The Mother-Suckling-Child Principle of the Gift in Indigenous North American Cuture

BARBARA ALICE MANN

L'auteure se rappelle ses premiers contacts avec l'économie du don, la recherche des écrits de Geneviève Vaughan et sa première incursion dans les études matriarcales. Sa recherche a mis l'accent sur l'adéquation de l'allaitement et le don de soi, et les mœurs culturelles à la base des structures qui gèrent l'économie du don chez les autochtones de l'Amérique qui contrastent avec le paradigme en l'Europe, celui de « la loi du pouvoir ». Cet article considère plusieurs incidents historiques entre les Européens et les autochtones qui démontrent la différence fondamentale entre ces peuples et qui a résulté dans une exploitation soutenue du don autochtone et la trahison entre les alliances. L'auteure a conclu en affirmant que le symbolisme de la mère qui allaite est une évidence dans les cérémonies rituelles des autochtones.

I first heard of Genevieve Vaughan in 1989. Too poor to buy books, I was browsing in the Toledo-Lucas County Library when I spied Sonia Johnson's *Wildfire!* In the practical sense, I already knew what a gift economy was, but I had not seen any formal analysis of it prior to finding an all too brief discussion of it in Johnson's book (227-38). Throughout her treatment of a "gift-giving society," she cited Vaughan, so I figured that some academic book existed in some library, somewhere, and spent considerable time scouring library catalogues trying to find Vaughan's supposed book without success.

By working fifty-hour weeks (for half the pay drawn by the man who held the position before me) while caring for my daughter as a single, destitute mother, I attended college on a scholarship, enrolled in night courses that ran from six till eleven o'clock in the evening. Averaging five hours sleep per night, I graduated in 1982 with my B.A., *summa cum laude*. No noticeable change in my employment circumstances followed. I was still the wrong sex, the wrong race, the wrong marital status, the wrong tax bracket, and the wrong culture, with my IQ apparently an affront to Western decency, as well. I kept plugging along, however, rectifying my marital status with a loving mate. Unfortunately, I fell too ill with lung problems to work my old schedule and needed something practicable. My husband observed, "You've always been great at school. Why not get a PhD?" It struck me that a PhD would pry open doable jobs. As a professor, I could run my mouth and nothing else. I plunged back into "yakademia" in 1991. Before even finishing my dissertation, I began publishing significant articles on Iroquoian culture and researched what became *Iroquoian Women*. Throughout this period, I never forgot Johnson's reference to Genevieve Vaughan, so when I started chapter four of *Iroquoian Women*, which focused on the traditional gift economy, I renewed my search for Vaughan's work, using my university credentials to access to library collections statewide. Although by 1997, the year in which I received my PhD, Vaughan had published *For-Giving*, it was with a small trade publisher not listed by the academic resources within my grasp (the internet was still in its clumsy infancy of hard-to-access databases). What I found, instead, was whatever scholars, mostly French, had offered on the subject. Some had even spoken specifically of the Iroquoian gift economy, allowing me to pick up a formal academic term for it in "*le règle du don*" (the order of the gift), but I questioned the Western descriptions of how it worked (Delâge 64). Frustrated, I made a point of referencing Vaughan in *Iroquoian Women* in the only way then available to me, by presenting her

manuscript titles and dates, with brief summaries gleaned through Johnson (442, note 157).

Despairing of ever locating Vaughan's work, and amazed at my own audacity, I talked back to the Western experts in *Iroquoian Women*. Tackling the gift economy of the Iroquois all by myself, I disputed the way that academic authors characterized gift-giving as a primitive, failed economy, doomed to displacement by capitalism (*Iroquoian Women* 231; "Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Economy" 130–32). I noted the Indigenous description of our planting mounds as breasts of Mother Earth and gift-giving as strong milk from overflowing breasts, even in reference to a man (Wood 727; Mann *Iroquoian Women* 219). Incredibly, Western scholarship then held that, in "Indian metaphor, milk and mammary glands signified liquor and the source of its supply," although British historian Colin Calloway did suggest, as a cautious aside to a footnote, that big, milk-filled breasts might have meant "presents generally" (269, note 26). *Ya think*? How much Western stereotyping of Indians as inveterate drunkards went into that primary interpretation of big breasts gushing liquor?

When I finally met Genevieve Vaughan years later at the Second World Congress on Matriarchal Studies held in Austin, Texas in the fall of 2005, I felt vindicated to find that her work likewise used the imagery of mothers lavishly suckling their children without thought of return as her metaphor of the gift economy. I even acquired her book, *For-Giving*, and found, in print, the equation of breastfeeding with gift-giving (184). Although I had been previously unaware of matriarchal studies as a formal field, I discovered at this conference that it was a field on a robust roll, with Vaughan as one of its leaders through her work on the gift economy. Feeling vindicated and relieved, I eagerly joined the effort. After discussion and interaction with colleagues working worldwide on matriarchal studies and the gift economy, by 2006, I had realized that what all the different matriarchal cultures had in common was some form of the gift economy and, moreover, that the essential inclusiveness at the core of the gift economy informed the governance structures in all matriarchal cultures.

If the Western exchange economy rests on the ability of one party to "best" the other by making off with the cream of any deal, then it is because the exchange economy is an expression of the raiding impulse at the foundation of capitalism, under which the strongest party has "natural" rights to the most. This mindset necessarily posits the mother as superior to the child (and the father as superior to the mother and the child), based on the brutal principle of the parties' respective physical strength. The European exchange system, based on exactly such bully-boy notions, horrified Native Americans. In 1790, during "peace" negotiations with the Iroquois, George Washington threatened the Seneca, declaring that the U.S. could "crush" them "to nothing" The "price of that peace" which the Seneca wished for was enormous land concessions from them. If they did not concede to the settlers' demands, the crushing would begin, the implication being that the U.S. would thereby take all of the land in the end. In reply to this clear extortion, the Seneca speakers *Gaiänt'wakê* ("Corn Planter"), *Achiout* ("Half Town"), and *Nihorontagowa* ("Great Tree") shamed such notions of might making right, "as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights" (Buchanan 121).

By way of contrast, Indigenous culture did not consider the child to be inferior to the mother, nor was the mother's superior strength viewed as her ticket to abuse the child at will. The mother never forcibly extracted what the child had. Instead, the prime directive of the Indigenous American gift economy was: NO BULLIES ALLOWED. Physical, social, or psychological (including theological) menace for the purpose of material acquisition was outlawed. Instead, the two basic parties to suckling (mother and child) were echoed in the basic structure of governance, with the overarching clan system turning on the mother-child axis. The original gifting circle occurred in the very fact of pregnancy, in which the child imbibes sustenance directly through the umbilicus linking mother and child. Lineage is metaphorically presented as the "strings" (squash tubers) hanging down from a woman's vagina, spiritually visible between her legs as she walks ceremonially among the planting mounds at midnight (Parker 30, note 3).

Under the precepts of suckling, the point was to nurture anyone weaker than the self—not to threaten her with demolition if one's outrageous ultimatums were not met. Thus, when one group was seen as poorer than the other, the richer group was required to send gifts to equalize the situation. This principle puts into proper perspective the gifts immediately offered by startled Indians to many an itinerant European intruder. Not known as shrinking violets, for instance, the Aztec of central modern-day Mexico conscientiously sent "food and weapons" to enemies if those enemies were seen as unequal adversaries in an impending conflict (Clendinnen 78). Moreover, when newcomers arrived in a nation's territory, the immediate response was to create the fire alliance of a gifting circle by offering the initial gifts, an act that settlers always mistook as either foolish generosity or a trade of some sort.

By the end of the eighteenth century, rumour was rife among European settlers, generally, that "an Indian's friendship must be purchased by presents, and that it lasts only so long as gifts continue to be lavished upon them" (Heckewelder 281). Moravian missionary John Heckewelder had lived with the Lenape for forty-nine

years, learning multiple Indigenous languages, so he knew that this formulation was untrue. Although Indians took "with pleasure a present a from friend's hand," those presents were not about material acquisition for the self but were indications of their ally's "good disposition" toward them (281). Heckewelder might have mis/interpreted the interaction in the European way, as "gratitude," but what he described was the gift economy in operation (281). Culturally, it was unthinkable to Indians that a gift might come from an enemy. For this reason, Indians freely and lovingly reciprocated gifts and worked thereafter from the assumption that a fire alliance (a gifting circle) had been established between the parties the moment gifts had been offered and accepted.

The principles of gifting thus apply beyond what is usually seen by Westerners as economics, in the "once and done" approach to economics under which no relationship beyond the immediate exchange exists. Instead, entering into the fire alliance of the gift creates bonds between the parties, with additional members of the gifting circle radiating out like a neural network. Once established, the circle is to continue indefinitely. Because peace is viewed as the natural state, the intention of the circle is to formalize the peace of friendship, eliminating any possibility of hostile interactions.

Consequently, the Spanish invader Hernán Cortés was able to march directly into the Aztec capital of *Tenochtitlán* in 1519 to be received with peace, kindness, and goods. Upon approaching any newcomer, the Aztec welcome wagon had a ceremony, followed everywhere in Meso-America at the time, in which each counsellor (including Montezuma) would be seen "putting his hand to the ground, and afterwards kissing it," that is, acknowledging Mother Earth as the source of all goods (Cortés 232, 233). Regarding Montezuma as a European-style emperor, which he was not, Cortés gave him a "collar of pearl and glass diamonds," while Montezuma gave Cortés two shell collars from each of which "hung eight golden shrimps executed with great perfection and a span long." Next, Cortés was given "valuables of gold and silver work, and five or six thousand pieces of rich cotton stuffs, woven and embroidered in diverse ways" (233-4). This was not a display of opulence to cower Cortés but the suckling of an outlander in the interests of creating a new fire alliance. In return, of course, Cortés destroyed the Aztec homeland.

A hundred and thirty years later, Europeans still did not grasp the point of Indigenous American gifting. In 1653, the Italian Jesuit missionary Francesco-Giuseppe Bressani complained about the expectations of the Iroquoian Petun of Québec that the missionaries provide gifts before they interacted with—let alone made demands on—the Petun people. Bressani's grand plan for the conversion of the Petun was to establish "*à Kebec vn Seminario*," which the Jesuits believed would create a great opportunity "*per propagar la Noftre Santa Feder nel paefe*" (to propagate our holy faith in the country). Once his project began, Bressani found to his astonishment that, unlike in Europe, the Petun "*giouani*" (*giovani*, young men) were not considered cultural leaders because young men were regarded as impulsive, having the bad judgment of impressionable youth. Moreover, Bressani griped that, to get the seminary off the ground, he had not only to make "*gran prefenti a' parenti de'giouani*" (large gifts to the young men's lineages) but also "*perfuadere à loro fteffe di dimorar con noi*" (to persuade [the young men], themselves, to dwell among us) (Thwaites 126, 128).

When one group was seen as poorer than the other, the richer group was required to send gifts to equalize the situation.… When newcomers arrived in a nation's territory, the immediate response was to create the fire alliance of a gifting circle by offering the initial gifts, an act that settlers always mistook as either foolish generosity or a trade of some sort.

In other words, Bressani had first to establish a gift alliance with the Petun and then negotiate separately with the youths about attending the seminary. Although young men were not thought to be capable of leading a community, they nevertheless enjoyed freedom of choice. (It still puzzles Westerners that communal societies like that of the Iroquois can simultaneously be bastions of personal freedom.) For their part, the Petun no doubt interpreted Bressani's request for students in terms of the Turtle Island way of learning about a new ally by allowing selected young people to grow up among them, thus to become bilingual and bicultural. Then, when grown into maturity, those people became the allies' cultural liaisons. Both groups were expected to send young volunteers to each other, and the Petun would have returned large gifts for the European youths coming to them. Of course, these intricacies escaped the Jesuits, who tended to rail about the gifts they were expected to provide. As far as they were

concerned, they had already provided the "*doni marauigliofi*" (marvelous gift) of the Christian gospel (150). No Native American felt suckled by Christianity, however.

Over a century later, when the British cynically called the Iroquois their "allies" during the American Revolution, the Iroquois took them at their word, and expected them to show it with gifts, even as they cared for, housed, allotted land to, and fed the British "rangers" among them. "Many and many a night," recalled Dikewamis (Seneca, "Mary Jemison") in 1823, "I have pounded samp [corn meal] for them from sun-set to sun-rise, and furnished them with necessary provision and clean clothing" (Seaver 64). Notwithstanding, in 1779-1780, as the Revolution began its downswing for the Crown, British General Frederick Haldiman was cross about the cost of Britain's Indian allies, continually bemoaning the "amazing sums" they were costing his treasury (359, 409). On April 20, 1781, Haldiman blew up at Arendt De Peyster, his commander in Detroit over the enormity of "the Indian Presents, and the expensive articles that compose them," not to mention the "Frequency of these Amazing Demands" (465–6). On May 27, 1781, De Peyster cringed to submit his latest expense accounts to Haldiman, excusing himself by laying the blame for them on the women. "What remains in store," he explained, "will serve to cloathe the warriors on their Return who are always Naked, the Squaws never failing to tear off everything from their backs, before they Enter the fort, when they must be Equipd anew and also rewarded for their Exploits however trifling" (482). ("Squaw" is Iroquoian for "cunt," not woman [Mann *Iroquoian Women* 19–22]).

First, Indigenous Turtle Islanders always went to battle naked except for their war paint, adhered to their skin with refined bear grease (to afford speed of motion while making them too slippery for enemies to grab hold of). Second, removing clothing before a visit was a direct reminder and a rebuke to those being visited, indicating that they needed to hold up their end of the fire alliance with gifts. Ceremonially speaking, the Clan Mothers doing the undressing were metaphorically handing off their babies to their sisters (allies), signaling that the Clan Mothers had been sucked dry of milk. The sisters needed to take over the suckling while the mother replenished.

Steeped in concepts of exchange as the only form of economics, instead of realizing that whatever was given was considered adequate to create a circle (thus ensuring poor communities access to wealth till the wealth was equalized), Europeans strove to take advantage of Indians' gifts. On September 5, 1805, for instance, when weather- and travel-battered Meriwether Lewis and William Clark entered the Bitterroot Mountains, the "Ootlashoots" (Salish) met them with great kindness and cordiality. The U.S. team decided that four Salish men were "chiefs" (they were probably speakers) and gave each a U.S. "medal and a small quantity of tobacco." Seeing Lewis and Clark's poverty, the Salish men promptly piled gifts on them—including "the skins of a braro [prairie dog], an otter, and two antelopes"—while the Salish women gave them "some dried roots and berries" . Seeing this as a market negotiation, however, Lewis and Clark pressed for horses, which the Salish freely gave. To Lewis and Clark's minds, however, they had just traded their seven, exhausted horses and "a few articles of merchandise" for eleven, fresh Salish horses (Lewis and Clark 141).

Typically, settlers would run away from such a transaction, giggling over the haul they had just made at the expense of the silly Indians. They did not realize that they were being supplied out of the Indigenous impulse to suckle the weak, nor did they appreciate that they had just entered into a fire alliance, a peace agreement to which hostility was not an acceptable response (Heckewelder 281). On their side, Indians were regularly baffled by the European urgency to "get rich, and heap up treasures," even to the point of monetizing murder (189). A colonial governor's proclamation from June 12, 1755 offered settlers "*Forty Pounds*" for "every Male Indian Scalp, brought in as Evidence of their being killed," and for "every Scalp" of a "Female Indian or a Male Indian under Twelve Years of Age, brought as Evidence of their being killed, as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds" (Voegel 51–2; italics original). How murder could suckle anyone's fire alliance was beyond the Indians.

In another reflection of the gift economy, when one group was driven from its home by virtue of having been the fire ally of another group, the second group was expected to supply it with a new home. Again, most Europeans were having none of it. In 1665, during the War on Beaver (the "Beaver Wars"), the British colonists of Maryland entered into alliance with the Susquehanna, immediately demanding that they aid Maryland's war on the Seneca. Because of their fire alliance with Maryland, the Susquehanna complied, but in 1674, without so much as a howdy-do to the Susquehanna, Maryland entered a peace treaty with the Seneca, leaving the Susquehanna high and dry (Wallace 99-100). This was probably because Maryland officials realized that war and smallpox epidemics had worn the Susquehanna down to a bare nubbins. Stunned that the colonists did not suckle them in their weakness, some Susquehanna went west to their old friends, the Munsee (Wolf Clan, Lenape) in Pennsylvania, who took them to the Lenape towns along the Tuscaroras River in southeastern Ohio. Because the Seneca of Ohio were in fire alliance with the Munsee, they adopted the now-reduced Susquehanna, giving them what is today

the town of McComb, Ohio, where their Susquehanna descendants dwell to this day.

Operating on the same principle of reciprocity in fire alliances, in early 1782, as it became clear that the rebels had won the Revolutionary War, the Seneca speaker, Coneiogatchie, sent a message to the British Crown. After having "refreshed" King George with symbolic "scalps" (purple wampum, a war belt), Coneiogatchie reminded the King of the Senecas' "faithfulness in destroying his enemies," as enhanced by a "blue and white belt," most probably tear-drop wampum. When the war began, he told the King that the rebels were "like young panthers; they could neither bite nor scratch," but by 1782, they had "become big as the elk, and strong as the buffalo," and had "also got great and sharp claws" Now that the settlers had "driven us out of our country by taking part in your quarrel," said Coneiogatchie, "we expect the King will give us another country, that our children may live after us, and be his friends and children, as we are"). This sentiment was completed by Coneiogatchie's laying a belt of pure white wampum (peace) (Stone iii). In this instance, the British came through, after a fashion. The Mohawk portion of the Iroquois League that had gone out with Thayendenagea, a British agent during the war, were granted a strip of reservation land at Brantford, Ontario, where they began the Canadian Iroquois League on the Six Nations Reserve (McMillan and Yellowhorn 91-2). The confusing result was, thereafter, the existence of two Leagues of the Haudenosaunee, one in the US and the second in Canada.

Because of their exchange mindset, Europeans took all gifts without much thought of reciprocation. When Indians tried to prompt an understanding of giving through the direct action of helping themselves to needed but withheld goods (often from assets originally seized from themselves), the settlers cried "theft." The Indians were not raiding, however; they were equalizing access to the goods necessary to life. When the U.S. Army threatened his people in 1858, the Kiowa chief To-Hosen ("Little Mountain") , put it this way: "When my young men, to keep their women and children from starving, take from the white man passing through our country, killing and driving away the buffalo, a cup of sugar or coffee, the 'white chief' is angry and threatens to send his soldiers" (Miller 99). Such a response was heavily condemned in traditional circles, for the young men were simply righting the inequity of the distribution of goods. The mother does not suckle *on* the child. The strong do not refuse food to the weak, let alone take food from the weak.

Neither do the strong despise as inadequate the presents of the weak. Mother might be preparing a feast for the clan house. When her little girl proudly hands her a fistful of half-ground samp, which she has just attempted to crush into meal for her mother, the gift will be accepted with praise, not sneered off with ridicule, while Mother's sisters will join in the acclaim. Meantime, a senile grandmother might "help" by throwing stripped corn stalks into the soup. Mother will thank her, arranging a comfortable seat and quietly removing the stalks a bit later. A little boy might approach, holding out a worm for the soup, which Mother will graciously accept (albeit, not put in the soup). The older boys will, in the meantime, bag a turkey, whose meat she will use, with praise of their nascent hunting skills. When it is time for the feast, all will know that they are cordially welcome at a dinner that they participated in making.

Typically, settlers would run away from such a transaction, giggling over the haul they had just made at the expense of the silly Indians. They did not realize they were being supplied out of the Indigenous impulse to suckle the weak, nor did they appreciate that they had just entered into a fire alliance, a peace agreement to which hostility was not an acceptable response.

Gifts are not, then, about material value, comparable financial worth, or debt creation, but about bonding for the benefit of all. One day, the little girl will grow up to pound her corn smooth; grandmother will walk the Milky Way Trail having left her death song to her descendants; the little boy will realize that worms work better as fish bait than as soup meat; and the older boys will graduate to the demanding hunt of elk, buffalo, or bear. No one is resentful about any of the lessons, because in all instances enlightenment came at its own pace through the process of gift-giving. Heckewelder recognized that "gentle" and "persuasive" learning methods and patience sprang from this lack of coercion by the strong against the weak, contrasting Indian mutuality with the "forbidding tone" of European reproaches, so full of the "harsh" and "compulsive means" (Heckewelder 115). Although he did not make the full connection, whatHeckewelder described the end result of gifting tactics to be was a willing cooperation,

one with the other, in which "age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect" (117).

The gift economy is seen as a spiritual principle, one fractal of the Twinned Cosmos. Composed of Blood (water, earth) and Breath (air, sky), the Twinship must be maintained in balance by all spirits, including those dwelling in human form, lest the cosmos collapse (Mann *Spirits of Blood, Spirits of Breath* 99). Should one half of the Twinship weaken, then the other half must prop it up till equity is restored. Gifting circles are one way to maintain the balance, which is why the strong prop up the weak until all are supplied in equilibrium. The Twinship is repeated endlessly through fire alliances, their spreading, neural networks strengthening the cosmos in replication of the mother-suckling-child metaphor.

It is not surprising, then, to find ceremonial spaces purposely created to reflect these principles. The Ohio Valley Mounds are physical reflections of the organizing principle of mutuality, shown figuratively in geometric design. Thus, the Turtle-Rising diagram is Mother Earth rising in the cosmos (see Figure 1). Mimicking the back of a turtle appearing in a pond before the head, flippers, and tail are visible, the motif can be interpreted in numerous ways, with one aspect of the rising symbolizing pregnancy, in Mother Earth and in her daughters. Examples of Turtle-Rising mounds exist throughout the Ohio River valley (see Figure 2 for one such mound group located in Chillicothe, Ohio).

Figure 1. Turtle Rising

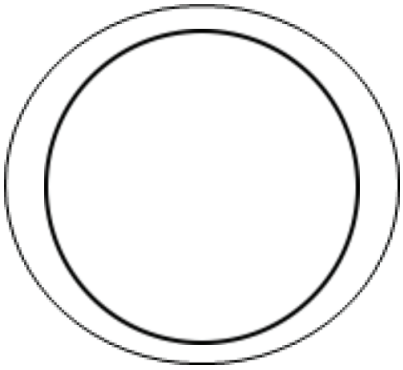

Figure 1. Turtle Rising represents a tradition of Turtle (earth) rising from the water, surrounded by sky (outer space). It is also a synecdoche for a foetus floating in the womb. It is a shape appearing in the ancient ceremonial mounds.

The interaction of giving-receiving is also shown by interconnected circles, suggestive of near-term pregnancy (as shown in Figure 3, a mound complex on the Scioto River in Ohio). Although archaeologists recognize that the surplus circle symbolized "water," amusingly, they do not grasp that, in Indigenous America, water is heavy with connotations of pregnancy. I hold that the smaller of the left-hand circles in Figure 3 is the amniotic fluid signifying the swollen womb, as impregnated by the conjunction of Blood (the square) and Breath (the larger circle). In a counterpart explication of Breath's connection with pregnancy, an interesting Cherokee tradition exists of the first two young men of the Cherokee creating protection for themselves from wolves (Breath) by running a figure eight ∞ around the outside of a "house" on dry land, and the circle they created as they ran in the connecting swamp, with both the square house and the swamp circled protected by Blood energy. As the boys' feet lifted, step by step, flames rose from the water in the swamp, till the swamp circle was etched by fire, in a perfect harmony of Blood (water) and Breath (fire) (Mooney 245–6).

Figure 2. Turtle Rising Mound

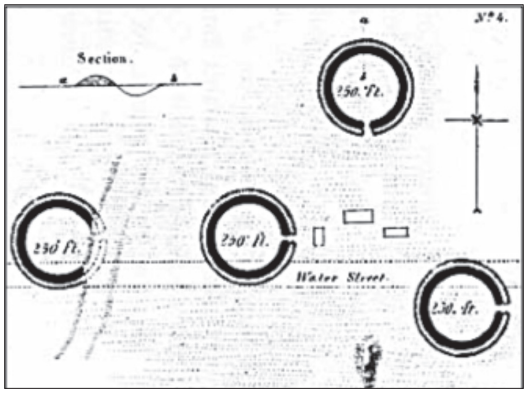

Figure 2. Shows the Turtle Rising motif in the mounds complex at Chillicothe, Ohio. *Source:* Ephraim George Squier and Edwin H. Davis, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. 1, 1848, reprint. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965. Plate xxxii, no. 3, following p. 90.

In the Eastern Woodlands, where the vast majority of the mounds exist, the founding creators of human reality are traditionally mothers, who hold up both their female (Blood) and male (Breath) descendants, in a motif also

Figure 3. Figure-Eight Motif

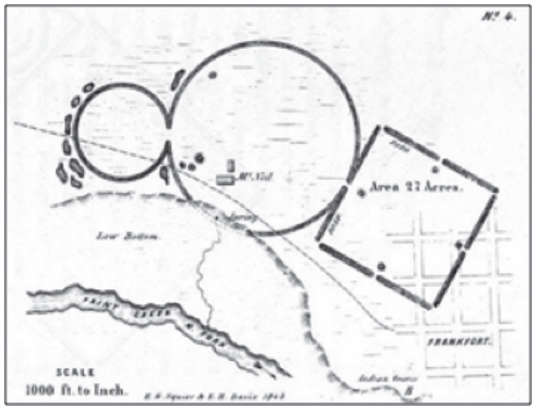

Figure 3. The figure eight motif is shown above on the left hand side, in the conjoined circles. *Source:* Ephraim George Squier and Edwin H. Davis, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. 1 (1848, reprint; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965) Plate xxi, no. 4, preceding page 57.

Figure 4. Water Mediation

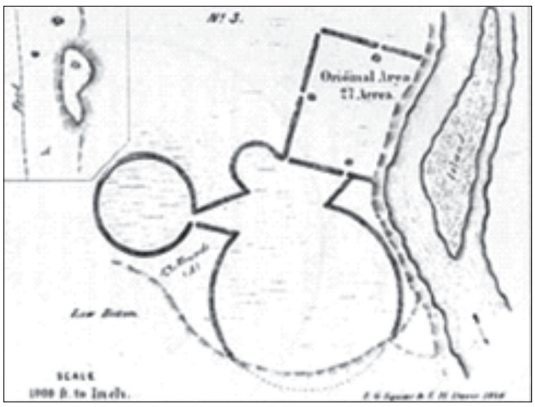

Figure 4. The water mediates the circle of sky and the square of earth. *Source:* Ephraim George Squier and Edwin H. Davis, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. 1 (1848, reprint; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965) Plate xxi, No. 3, following p. 56.

redolent of the Twinned Cosmos. The potency of water mediation between Blood and Breath is particularly suggested in Figure 4 (below). This mound is from the "East Earthworks" at Frankfort, Ohio. this complex shows that the earth is our mother. She holds us, suckling all, supporting all, and guiding all.

Indian history, cultural conventions, and ancient Mound-Builder iconography, thus strongly support the theories concerning the gift economy, as independently developed by Genevieve Vaughan, starting in the 1970s. The theoretical framework that she offered to matriarchal studies thereby strengthened more scholars than just myself, and for that, we all owe her a deep debt of gratitude.

Barbara Alice Mann, Ph.D. is Professor of Humanities in the Jesup Scott Honors College of the University of Toledo, in Toledo, Ohio, USA. She has published over 250 articles and chapters and fourteen books, the latest two of which are President by Massacre: Indian-Killing for Political Gain *(2019) and* Spirits of Blood, Spirits of Breath: The Twinned Cosmos of Indigenous America *(2016). Other works include* Matriarchal Studies: A Bibliography *(Oxford 2015; updated 2019), for which Mann combined with Dr. Heide Goettner-Abendroth;* The Tainted Gift *(2009), on the deliberate spread of disease to Natives by settlers as a land-clearing tactic;* George Washington's War on Native America *(2005),* Daughters of Mother Earth *(2006, paperback as* Make a Beautiful Way*, 2008). Her internationally famous* Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas *(2001, 2004, 2006) is in its third printing.*

Endnotes

[1]For a definition and discussion of "yakademia," see Barbara Alice Mann, *Spirits of Blood, Spirits of Breath: The Twinned Cosmos of Indigenous America* (5-7).

[2]For the third element as water, see Warren De Boer, "Ceremonial Circles from the Cayapas (Esmeraldes, Ecuador) to Chillicothe (Ohio, USA)" (236).

References

Buchanan, James. *Sketches of the History, Manners, and Customs of the North American Indians*. London: Black, Young, and Young, 1824.

Calloway, Colin. *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Clendinnen, Inga. "Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty: Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico." *Representations*. 33 (1991): 65-100.

Cortés, Hernán. *Letters of Cortes: The Five Letters of Relation from Fernando Cortes to the Emperor Charles V*. Trans. and ed. Francis Augustus MacNutt. Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1908.

De Boer, Warren. "Ceremonial Circles from the Cayapas (Esmeraldes, Ecuador) to Chillicothe (Ohio, USA)." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*. 7.2 (1997): 225-53.

Delâge, Denis. *Le pays renversé: Amérindiens et Européens en Amérique du Nord-Est, 1600–1664*. Montréal: Boréal, 1991.

"The Haldiman Papers." *Historical Collections and Researches Made by the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan*. Vol. 10. Lansing: Thorpe & Godfrey, State Printers and Binders, 1888. 210–672.

Heckewelder, John. *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*. 1820. New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1976.

Johnson, Sonia. *Wildfire: Igniting the She/volution*. Albuquerque: Wildfire Books, 1989.

Lewis, Meriwether and William Clark. *History of an Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, Across the Rocky Mountains, down the Columbia River to the Pacific in 1804-6*. Vol. 2. 1814. New York: New Amsterdam Book Publishers, 1902.

Mann, Barbara Alice. "Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Economy." *The Encyclopedia of Native American Economic History*. Ed. Bruce E. Johansen. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999. 120–34.

Mann, Barbara Alice. *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*. New York: Lang Publishing, 2000.

Mann, Barbara Alice. *Spirits of Blood, Spirits of Breath: The Twinned Cosmos of Indigenous America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

McMillan, Alan D., and Eldon Yellowhorn. *First Peoples in Canada*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004.

Miller, Robert C. "Annual Report for 1858." *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1858*. Washington: W. A. Harris, 1858. 96-100.

Mooney, James. "Myths of the Cherokee." *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of America Ethnology, 18971898*. Part I. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.

Parker, Arthur Caswell. *The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet*. New York State Museum Bulletin 163. Education Department Bulletin. No. 530. 1913. 1-148.

Seaver, James E. *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*. London: Wilson and Sons, York, 1826.

Squier, Ephraim George, and Edwin H. Davis. *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations*. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. 1. 1848. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.

Stone, William Leete. *Life of Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea*. Vol. 1. Carlyle: Applewood Books, 1838.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. Vol. 39. Cleveland: Burroughs Brothers Publishers, 1899.

Vaughan, Genevieve. *For-Giving: A Feminist Criticism of Exchange*. Austin: Plain View Press, 1997.

Voegel, Virgil J. *This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Wallace, Paul A. W. *Indians in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1961.

Wood, William. *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*. Vol. 3. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1920.

JOANNA M. WESTON

The Fourteen

we circle candles
in the sand
each one
a wavering light
against dark ocean

we walk
lifting prayers
for stolen lives

each small flame
flickers
briefly tall
before falling
into memory

Joanna M. Weston has multiple spiders, a herd of deer, and two derelict hen-houses. Her middle-reader, Frame and The McGuire, was published by Tradewind Books in 2015, and her poetry collection, A Bedroom of Searchlights*, was published by Inanna Publications in 2016. Other books are listed on her blog: www.1960willowtree.wordpress.com.*