

International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies

Volume 4, Number 1, 2011

Indigenous Nation Rebuilding Through Gardening: A United States Model Compatible with Indigenous Cultures

Sierra Adare-Tasiwoopa ápi
University at Buffalo

Abstract

The Three Sisters, corn, beans and squash, planted together, form the foundation of sustainability for Indigenous peoples in what is now called North America as a source of balanced nutrition and nourishment for the community and for the nations' spirit. With these seeds, Indigenous peoples can engage in nation rebuilding. While Indigenous nation rebuilding literature shows numerous inherent problems and incompatibility when relying on Euro-American models, this article argues that war and victory gardens used by the United States during the two world wars to promote a sense of patriotism and national identity provides a framework harmonious with traditional Indigenous cultures. Gardening supplies the means through which Indigenous peoples reconnect with traditional lives and ways. Furthermore, as an outcome, articulating land reacquisition and use that non-Indigenous Americans recognise and have applied in their own nation rebuilding efforts could lessen misinterpretation and apprehension in land claim negotiations.

In a panel discussion on the use of Indigenous foods in maintaining health at the fourth annual Storytellers conference held at the University at Buffalo, elder Jan Longboat stressed the importance of the Three Sisters, corn, beans and squash, to the Haudenosaunee culture. Planted together, these three plants formed the foundation of sustainability, not only of the people as a source of balanced nutrition, but also as nourishment of the community and of the nation's spirit. After her presentation, Longboat gave out little leather bundles that contained three seeds: one corn kernel, one bean, one squash. With these seeds, Indigenous peoples could engage in nation (re)building, both in terms understood by federal governments in what is now call North America and internally within Indigenous communities.

For many Indigenous peoples, gardening has been handed down through the generations from their Original Instructions. Melissa Nelson (2008, 2) described these as the many diverse teachings, lessons, and ethics expressed in the origin stories and oral traditions' of the people. Chi'Xapkaid (2005, 131) posits that Original Instructions gives Indigenous peoples greater awareness and insight that helps them relate their cultural worldviews and the values bestowed by their ancestors to personal, community and global issues as a way to facilitate renewal.

This article examines ways in which Indigenous peoples can use the United States gardening model from World War I and World War II to foster nation (re)building congruent with Indigenous epistemologies. First, it explores the term nation (re)building in an Indigenous context. Second, the article investigates how the United States developed and endorsed the concept of war gardens and victory gardens as a means to promote a sense of patriotism and national identity. From there, it discusses ways Indigenous peoples are working with gardening models in order to begin regaining traditional connections with and between the land and community, as well as forging relationships beyond Indigenous communities. In conclusion, the article will consider some implications the war/victory garden prototype has for the future.

Nation (re)building in an Indigenous context

According to the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (2008), centuries of punitive US federal and state policies that restricted Indigenous peoples access to land, resources, economic opportunities and the underlying values of Indigenous communities have resulted in Indigenous nations facing a plethora of shortages, deprivations and social problems. In an effort to counter these US-style programs designed to assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream America, Indigenous leaders, scholars and ‘word warriors’ⁱ (Turner 2006, 72) have called for Indigenous nations to cast off the mantle of Eurowestern colonialism and its imposed ideologies and ‘one-size-fits-all approaches’ (Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development 2008, 369) to tribal governance that have damaged or destroyed tribal sovereignty, and therefore nationhood,ⁱⁱ and recover ‘Indigenous political, intellectual, and geographic space’ (Lee 2008, 99). Lloyd L. Lee (2008, 96) insists that traditional methods of governance contributes to the health and wellbeing of the people. Hence ‘to continue to preserve our cultural strengths in self governance, we must renew our cultural teaching and restructure our tribal government according to the spiritual values of the *Holy People* and our ancestors’. In other words, Indigenous nation (re)building consisted of and must be constructed on a rebonding with the land, our human and nonhuman relations, our languages, our ways of knowing, our traditions and our traditional diets (Alfred & Corntassel 2005; Cajete 1999; Lee 2008; Nelson 2008). Nonetheless, in light of the negative impact of US programs and policies on Indigenous nations, the question remains: why propose a gardening model patterned after an American nation (re)building strategy that arose out of post-Civil War fracturing of the United Statesⁱⁱⁱ Devastating economic crises and deplorable living conditions derived from the Great Depression further exacerbated the fracturing of the nation, leading to ‘a vernacular vision of American regionalism’ (Steiner 1983, 431). The fact that it proved highly successful in the US during the first half of the twentieth century does not mean that such a prototype could translate to Indigenous nations.

Victory gardens as a model for (re)building a sense of nationalism

When over 600,000 US male citizens put down farming tools and took up arms in 1917 to fight during World War I and the economic focus shifted to supplying the military needs rather than those of the peace time public, the US faced drastic shortages, especially in food and the ‘man’ power to produce it (Pack 1917, 1918). The federal government was therefore forced to ‘Remember the Ladies’ as Abigail Adams pleaded when her husband was helping to craft the Constitution of the United States (Perkins, Warhol & Perkins 1994, 104), but whom the federal government had ignored since the new country’s inception. The male-run government quickly organised the Women’s Land Army of America (WLAA), the Women’s National Farm and Garden Association and the National Emergency Food-Garden Commission. As a result, 15,000 women went to work on America’s farms, starting in 1917 (Carpenter 2003). Additionally, on a daily basis, newspapers, magazines and government-produced pamphlets bombarded women, men working on the home front, and even children ‘to *live* our patriotism’ (Purinton 1917, 208) by joining the ranks of what President Woodrow Wilson called the ‘Volunteer War Garden Army’ (The School Garden Army 1918, 211). Or, as National War Garden Commission president Charles Lathrop Pack (1918, 109) insisted, ‘Home gardening has come to be regarded as the gift of a patriotic people to a nation in need’.

To help these nation (re)builders, Pack designed a 32-page booklet with how-to gardening tips that, more importantly, espoused the benefits of having a war garden and carried glowing endorsements for them from the War Department and the Federal Food Administration Board (National War Garden Commission 1919). Newspapers like *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* ran regular columns with what to do in the garden each month and announced that the Independent-Countryside War Garden Bureau would ‘answer your garden questions freely and promptly’ (War Garden Bureau 1917, 173) as part of ‘mobilizing the best information on horticulture’ (Findlay 1917, 133). Experts from local Department of Agriculture Extension offices lectured and gave training sessions on gardening (Carpenter 2003; Geithmann 1918). Industries such as the Gates rubber tire plant and the Norton Company set aside hundreds of acres of company property for employee community gardens all in the name of ‘a strong spirit of comradeship, the greatest factor in promoting the betterment, socially and economically, of any community’ (Pack 1919, 531).

Thus ‘anchored by patriotism’ (Geithmann 1918, 26) war gardeners became ‘soldiers of the soil’ (22) who marshaled the ‘slacker lands’ (City War Gardens 1918, 443), as Pack called vacant city lots, people’s yards, or any land not under cultivation. Accordingly, newspapers characterised participation as recruits ‘combating plant enemies’ by ‘gassing’ them with a ‘dust gun’ (McFarland 1918, 210) to ‘grow munitions at home’ (Pack 1919, 531), the ‘ultimate ammunition’ (Findlay 1917, 133), mind you, in the war ‘to rescue and redeem civilization’ (Pack 1918, 110). Think about it. Western-style farming practices and husbandry have been connected to civilisation since the first European settlers invaded what is now North America and, during the world wars, gardening became synonymous with patriotic duty in defense of the nation.

But enlistment did not end with the harvest. As Margaret L. Farrand (1917, 286) noted, even in the cities, ‘if you plant a community garden a community canning kitchen will spring up beside it’. Such canning kitchens brought together women from all walks of life, regardless of social or financial status, to preserve produce for the benefit of the community. Or as Farrand (1917, 287) put it, the half a billion plus^{iv} glass jars of food, stacked on shelves from floor to ceiling in root cellars, pantries and warehouses across the country, represented ‘insurance against cases of need’ for the ensuing winter. The women who knew how to can vegetables, conserve fruit and make pickles taught those who had never put up food before and in that way passed on knowledge, as well as a sense of community and national spirit.

As Pack (1919, 530) poetically pointed out, ‘America, the land of homes! America, the land of gardens! That is a “consummation devoutly to be wished”. The nearer we come to that aim, the richer in things spiritual as well as physical will be the Nation’. Char Miller (2003, 402) made a similar observation concerning World War II gardens, renamed victory gardens^v at the end of World War I: He noted:

Victory gardens offered a much needed medicine to combat the perceived loss of order and adjustment in the lives of modern citizens. Victory gardens promised to restore a sense of order, and, more immediately, to boost attitudes, morale, and feelings.

Additionally, they gave people a better connection to the land and, in doing so, a stronger link to the nation (Miller 2003; Pack 1919).

Promoting Indigenous nation (re)building through gardening

For many Indigenous peoples, gardening has always provided the means through which they continually reconnect with traditional lives and ways. Among the Haudenosaunee, Skywoman’s daughter became Mother Earth and out of her body came the gift of the Three Sisters to sustain the people (Akwesasne Notes 1978; Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force 2001; Mohawk 2005). Among the Aniyvwiya, ceremonial life has revolved around Selu, one of the Three Sisters. For these and other Indigenous cultures, gardening was a community enterprise in which all the members of the clans participated. The men cleared enough land for the women to plant enough of the Three Sisters to feed the community throughout the year. What was not used immediately was dried and stored for use over winter (Morgan 1993; Parker 1968).

As children helped their parents, kin, and clan elders, the younger generations learned the hands-on basics of gardening techniques. Elders also taught younger generations the Indigenous nation’s Original Instructions, the oral history and origins of the people, as well as the songs and ceremonies associated with preparing the ground, planting the seeds, tending the plants, harvesting the vegetables, and the feasts giving thanks to Mother Earth for all she provided (Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force 2001). In this way, elders passed on the language, knowledge, traditions, values and a sense of belonging. In other words, children gained what Michael C. Steiner (1983, 432) calls ‘place-related identity’, that ‘sense of identity that persons have with a portion of the earth which they inhabit’ and an awareness of a community-shared identity—i.e. nationalism.

Four summers ago was the first time in many years that I lived where I had land available and suitable for planting a garden. Yet all the knowledge, practices, ceremonies, stories, experiences and history I learned while gardening with my mother and great-aunt came back to me as if it had just been a winter since I last gardened. As I worked in the garden and when I prepared traditional dishes from the foods grown, I felt a connectedness with my ancestors I had not experienced for a long while.

I suspect gardening was more therapeutic for me than it had been for those convalescing World War I soldiers participating in the 15-acre war garden at Walter Reed Hospital mentioned in newspapers, or for the civilian during World War II who participated by raising victory gardens (Miller 2003; Needed: 10,000,000 Victory Gardens to Help Feed the World,1919).

How Indigenous nations can use the United States model

To rebuild an Indigenous nation requires land — not just some toxic wasteland — but environmentally safe soil that can sustain the people. It is through the land that Indigenous people reclaim a ceremonial life (Alfred & Corntassel 2005; Cajete 1999; Grinde and Johansen 1995). It is through land that Indigenous people reaffirm a community life. It is through the land that Indigenous people re-establish self-sufficiency as a way of life. It is through land that Indigenous people re-emphasise sovereignty and nationhood.

Incorporating the war garden/victory garden model — that most non-Indigenous Americans recognise and that all levels of government in the US have applied in their own nation rebuilding efforts — could lessen misinterpretation and apprehension in land claim negotiations. The Haudenosaunee have made a good start. In 1998, Mohawks created a community garden on two acres near the Longhouse (Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force 2001). Families and elders gathered to plant the Three Sisters. As the people prepared the ground they honored Mother Earth with tobacco. While working together in planting and cultivating heritage Haudenosaunee seeds, the Mohawks sang songs to promote plant growth. They offered prayers of Thanksgiving at the harvest. Throughout the gardening season, traditions were followed and passed on to younger generations.

Recently, the Onondagas set aside some land for a community garden. Onondagas and non-Indigenous individuals from around the area developed a garden by setting up individual labour schedules for volunteers for planting, tending, weeding and watering plants, and gave the produce to tribal elders. The Cayugas, too, have worked with non-Indigenous people in growing food. Seeking a peaceful resolution to land claims, a group of Cayugas, other Haudenosaunees, and non-Indigenous individuals got together to start SHARE (Strengthening Haudenosaunee-American Relations Through Education) as a ‘bridge building’ (Cayuga Nation Comes Home to SHARE Farm 2002, 5) effort with groups of Americans who adamantly oppose a return of any lands to the Haudenosaunee.^{vi} SHARE purchased a 70-acre farm located in the heart of the Cayugas’ traditional territory in 2001. Since then, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have come together as they farmed, tended the apple orchard and preserved foods. SHARE sold the farm to the Haudenosaunee in 2005 (Graef 2006). Two years ago, the Cayugas also implemented the Gakwiyo Garden project. They hired a non-Indigenous farmer to raise traditional foods on lands that were once a part of the nation’s territory. In addition to distributing fresh produce to tribal members, the Cayugas preserved foods according to family recipes and distributed them to every member of the nation.

These Haudenosaunee community gardening projects are excellent first steps in nation (re)building, as envisioned by Alfred and Corntassel (2005), Cajete (1999) and Lee (2008). Additionally, news outlets repeatedly link Indigenous land claims to the desire to build gambling complexes and/or smoke shops and gas stations that siphon off Americans’ hard-earned cash and states’ much needed taxes from local and state economies. Therefore, gardening is a non-threatening use of land as it does not involve sales, taxes or controversial Indigenous economic business plans (Cobbs and Flower 2007).

Gardening is also non-threatening from a social standpoint. Gardening is an activity in which 43 million Americans participate (National Gardening Association 2009). At the very least, most Americans have a grandparent or great-grandparent who raised vegetables. In some localities such as Wellesley, Massachusetts, community victory gardens begun during World War I or World War II continue to this day on town-owned land (How Does Your Garden Grow? 2008). In Wellesley, the use of these plots where fruits and vegetables are all organically grown is handed down from generation to generation and there is a waiting list for plots as they become available. Gardeners pay the town an annual fee of \$35 per 30-by-50 foot plot for water. Victory gardens have become so popular in the community that Wellesley College has also set aside plots for local residents to raise a garden on school grounds.

Indigenous people whose ancestors traditionally gardened should take up gardening again as an act of sovereignty, as well as a means of working toward self-sufficiency.

As asserted by the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force (2001, 71), 'We are connected to the Three Sisters spiritually, physically, and mentally. . . . Spiritually, the Three Sisters are an essential element in all ceremonial functions'. The Three Sisters also teach Indigenous people cooperation and sharing for the benefit of all involved.

Lee (2008, 99) has argued that 'reclaiming Indigenous intellectual, political, and geographic space starts with the person'. Therefore, plant an Indigenous Victory Garden, either as a person or as a community. It is possible even without much land. Do what people did during World War I and World War II. Turn a backyard or front yard into a garden. Use the Wellesley example and approach the local government about establishing a community garden on town land. Or contact area colleges and sound them out on implementing a victory garden project on the grounds, especially land grant universities located on what was traditionally-held Indigenous territories.

If officials point to the fact that no piped water is available, do not let that be a deterrent or an excuse. Although it is certainly more convenient, the land need not have a water supply onsite. The land on which we garden does not. We haul all the water the plants need that the rain does not provide naturally. This includes recovered dishwater and dog bowl water.

Also, do not be discouraged if you haven't ever gardened. Sadly, in this day and age, many Indigenous people do not know how to garden. Talk to an elder or learn from those who have gardened by volunteering to help. Like the women in World War I community canning kitchens, becoming skilled at caring for plants, harvesting fruits and vegetables, and preserving produce by dehydrating, canning or pickling them is experiential learning at its best. Furthermore, nothing compares to the taste of homegrown foods and having all of those jars of fresh, preserved food brings an incredible sense of satisfaction.

Implications of the war/victory garden prototype for the future

With diabetes, heart disease and other diet-related health issues on the rise, a return to a more traditional diet has been shown to contribute to better physical fitness (Cajeta 1999). War gardens and victory gardens have also proved therapeutic for the mind, as noted with veterans' rehabilitation during the world wars.

Using gardening as a foundation from which to recover Original Instructions, oral history, language and ceremonies, as witnessed with the Mohawk project, the war garden/victory garden model can also cultivate Indigenous nation (re)building on Indigenous terms. Furthermore, the growing popularity of gardening in the US bodes well for gardening becoming a middle ground where Indigenous nations and the US federal government can meet concerning land claim issues (National Gardening Association 2009). Where else can one find stress relief, great outdoor exercise, the benefits of a healthier lifestyle and a chance to reclaim traditional values all wrapped up in a single activity?

References

- Akwesasne Notes (ed.) 1978. *A basic call to consciousness*. Roosevelttown: New York.
- Alfred, T. 2003. *Wasáse: Indigenous pathways of action and freedom*. Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Alfred, T. & Corntassel, J. 2005. 'Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism' *Government and Opposition* 40(2): 597–614.
- Barker, J. (ed.) 2005. *Sovereignty matters: Locations of contestation and possibility in Indigenous struggles for self-determination*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Cajete, G. 1999. 'Indigenous foods, Indigenous health: A pueblo perspective'. In *A people's ecology: Explorations in sustainable living* edited by G. Cajete, 79–102. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, MN.

- Carpenter, S. A. 2003. *On the farm front: The Women's Land Army in World War II*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Chi'Xapkaid. 2005. 'Decolonizing through storytelling'. In *For Indigenous eyes only: A decolonization handbook* edited by WA Wilson and M Yellow Bird, 127–37. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research.
- 'City war garden'. 1918. *The American Architect*, 10 April.
- Cobbs, D. M. & Fowler, L. (eds.) 2007. *Beyond red power: American Indian politics and activism since 1900*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 'Cayuga Nation comes homes to SHARE Farm'. 2002. *Cultural Survival Voices*. 1(3): 5.
- Dewey, J. 1920. 'Americanism and localism'. *Dial* 68: 684–88.
- Farrand, M.L. 1917. 'Come into the community kitchen'. *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*. 25 August: 286–7.
- Findlay, H. 1917. 'A war garden'. *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, 14 April: 132–3.
- Geithmann, H. 1918. 'Chronicles of Woodcock Farm'. *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, June, 21–7.
- Graef, C. 2006. 'Cayuga rebuild with traditions despite legal setbacks'. *News From Indian Country* 20(18): 20–2.
- Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, 2008. *The state of the Native nations: Conditions under U.S. policies of self-determination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force, 2001. *Words that come before all else: Environmental philosophies of the Haudenosaunee*. Cornwall Island, Ontario: Native North American Traveling College.
- Hauptman, L.M. 1999. *Conspiracy of interests: Iroquois dispossession and the rise of New York State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- How does your garden grow?* 2008. Accessed 10 November 2008.
http://www.wickedlocal.com/wellesley/town_info/x1346887462/Just-Noticing-for-July-17-2008.
- Kaledin, E. 2000. *Daily life in the United States, 1940-1959 shifting worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Lee, L.L. 2008. 'Reclaiming Indigenous intellectual, political, and geographic space: A path for Navajo nationhood' *American Indian Quarterly*, 32(1): 96–110.
- McFarland, J.H. 1918. 'Gassing the garden' *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, 4 May, 210.

- Miller, C. 2003. 'The sweat of our brow: Citizenship in American domestic practice during World War II—Victory Gardens' *The Journal of American Culture*. 26(3):395–409.
- Mohawk, J.C. 2005. *Iroquois creation story: John Arthur Gibson and J. N. B. Hewitt's myth on the Earth Grasper*. Buffalo, NY: Mohawk Publications.
- Morgan, L.H. 1993. *League of the Iroquois*. New York: Carol Publishing Group.
- National Gardening Association, 2009. *The impact of home and community gardening in America*. South Burlington, VT: National Gardening Association.
- National War Garden Commission, 1919. *War Gardening and Home Storage of Vegetables*. Washington, DC: National War Garden Commission.
- 'Needed: 10,000,000 Victory Gardens to help feed the world', 1919, *Current Opinion*, May, 331–2.
- Nelson, M.K. (ed.), 2008. *Original instructions: Indigenous teachings for a sustainable future*. Rochester, VT: Bear & Company.
- Pack, C.L. 1917. *Outlook*, June, 255–6.
1918. 'munition plant in every back yard' *Outlook*, 16 January, 109–110.
1919. 'In the furrows of freedom' *Outlook*, 26 March, 530–1.
- Parker, A.C. 1968. *Parker on the Iroquois*. Syracuse, NY Syracuse University Press.
- Perkins, B. Warhol, R. & Perkins, G. 1994. *Woman's work: An anthology of American literature*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Purinton, E.E. 1917. 'What can I do?' *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, 28 April, 208–9.
- Rector, L. 2002. 'Cayuga organic farm first step in coming home: Face opposition from some of their neighbors' *News From Indian Country*, 16(15): 14A.
1918. 'The school garden army 6,000,000 strong' *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, 4 May, 211.
- Steiner, M.C. 1983. 'Regionalism in the Great Depression' *Geographical Review*, 73(4): 430–46.
- Sturm, C. 2007. 'States of sovereignty: Race shifting, recognition, and rights in Cherokee country'. In *Beyond red power: American Indian politics and activism since 1900* edited by D.M. Cobb and L. Fowler, 228–42. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research.
- Suarez, J. 2008. 'Service Learning Spotlight' *The Institute for Civic Engagement* 1(6): 1-4.
1917. 'War Garden Bureau' *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, 4 August, 173.
1918. 'War gardens must speed up to fill a billion jars' *Current Opinion*, June, 442-443.

Wikins, D.E. 2002. *American Indian politics and the American political system*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

ⁱ Turner (2006, 72) defined ‘word warriors’ as Indigenous intellectuals and activists who can and will incorporate Indigenous epistemologies and worldviews into a political and cultural framework of Eurowestern understanding, translating Indigenous perspectives into mainstream society concepts as needed, in order to (re)create a just relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples on a personal, community and nation-to-nation level.

ⁱⁱ Barker (2005, 3) sees Indigenous sovereignty as inextricably linked to nationhood, classifying sovereignty as emanating ‘from the unique identity and culture of peoples and is therefore an inherent and inalienable right of the qualities customarily associated with nations’. Sturm (2007) considers it a complex and often problematic term that holds diverse meanings for different groups. Sovereignty contains contradictory elements of self-determination situated with the people and the interdependency associated with the concept of nationalism derived from nation-to-nation interaction.

ⁱⁱⁱ Dewey (1920, 686) argues: ‘The defeat of secession diversified the South even more than the North, and the extension of the United States westward to the ocean rendered New England less exclusively a New Englandish homogeneity and created a unique New York, a New York clustered about Wall Street’ that led to the localisation of the nation’s citizens to the point that local issues completely eclipsed those of nationwide importance.

^{iv} From the 1917 War Garden Commission estimate that was reported in *Current Opinions* (June 1918, 443).

^v After World War I, the War Garden Commission urged Americans to continue growing and preserving food in their victory gardens as the United States had pledged to send 17,500,000 ton of food to Europe, and America’s commercial farms that had already been maximised during the war could not produce enough food for all the demands, domestic and foreign (Needed: 10,000,000 Victory Gardens to Help Feed the World, 1919).

^{vi} The New York group named the Upstate Citizens for Equality has been the most vocal in their opposition to Haudenosaunee land acquisition and nation rebuilding efforts that include reasserting sovereignty, language recovery, and a return to traditional ways. As declared on their protest signs and bumper stickers, their slogan was ‘No Sovereign Nation — No Reservation No . . . Land Claim’ (Graef 2006, 20).