whereas His Majesty King George by the Concession of the most Christian King made at the treaty of Utrecht is become the Rightfull possessor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie according to its ancient Boundaries We the said Sauguaaram als Loron Arexus Francois Xavier and Megamumbe Delegates from the said tribes of Penobscott Naridgwalk St. Johns, Cape Sables and other tribes inhabiting within his Majesty's said Territories of Nova Scotia or Accadie and New England So in the Name and behalf of the said tribes we represent acknowledge his Said Majesty King Georges Jurisdiction and Dominion over the Territories of said Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie and make our

Submission to his Said Majesty in as ample a manner as We have formerly done to the Most Christian King.

And we further promise in behalf of the said tribes we represent that the Indians shall not molest any of His Majesty's Subjects or their Dependants in their Settlements already or lawfully to be made or in their carrying on their trade and other affairs within said Province.

That if there happens any Robbery, or outrage Committed by any of the Indians the tribe or tribes they belong to shall cause Satisfaction and Restitution to be made to the Parties injured.

That the Indians shall not help to convey away any Soldiers belonging to His Majesty's Forts, but on the contrary shall bring back any soldier they find endeavoring to run away.

That, In case of any misunderstanding Quarrel or Injury between the English and the Indians no private Revenge shall be taken but application shall be made for Redress, according to his Majesty's laws.

That is the Indians have made any Prisoners belonging to the Government of Nova Scotia or Accadie during the course of the War they shall be released at or before the Ratification of the treaty.

That this treaty shall be Ratified at Annapolis Royal.

Dated at the Council Chamber at Boston in New England this fifteenth day of December An Dom, one thousand Seven hundred and twenty five Annog R.R. Georgy Mag Britan and Duodecimo.

Which Articles of Submission and Agreement were renewed and confirmed at Halifax in Nova Scotia in the Year of Our Lord 1749 by Joannes Pedousaghugh Chief of the tribe of Chignecto Indians and Francois Aroudourvish, Simon Sactarvino and Jean Baptiste Maddouanhook, Deputies from the Chiefs of the St. Johns Indians in manner and form following Vozn.

I Johannes Pedousaghugh Chief of the tribe of Chignecto Indians for myself and in behalf of my tribe my Heirs and their heirs for ever and We Francois Aroudorvish, Simon Sactarvino and Jean Baptiste Maddouanhook Deputies from the Chiefs of the St. Johns Indians and Invested by them with full powers for that purpose Do in the most solemn manner renew the above Articles of Agreement and Submission and every Article thereof with His Excellency Edward Cornwallis Esq Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majestys Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie Vice admiral of the Same Colonel in His Majestys Service and one of his bed Chamber In Witness whereof I the said Johannes Pedousaghugh have Subscribed this treaty and affixed by Seal and We the said Francois Aroudorvisah Simon Sactarvino and Jean Baptiste Maddouanhook in behalf of the Chiefs of the Indian tribes we Represent have Subscribed and affixed our Seals to the Same and engage that the said Chiefs shall Ratify this treaty at St. Johns. Done in Chibucto Harbour the fifteenth of August One Thousand Seven hundred and forty nine.

In Presence of P. Hopson, Mascarence, Robt ellison, Iam T. mercer, Chas
Lawrence, Edn How, Edm. Gorham, Benj. Green, John Salusbury, Hugh Davidson,
William Steele (Members of the Council for Nova Scotia)

Johannes Pedousagh sigh

Francois Aroudorvish

Simon Sactarvino

Jean Bap.t Maddouanhook

And the same was according Ratified at St. Johns in manner and form following Vizin.

The Articles of Peace on the other Side Concluded at Chibucto to the fifteenth of
August One Thousand Seven hundred and forty nine with His Excellency Edward
Cornwallis Esq.r Cap.t Gen. Gov.r & Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province of
Nova Scotia or Accadie and Signed by our Deputies having been communicated to Us by
Edward How esq.r One of His Majestys Council for Said province, and faithfully
Interpreted to Us by Madam DeBelliste Inhabitant of this River nominated by Us for that
purpose We the Chiefs and Captains of the River St. John and places adjacent do for
ourselves and our different tribes Confirm and Ratify the same to all Intents and
purposes.

Given under our Hands at the River St. Johns the fourth day of September One
Thousand Seven hundred and forty nine n presence of the under written Witnesses

Michell	Narragonis chief
Nicola	Neguin Capt

Francois	De Xavier Archibano Marqillie
Pierre	Alexander Margillie
Augustin	Meyacvet, Maitre Chief de Riv St. Jean
Francois	Mayanyarvet, Maitre Lerure D.
Rene	Neguin
Neptune	Pierre Paul Chief of Pasmeguody
Luafin	Papanlouet
Francois	Germain Capt
Pierre	Bennoit Capt
Francois	Drino Capt
Rene	File D'ambroise Capt

Ed.d Hon. One of His Majesty's Council

Nath Dennal

John Beare

Joseph Winniett

John Wonn

Rob McKoun

Matt Winniett

John Phillipps

And Whereas the said Articles of Submission and Agreement, so made and concluded, renewed, confirmed and ratified have notwithstanding been since violated contrary to the good Faith therein engaged for the constant and strict Observation and performance thereof and to the Allegiance due from the said tribes to His Majesty Our Sovereign Lord King George We Mitchel Neptune Chief of the tribe of Indians of Passamaquody, and Ballomy Glode Captain in the tribe of Indians of St. John's River Delegates from the said tribes and by them fully authorised and empowered to make and conclude with His Excellency Chas Lawrence Esq.r His Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia or Accadie in behalf of His Majestys

Government of the Said Province a treaty for the renewal and future firm Establishment of Peace and Amity between the said tribes of Passamaquody and St. Johns River Indians and his Majesty's other subjects and to renew the Acknowledgment of the Allegiance of the said tribes and their engagements to a perfect and constant Submission and Obedience to His Majesty King George the Second his Heirs and Successors Do accordingly in the name and behalf of the said tribes of Passamaquody and St. Johns herby renew and Confirm the aforesaid Articles of Submission and Agreement, and every part thereof and do solemnly promise and engage that the same shall for ever hereafter be strictly observed and performed.

And We the said Mitchel Neptune and Ballomy Glode, for ourselves and in the name and behalf of the said tribes of Passamaquody and St. Johns Indians Do respectively further promise and engage that no person or persons belonging to the said tribes shall at any time hereafter aid or Assist any of the Enemies of His most Sacred Majesty King George the Second or of his Heirs and Successors nor shall hold any Correspondence or Commerce with any such His Majestys Enemies in any way or manner whatsoever and that, for the more effectually preventing any such Correspondence and Commerce with any of His Majestys Enemies the said tribes shall at all times hereafter traffic and barter and exchange Commodities with the Managers of such truckhouses as shall be established for that purpose by his Majesty's Governors of this Province at Fort Frederick or elsewhere within the Said Province and at no other place without permission from His Majestys Government of the said Province. And We do in like manner further promise and engage that for the more effectually securing and due performance of this treaty and every part thereof a certain Number, which shall not

be less than Three from each of the aforesaid tribes, shall from and after the Ratification hereof constantly reside in Fort Frederick at St. Johns or at such other place or places within the Province as shall be appointed for that purpose by His Majestys Governors of the said Province as Hostages, which Hostages shall be exchanged for a like Number of others of the said tribes when requested.

And We do further promise and engage that this treaty and every part thereof shall be ratified by the Chiefs and Captains and other principal persons of the said tribes for themselves and in behalf of their tribes at Fort Frederick aforesaid on or before the 20th of May next.

In Faith and Testimony whereof We have Signed these Presents and caused the Seal of the Province to be hereunto affixed, And the said Michel Neptune and Ballomy Glode have hereunto put their Marks and Seals in the Council Chamber at Halifax in Nova Scotia the Twenty third Day of February in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and sixty and in the Thirty third Year of His Majesty's Reign.

A true Copy.

By His Excell.ys Comm

Rich.d Bulkeley, Sec.y¹⁵²

¹⁵² <http://www.mikmaq.com/law/1760-a.html> (July 14, 2003)

Appendix D

Kanienkehaka Creation Story

In the beginning, Onkweshona, or man-like beings lived in the regions above. They knew not what it was to weep or to cry, sorrow and death were thus unknown to them. And the lodges of the man beings were long, each one belonging to a large family of one clan. In one of these lodges there was a woman who had been born with strong power. People such as this were called down-fended, because they slept on beds of soft down. They were always kept separated from the other people of the lodge, and were cared for in their childhood by an older aunt or uncle.

One day, when the people were out from the lodge, a young man entered and went up to this down-fended woman. She reached out and touched the man, and he died. The woman later became pregnant. She gave birth to a daughter called Aientsik meaning Fertile Earth. Aientsik was a beautiful girl. She grew up in the lodge of her mother, and became a healthy young woman. One day, however, she became ill. Sickness was not known to the man beings, and they did not know what to do.

Aientsik went out one night, and sought the spirit of her father, who told her to do the following: *"You must travel, my daughter, to the village of Tharonhiawakon, or, He Who Holds Up The Sky. In his village that is lit by the Tree of the Standing Light, you will become his bride. On your way to the village of the Tree of the Standing Light, you must be careful not to touch any man or animal that comes along. When you come to the stream between our village and that of Tharonhiawakon, you will find a maple log Cross the stream on this log, and accept help from none."*

Aientsik left the village of her people and traveled to the east. When she arrived at the stream she found the log, but before she could push the log out into the water, Kahahserine appeared. Kahahserine is the White Dragon of the Fire Body; he sometimes appears in the sky as a falling star or meteor. Kahahserine asked Aientsik if she would like some help. She became frightened and ran back to the village of her people. Just as she left the stream, however, Kahahserine reached out and barely touched her on the shoulder.

When Aientsik arrived back in her village she sought the spirit of her father. He asked if Kahahserine had touched her, and she replied no. He then advised his daughter to return to the stream and to make way for the village of the tree of the Standing Light. Aientsik arrived at the stream's shoreline again, and finding the maple log where she had left it, crossed over to the other side.

When Aientsik arrived at the village of the Tree of Standing Light, she sought out Tharonhiawakon, the chief of the upper world.

She said, *"I have come to be your bride."*

He said, *"Good, make me some supper"*.

When night time came, Aientsik slept on one side of the lodge, and her new husband slept on the other. They did not really know each other that well, and they did not think that it was such a good idea to start having children right away. Even so, Aientsik became pregnant.

This disturbed the mind of Tharonhiawakon and he had a dream. Tharonhiawakon brought the people of his village together to try to guess the meaning of his dream. None of the people could correctly guess the dream of the Sky Holder.

Finally the White Dragon of the Fire Body stepped forward and said, *"Tharonhiawakon, surely your dream means this, that your new wife is pregnant, and you are upset. Therefore, you will take the Tree of the Standing Light by the trunk, you will up root this tree and place your wife by the abyss. Once done, you will push her through the hole, and cause her to leave the upper world forever".*

When Kahahserine had finished speaking, the chief of the upper world said, *"Yes, what you have said is true, and by correctly guessing the meaning of my dream, it is as if you have made it come true".*

Tharonhiawakon then uplifted the Tree of the Standing Light, he placed his pregnant wife at the edge of the hole, and he pushed her through into the space below. Aientsik fell. Below her, all of the universe was water. The animals of the water saw her falling, but because the sky was blue, as well as the water, they did not know if she was falling from the sky, or coming up from the bottom of the lake. All of the water animals had an argument about this. The otter said that she was coming up from the bottom of the lake. The beaver agreed, as did the muskrat. The geese and the ducks, however, said that she was falling from the sky. They flew up, and breaking the fall of Aientsik, let her rest upon their backs, and brought her gently down to the surface of the water.

In the meanwhile, a great turtle came up out of the water and volunteered to be a resting place for Aientsik, or Fertile Earth. The beaver, otter and muskrat each dove to the bottom of the lake to try to bring up a mouthful of earth to place on the back of the turtle. The beaver failed and died. The otter failed and also died. But the muskrat was successful. He placed the mud on the back of the turtle and Aientsik was laid down to rest.

When she woke, there was a fire next to her and a pot of corn soup. The back of the turtle had grown in size and it was visibly continuing to grow with every passing minute. Aientsik stood up on the earth, and walked about it, helping in the process of its creation. Every day when she returned to her resting place, there was a fire and a supply of corn, or some beans or squash for her to eat. Corn, beans and squash have been known ever since as the three sister-providers of the Mohawk people.

Aientsik was pregnant and she soon gave birth to a daughter, Tekawerahkhwa, or Gusts of Wind. This daughter grew to maturity, and she soon was a beautiful young woman. One day when Tekawerahkhwa was sleeping in the forest, a man being came up to her and passed two arrows over her stomach. One arrow was tipped with flint, the other was a maple shaft. Tekawerahkhwa became pregnant with twins.

After about nine months, these twins inside the womb of Tekawerahkhwa had an argument. One of the twins, called Thawiskaron, or Flint, said that the best way to leave their mother was by way of the arm pit. The other twin, called Okwiraseh, or Young Tree, said that the best way to leave was by between the legs. Before the argument was over, Thawiskaron pierced through his mother's armpit and killed her. Okwiraseh followed, but was blamed for killing his mother by Thawiskaron and his grandmother, Aientsik.

Aientsik asked, *"Who is it that killed my daughter?"*

Thawiskaron replied, *"It was Okwiraseh, my brother".*

Okwiraseh was then thrown into the forest by his grandmother and left to die. This was not to be his fate, however. Tharonhiawakon came down from the upper world and taught his grandson how to live in the forest. He taught him how to hunt and to make

foods from the things that grew about the earth. He taught him to make the lodges of the Onkweshona and the method of preparing the bark.

Finally, Tharonhiawakon told Okwiraseh to prepare the earth for the coming of man. He told him to make the earth beautiful and to provide growing space for the three sister-providers, corn, beans and squash. Okwiraseh made the Indian corn to grow tall and strong. His brother Thawiskaron took the corn, however, and threw it into the fire, burning the ends and ruining that part of the ear. Okwiraseh rushed to take the corn out from the fire, however and saved the rest of the ear. Notice today how the end of the corn cob cannot be eaten. Okwiraseh made all of the rivers to run in two directions. This way, men would be able to travel in any direction without having to paddle against the current. Thawiskaron changed the course of the rivers and made them all go just one way. He then threw large boulders in the river in order to prevent river travel. Fortunately, Okwiraseh caught Thawiskaron in time and stopped him, but many of the rivers were made difficult to travel on.

Okwiraseh asked the various animals how they would avoid man in the hunt. When the animals responded, Okwiraseh changed that part of the animal that was going to have a special advantage over man. One day, as Okwiraseh was going about the earth, he noticed that there were no animals about. The animals had all been captured by Thawiskaron and locked into a cave. The season began to grow cold and there was no game. Okwiraseh located the cave where the animals had been confined and he moved back the rock holding them in and freed them.

After this last confrontation with his brother Thawiskaron, Okwiraseh decided to challenge his brother to one last contest of strength. He asked his brother to meet him on

top of a mountain deep within the Adirondacks and play a game of dice. The winner was to rule the day, the loser the night.

When Thawiskaron showed up for this contest he brought his own dice. Okwiraseh agreed to use the bowl of Thawiskaron, but not his dice. He called to the sparrows and asked them to give their small heads for dice. The sparrows agreed.

Okwiraseh then called out to all of creation and said, *"All you things that are alive, send me your power now so that I may be victorious, and so that all of you may live!"*

The animals and the plants, the very earth itself sent power to Okwiraseh and he proved victorious over his brother.

Thawiskaron was banished to the lower world, below the turtle and the earth, only to come out at night when it is dark and cold. Okwiraseh assumed preeminence on the earth during the day, and continued to carry out his grandfather's command to continue the work of making the earth a better place for the coming of man.

One day while traveling about the earth, reviewing all of his work, Okwiraseh came across a man being, Hatowi, blocking the path through the forest.

Hatowi said, *"What are you doing here, walking about my creation, as if you had made it?"*

Okwiraseh responded that he, Okwiraseh, had done all of this work of creation, and not Hatowi. The two men agreed to a contest of strength. Whoever could make the mountains to move was the agreed upon maker of the earth, and the loser was to serve the winner for all the rest of time. Hatowi went first. He commanded the mountain to move, but of course the mountain stayed in its place.

Then Okwiraseh said, *"See, you are not the maker of the earth and all here present that it contains."*

Hatowi said, *"But you too must try to make the mountain to move".*

Okwiraseh replied, *"Yes, but first you must turn around and close your eyes".*

Then Okwiraseh ordered the mountain to move right up behind Hatowi. The mountain moved, and when Hatowi turned around, he slammed his face right into the side of the mountain. This twisted his face and bent his nose all out of shape.

Hatowi was so surprised that he asked Okwiraseh not to hurt him. Hatowi promised to help mankind for all times. Hatowi said that if men would address him as Grandfather, burn tobacco to him and carve his image in the trunk of a living tree, he would cure men of their sicknesses. Okwiraseh agreed to this and the great curing ceremony of the False Face was born, dedicated to Hatowi, the Great Twisted Face.

Now the earth was ready for the habitation of man. Okwiraseh went to the shore of a great lake and he scooped up a handful of deep red earth.

He said, *"Now I make what shall be called Onkwehonwe, or human beings. They will dwell here on this floating island".*

So as soon as he had stopped talking he began to make them, and he made the body of the human being. He took up the earth and he said, *"This earth that I take up is really alive. It is alive, just as the earth is alive. So too, the body of the human being that I make shall also be alive."*

Then at that time he made the flesh of the human being. As soon as he had completed it he thought for a while then he said, *"This will result in a good thing that I have done, and these human beings will continue to have life, just as I myself am alive"*.

Now at this time he took a portion of his own life and he gave it to the human being; so also he took a portion of his own mind and he enclosed it in the head of the human being; so also he took a portion of his own blood and enclosed it in his flesh; so also did he take a portion of his power to see and enclosed it in the eyes of the human being. Now at the time too, he placed his breath in the body of the human being and man rose and stood on the earth .

Then Okwiraseh said, *"Truthfully I have made your body and you now walk on the earth. Look now and see what the earth contains"*.

At this time, as if by magic, Okwiraseh showed all of the earth to man. He showed him the valleys nestled in between tall gracious mountains. He showed man the clear waters of Iroquoia and the waterways of all the various territories. Okwiraseh showed man the beauty and wealth of the forest, the numerous medicines and foods. Fields of the three sisters growing to maturity were pointed out to man. Large trees bearing nuts and fruits, bushes of berries and the large bounty of game were shown to man. Likewise, the spots where flint could be found, calimite for making pipes and bowls, deposits of clay and sand for pottery, and smooth pebbles for beadwork. All of these things were shown to the first man and he was made very glad.

Then Okwiraseh said, *"I have given you all of this that the earth contains. It will continue to give comfort to your mind. I have planted human beings on the earth for the purpose that they shall continue my work of creation by beautifying the earth, cultivating*

it and making it more pleasing for the habitation of man". Now then man saw his elder brother the Sun come up and cause the daylight on the earth to be warm. And man saw that the earth was beautiful, that the sky was beautiful and he was glad.

Okwiraseh told man that all of this was for man, and all that man had to do was to feel good and to be thankful for all of the gifts of creation. Man must never take the good things of the earth for granted, he was told, or else they would be taken away. Man must always be thankful.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Blanchard 1980, p. 4-13.

Appendix E

Mi'kmaq Creation Story

The stories talk of the meaning and importance of the number seven. Life began with the number seven. First there was the giver of life who made everything. Then there was the sun who we call ista our grandfather. It is the sun who gives us our shadows and it is important that we have shadows. They are our spirits. It gives us our life blood. The third entity was the earth the ..., upon earth all life is given to us from our mother earth we call...not too long after everything was created. The life giver caused a bolt of lightening to strike and hit the earth. It formed the shape of a person. The head was in the direction of the rising sun. The arms were outstretched and the feet were in the direction of the setting sun. I was not until the second bolt of lightening hit the earth, that the first one who spoke we call Glooskap. He was given his toes, his fingers, his hands. He was given seven sacred parts to his head, he had to listen to his world. When we are born the first thing we hear is our mother's heart beat, also Glooskap was given his eyes so he could look and see his world around him. He was also given two holes in his nose. From there he sensed his place in this world. He also was given his mouth so he could drink the water that is in abundance for everybody. Also to be able to share the food we eat that comes from mother earth, to take the medicines that we gather from the animals and birds and the plants and the trees. And last that came from Glooskap's mouth was words. And our elders tell us if we can listen first and look and sense and share our foods and medicines, water and the air and then be able to speak, then in this way we have been able to honor and give respect to all life and everything around us.

So Glooskap was still lying on this earth, because it was not until the third bolt of lightening hit the earth that he was given his freedom. He stood up and he said - oh giver of life, thank you for giving me my life. Grandfather sun, thank you for giving me my shadow. My heart, my lungs and my life, my blood. And Mother Earth, thank you for giving me all life that I need to continue to survive and to live. Thank you for the birds that fly in the sky, the trees and plants, the animals and the fish that are in the waters. So Glooskap started to explore his world around him.

He traveled to setting sun until he arrived at some water and then he traveled south. And then he came back to the north, the land of the ice and snow. And then he turned around. He wanted to go back to the east where he was given his life and he came to the place where the sparks were still left over from the bolt of lightening that caused his creation. He was looking at the sparks and he saw an eagle soaring. It was flying around in a circle. It was slowly coming down, descending. Finally the eagle landed in front of him. The eagle landed and said - I am gitpoo. I come with a message from the great spirit. He says I have come to tell you that you will be joined by your family to help you understand your place in this world. And as the eagle was flying up a feather fell. Glooskap picked it up and he looked up at the eagle. He said - this is going to be my reminder and my strength, my connection to the great spirit and the eagle the messenger.

And so as he was hanging on to the eagle feather, he turned around, he saw an old woman sitting on a rock, silver hair was shining and glimmering. I am your grandmother. She said I owe my existence from this rock on the ground. Early this morning dew formed over this rock and with the help of the life giver, the shadow giver

and mother earth it gave me a life of an old woman, already wise and knowledgeable. She said I will teach you all there is to know about the animals, the birds, the plants, the fish. You will sustain your life from them. Glooskap was happy that his grandmother came to join him because now he was going to be taught about everything there was to surviving on the earth because she was old, very wise and very knowledgeable.

So, Glooskap, since she was so happy, called upon an animal. Aristanoo, come here my brother. Aristanoo came, it was the martin. He said what do you want my brother? He said – I want to ask you if you can give up your life so that grandmother and I can continue to live. We will be able to make clothes from your skin, eat from the meat and tools from the bones and medicines from inside. Aristanoo said take my life Glooskap. So grandmother grabbed Aristanoo and snapped his neck. While Glooskap looked up and said – oh gesso, forgive me for taking the life of an animal, my brother. Give us strength so that we can survive and continue to live. Glooskap was happy that the animal had given up his life. And grandmother told Glooskap – gather seven sparks from the bolt of lightening. Bring seven pieces of wood and put them on those sparks. And with the eagle feather, light the fires. This is our chibucto, our great spirit fire. And so there grandmother cooked Aristanoo, the meat, to celebrate grandmother's arrival to the world.

Glooskap decided one day he would walk down to the water and as he was walking along a young man stood up in front of him in the tall sweet smelling grass. He was tall and had long hair and white sparkling eyes – where did you come from? He said – I am your sister's son.... Far out in the ocean, wejoosin, the whirlwind caused the waters to roil up and foam began to form on top of the water and finally was blown along

the sand. And rested on this tall sweet smelling grass. And with the help of the life giver and the shadow giver and mother earth, he gained the life of a young man – I have strength in my arms and my legs. I can run and help grandmother and you. I have vision with my eyes, I can see far away into the future. You will be able to be guided by my strength, my vision. And also I am gifted with a spirit to guide you. So Glooskap was happy that his nephew came into the world.

He called upon the fish from the waters to come ashore, because he did not want to bother the animals any more. The fish came ashore and he threw his net and gathered the fish and brought them to grandmother. Because it's the fish that will give us food and medicine and clothes. So they had a feast of fish to celebrate Glooskap's nephew's arrival to the world.

And one day, when he was sitting by the fire a woman came and sat beside him. She put her arm around him and said – are you cold my son? He looked at her and said – who are you? Where have you come from? She said – I am your mother. I owe my existence to the leaves on the trees that fell to the ground, and early this morning dew formed over this leaf and with the help of the life-giver, grandfather son and mother earth gave me the life of a woman. She said I bring life into this world. I bring all the colors of the blues of the skies and the yellows of the sun to form together the greens of the grass and the forests. I bring the black of the night and the white of the snow and the red of the earth, the colors of the rainbow. And I bring strength and understanding for my children so that they will continue to survive and to live and to understand one another, to share and rely on each other. So Glooskap was happy that his mother came into the world.

He called upon his nephew to gather the food from the plants and the trees and the roots and bring them together so that grandmother could prepare the feast so they could celebrate his mother's arrival to the world. And so one day after they all ate and celebrated and were living their lives, the eagle came back and he said - I bring another message. The great spirit tells us that you and grandmother have to leave this world and go to the land of the spirits. That you have to make sure that the fire does not go out. Instruct your mother and your nephew to look after that fire.

Out of the fire seven sparks will fly. And when they land on the ground, seven women will be created. Seven more sparks will fly out of the fire and of these sparks seven men will be created. And these seven women and seven men will come together to form the first seven families and go off in seven different directions. So Micmac are one of these seven original families. When the Micmac reach their territory they will later split up into seven clans, each having their own fire or Maweomi. After the passing of seven winters all the seven families will once again gather at the site of the original great fire. There they will honor the first four levels of creation by bringing together all their fires to form once again the great spirit fire or ochibucto. [SA 06/09/03]

Glossary of Terms

Kanienkehaka Terms

- Aientsik:** the first Onkwehonwe woman, also referred to as 'skywoman'
- Aienwaers:** war chief
- Deganawida:** (also spelled Tekanawita) the Peace Maker who was credited with drafting the Kaienerekowa and persuading the nations to form the Confederacy
- Deskahe:** also known as Levi General
- Ganienkeh:** (also spelled Kanienkeh) Land of the Flint, refers to the traditional territory of the Kanienkehaka, a Kanienkehaka community near Altona, New York.
- Gustowa:** carved wooden mask used for ceremonial purposes
- Haudenosaunee:** people of the long house or "those who make the long house"
- Horiwi:io:** 'the words are truthful'
- Kahnawake ronon:** people of Kahnawake
- Kahsatstehsera:** the power of the people in action
- Kanehsatake:** one of the Kanienkehaka Territories which means 'the village that is sliding down'
- Kanehsata'keró:non:** people of Kanehsatake
- Kaniatarowanenneh:** St. Lawrence River or 'majestic waterway'
- Kanienkehaka:** people of the flint
- Kanikonhriio:** 'the goodness in his mind'
- Kanistensera:** clan mother
- Kanonhsesne kahwatsi:re:** the word for longhouse, which means 'the long house where the fire is, where the family is'. This is a place for the clans, the family, elders and women. It is this fire that is the heart of the family and the domain of the women.
- Kariwiiio:** 'words are good'
- Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén:** the words that come before all else or thanksgiving address
- Okwiraseh:** trees
- Onkwehonwe:** the original people
- Onen ki wahi:** good bye or 'we are both on the earth's surface, we will not see each other, for now we are out of each other's sight'
- Rotiskenrakete:** they carry the peace or he's carrying the soil. It is the word used for the men's society or warriors.
- Rotiyaner:** (also spelled rotiianer) chiefs or 'they know the path'
- Royaner:** (also spelled roianer) a chief or 'he knows the path'
- Skennen:** 'peace'
- Tehonatonkoton:** they have alienated themselves
- Tehoteriwakwenten:** the idea of humor or more literally means 'a balanced mind which has taken a matter to the ridiculous extreme'
- Tharonhiawakon:** 'he holds up the sky'
- Tsionkwetáh:kwen:** Kanienkehaka word for philosophy. Literally it means "the things that we really believe in". It is a true word of what the people think of the Kaienerekowa. This means it is not to think in the manner of whether it's true or not, but it comes from inside stemming from the physical and spiritual things that we know.

Mi'kmaq Terms

- Elegeowoti:** 'the way or method of kings'
- Esgenoopetitj:** 'we wait all night, in a small place of gathering'
- Glooskap:** a legendary being who represents strength, creativity, and wisdom
- Kespékewaq:** one of seven territories of Mi'kmaq or 'last land'
- Kisúlkw:** the Creator
- Lluiknek klujjewey:** seven crosses
- Mekwék klujjewey:** one red cross
- Melgigenowati:** 'the strength of our clasping hands together'
- Melgi-glosoagan:** 'the strengthening of our words until only one voice is heard'
- Mikmákik:** 'land of friendship' or Mi'kmaq territory
- Mi'kmaqé:** used to describe the Mi'kmaq people in the plural.
- Mi'kmawei Mawiomi:** Grand Council of the Mi'kmaq
- Nákusét:** sun
- Otskijinu:** 'dweller on the surface of the earth'
- Ootsitgamoo:** Mother Earth or 'the area of surface upon which we were placed to share with all others'
- Sigenigtog:** chief
- Sakamow:** district leader
- Sakamowit:** territory or district
- Tepkunaset:** moon
- Tepluotatin:** 'we are standing in a circle holding hands until we speak with one voice'
- Wapék:** white
- Wikuomk:** dwellings