Aboriginal justice: A Haudenosaunee approach

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Editor's Note: The following is an excerpt from Mr. Cousins's master thesis entitled “The Inherent Right of the Haudenosaunee to Criminal Justice Jurisdiction in Canada” currently being undertaken at Simon Fraser University.

Introduction

Our current Criminological inquiries into the causes and prevention of crime are grounded primarily in the European tradition. These theories and explanations come from a particular viewpoint that is often the product of the scientific method. Empirical studies and quantitative data are utilized in an attempt explain and inhibit criminal acts, but crime still remains a significant problem/challenge in western societies. It is my contention that western societies would significantly benefit from the careful examination of the historical methods utilized by non-European societies to internally regulate criminal behavior.

Throughout this paper I will investigate the traditional methods employed by the Haudenosaunee to ensure a relatively crime free social order. While the Iroquois may well be the most studied and written about Aboriginal peoples of North America in regard to the social, political and ceremonial aspects of their cultures, there is little if any methodical analysis of the reasons behind the infrequency of criminal acts within their communities. Nor is there any general understanding (outside of Haudenosaunee communities) of how The Great Law of Peace developed and worked in collaboration with the Haudenosaunee perception of reality to inhibit anti-social acts. I will endeavor to clarify this with a discussion of Iroquoian worldview, the founding of The Great Law, the regulation of criminal behavior, and identified offences and sanctions. Hopefully this examination will add some useful and constructive concepts to the profession and study of criminology.

Please keep in mind that this perspective is based upon my traditional Haudenosaunee (Six Nations of the Grand River) oral teachings in conjunction with the publications of early European explorers, historians and anthropologists. Therefore it may not be in complete accordance with other Haudenosaunee Nation or traditionalist understandings, as cultural variations do exist. I make no claim to be speaking for all Haudenosaunee peoples, or for an Aboriginal perspective in general.

Traditional Haudenosaunee Methods of Social Control

In order to gain a true understanding of why a society uses certain methods for controlling anti-social or criminal behavior, one must first have the...
appropriate context of that society's worldview and cultural/spiritual practices. Without this context one will undoubtedly perceive social control methods through their own cultural context. Or, in other words, the practices will been seen through a distorted lens. In order to avoid such misrepresentations or false conclusions, I will begin with a very basic illustration of traditional Haudenosaunee perspectives of material and spiritual reality. Please keep in mind that my illustrations of these perspectives will be somewhat brief and only in relation to matters that will attempt to explain the use of social control practices in relation to anti-social or criminal behavior.

**A Haudenosaunee World View**

When comparing and contrasting a Haudenosaunee worldview with a Euro-Canadian outlook or perspective, the fundamental difference is a holistic/contextual or cyclical/circular understanding, versus linear/time-bound understanding. In a Haudenosaunee world all things have been placed here through the will or direction of the Creator or The Master of Life, and therefore, all things have a distinct purpose and are of equal value, although they may have different forms and functions. Every material object (such as rocks, trees, or water) and non-material energy (such as wind) has a spirit or life-force that allows it to exist. It is through this spirit or life force that all things are integrally connected. Those things that take a similar form (such as humans or other mammals) have a somewhat deeper existence connection because they share similar experiences and understandings. No one thing or force has a more inherent value or more beneficial purpose to serve, as all things exist in order for all other things to exist.

Human beings have been gifted with life to ultimately evolve spiritually through the material experience. The experiences one will encounter in life are either of one's own creation (the law of free will), another person's creation (that person's free will), through the will of the Creator (spiritual law), or different combinations of the three. Experiences do not happen by coincidence. All occurrences have purpose and meaning. When one creates their own experiences, one is responsible and accountable for the ultimate outcome of that experience, as one is responsible for their own will and actions. When the Creator wills certain events in a person's life in order to forward their personal growth or provide them with assistance in something, that person is responsible for how they respond to the event, but they are also given additional assistance from their Spirit Guides, who are with the individual constantly. If one is to be subjected to an experience through the will of another person, the impact of that event will be taken into account through spiritual law, and if the outcome of the experience is not within the divine plan of that individual, Spirit Guide intervention will occur to change the outcome to be in accordance with the divine plan. An individual's divine plan is full of many different experiences, some of which may be extremely difficult to endure, but are definitely in the interest of their personal growth and evolution. When a person views their experiences through this spiritual framework, life takes on a completely different meaning and is appreciated through a very different perspective.

While viewing life through a spiritual framework, one must also interact and exist in the material world. The physical realities of the world are observed as operating in a cyclical manner. The days, the seasons, life and death all run in a cycle or repeat themselves. The concept of time is also included in this context. Each day or each moment is not viewed as a linear concept with an end, but only the continuation of the cycle. A new day could be said to be the same day repeating itself, but with changing physical realities occurring throughout that cycle of day and night. The changing physical realities are also acting within their own cycle, which is integrally linked to the day/night cycle. In order for this cyclical reality to continue, there must be a diametric opposite to what is occurring at any given moment. Day/night, life/death, warm/cold are all examples of this concept, and neither can exist without the other. The opposite is not conceived as negative in a Haudenosaunee understanding. These realities just are. They exist as necessities of creation and for the continuation of material existence. The concept also applies to human beings. Awake/asleep, hungry/full, happy/sad, are suitable examples, but there is a factor that allows humans a measure of control over their experience. That factor is free will. Free will allows humans to make choices that release them from acting in a purely instinctual or impulsive manner. Being gifted with free will conveys a
responsibility to use it in a commendable manner. One who does, treats all things with honor and respect. Other people’s well-being is as important, if not more so, than one’s own. Personal desires and gratification are not paramount objectives. In meeting one’s material needs there is some act of gratitude towards the material object (i.e. food, medicinal plants) and the Creator for those needs being met. Duties and responsibilities to others (human and non-human), opposed to personal needs and rights, are the foremost factors to be considered.

If one does not use free will in an honorable manner, they are significantly out of balance with one or more of the four aspects that constitute the whole of an individual, and they must do what is necessary to re-balance themselves. Re-balancing often requires some form of mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual sacrifice. A Cleansing (Sweatlodge) Ritual and fasting/prayer/meditation are examples of this type of sacrifice. These may be considered as fairly significant forms of suffering, but the suffering is sacrificial, and a way of making personal amends for one’s negative or hurtful actions. It is an attempt to put things back into balance (personal and external) and establish a clear and integral connection to the spiritual realm. The result of continued ritual sacrifice is a deeper insight into oneself and others (healing), and a complete understanding of how vitally important the inter-connection and inter-dependency one has with all material entities truly is. This in turn affects material reality through the dramatic change in a person’s perceptions and actions. Persons who are acting in inappropriate or hurtful manners are considered fully responsible to take the necessary action to restore their balance (or ask for help and guidance if they don’t know how), and if they choose not to, they will remain in conflict...
Although the Great Law is very detailed and lengthy, it is founded on three basic principles:

1. Righteousness, which means justice practiced between men and nations.
2. Health, which means soundness of mind and body and the peace which comes from them.
3. Power, which means the authority of law and customs backed by such force as is necessary for justice.

It is the application and adherence to these principles and other Articles of the Great Law, in combination with their specific material/spiritual perspective that the Haudenosaunee were able to develop such effective methods of restraining antisocial behavior. The interdependence that developed among the Five Nations subsequent to The Great Law was a primary factor relating to this accomplishment. From this perspective, the welfare and interests of society as a whole became a paramount consideration. This in turn resulted in members of society developing relationships based upon equality, respect, and regard. The concept of individual rights was in complete contrast to our current understanding. Each person retained a significant measure of such rights, but those rights and privileges never exceeded one’s duties and responsibilities to others. When examining The Great Law it is apparent that duties and responsibilities outnumber individual rights. This directive kept societal members focused on acts cohesive to living in unity with one another opposed to seeking gain for oneself through the assertion of personal rights. When members were focused on the best interest of others within the Clan or society, the catalysts of criminal behavior, such as greed or vengeance, had much less opportunity to develop and emerge.

One of the major factors that kept individuals content with this form of social organization was the practice of unanimous decision making among the Statesmen. At first glance this may appear to be only unanimity among the influential of a hierarchical society, but that was not the case. Statesmen or Chiefs were required to make decisions that were in the best interest of the people, as well as what was in the best interest of the coming seven generations. Those who did not were deposed. All members of society had a voice on matters of national importance and any individual who dissented would have their opinion properly considered. If unanimity could not be reached the matter would not become national policy. This procedure allowed all individuals to have a significant influence on societal matters, which in turn helped to develop an integral and meaningful connection of equality with the whole of the collective, which directly influenced a person’s personal decisions to act in a manner that was in the best interest of all.

Another feature that kept anti-social behavior in check was the fervent disdain of the ambition for personal power. All people in the society were considered equal, and none were compelled to do anything because of a higher personal authority. The women, who held the Chieftainship titles, chose the Chief’s based upon personal honesty, integrity and good character. Statesmen retained their positions by the continuation of honesty, integrity and the adherence to The Great Law. Their reward for this stature was the honor and esteem of the people. Those who dishonored their position through personal ambition were punished with removal and the further humiliation of community ostracization. This practice facilitated the development and definition of acceptable values within Haudenosaunee society. Honesty, integrity, generosity and other qualities considered as being beneficial to all, were the standards individuals were expected to strive for. Holding the Chiefs (who were intended to be mentors) to the strictest measure of these values sent an unmistakable message to society in regard to the behavior expected from its members. Those who violated these norms would often be subject to ostracization, which the Haudenosaunee considered to be the harshest sanction that could be imposed.

The Clan system prescribed by Articles 42-54 of The Great Law also acted to regulate delinquent behavior. Under this system the lineal descent of the people is through the female line. All of a woman’s children became members of her Clan. All people of the same Clan were forbidden to marry. Further, all members of the same Clan were considered relations, even if from another nation within the League. Therefore, a person’s parents were not of the same Clan, a spouse was from a different Clan, and a spouse’s parents were of different Clans. All Haudenosaunee members of the same Clan were obliged to treat one another with hospitality and kindness. Not to do so was considered a grave misdeed. In addition, each individual was also intricately linked to other Clans through their mother’s father, their own father, or a spouse and their family. In this manner, an individual could undoubtedly be connected to all Haudenosaunee Clans directly or indirectly through their mother, father, spouse, or other relations. If one were to commit a crime against another, there was a good possibility that the victim would be either a relation, or the relation of someone close to the offender. This placed an obligation on all people to treat each...
other with respect or suffer the consequences of public, or even worse, familial indignation. Specific Crimes and Sanctions

Although crime was rare in Haudenosaunee societies, it did occur on occasion. When such transgressions of The Great Law did take place, there were definite penalties to ensure justice was carried out. The three principles of Righteousness, Health and Power mandated by The Peacemaker all endorsed the concept of justice. Justice, under these principles, is ensuring the essence of The Great Law, which is peace and unity prevails. When an individual committed an act against this divine mandate, the people ensured that justice was done in accordance with The Great Law and their world perspective in order to deter the offender and others from committing such a grievous acts.

The following is an account of the four anti-social or criminal acts that were predominate known to have existed in Iroquois societies, and how they were dealt with to ensure they remained rare occurrences.

Witchcraft

Witchcraft was considered an offence against the whole of the nation. It was considered a matter of national consequence as any individual might be the next victim. Witches and wizards were believed to have the power to make people violently ill and eventually cause death. They were also able to transform into birds or animals to escape any pursuers. If cornered they could shapeshift into rocks or rotten logs to evade capture. If caught, a witch could be sentenced to death. A council was called and the witch arraigned before it in the presence of the accuser. If the witch confessed and promised to amend their ways they would be set free. If they denied the accusation, witnesses were called and evidence given. If the evidence of guilt was to the satisfaction of the council, which was often the case, the accused would be sentenced to death. Volunteers from within the nation would then carry out the penalty.

The Great Law doesn’t speak directly to the practice of witchcraft, but individuals engaging in such acts as causing sickness and death were certainly in violation of the core principles of peace and unity. Death may seem a harsh penalty, but it was only imposed upon the unrepentant. If the Haudenosaunee were to remain united in peace, they had to ensure The Great Law remained the guiding principle of life. The accused would always be spared execution if they confessed and pledged to amend their behavior. Such a pledge would require the individual to engage in a process of rebalancing through some consistent form of ceremonial self-sacrifice. Only after this had occurred would the individual be unconditionally accepted back into the community. As with other anti-social acts, the harshest penalties were reserved for the unrepentant. Those who were remorseful and willing to abide by The Great Law were typically forgiven for their misdeeds.

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Murder

Murder was considered a serious offence and The Great Law refers to it in Article 20, which speaks of murder being committed by a Chief. Such an act was considered a matter of national importance since the Chiefs were considered the mentors of society. Such action by a Statesman could not be tolerated and any who committed such an act were deposed and banished (often permanently) from the League. The hereditary Chiefship titles would then be bestowed upon a sister family as the title was never intended to have any association with bloodshed. This continued to hold true in a situation of war. All Chiefs were required to temporarily renounce their titles in order to take part in any warfare campaign. Statesmen were generally held to a stricter standard in regard to delinquent acts, firstly because they were representatives of The Great Law, and secondly because Haudenosaunee societies utilized the practice of teaching acceptable conduct by example.

The case of murder committed by other individuals was treated somewhat differently. This was considered a private concern for which the Statesmen had no authority to impose a punishment or grant a pardon. Punishment or pardon was always a matter for the families and Clans to determine. If a murder occurred between different families or Clans, the Council of each Clan would meet to discuss a settlement. If it occurred within a specific Clan the members of that Clan would settle the issue.

There were two defined sanctions available as a remedy. The first was execution of the offender by a member of the victim’s Clan. The second was the acceptance of a belt of white wampum given by the offender to the victim’s family. This act was meant to forever eradicate the memory of the offence and symbolically demonstrated that the accused was willing to confess the crime and make atonement. In addition, it was a petition for forgiveness from the victim’s family and Clan. If wampum was accepted, one hundred yards was required for the death of a man and two hundred yards for the killing of a woman. Wampum during this period was extremely labor intensive to produce, therefore the imparting of the above amounts, which were of considerable value, was intended to “put things right”.

In the situation of a death that would fall under the common law classifications of second degree murder or manslaughter, members of the victim’s Clan would always make extensive efforts to effect a reconciliation between the aggrieved immediate family and the offender. If the offender were to be executed in these circumstances, there was always the prospect that this type of private retaliation could lead to the rampant blood feuds that existed before the founding of The Great Law. A return to this state of violence and chaos was not considered an option, so clemency was the usual result.

Cases of premeditated murder rarely
received the same compassion. Such acts were not tolerated within Haudenosaunee society and the customary sanction was execution. A member of the victim’s Clan would be appointed to carry out the sentence, a duty which they could accept or refuse. If they did agree and the offender had fled, they were required to complete it, regardless of the time or distance required to do so.46

The rationale for executing offenders in situations of premeditated murder was not primarily one of revenge. The utmost purpose in demanding the life of the wrongdoer was to satisfy the spirit of the victim who could not find peace among the departed ones (spirit world) until the soul of the offender joined him/her.45 All members of society knew that execution was the prescribed sanction for this offence, and most who were condemned to it readily met their fate without fear.46 Undoubtedly executing a friend or Clan/Nation member was not an act that most individuals would look forward to or take pleasure in. The principal aim of capital punishment was to “put things right” with the victim and re-establish the principles of peace and unity mandated by the Great Law. Achieving both would ensure the blood feuds of the past did not again become a divisive factor within the League.

The Great Law addresses the issue of theft in Article 107. The Article, entitled “Protection of the House” forbids anyone from entering another’s home when a stick is leaning against the entrance. This signal gives a clear indication that the owners are not in their residence and also mandates that any passers by must keep as much distance from the dwelling as their business will permit. Although this Article of The Great Law would appear to be directed only to the entering of a residence, its scope also included the principle of respect for personal property. Contrary to the prevailing belief that First Nations did not employ the concept of personal property ownership, the Haudenosaunee had an unmistakable understanding of ownership and defined sanctions for any violations. Article 44, which prescribes land and Longhouse ownership to the women, illustrates this custom. Again, although the Article speaks only to the specifics of land and Longhouse ownership, the principle advanced applied to other affairs of life, as in this instance the issue of personal ownership of goods, which all were required to respect.47

A further factor that kept theft a very rare occurrence was the Haudenosaunee viewpoint towards the accumulation of personal property. Although property rights did exist, there was no desire by members of society to possess more than others. No social status or esteem was gained through material accumulation. Somewhat conversely, one of the greatest insults was to suggest that one hoarded material goods and did not share with others.49 For the Haudenosaunee, generosity was a quality that was highly admired. It was common for the Statesmen to own the least materially, having presented most of their goods to the populace, and in return receiving the respect and esteem of the same.50

Since generosity was the prevailing tradition, theft was considered a dereliction from the path of integrity and therefore was considered a very despicable act. Those who engaged in this behavior suffered the penalty of public disregard,51 which as mentioned earlier was considered a severe form of punishment.

The custom of generosity undoubtedly helped to maintain the guiding principles of peace and unity within the League. The Haudenosaunee were well aware that greed was a key factor in criminal incidences, and consequently practiced traditions to prevent its development. This in turn kept the principles of The Great Law foremost in the thoughts and actions of the population. In closing, I will end this section with a quote from Morgan who describes the Haudenosaunee perspective in relation to theft:

But in justice to them it must be acknowledged, that no people ever possessed a higher sense of honor and self-respect in this particular, or looked down with greater disdain upon this shameful practice, than did the Iroquois. To this day, among their descendants, this offence is almost unknown. No locks, or bolts, or private repositories were ever necessary for the protection of property among themselves.52

Adultery

In traditional Haudenosaunee society adultery was considered a somewhat serious anti-social or criminal act. The Iroquois did not permit polygamy, and marriage, although deemed a sacred union and permanent partnership, could be dissolved by either party with the simple act of declaring it so. However, such a dissolution was not taken lightly as the longstanding tradition was one of permanence.53

The act of adultery was considered serious because of the ease of spousal separation coupled with the deceit and dishonesty of the deed itself. Infidelity was not considered a sensible alternative when the option of divorce was easily obtainable. Such acts displayed a deficiency of character and a glaring disrespect for societal norms. This betrayal could also lead to significant societal turmoil, conflict, and possible blood feuds through the extracting of vengeance by an aggrieved spouse. As with other crimes that violated the principles of The Great Law, adultery was not acceptable behavior.

The primary sanction for infidelity was public ostracism of both parties involved. Societal denunciation on a daily basis was a very effective deterrent that kept adultery a rare occurrence.54 Again, criminal sanctions were designed in such a manner as to ensure the principles of internal peace and unity remained the central factors adhered to within the Five Nations.

Conclusion

In concluding this document, I will clarify
how the above stated sanctions were integrated within and between the Haudenosaunee philosophy of reality and The Great Law. The process is somewhat complex, but I will attempt to keep it as brief and simplistic as I am able.

Ostracization

The most widely utilized punitive sanction imparted to offenders by the Five Nations was ostracization. This was considered worse than a death sentence because of the daily humiliation one had to endure. The condemnation was primarily imposed for such “offences” as theft, greed, dishonesty, confessed witchcraft and infidelity. The use of ostracization was to denounce the “bad character” of the individual. This in turn left the offender somewhat disconnected from the spiritual link with the rest of the community. Once the offender made the necessary community and personal amends to prove a change back to “good character”, he/she would be accepted back into society.

Execution

Whereas execution was a defined sanction within Haudenosaunee society, it was utilized very infrequently. The death sentence was imposed for Chiefs who consistently disregarded the will of the people, pre-meditated murder, and for denying and subsequently being found guilty of witchcraft. In the case of an obstinate Chief and an accusation of witchcraft, execution could always be prevented if the accused admitted their wrongdoing and repented for their actions.

Although capital punishment in our contemporary society seems quite barbaric to many, the Haudenosaunee understood death in an entirely different manner. In their reality the deceased returned to the place of their beginning where their ancestors were waiting to greet them. The spirit world was a much kinder, gentler place in which to exist. Therefore, to the Iroquois death was not considered something to fear, nor was there any “hell” in which to be condemned to. Thus, execution was not perceived in the same manner as Euro-Canadian society. However, the Haudenosaunee were well aware that each individual was bestowed

life by the Creator and consequently had a purpose to serve. Further, execution was not considered an appropriate way to “put things right” as the offender would not be given the opportunity to correct the harm they had done. In keeping with this perception the death sentence was reserved for only the most severe cases, such as pre-meditated murder or those who would not take responsibility for their misdeeds. The continued presence of these few individuals would only serve to further harm the community and nation.

Reparation

The most prevalent method of addressing illicit behavior was negotiated settlement. If an individual committed an offence, the Council of that individual’s family, or Clan, would meet with the Council of the victim’s Clan to discuss the matter. If the offence occurred between same Clan members, the Clan Council would discuss it among themselves. The discussion would result in some settlement in which the offender would have to make reparation to the victim, or in the case of murder, to the victim’s family. Reparations usually consisted of giving the aggrieved party something of great value such as wampum. This type of resolution was employed for numerous types of offences that were not injurious or malicious enough to warrant the harsher penalties. After the offender carried out the settlement, the offence was to be forever obliterated from the memory of the community.

Banishment

For those offenders who continued to engage in anti-social acts or hurtful behavior, banishment would be used as a last resort. The point of banishment was to firstly protect the community, but secondly to attempt to return the offender to a spiritual state of social inter-connection. When one attempted to survive alone, or was forced to live with other communities in shame, intense personal reflection that often led to a spiritual awakening was thought to take place. Consequently, the offender would make the character changes necessary to interact positively within their community. Banishment rarely occurred for life, and the individual often returned home after a prescribed period of exile and would be allowed to remain if they had fully embraced the principles of peace and unity. The Great Law decrees that individuals acting in disruptive manners be given three opportunities to change.

This dictate also applied to most defined sentences including banishment. The above sanctions were developed, and always applied, through the Haudenosaunee spiritual-cultural perspective and The Great Law of Peace. All members of society were taught this perspective and the dictates of The Great Law of Peace from a very young age. To act in a manner contrary to either was considered somewhat peculiar, but the frailties and limitations of being human were well understood, and always taken into consideration when determining an appropriate sanction.
guiding principles of The Great law can still be utilized to create harmony in current Haudenosaunee and other societies, however, such a lengthy discussion will have to be addressed at another time.

1 Europeans referred to the Haudenosaunee as Iroquois, Five Nations or the League. Throughout this paper I will also utilize these terms for grammatical reasons. In English the word Haudenosaunee, which the Iroquois refer to themselves as, translates to “The People of the Longhouse.”


4 The Five Nations became the Six Nations with the admission of the Tuscarora in 1724.

5 My traditional teachings have come from several different sources over differing periods of time thereby making exact date and person references somewhat futile. To account for this I will name all references in one citation.

6 An in-depth explanation of the Haudenosaunee spiritual/material perspective would be the topic for several volumes of publication.

7 Please note that the Haudenosaunee Creation Story gives a full account of how the earth and all things on it came in to being through the actions of Sky Woman and the left and right-handed twins. I state that the Master of Life is responsible for all things on earth because it is ultimately through the life-giving force of the Master of Life that things may exist. For one account of the Creation Story see H. Hertzberg, The Great Tree and the Longhouse (New York: Macmillan & Company, 1996) at 16.

8 Spiritual law is contextual and takes all matters and outcomes into account.

9 Spirit Guide help and intervention is a somewhat complex matter, which I will attempt to clarify. If an individual is independently acting with free will, Spirit Guides are not allowed to intervene in that individual’s choices without the individual’s consent or request. Spirit Guides cannot independently break the law of free will. In this instance all that is required for assistance is a request and permission to intervene. If an individual is subjected to an experience based upon external factors not of their free will, and the outcome is not within the individual’s divine plan, Spirit Guides will intervene to modify the outcome to ultimately correspond with the divine plan. To add further to this, Spirit Guides will not always intervene, even if asked, as the outcome as is may be in accordance with the divine plan. One is never really sure when intervention will occur, if at all, and on occasion severe consequences from an act of free will or external forces will still ensue. This is one of the reasons why life is called The Great Mystery.

10 The four aspects of an individual include mental, physical, emotional and spiritual.

11 Those who have engaged in such sacrificial rituals (including myself) can attest to the powerful spiritual connection that develops through the experience. Please note that sacrificial rituals are not the only way to gain spiritual insight and connection, but for the purposes of healing someone significantly out of balance, they may be the most effective means because of their intensity.

12 Traditional oral teachings with S. Sandy, Clannmother, Mohawk Nation; J. Thomas, Traditional Chief, Cayuga Nation; R. Maracle, Traditional Chief, Mohawk Nation; G. Hill, Pipekeeper, Mohawk Nation; L. Hill, Traditional Healer, Mohawk Nation; R. Hill, Pipekeeper, Onondaga Nation; S. Porter, Sweatlodge conductor, Mohawk Nation; R. Longboat, Elder, Mohawk Nation (1994-2002)

13 See Appendix 1 for an edited condensed version as taken from: A.C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968).

14 This is done in keeping with the Haudenosaunee tradition of respect.

15 A.C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois vol. 3 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968) at 8.


18 Oral Teachings, supra note 12.

19 D. George-Kanentiio, “Founding date for Iroquois Confederacy thought to be 1142” TEKAWENNA (Seven Nations of the Grand River) (24 February 1999) at 7.

20 Wallace, supra note 17 at 15.


22 See Appendix 2.

23 Oral Teachings, supra note 12.

24 See Appendix 2, Articles 5.6, 8 & 9.

25 Ibid. Article 59

26 Ibid. Articles 93, 95 & 96.