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La Salle on Seneca Creation, 1678

Kevin J. White, Michael Galban, and Eugene R. H. Tesdahl

Haudenosaunee Creation in Context

This article will examine a distinctive Seneca version of Creation rendered in 1678 by René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur [sir] de La Salle, and compare it to J. N. B. Hewitt's work with Chief John Armstrong in 1896. A portion of this essay presents the La Salle 1678 narrative in both the original French and in English, followed by a brief analysis situating the narrative among other published Seneca versions of Creation. The crux of this essay, however, is to demonstrate that the search for the elusive original, authentic version is misguided and that interpretation is up to both the community and the individual—to declare/interpret what they think the story may mean, as has been the norm among the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) for many generations.

Variations in written versions of the cosmological narratives of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) can easily be discerned when viewed side by side. Yet with remarks such as "each authority claims fidelity for his version, each narrator had his own style," William Fenton has often simplistically dismissed these nuances,[1] while Snow, Richter, and many Iroquoian scholars have unfortunately followed this approach.[2] The views

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regarding these narratives of Kevin White, this article's lead author, part company with similar arguments presented by Fenton, Snow, and Richter regarding the Sagard, LeJeune, and BreBeuf versions for one simple reason, however: their studies actually focus on Huron cosmological narratives, not Haudenosaunee.[3] While culturally similar, these two indigenous groups had significant differences too; for example, the governance models of the Haudenosaunee are argued to be far more sophisticated than those of the Huron.

Fenton relied heavily upon Franz Boas's theories of diffusion to account for the similarities between Northeast Woodland nations, which in turn, as other scholars have adopted Fenton's assertions without thoroughly questioning Boas's theories of diffusion, have created an undue and troubling influence over Iroquois scholarship. Boas believed that the occurrence of stories consisting of the same combination of several elements that are found in two regions "is due to diffusion. The more complex the story is . . . the more this conclusion will be justified."[4] Fenton's and other scholars' adherence to Boasian diffusionism is highly problematic for Iroquois scholarship.

More commonly known as the Iroquois, the Haudenosaunee are one of the most studied North American Indian nations. Some of the earliest writings appear in the early seventeenth century when missionaries, fur traders, and officials of the colonies of North America wrote down general observations, negotiations, and even culturally important narratives. Today, in addition to the longstanding scholars of the field, scholarly efforts on Haudenosaunee cosmologies continue to be published, with the newest voices originating largely from Haudenosaunee academics, public historians, and allied academics. Collaboration among scholars, community members, and public historians is critical; communication will keep the discussion on the topic vibrant, but will also help to correct inaccuracies and problematic interpretations from both the past and present.

The Haudenosaunee is a confederacy of nations that centuries ago allied together in and around what is now upstate New York. The Haudenosaunee call themselves the "People of the Longhouse." The longhouse is not only a physical structure but also a metaphor for Haudenosaunee social, cultural, political, and metaphysical organization. There has been an interesting tension among the Haudenosaunee for a significant amount of time between the written word and the spoken memory of the Holders of Tradition. The Haudenosaunee believe that the people own the narrative. The "Holder of Tradition," or "Speaker" (often called the "informant" in academic parlance), recites the narratives consistent with a format acceptable to the community at culturally appropriate times. When written versions of the cosmological narratives are viewed side by side there is often a palpable sense of the orality of presentation. We contend that these nuances typically have been simplistically dismissed by Fenton, and in Iroquoian studies in general, characterizing such differences as mere matters of style has been the rule for far too long. This attitude has obscured the deeper significance of variation among the various recorded versions of the Haudenosaunee Creation narrative.

For any culture one of the core narratives is the cosmological origin story, or Creation narrative. Its importance cannot be overemphasized: serving as its philosophical and ceremonial cornerstones, it embodies a society's core values and ultimately

encapsulates its worldview. The Haudenosaunee narrative is no exception. The Creation narratives are the first of three metanarratives that together frame worldviews and delineate the philosophies of the Haudenosaunee cosmos, as uniquely understood by each nation. All Haudenosaunee communities know the story of the Woman Who Fell from the Sky and recognize its fundamental significance.

While there can, and ought to be, debate over nuances and interpretations, should these be the primary focus? Tuscarora scholar J. N. B. Hewitt's work with Chief John Arthur Gibson's Myth of the Earth Grasper is often considered the dominant authority, and rightly so, although many Iroquoianists have stated that one need look no further back than Fenton's 1962 article "This Island, the World on Turtle's Back."[5] Yet many scholars' continued strict adherence to Fenton's concepts of authenticity and the attendant goal of teasing out a single original version, as laid out in Fenton's frequently cited 1962 article, may cause the discussion of these differences to become lost among an unobtainable quest for authenticity or accuracy—to the exclusion of new ways of thinking about and engaging the narratives that lead to new insights.

Situating Fenton, Boas, and the Diffusion Theory

When engaging with Fenton's 1962 article and contemplating Boas's intentions, we must be mindful of inherent biases brought into the first published versions of Haudenosaunee Creation narratives. Fenton and others have interpreted Boas's diffusion theory to mean that if one could find enough similarities between cultural/Creation stories, one ought to be able to find an original source, as stories among indigenous peoples were likely shared, with elements becoming diffused and adopted as each culture saw fit. Unfortunately, Fenton and other students of the Iroquois have adopted this notion as fact rather than theory. Indeed, in cases where similarities across distinct nations are found in common with the Haudenosaunee, Boas, Fenton, and others have underscored this notion of diffusion by examining narratives of Creation among the Hurons, Cherokee, and even western Great Lake nations like the Ojibway. For example, this might include the birth of Twins as Creators of the natural world—who are sometimes called Lodge Boy and Thrown-away among Western Great Lakes tribes, rather than the Haudenosaunee names Flint and Earth Grasper—whereby the scholarly emphasis is on the stories' similarities and differences are more often attributed to language variation instead of revealing distinctive traits and values of a particular culture.[6]

Although the Huron and Cherokee are considered Iroquoian speakers by Fenton and others, in many ways they are distinct from the original five signing nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, later joined by the Tuscarora, who became members of the Confederacy in 1722). White's research on the published cosmologies attributed to the Haudenosaunee finds these narratives by Sagard, LeJeune, and Brebeuf intriguing to read, but these chroniclers appear to be commenting on the narratives more than actually capturing or recording them in the context of their cultural significance.[7] Moreover, as White has previously pointed out, were fur trappers, governing officials, and other missionaries

truly any different in their biases toward indigenous epistemologies than modern Iroquoianist scholars?

> Sagard's presentation . . . is Huron in nature and not one of the Haudenosaunee nations, although used by Fenton and others as the first gathered written account of the Haudenosaunee cosmology. Most of these written words stem from observations and journals of early explorers, for example Jesuits and trappers. These words at best are partial pictures or snapshots of stories attempting to be understood by a uniquely distinct cultural group who earnestly believes that their cultural belief and structure centered around one deity and is the only correct understanding of how this world came into existence.[8]

The Jesuits were not attempting to understand the philosophical worldviews underpinning the cosmologies of the Haudenosaunee; rather, they were evaluating the Haudenosaunee in comparison to Western theological beliefs and structures. This suggests that the Jesuits were intent on finding flaws within the culture of the Haudenosaunee in order to make the argument that they needed to be saved from their cultural worldviews and thus themselves, and would be better off civilized. Ultimately this notion of forcible assimilation would find its way into governmental policies in the late nineteenth century, and its underlying sentiment has existed into the twenty-first: indigenous cultures are viewed as somehow less "civilized" in comparison to Euro-American cultures.

Galban, Tesdahl, and a Discovery of La Salle on Seneca Creation

In a collaborative effort, public historian Michael Galban and Eugene Tesdahl, two coauthors of this article, translated into English from the original French a newly discovered Seneca version of Creation that was contained in a 1678 interview with the Sieur de La Salle. The Sieur de La Salle had relayed the account with L'Abbe de Galinee in 1678 just prior to his return to North America. La Salle's account was published in Pierre Margry's massive six-volume work *Decouvertes et etablissements des Francais dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale* in 1875.[9] Largely focused on the banal debate over which European first discovered the Mississippi River, however, most of the scholarship to date on Margry's work related to La Salle and has overlooked the extremely valuable ethnohistoric information it contains.

It was very exciting to hear that La Salle had been recorded relaying information which may have come from Senecas living at Ganondagan 325 years ago. Galban first became aware of the La Salle Creation narrative through George Hamell (curator of the Rock Foundation Collection and archaeologist with the Rochester Museum and Science Center), an amazing man who has been an invaluable asset to his understanding of Haudenosaunee people. He is, in his words, a "doorkeeper" to the vastness of Iroquois scholarship, mastery of which can only come from a lifetime of research. Hamell informed Galban of this rare account and furthermore indicated that no one had yet translated the La Salle version of Seneca Creation. The convergence of scholarly knowledge represented by Hamell's expertise, Galban's strong base in oral

tradition and his study of the Haudenosaunee in the colonial period, and Tesdahl's linguistic abilities in translating archaic French was a very fortunate accident. This culmination provided the backdrop to this essay—many working together to decipher and interpret a distinctive Seneca version of Creation. Working from multiple colonial period sources and lexicons, in the end they were able to winnow out a true gem of oral history with significant implications that support Haudenosaunee views of their own orality and history.

Galban also asked coauthor Kevin White to identify the earliest Seneca version of Creation he had encountered in his research of the cosmologies of the Haudenosaunee. White was intrigued when Galban shared the version of the Seneca creation story he and Tesdahl had recently translated, because it contributes another dynamic to conversations and analysis of published Haudenosaunee cosmologies. The earliest accounts are given in two different versions by Megapolensis (1644) and van der Donck (1653), but these are Mohawk versions, not Seneca.[10] The earliest Seneca versions usually noted are Arthur C. Parker's publications in 1922 and 1926, or his uncle Ely S. Parker's work with Lewis Henry Morgan in 1851. J. N. B. Hewitt's work with Chief John Armstrong from Cattaraugus in 1896 should be considered a longer, more complete version of a distinct Seneca narrative of creation.

What makes Galban and Tesdahl's translation of the La Salle text so exciting is that it appears uniquely Seneca in origin and much earlier than either of the accounts recorded by Arthur C. Parker. As it closely mirrors Hewitt's work with Armstrong some 220 years later, the La Salle 1678 version is a substantial discovery in published Haudenosaunee creation narratives that creates new points of discussion and contemplation of a distinctively Seneca creation narrative. For example, if certain markers held true to unique Seneca versions, we can infer from this 1678 version of Seneca creation that oral history, as Haudenosaunee peoples have continuously practiced it, is even more remarkably consistent than previously thought. If the La Salle accounting of the narrative is consistent with benchmarks established in Hewitt's 1896 work with Seneca Chief John Armstrong, ought we then to reevaluate our thinking on the power of oral cultural as practiced by the Haudenosaunee and other indigenous peoples?

Imagine the power of orality if very little had changed from 1678 through 1896, a span of 218 years marked by vast cross-cultural exchanges, conflict, and coexistence among the cultures and nations of the northeast. The major influences on the Haudenosaunee during that span of 218 years would include the Haudenosaunee, the Dutch, the French, the English, and finally the Americans, along with an influx and absorption of other Native cultures as they were driven westward from their own territories and homelands along the eastern seaboard. Specifically, we need to focus on the power of orality, oral history, and storytelling when it comes to how indigenous peoples have remembered important cultural facets and value systems in the absence of written language and in the face of the intrusions of Western culture.

The La Salle 1678 narrative demonstrates a remarkable stability in the oral culture of the Haudenosaunee. The Seneca Creation story can now be shown to have retained its integrity over centuries, not merely decades, as it is clearly mirrored by later recorded versions. The La Salle 1678 narrative reignites a debate specifically centered on the

variations between the eras, speakers, nations, and gatherers of Creation narratives. We believe the 1678 version cements the notion that the people owned the story, and those deemed the "Narrator," or "Speaker," or as Seneca scholar John Mohawk referred to them, the "Holders of Tradition," are precisely that—the holders of the story for the communities, clans, and the Haudenosaunee people as a whole. For far too long academics have argued that the narrators sought ownership by adding their own flair to different presentations of the narrative.[11] This new evidence argues strongly against this belief.

White has argued that when studying the creation narratives side-by-side, one can discern patterns that appear to be unique to each nation and audience, thus accounting for variations among the versions over the decades and centuries.[12] Although Fenton has claimed variations to be a speaker's desire to claim ownership of the narrative,[13] importantly, in Haudenosaunee culture it is the people who own the story. According to Haudenosaunee protocols, the speaker is responsible not for authoring, but rather holding that story and reciting it for people at culturally appropriate times. Thus, variations among the different versions may indeed highlight various nations' unique views or concerns, revealing patterns of cultural thinking over time. More importantly, spoken-word Creation stories are told to a particular audience, while the gatherers of Creation narratives are rendering these stories for a general audience of readers. Print versions of stories are therefore influenced by this alteration of audience as the stories' various gatherers conceive of their readership. The real importance of this account does not come from documenting the Iroquois creation story to an early date, as this would come as no surprise to Haudenosaunee people, but as a validation of the strength of their oral history. The Haudenosaunee have always maintained that their memory of the past is clear and that the proper way to relate important truths is by recitation, so it is quite refreshing to find that the tenants of the Seneca creation story remain intact over many centuries. As Haudenosaunee people read this narrative, it should feel familiar and comfortable and hopefully reaffirm a trust that the old stories are framed in the thinking or philosophical worldview so long held in the stories themselves. And for all of those who bear the burden of keeping the old tales intact, this narrative should bolster their spirits, strengthen their resolve, and above all, give them energy to tell these stories again and again.

Situating La Salle, the Seneca, and the Nineteenth Century

Today there are counties, rivers, and universities in the United States named after René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle. Many credit him with locating the Ohio River, exploring the Mississippi, and planting French roots in what would become Texas. Few intimately know the historical figure. Born in 1643 to a prominent Rouen haberdasher, he became a promising Jesuit father and scholar, then a former priest and North American explorer, and finally a hated captain who was killed by his own men in 1687. Until recently, no one would have named him a chronicler of Haudenosaunee cosmologies, and yet in 1678 he did precisely that.[14]

La Salle first traveled to French Canada in 1667 seeking adventure and fame he never found in the Jesuit Order. Having a brother who was a Montreal Sulpician and an uncle in the Compagnie des Cents-Associés made New France a logical choice. La Salle's first excursion into the North American interior in 1669 was fueled by a series of lucrative land dealings, including selling most of a seigneury back to the very Sulpicians who had given it to him, at a significant profit. This was the first of several journeys across North America between 1669 and 1687. La Salle bolstered French claims to North American lands across the Great Lakes, the Ohio River, the Mississippi, and parts in between.[15] Our interest lies with his forays into Haudenosaunee lands, which began in 1669 with his arrival at the Seneca town Ganondagan. There the novice adventurer first encountered the Haudenosaunee hosts who monitored the land between New France and the Mississippi Valley.

La Salle's fascination with the Iroquois and their culture was revealed when he imparted his recollection of their cosmology in 1678. Not unexpectedly, given his lack of facility with the Haudenosaunee languages, he had struggled initially to engage and grasp protocols of the culture, let alone the nuanced metaphor used by the nations. The recounting of the creation story reveals that by 1678, La Salle's grasp of the Haudenosaunee language had increased greatly; that during this same period, many Haudenosaunee had gained further understanding of French; and most importantly, that in seventeenth-century Haudenosaunee culture cosmology played such a central role that La Salle was compelled to learn it in order to live among these influential people. As a former priest who shared the intellectual curiosity of many Jesuits before him, La Salle's interpretative curiosity may have played a role as well—but La Salle's differs from other Jesuit accounts in that it does not simply summarize the cosmological story of the Haudenosaunee, but actually recites the narrative itself. La Salle's account differs significantly as well from versions collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, save one: the Seneca version of creation as told in 1896 by Chief John Armstrong to Tuscarora ethnographer J. N. B. Hewitt. Examining the La Salle text reveals a story that is culturally specific to the Seneca and would retain its accuracy more than 220 years later.

Situating the La Salle Seneca Narrative among Other Seneca Narratives

As White notes in his dissertation, the purpose of the published creation narratives of the Haudenosaunee was to preserve and pass down the unique thinking and reflections contained in the stories, which needed to be transmitted to each subsequent generation so that they might contemplate and remember the core cultural values intrinsic to Haudenosaunee society.[16] The lessons and values contained in the narratives remind the people that they must remember and perform the ceremonials of Thanksgiving; indeed, the end of the Creation narrative instructs them to remember. Considered cornerstones of the Haudenosaunee culture, the notions and frameworks of the ceremonials of Thanksgiving are the foundation of the Creation narrative, Great Law of Peace, and even Gawaiio, the Code of Handsome Lake. Today, many communities call these narratives the essential frameworks of the "Good Mind."[17]

When compared, the La Salle 1678 passage illuminates those distinctive Seneca values that also appear almost 220 years later in Seneca Chief John Armstrong's work with famed ethnographer J. N. B. Hewitt in 1896, revealing similarities but also some very noteworthy differences. In La Salle's 1678 version, the Twins within this cosmological narrative appear to be acting out a tension between agricultural- and hunting-centric existences, which moreover lends weight to Anthony Wonderley's recent work on a similar tension in Oneida creation narratives. Additionally, one sees significant continuity between the metaphors and insights utilized by modern Haudenosaunee communities with those found in the historical imagery and recorded by early colonial observers.

As noted earlier, while the accuracy of their oral culture would not come as a surprise to Haudenosaunee, academics have long failed to recognize the pragmatic aspects of the oral history of the Haudenosaunee, past and present. In other words, accurate transmission of essential core values combined with a deliberate (and necessary) allowance for variations has allowed each generation to confront the ever-changing issues facing the community. This pragmatic purpose stands in clear opposition to the concept of a single original narrative that has remained unchanged over time, save for the embellishments of individual speakers. For example, William Fenton's particular interpretations of how stories of the Haudenosaunee are told and remembered came to establish certain benchmarks utilized by academics. In what many considered to be his seminal article on Iroquois creation, Fenton claimed,

> Depending on how the tale opens, the Iroquois, like their Woodland neighbors and the Plains tribes, distinguish three types of narratives, which may be classified as myths, tales, and traditions. The first class relates of things and events "which truly happened" long ago, and in which the old people really believed; second, there is a great bag of tales which are pure fiction and open, "It is as if a man walked"; and third, there are human adventures which commence, "They went to hunt for meat."[18]

Fenton inserted phrases that explain why this type of story about to be read by his audience, or how a Haudenosaunee audience would have heard the story as it was meant to be delivered, would situate the narrative as fiction, truth, or a blend. In short, the analytic framework established by Fenton reflects a typical Western desire to categorize and catalog narratives with little or no regard for stability, accuracy, or even authenticity, and indeed seeks to establish writing as an inherently more believable or stable medium than oral history and memory. As White has argued passionately, a different approach is needed because these narratives are much like photographs—snapshots in time that need to be contextualized with respect to era, audience, narrator, Native nation, and even the gatherer of the narrative.[19] This 1678 rendering of La Salle's oral account in substance mirrors the narratives as told more than two hundred years later, and this intersection—even given Western culture's preference for textually based materials as opposed to remembered narratives spoken aloud— thus illuminates the remarkable stability of oral culture and human memory passed down through the generations of Seneca speakers.

Oral Tradition and Authenticity

There has long been a simmering tension among scholars regarding the authenticity and verifiability of oral history and culture and the preferential treatment of the written word and understanding of the indigenous peoples of North America and elsewhere in the world. It seems clear that the Eurocentric model of authenticity and accountability is now the norm by which to evaluate the relative merits of orality versus the written word—with written word winning the majority of the time. Yet, as White has wondered, what happens when one finds written accounts that clearly demonstrate a fairly stable oral narrative of creation of an indigenous group that spans some 220 years?

La Salle's would be the earliest known account of a Seneca version of creation. The most authoritative version is open to debate. Some will clearly champion Arthur C. Parker's work in 1922 and 1926. Others might suggest Jesse Cornplanter's version in 1938. Some might even suggest Harriet Maxwell Converse's work in 1908. An argument can be made in favor of Lewis Henry Morgan's 1851 version of Creation, obtained in collaboration with the Seneca leader Ely S. Parker. Only a few might confer the title of most authoritative to the version that Tuscarora scholar J. N. B. Hewitt obtained from Chief John Armstrong of the Cattaraugus Seneca community, procured in 1896 and published in 1903. Though Hewitt's works may be well studied among academics, it remains unavailable to Native communities and those curious about the Haudenosaunee.

While having some deficiencies, Hewitt's works on the Iroquois cosmologies deserves to stand alone as perhaps the most authoritative versions available. He has produced approximately eight to ten thousand pages of unpublished manuscripts in the archives. Work has only recently begun in earnest on deciphering and decoding those cultural materials and narratives that Hewitt collected throughout his career, a process made difficult because in many cases the materials were recorded as a phonetic transcription in any one of the six languages of the Haudenosaunee. For many scholars Hewitt remains on the periphery of Haudenosaunee studies, although this is not the case among some Haudenosaunee communities.

Hewitt's work with Armstrong, as well as with Seth Newhouse and Chief John Buck, culminated with publication of Part I of the Iroquois cosmologies in 1903. Newhouse produced a Mohawk version of creation in collaboration with Hewitt, and also the first Onondaga language version with Buck. With the guidance of Chief John Arthur Gibson, Hewitt would go on to produce a more thorough Onondaga language version of creation, published in Part II of the Iroquois cosmologies in 1928. Together, Hewitt's Iroquois cosmologies Parts I and II are often considered the most comprehensive and detailed among the thirty-nine published versions that are known. Examinations of these cosmologies and thought produced within recent years demonstrate a continuing and strong interest in Haudenosaunee cosmologies among both Haudenosaunee scholars and communities.[20]

In addition, an authoritative, yet readable version produced by Seneca scholar John Mohawk might be added to this group of creation texts. Mohawk's work focuses

on the Gibson and Hewitt collaborations in the Onondaga language in 1928; some might argue that his version should qualify as partially Seneca. For their expansion and added depth, many rightly consider Mohawk's insightful dissertation and his 2005 self-published work on Gibson-Hewitt as necessary to any conversations about Haudenosaunee creation. Furthermore, Mohawk's introduction alone provides a worthwhile discussion of some of the tensions between oral history and the written word, a conflict that has existed for far too long. Rather than find commonalities that seek understanding of the cultural and historical significance of variations between versions, modern scholarship typically deems the written word more conducive to verifiability and thus more "authentic."

Yet many have noted the particular strength of Haudenosaunee memory and eloquence over the centuries; early colonials even remarked on the powerful oratory skills of the Haudenosaunee, as Cadwalder Colden once acknowledged in 1727:

> [A] Mohawk Sachem, on the twenty fourth of September. He made a long oration, repeating all that the Agent from New-England had said, the Day before, and desired them to be attentive to the Answer now to be made to them, before they return any Answer, and one may be surprized [*sic*] at the Exactness of these Repetitions. They take the following Method to assist their Memories: the Sachem, who presides at these Conferences, has a Bundle of small Sticks in his hand; as soon as the Speaker has finished any one Article of his speech, who is particularly to remember that Article; and so when another Article is finished, he gives a Stick to another to take Care of that other, and so on. In like Manner when the Speaker answers, each of these has the particular Care of the Answer resolved on to each Article, and prompts the Orator, when his memory fails him, in the Article committed to his Charge.[21]

In oratory practices among Haudenosaunee practitioners and speakers, clearly great care was taken with the use of mnemonic devices. In fact, wampum belts and strings were also effectively utilized by the Haudenosaunee to provide the speakers with tools to recall speeches, songs, and ways of thinking about a given subject or moment in history.

Mohawk draws attention to another understudied Haudenosaunee practice, pointing out how carefully constructed use of metaphor and imagery in storytelling has led to the development of intensive listening skills, as suggested by Mohawk in his 2005 introduction:

> They often sit immobile, their eyes closed, every bit of their energy concentrated on the words of the speaker. In this frame of mind, powerful images are remembered, and the story can be passed on more effectively . . . Iroquois oral traditions are delivered in a spoken cadence which is quite similar to a form of song. The practice is to preserve such traditions through memory.[22]

In short, these stories literally paint an image in the form of spoken cadence that expressed the core elements, values, and truths of the natural world to be understood across the generations. While to be sure spoken cadence combines with powerful word

choice to create images and potent memories, we are particularly emphasizing that among traditional speakers and the culture of the Longhouse, employing metaphor and other figurative language is a deliberate, conscious decision and practice. This practice allows for modest tweaks to the Creation story that makes it more clearly applicable to unique situations that may confront each succeeding generation and provide guidance for the decisions that the people must make. Each generation bundles this story together and passes it along to the next generation, fully believing and knowing that the core cultural truths and values contained in the narrative are understandable to each subsequent generation.

Indeed, given these allowable, quite deliberate variations in the story as it is presented at specific times to specific audiences, is the debate over verifiability, authenticity, and accuracy worth pursuing? Perhaps an alternative exploration—how the narrative might present an alternative view and understanding of the human's relationship to the natural world, or the human's role and responsibility *to* the natural world—might prove to be a more productive approach. Indeed, this difference in the kinds of questions being asked itself demonstrates a core clash of values and worldviews between Western and Haudenosaunee cultures. This conflict in worldviews manifested historically in cross-cultural exchanges and relationships and still visibly reverberates today in telling juxtapositions (such as how Native American perceive the earth as a mother figure or family member, rather than how it is constructed in some Western theologies: a commodity to be subdued and conquered as punishment for man's original sin). It is unfortunate that the accuracy debate typically centers on attempts to establish which is most authentic because this either/or framework creates an opposing tension between orality and writing that precludes any possibility of their coexistence. If we were to replace that either/or dichotomy with a "both/and" framework, orality and the written word might then coexist in a meaningful and productive way. Importantly, to adopt an approach to these stories that understands them as implicated in both orality and written forms of remembering will sustain future generations with core cultural truths that will help them solve specific situations as they arise.

Situating La Salle's Piece among Other Seneca Creation Narratives

We recognize that there is certainly room for debate and even possible rejection if this newly discovered piece is situated among the other published Seneca versions. Nonetheless, as we have been reasoning, a comparison of the two versions compellingly refutes the notion that Hewitt and Armstrong's version is an anomaly among the known Seneca accounts of creation because the earlier 1678 La Salle text mirrors Hewitt's work with Armstrong in 1896 so closely. Moreover, this close mirroring provides strong evidence for the stability of oral tradition as practiced by the Seneca for more than 220 years.

In a further comparison to other Haudenosaunee creation narratives, Armstrong's version is different from Newhouse's Mohawk version as well as either of the Onondaga versions by Buck and Gibson. Clear differences appear in the Seneca

version of creation. First and foremost, the father of the Twins of Creation is the West Wind, not the Great Turtle who supports this world; another overt variation is the inclusion of fish as actors in creation. Finally, among the similarities worth noting, the forced ejection of Skywoman from the Skyworld at the beginning of the narrative appears to be a punishment inflicted by her husband in response to "malcontented feelings." The "malcontented feelings" so clearly delineated is an aspect of the story that at first appears to be distinctive to the La Salle version, yet it nonetheless coincides with a forced, even violent ejection endured by Skywoman in other versions published much later, such as Hewitt's Part I narratives.

While the points of difference between the La Salle and Armstrong versions certainly excite curiosities about the sustainability of oral cultures, they raise many other questions as well. For example, the Twins of Creation come to represent certain tensions between agriculture and hunting as the primary source of food sustainability, a polarity that has only recently been explored in Wonderley's work among the Oneida versions of creation. This is not to suggest that the Seneca may have borrowed elements from the Oneida, or vice versa, but rather to note that with these few exceptions, this tension between agriculture and hunting is rarely presented or explored in published accounts about creation.

In most versions of Haudenosaunee creation narratives and thought, the remainder of the story tells how humans peopled the world. Furthermore, in most published versions, the narrative essentially outlines human relationship, responsibility, and reverence for the natural world as a continual system of renewal and reciprocity. Most traditional Haudenosaunee people believe the primary instructions for humans stem from this very narrative—the Oneh:ton Karihwatehkwen (The Words that Come Before All Else, or Thanksgiving Address). Humans are to give daily greetings and acknowledgments to the natural world for all the bounty that the creator and this world provided so that humans might live. Ideally, some practitioners of the culture believe that because humans do not know how many days they have on this earth, this address is to be expressed upon awakening in the morning and reiterated before retiring in the evening.

La Salle never fully addresses how humans are created, but merely states, "I don't know how the brothers peopled this world," and thus the narrative ends rather abruptly. This, however, does not detract from the story's status as a unique Seneca version of creation as it was told to La Salle, who then told it to a third party who transcribed the story into written words. Additionally, one part of the story mentions that one of the Twins could transform into a beaver, and that the Iroquois descended from beavers; according to La Salle the beaver symbolized abundance. Some intriguing points are raised by this story aspect: Was this detail distinctly stated by the person who told the narrative to La Salle? Are the beaver so prominent in creation due to the storytelling context, the fur trade era?

Admittedly, it is difficult to discern what may be original Seneca thinking and worldview; La Salle's European-infused thinking, faith, and ethnocentricity overlies the narrative. And, of course, much as the Jesuits rendered Huron creation earlier in the seventeenth century, La Salle is providing a summary of Seneca narrative—not reciting

the narrative the way a Holder-of-Tradition among traditional Haudenosaunee peoples might do. For example, in regard to the fish mentioned both in La Salle and Armstrong versions, La Salle simply states, "the water creatures [literally translated as "fish"] that saw [Skywoman] fall, came together to deliberate if they should burn her or if they should give her life, and did resolve to give her grace, they gave to a turtle [Tortoise] the commission to receive her."[23] Armstrong's version is a bit more decisive and lengthy:

> So now the male man-beings held council below. . . . Black Bass said, "I, perhaps, could do it." The other man-beings replied, "You cannot do it even a little while, for you have no sense or reason." The Pickerel next said, "I, perhaps, can do it." Again the other man-beings replied, "Again we say you can not do it even a little while, because your neck is too long, you are a glutton." So now the turtle spoke up, saying, "Perhaps I would be able to give aid to the person of the woman-being." Now all the other man-beings agreed with this proposal.[24]

If La Salle's version is a summary of the narrative and does not retell it as a Haudenosaunee speaker might for a past or present community, nonetheless La Salle's text raises some interesting issues that bear heavily upon questions of the sustainability of oral culture, as we shall see shortly.

As noted, near the beginning of the La Salle version Skywoman's husband, the Creator, ejects her from Skyworld. Here is La Salle's presentation of that event:

> the "Holder of the sky/heavens" a word for the Creator is malcontent of his wife [and] resolved to punish her and she was sleeping near the door-of-the-sky, that was near the place which is presently filled by the sphere of the sun, given to his wife by him to take and eat. He put her between himself and this door as she was there, he arranged his foot and pushed her in a manner that she fell as rain by this hole.[25]

We can easily infer from the La Salle version that the ejection of Skywoman was involuntary, but a variation appears in exactly how her husband ejects her. Here is what Armstrong provides Hewitt about this same event:

> Now they uprooted the tree and set it elsewhere. . . . As soon as the man-beings finished inspecting it, the chief, the Ancient One said to his spouse, "Come, let us both go and inspect it. . . .The two arrived at the place where the cavern was. When the Ancient One inspected it, when he grew weary of it, he said to his spouse, "Now it is your turn. Come here." She exclaimed, "Ag', I fear the hole left by where the tree stood." The Ancient One said, "Come now, inspect it, it must be so." She then came forward, grasping in her mouth the ends of her wrap that she wore; she rested one hand on each side of the hole in the Skyworld, grasping the earth nearby. So she now looked below, and as soon as she bent her neck, the Ancient One seized her leg and pushed her through the opening in the Skyworld.[26]

While La Salle's account states "he arranged his foot and pushed her in a manner that she fell as rain by this hole," in Armstrong's version, "as soon as she bent her neck, the

Ancient One seized her leg and pushed her through the opening in the Skyworld."[27] The difference between the methods Skywoman's husband uses to eject her may be subtle (i.e., pushing her with his foot as opposed to seizing her leg to shove her through the world opening), but in both versions the importance of the act is that her ejection from Skyworld at the hands of her husband fulfills a dream that had vexed his mind and well-being. The versions of departure from Skyworld change over time; some practitioners would suggest that Skywoman slips and falls through the hole, and others might suggest that she jumped to demonstrate the pathway of birth.

In most Haudenosaunee versions of creation, the Holder of the Sky/Heavens is the guardian of a celestial tree that gives off light that illuminates the entire Skyworld. In the Armstrong narrative "the sun" is actually the Elder Brother of Skywoman, whom the Good Minded Twin tasks to become the light of the world on Turtle's back and thus reunites the siblings for the first time since early in the narrative of Creation. While seemingly a subtle difference, the source of illumination of both worlds differentiates actors and roles within Creation, and ought not to be confused as one and the same.

The final point of comparative analysis concerns the moment when the father of the Twins of Creation is introduced in each of the La Salle and Armstrong Seneca versions. In both it is clear that the father of the Twins is the West Wind. In La Salle, one Twin, unlike his brother, seems to be a poor hunter, and thus he becomes a farmer (which Twin is the bad hunter is unclear; however, from later versions one could infer that the good hunter is Flint, given that his arrow is tipped with flint). In La Salle, a mere sentence or two tells of the father teaching agriculture to this son:

> This one, he was afflicted [distressed] by his sadness and lost courage, the spirit, his father, the vint [likely "vent" or "wind"] found and consoled him and promised to him to make him happy of the hunt and to him show the greatest art of sowing seeds and of agriculture. In effect, he showed to him the park (garden) . . . he [his father] gave to him the seeds of melons, of corn.[28]

In the Armstrong version, the Wind is acknowledged to be the father of the Twins much earlier than his gift of the seeds to one of the Twins:

> The Ancient Bodied one said, "I really believe that one would think you were about to give birth to a child." So now the young woman said, "I was swinging there where I normally do, and I would kneel down. That was when I became aware that the Wind had enclosed itself inside of my body, and it felt delightful."[29]

The Armstrong version also varies in regard to the gifts. Instead of giving seeds and knowledge about farming different crops, the Wind has the eldest-born Twin run a race against his other children in order to win a flute and, it is implied, the ability to create. Rather than seeds, the reward is a burden-basket filled with the animals that are to populate this world. Ultimately, these wild animals will become the sustenance for humans, in contrast to cultivated plant foods. As Armstrong narrates, the bag's contents are unknown at first:

> "I say that this shall belong to you both equally, for you and your younger brother." So now the Elder young man took the burden upon his back by a forehead strap and traveled along, until he came to a place where he became tired, and the sack began to be heavy. So now he exclaimed, "It may be, perhaps that I should take a rest here." So he sat down, and examined what was in the bag. He thought, "Let me look in here indeed, for it does belong to me anyways." He then unwrapped and uncovered it. Just as soon as he opened the bag, after unwrapping it, things began to push outward. Now very suddenly, all the animals his father had given to him came forth.[30]

Although the father's gifts are clearly not the same (seeds versus wild game), Armstrong's version is again more detailed than La Salle's, supporting our view that La Salle was not telling the narrative in full, but summarizing it. Arguably, the gift of animals may also be read as "seeds of sustenance," but in this version, they are seeds of the hunting that will sustain humans in this natural world (and still does). If we are to understand that all of creation is a gift from the Creator, and the original instructions were to give greetings and acknowledgments to all of creation for "our great good fortune," as Mohawk suggested, then even the gift of animals (seen as seeds) could be construed to be sustenance. In many of the versions, the Creator wanders Turtle's back checking on what was created—further suggesting that animals were in some essence "seed populations" meant for humans "who were coming here to dwell."

Conclusion

It should be noted that while this account is attributed to La Salle, he was telling the narrative to an unnamed author, who in an aside offers one piece of intriguing insight regarding how the Seneca in particular (and the Haudenosaunee by proxy) remembered their histories and stories. The unnamed scribe writes, "Mssr. de la Salle was interrupted as he told me this recitation. He made me alone comprehend that this was done of a manner which is difficult to express honestly."[31] The writer's emphasis on "manner" of recitation raises the interesting question of how we should now interpret La Salle's recitation: is it an oral story or a written one?

In addition, La Salle's reported understanding of how the Seneca remember their own history raises one last, very interesting question:

> Each nation knows thus, their wars, their losses, their advantages, and these conserve the memory without writing by two means: the one is to make of certain collier [belt of wampum] with several marks to designate that which has becomes the most considerable during a certain time. They enclose these colliers, which serve them as registers, in a chest. The others [*sic*] is of delegating all the years [of history] the ones against the oldest ones of each canton [region] to recite each story in the presence of the regional assembly [council] and to verify it by the belts, so that the young understand the significance to teach to themselves that they must follow and conserve thus from generation to generation the memory of events the most considerable.[32]

This quotation throws new light onto the suggestion in the introduction to Mohawk's 2005 book that the ancient Haudenosaunee may have used bark as a medium to record written history.

Overall, La Salle's rendering of creation in 1678 deepens our understanding about the way Haudenosaunee creation was and still is told. It supports Colden's 1727 observations about the accurate oratory skills of Haudenosaunee speakers and shares striking similarities with what Hewitt procured from Armstrong in 1896, some 220 years later. LaSalle's writing even bolsters what Mohawk wrote in 2005 about the powerful oratory practices of the Haudenosaunee Holders-of-Tradition. More importantly, Mohawk reminds us that

> this story is "literature" in the sense that it has been written down, but that for centuries it was experienced through the senses of the ear and not the eye, and that the experience of hearing something in a large group, as the story was intended to be told, is quite different from reading it in isolation, as is now done.[33]

This fresh interpretation of La Salle's 1678 rendition shows why indigenous communities, public historians, and academics must collaborate and share information. It is only through these types of cooperation that we may seek to answer questions such as whether we ought to consider La Salle's account of Seneca Creation to be an oral version or a written one. In this case and others, oral history, public history, and academic scholarship have the opportunity and responsibility to work together to more clearly represent indigenous histories and thinking as they emerge from indigenous communities, archives, and the classroom.

Appendix

This appendix contains a direct English translation by Eugene Teshdahl and Michael Galban of the narrated La Salle interview that appears in Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissements des Francais dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1614–1754,* in addition to the original French from which the translation was made.[34] Where necessary, we have retained the original French terms to maintain the continuity of the text and where it seemed that the French term stood out in a way that required our parenthetic emphasis. All parenthetic notes and additions are Galban's; Mohawk words appear as they did in the original text with Tesdahl's modern notes and spelling alongside them.

English Translation of the La Salle Account of Seneca Creation, 1678

> These nations, less of them in southern America tell all their history in the same manner. It is distinguished, in heroic times; one would say fable-like, and in story that one would think true. Here by and large, it is that they tell of these heroic times. It started that the sky that was populated by people and under the sky it was a large *estendue* [body] of water inhabited by many fish. —the master of life, named Tarum-ia-Ouagon [Tharonhiawakon, "Holder of the sky/heavens," a word for the Creator in the Mohawk language] malcontent of his wife resolved to punish her and she was sleeping near the door-of-the-sky, that was near the place which is presently filled by the sphere of the sun, given to his wife by him to take and eat. He put her between himself and this door as she was there, he arranged his foot and pushed her in a manner that she fell as rain by this hole. —the water creatures [literally translated as "fish"], that saw her fall, came together to deliberate if they should burn her or if they should give her life, and did resolve to give her grace, they gave to a turtle [tortoise] the commission to receive her. During these deliberations, the woman finished falling was rescued on this turtle, upon which many others had joined her, and, left her at no point supported that this floating plank [platform], wishing [hoping] that the earth was made, and she made it. After this, a spirit was descended from the sky with three arrows, he passed two on the [her] body. —she conceived two male babies, and it was that one became a great hunter and favored of the mother, and the other was an unsuccessful hunter, and could not kill but only of meager beasts, his mother held him in contempt. This one, he was afflicted [distressed] by his sadness and lost courage, the spirit, his father, the vint ["*vent*"; "wind"] found and consoled him and promised to him to make him happy of the hunt and to him show the greatest art of sowing seeds and of agriculture. In effect, he showed to him the park [garden] where was enclosed the fat beasts that his brother killed in the hunt and drove under the water, where it was that he could see a house built properly and commodiously. —he (his father) gave to him the seeds of melons, of corn, etc. —he thus built for his mother a house based on this model, he was eating of fruits and of strong venison, and he begins to become close with her and gave of his turn of the jealousy of his brother. —I don't know how the brothers peopled this world. Mssr. de la Salle was interrupted

as he told me this recitation. He made me alone comprehend that this was done of a manner which is difficult to express honestly. A serpent of an enormously great size did destroy all the men who had come to these first ones, the one of two, it is said, the favorite of the spirit, did invoke his father, this spirit gave him the third of the arrows which he (the spirit) had brought to his [the son's] mother and he [the spirit] showed how it [the arrow] was necessary to be of use to him to kill this serpent and then, what he must do to this serpent. To establish the human species, he made the one and the other. And after diverse adventures, his brother, who had become errant among the woods, had become changed in. . ., this one was changed into a beaver. —It is of him that came the nations of the Iroquois, and it is because of this that the beaver symbolizes abundance. It's more or less this that I tell you of their fabulous story; that they tell always in the same manner, except several circumstances of little importance. For example, there are nations which think that this fallen woman was rescued by the beavers and not the turtles, but the root of the fable is the same throughout.

They told of the times of their true story by transmigrations, that is to say, by seven years, because they do not however have advantage to stay in the same place. They told of about 80 transmigrations, that is to say, between five and six hundred years. They themselves have their [*piquent de savior*] [curiosity piqued] of their arrival was during this time. Each nation knows thus, their wars, their losses, their advantages, and these conserve the memory without writing by two means: the one is to make of certain collier [belt of wampum] with several marks to designate that which has becomes the most considerable during a certain time. They enclose these colliers, which serve them as registers, in a chest. The others is of delegating all the years [of history] the ones against the oldest ones of each canton [region] to recite each story in the presence of the regional assembly [council] and to verify it by the belts, so that the young understand the significance to teach to themselves that they must follow and conserve thus from generation to generation the memory of events the most considerable. I have told you nothing in particular of this story, except that they Iroquois did destroy since ______ years more than one hundred thousand men, composed of more than fifty nations and that the last of which they entirely destroyed is that of the Gandastogues (Susquehannas), Of which was this brave Indian thus I called "The Adventure." We don't know what became of this Indian. All of this Nation was entirely destroyed and these who escaped death became prisoners to the Iroquois territory in 1677.

The La Salle Account of Seneca Creation in 1678 (Original French)

Ces nations, au moins celles de l'Amérique septentrionale, content toutes leur histoire d'une mesme manière. Elle est distinguée en temps héroïques, c'est-à-dire fabuleux, et en histoire que l'on peut croire véritable. Voicy en gros ce qu'ils disent de leurs temps héroïques: Il n'y avoit au commencement que le ciel qui fust peuplé d'hommes, et sous le ciel il n'y avoit qu'une grande estendue d'eau habitée de plusieurs poissons. —Le maistre de la vie, nommé Tarum-ia-Ouagon, mescontent de

sa femme, résolut de la punir, et s'estant couché près de la porte du ciel, qui estoit à l'endroit qui est présentement remply par le globe du soleil, ordonna à sa femme de luy apporter à manger. Il la fit mettre entre luy et cette porte, et comme elle estoit là, il allongea son pied et la poussa de manière qu'elle tomba et fut précipitée par ce trou. —Les poissons, qui la virent tomber, s'assemblèrent pour délibérer s'ils la brusleroient ou s'ils luy donneroient la vie, et ayant résolu de luy faire grâce, ils donnèrent à la tortue la commission de la recevoir. Durant ces délibérations la femme acheva de tomber, fut receue sur cette tortue, à laquelle plusieurs autres se joignirent, et, se lassant de n'avoir point d'autre appuy que ce plancher flottant, souhaita que la Terre se fist, et elle fut faite. Après quoy un Esprit estant descend du ciel avec trois flesches, luy en passa deux sur le corps. —Elle conceut deux enfants masles, dont l'un devint grand chasseur et fort aimé de la mère, et l'autre estant malheureux à la chasse et ne tuant que des bestes maigres, sa mère le mesprisa. Celuy-cy, s'affligeant de son malheur et perdant courage, l'Esprit, son père, le vint trouver et le consola en lui promettant de le rendre heureux à la chasse et de luy montrer de plus l'art de bastir et l'agriculture. En effet, il luy montra le parc où estoient renfermées les bestes grasses que son frère tuoit à la chasse et le conduisit sous les eaux, où il lui fit voir une maison bastie proprement et commodément. —Il lui donna de la graine de melons, du maïs, etc. —Il bastit donc à sa mère une maison sur ce modèle, luy fit manger des fruits et de fort bonne venaison, et commença à estre fort bien avec elle et à donner à son tour de la jalousie à son frère. —Je ne sçais comment ces frères peuplèrent le monde. M. de la Salle fut interrompu comme il me faisoit ce récit. Il me fit seulement comprendre que ce fut d'une manière qu'il est difficile d'exprimer honnestement. Un serpent d'une grosseur *énorme* ayant destruit tous les hommes qui estoient venus de ces premiers, l'un des deux, c'est-à-dire le favori de l'Esprit, ayant invoqué son père, cet Esprit luy donna la troisiesme des flesches qu'il avoit apportées à sa mère et luy montra comme il falloit s'en servir pour tuer ce serpent et ce qu'il devoit faire de ce serpent. Pour restablir le genre humain, il fit l'un et l'autre, et après diverses aventures, son frère, quiestoit devenu errant parmi les bois, ayant esté changé en, celuy cy fut changé en castor. —C'est de luy qu'est venue la nation des Iroquois, et c'est à cause de cela que les castors sçavent si bien bastir. C'est à peu près ce que j'ay ouy dire de leur histoire fabuleuse, qu'ils content tous de la mesme manière, excepté quelques circonstances peu importantes. Par exemple, il y a des nations qui croyent que cette femme tombée fut receue par les castors et non par les tortues, mais le fond de la fable est le mesme partout.

Ils comptent le temps de leur histoire véritable par transmigrations, c'est-à-dire par sept ans, car ils ne demeurent pas davantage en un mesme endroit. Ils comptent environ quatre-vingts transmigrations, c'est-à-dire de cinq à six cents ans. Ils se piquent de sçavoir ce qui leur est arrivé durant ce temps. Chaque nation sçait donc ses guerres, ses pertes, ses avantages, et ils en conservent la mémoire sans escriture, par deux moyens : l'un est de faire de certains colliers avec quelques marques pour désigner ce qui est arrivé de plus considérable durant un certain temps. Ils enferment ces colliers, qui leur servent de registres, dans un coffre. L'autre est de députer

tous les ans les uns vers les autres les plus anciens de chaque canton pour réciter cette histoire en présence du canton assemblé et de la vérifier par les colliers, dont la jeunesse apprend la signification pour l'enseigner à ceux qui les doivent suivre et conserver ainsi de génération en génération la mémoire des *événements* les plus considérables. Je n'ay rien ouy dire en particulier de cette histoire, sinon que les Iroquois ont destruit depuis ans plus de cent mille hommes, composant plus de cinquante nations, et que la dernière qu'ils ont destruite entièrement est celle des Gandastogués, de laquelle estoit ce brave Sauvage dont j'ay dit l'aventure. On ne sçait ce que ce Sauvage devint. Toute sa nation fut entièrement destruite et ce qui eschappa à la mort emmené prisonnier chez les Iroquois, en 1677.

Notes

1. William N. Fenton, "This Island, the World on Turtle's Back," *The Journal of American Folklore* 75, no. 298 (1962), https://doi.org/10.2307/538365.

2. Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 4; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 8–9.

3. See Kevin J. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews through Iroquoian Cosmologies: the Published Narratives in Historical Context," PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo (2007), 237; Gabriel Sagard, "On the Beliefs and Faith of the Savages in the Creator, and How They Had Recourse to Our Prayers in Their Necessities," in *Sagard's Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. George M. Wrong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939 [1636], 167–75; Paul Le Jeune, "Le Jeune's Relation," in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, [1635]); Jean de Brebeuf, "What Hurons Think of Their Origins," in *The Jesuit Relations*.

4. Franz Boas, "Dissemination of Tales among the Natives of North America," *The Journal of American Folklore* 4, no. 12 (1891): 13, https://doi.org/10.2307/532927.

5. J. N. B. Hewitt, "Iroquois Cosmology, Part I," *Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 21 (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1903), 127–360; Fenton, "This Island, the World"; White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 40.

6. Franz Boas, "Dissemination of the Tales"; Franz Boas, "Mythology and Folktales of the North American Indians," *The Journal of American Folklore* 27, no. 106 (1914): 374–410, https://doi.org/10.2307/534740; William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* 223 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); William N. Fenton, "Iroquois Indian Folklore," *The Journal of American Folklore* 60, no. 238 (1947): 383–97, http://www.jstor.org/stable/536438; Fenton, "This Island, the World."

7. Gabriel Sagard, "On the Beliefs and Faith of the Savages"; Paul Le Jeune, "Le Jeune's Relation"; Jean de Brebeuf, "What Hurons Think of Their Origins."

8. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 237.

9. Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissements des Francais dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1614–1754* (Paris: Impr. D. Jouaust, 1880), 360–62http://books.google.com/ebooks?id=hF8UAAAAYAAJ.

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M. Beauchamp, *Iroquois Folk Lore Gathered from the Six Nations of New York* (Port Washington: Kenniekat Press, 1922).

11. John C. Mohawk, *Iroquois Creation Story: John Arthur Gibson and J. N. B. Hewitt's Myth of the Earthgrasper* (Buffalo, NY: Mohawk Publications, 1994), ix; John Mohawk, "A View from Turtle Island: Chapters in Iroquois Mythology, History and Culture," PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1994, 231; J. N. B. Hewitt, "Iroquois Cosmology, Part II," *Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 43, Part 5 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1928).

12. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 42.

13. Fenton, "This Island, the World," 283.

14. Céline Dupré, "René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1 (1000—1700) (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1966, rev. 2015); Isaac Joslin Cox, *The Journeys of René Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle. . .* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1905); Patricia K. Galloway, *La Salle and his Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006); Donald Johnson, *La Salle: A Perilous Odyssey from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002); Anka Muhlstein, *La Salle: Explorer of the North American Frontier* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1995).

15. Donald Johnson, *La Salle: A Perilous Odyssey*, 37–44; Anka Muhlstein, *La Salle: Explorer*, 2–17.

16. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 24.

17. Ibid., 225.

18. Fenton, "This Island," 285.

19. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 26.

20. See, for example, Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History through the Eyes of Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera (The Iroquois and Their Neighbors)* (Syracuse University Press, 2013); Amber Meadow Adams, "Teyotsi'tsiahsonhátye: Meaning and Medicine in the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Story of Life's Renewal," PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo (2013); and Kahente Horn-Miller, "Sky Woman's Great Granddaughters: A Narrative Inquiry Into Kanienkehaka Women's Identity," PhD diss., Concordia University (2009).

21. Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations: Depending on the Province of New York in America* (Binghamton, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973 [1866]), 89.

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23. Margry, *Découvertes et* établissements *des français*, 360–62.

24. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 122.

25. Margry, *Découvertes et* établissements *des français*, 360–62.

26. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 120–21.

27. Ibid., 121.

28. Margry, *Découvertes et* établissements *des français*, 360–62.

29. White, "Haudenosaunee Worldviews," 124.

30. Ibid., 127.

31. Margry, *Découvertes et* établissements *des français*, 360–62.

32. Ibid.

33. Mohawk, *Iroquois Creation Story*, v–viii.

34. Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissements des Francais*, 360–62.