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Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace. By Kayanesenh Paul Williams.

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Powered by the <u>California Digital Library</u> University of California Indeed, as Miller underscores, migration to cities might have prepared those like Walter Echo-Hawk and Wilma Mankiller to be positive influences on Native American sovereignty and self-determination for years into the future. For countless Native Americans, unfortunately, especially under the BIA's program, urbanization proved to be challenging and detrimental as well. Despite the many successes of urban Native Americans, the difficulties of some confirmed expectations for Native Americans in urban centers. Often, however, the root cause of Native Americans' perceived failures was not an inability to cope with urbanization during the 1950s, but rather a gradual national trend away from a manufacturing economy to a service economy, coupled with many white Americans' move to the suburbs.

Miller succeeds in contextualizing Native American migration to urban centers in the twentieth century in a fresh and fascinating book written in an accessible style that will be of interest for anyone interested in Native American culture, history, and research. *Indians on the Move* shows that searches for employment and socioeconomic upward mobility were part of a larger story of Native American off-reservation migration. Time and again, the book clarifies that Native Americans' decisions to migrate were driven by their resolve to work, to succeed, and to take charge of their own destiny. Their fortitude turned into a source of empowerment. By expanding beyond the BIA's voluntary relocation program, and by exploring the broader development of Native American migration in the twentieth century, Miller challenges a common notion that Native Americans were passive victims of federal policies.

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Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace. By Kayanesenh Paul Williams. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018. 472 pages. \$74.95 cloth; \$38.95 paper; \$70.00 electronic.

In this exhaustive study of the Kayanerenkó:wa, the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace, Kayanesenh Paul Williams aims to demonstrate its validity as a living legal tradition—one worthy not only of critical study, but also viable in our own time as a means of establishing productive human relationships that reflect equality, reciprocity, and mindfulness of coming generations. No other study to date approaches the breadth or depth of Williams's research into the Kayanerenkó:wa—indeed, the book represents an updated synthesis of prior treatments of the Great Law by Lewis Henry Morgan, Horatio Hale, Arthur Caswell Parker, and J. N. B. Hewitt.

A practicing attorney in Canada, legal scholar, and member of the Onondaga Wolf Clan at the Six Nations of the Grand River community, Williams is uniquely positioned to offer this deeply researched, thoughtful treatment of the Kayanerenkó:wa to a wide readership of citizens and scholars of contemporary Haudenosaunee nations.

Eschewing a chronological narrative of the history of the Kayanerenkó:wa, Williams chooses instead to "[view] the past through the lens of a Haudenosaunee present" (382). To that end, he employs the structure of the Great Law to frame his particular telling of the Kayanerenkó:wa as "a manual for the process of creating consensus" and "a series of demonstrations of the power of the Good Mind and Peace" (6). The results are impressive. In one sense, Williams's monograph can be understood as a kind of "hornbook" for the Kayanerenkó:wa, a single-volume legal treatise that summarizes and explicates the Great Law through careful analysis of numerous versions relayed both through oral tradition and after about 1870, increasingly in written form.

Yet in another sense Williams's interpretation does much more than simply describe or record narrations of the Kayanerenkó:wa. By highlighting continuity over time in "fundamental Haudenosaunee principles about the relationship between people and the land," offering opinions on competing perspectives, and noting points of ongoing disagreement about the Great Law, Williams promotes reflection on the Kayanerenkó:wa as a valid legal tradition of Indigenous origin (59–60). In doing so, the book makes a subtle, but crucial, argument against the colonialist assumption of the pressing need for settler governments to provide laws for Indigenous peoples presumed to lack them.

Williams is frank about the problem that contemporary language loss among Haudenosaunee communities poses for the inherent "linguistic logic" (102) of the Kayanerenkó:wa, noting that Mohawk has now become the standard Haudenosaunee language amid a group of even more endangered tongues. He contends that versions of the Great Law recorded in original languages offer "richer" (94) insights into Haudenosaunee thought, and he relies on Skaniatariio John Arthur Gibson's 1912 version of the Kayanerenkó:wa, originally dictated in Onondaga and transcribed into English, as a primary authoritative (textual) version for his analysis. Williams also draws substantially on the insights and scholarship of the late Seneca intellectual Sostisowah John Mohawk, particularly for bringing the principles of the Kayanerenkó:wa into dialogue with the postcolonial world.

Williams's prose is highly readable, though the book itself is not a light read; this reviewer counted 1,260 footnotes, many of which are discursive and warrant close reading with the main text. He deals with some of the well-known academic debates surrounding the Kayanerenkó:wa, such as its alleged influence on the United States Constitution (8–10), its antiquity (78–82), and whether the League and Confederacy were distinct political entities (382), but is more interested in navigating the fundamental tension of proving a documented analysis of an oral tradition. Viewing the past from "a Haudenosaunee present," the author does not treat change over time systematically. Rather than allow calendrical time to take precedence, Williams unfolds the principles of the Kayanerenkó:wa in their own narrative sequence. The author supplies copiously cited examples of their manifestation, or recitation, at various points in the post-contact written record after each principle. On numerous occasions, Williams also cites his own memories of statements made or actions undertaken at recitations of the Kayanerenkó:wa in different Haudenosaunee communities as recently as 2013.

Williams argues that the relatively poorly studied era of the American Revolution in Haudenosaunee history represents a hinge moment that has had substantial implications for historical understanding of the Kayanerenkó:wa. He identifies the recent claim of prominent anthropologist William N. Fenton that after circa 1783, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy ceased to function as a government, as particularly harmful (332, 407). In one especially trenchant and convincing footnote, Williams attributes Fenton's interpretation to the latter's personal antagonism toward Confederacy leaders seeking the repatriation of wampum belts and other cultural property from museums during the 1970s and 1980s (425 n391). Williams may well be correct in his claim that a living Confederacy represented a constant threat to Fenton's scholarly authority, though his own treatment of the Kayanerenkó:wa also skews toward the pre-American Revolutionary period.

Williams offers comparatively little discussion of the post-nineteenth-century era, which witnessed a number of developments challenging to the integrity of the Kayanerenkó:wa as an authoritative legal tradition among the Haudenosaunee. These include the establishment of two Confederacy Councils after 1784 (the Grand River Reserve in modern Ontario, Canada, and one that moved from Onondaga to Buffalo Creek, then back to Onondaga); the advent of the Karihwíio (aka the Code of Handsome Lake) among the Senecas after 1799; the decision of the Seneca Nation of Indians to adopt a republican system of government in 1848; the imposition of elective systems of government on Haudenosaunee communities in Canada by settler authorities after 1870; the rise of the militant Mohawk Warrior Society after 1974; and the adoption of a "Men's Council" system of government by the Oneida Nation of New York after 1993.

It is true that comparatively little scholarship on these political innovations among the Haudenosaunee exists relative to that relating to the pre-Revolutionary period. Yet Williams's readers are left with questions about the Confederacy's post-Revolutionary historical trajectory when they learn, for example, that the majority of *rotiyaner* (hereditary League titleholders) today are followers of Karihwíio (390), a belief system described elsewhere in the book as possessing the potential to undermine traditional Confederacy government (309); or that a decision in 1998 to eliminate duplication of Confederacy titleholders between Grand River and Onondaga has "become a new source of friction" (422). What are the functions of the Kayanerenkó:wa today? How does (or might) it exist alongside state-recognized governments in many of the contemporary Haudenosaunee communities in Canada and the United States?

This is a landmark treatment of the Kayanerenkó:wa that will enjoy a long shelflife as a standard reference work, for students of North American legal history as much as for citizens of Haudenosaunee nations that seek an up-to-date analysis of its principles. One hopes that it will also inspire renewed attention to the numerous principles of the Great Law that extend beyond cultural boundaries, particularly the need for respect, trust, and friendship in the construction and maintenance of human relationships and their restorative potential in our contemporary colonial circumstances.

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