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Author

Grumet, Robert S.

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REVIEWS

The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League. Edited by Francis Jennings. William N. Fenton, Joint Editor. Mary A. Drake, Associate Editor. David R. Miller, Research Editor. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, published for the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, 1985. 278 pp. \$30.00 Cloth.

In 1978 the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian (now the D'Arcy McNickle Center) initiated the Documentary History of the Iroquois project. Working together with William N. Fenton, the acknowledged dean of Iroquois studies, project director Francis Jennings, then director of the Center, assembled an impressive team of scholars, specialists, and Iroquois people to survey archives throughout North America and Western Europe for documents relating to treaties and other diplomatic materials involving the Iroquois nations and their league. Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, project personnel have compiled the single most comprehensive archive of the diplomatic history of a Native American people in existence anywhere.

Over the course of three years, project staff collected and catalogued thousands of photocopies of Iroquois treaty documents. These materials are presently on file in the Newberry Library. A microfilm edition of the collection, entitled *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History*, has been produced by Research Publications of Woodbridge, Connecticut. Concerned with making the results of this research available to a wider public, the editors also have published *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* as a general study guide to materials in the collection.

As the editors state, the book is "self-contained and comprehensive enough to provide a basic reference tool, a good place

to look first when information is needed." A range of reference materials, including a descriptive treaty calendar, a gazetteer, a listing of persons participating in Iroquois treaties, a glossary of figures of speech in Iroquois political rhetoric, the proceedings of the earliest recorded Iroquois treaty, and a selective bibliography, amply fulfill the guide function of volume. Noting that the three years allotted to the project is a very brief time for such an ambitious undertaking, the editors recognize that attentive readers may detect omissions, errors, or problems in interpretation at various points in the text. Refreshingly, they regard the volume as a benchmark for a work in progress rather than the source of "final, unchallengeable Truth." As such, the editors openly request readers to notify the D'Arcy McNickle Center of oversights or errors.

Even the briefest glance at the contents of this volume will show that it is much more than a guide. The editors have called upon the talents of their staff and other Iroquois specialists to present a valuable collection of interpretive essays. Significant contributions in their own right, these articles place Iroquois treaties within their proper cultural and historic contexts. More importantly, they also address important questions involving Iroquois governance, diplomacy, and cultural continuity.

The first essay, written by William N. Fenton, is perhaps the most succinct statement on the sociocultural structure and role of Iroquois political protocol and ritual in the ethnohistorical literature. While some scholars may take exception to Fenton's suggestion that the structure of Iroquois diplomatic ritual is derived from the Condolence Council, all will appreciate his deft analysis of the social and spiritual framework of Iroquois politics.

Fenton's article is followed by Francis Jennings's "Iroquois Alliances in American History." As he has in several influential publications, Jennings once again draws attention to the vital importance of the "Covenant Chain" alliance between the Iroquois League and the British middle Atlantic colonies of New York and Pennsylvania. Citing the importance of trade in all diplomatic relationships between Native Americans and European colonists, Jennings shows how skillful manipulation of alliances enabled the Iroquois League to exert enormous influence throughout the northeast during the colonial era.

Robert J. Surtees then presents a schematic outline of the movement of Iroquois groups to small communities in Canada

from the late 17th to the mid-19th centuries. This article is followed by Mary A. Druke's thought-provoking analysis of the various meanings and values Iroquois diplomats have attributed to written records, wampum belts, and oral traditions. Contesting the widespread belief that these elements recorded diplomatic agreements, Druke instead convincingly shows that signed treaty documents, wampum, and verbal agreements actually served to "mark, identify, and define" such agreements. Druke notes that the Iroquois viewed treaties as "active, living relationships" which required frequent renewal rather than ends in themselves. Following this point further, Druke shows how council protocol rather than specific written, oral, or material symbols served as the vehicle continually ratifying and renewing agreements, resolving misunderstandings and validating alliances.

In his article, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," Michael K. Foster suggests that wampum was more than a ratifying or recording device. Working with Chief Jacob E. Thomas of the Canadian Six Nation Reserve, Foster discovered that he knew not only the messages associated with several important wampum belts and strings, but also knew the procedures of their presentation. At Foster's request, Chief Thomas recreated a situation in which two of the belts would be used in an alliance renewal with the United States at Onondaga. The resulting seven and a half hours of tape in Cayuga revealed more than the treaty protocol. Analyzing the role of the belts and strings in Chief Thomas's recitation, Foster found that the wampum itself served as a channel of communication, establishing and maintaining contact between speakers and listeners. As such, he came to the McLuhanesque conclusion that, in matters involving wampum, the medium was indeed the message.

Like the diplomacy they analyze, the editors of the *Guide* see it as a "living document." Revised and updated editions of the *Guide* are contemplated. The present edition goes far in providing an excellent research tool. Used in conjunction with the Iroquois articles in the Northeast volume (Volume 15) of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) and recently published sourcebooks *Extending the Rafters* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1984) and *Beyond the Covenant Chain* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press), the *Guide* provides students and specialists with a unique vantage from which to study the culture and diplomacy

of one of the most significant of Native American cultures. As such, it is most welcome indeed.

Robert S. Grumet

Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service

Peyote Religion, A History. By Omer C. Stewart. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. xvii, 454 pp. \$29.95 Cloth.

Omer Stewart's *Peyote Religion* is the latest, fullest, and best history of that widespread, long-lived, active, pan-Indian movement, which uses the peyote cactus as its sacrament and source of healing for body and spirit. The book is the product of fifty years of research that began in 1937 and that focused with great consistency on a series of major questions about the religion. Some of these Stewart answered in the 1940s, but the ampler data here provide further support. He has shown continuities between Mexican and U.S. peyote ceremonies, although no Mexican ritual is a clear prototype for the northern forms. He has also demonstrated that Christian elements entered the religion early and in Mexico, whence they were inferably carried north. They are not recent accretions occurring only in certain tribes, as some have argued. He has inferred convincingly that the Carrizo were the first link between Mexican tribes and those of the U.S. and believes that they originated the peyote ceremony as found among U.S. tribes. He has demonstrated that the Lipan Apache were the major bridge between the Carrizo and the tribes of Oklahoma. Indeed he knows which Lipan Apaches were the principal missionaries. He is inclined to credit the Lipan with influence on the form of peyote music. The earliest ritual form in the U.S. was Tipi Way of Half Moon Way, the most widespread ritual pattern today and in the past. The only other major form is the Cross Fireplace or Big Moon variant, which can be dated to 1880 and credited to John (Moonhead) Wilson, a man of mixed ancestry with a strong Caddo self-identification.

Stewart uses his trait list of 308 items, enlarged from earlier publications, to apply to the rituals of 29 tribes or groups of tribes. It shows the similarities between the Mexican and the Oklahoma