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York State Museum Bulletin

ending for admission as second-class matter at the Post Office at Albany, N. Y.
under the act of August 24, 1912

lished monthly by The University of the State of New York

ALBANY, N. Y.

APRIL 1, 1916

niversity of the State of New York

New York State Museum

JOHN M. CLARKE, Director

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FIVE NATIONS

BY

ARTHUR C. PARKER

	PAGE		PAGE
The Iroquois constitution.....	7	Appendix B: Sketches of an Indian	
The Dekanawida legend.....	14	Council, 1846.....	126
The Code of Dekanahwideh.....	61	Appendix C: Minutes of the Six	
Origin of the confederation of the		Nations Council of 1839.....	133
Five Nations.....	65	Appendix D: Minutes of the Council	
The condolence ceremony.....	110	of the Six Nations, upon the	
The Hiawatha tradition.....	114	Cattaraugus reservation.....	144
Appendix A: The Passamaquoddy		Appendix E: Certain Iroquois tree	
wampum records.....	119	myths and symbols.....	152
		Index.....	157

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THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

1916

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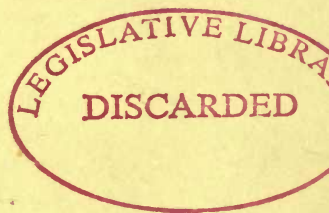
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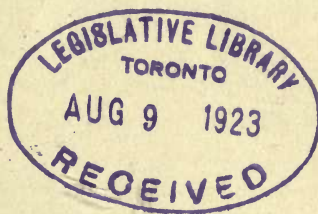
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The University of the State of New York
Science Department, July 12, 1915

Dr John H. Finley

President of the University

SIR: I beg to communicate to you herewith and to recommend for publication as a bulletin of the State Museum, a manuscript with accompanying illustrations, entitled *The Constitution of the Five Nations*, which has been prepared by Arthur C. Parker, the Archeologist of the State Museum.

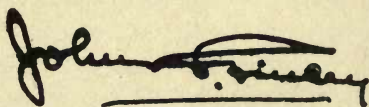
Very respectfully

JOHN M. CLARKE

Director

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Approved for publication this 15th day of March 1915

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Finley", with a horizontal line drawn underneath the name.

President of the University

12

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The University of the State of New York
New York State Museum

JOHN M. CLARKE, Director

55

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FIVE NATIONS

OR

THE IROQUOIS BOOK OF THE GREAT LAW

BY

ARTHUR C. PARKER

THE IROQUOIS CONSTITUTION

The constitution of the Iroquois League is known to the Iroquois as the Great Binding Law, or the Great Immutable Law. Their term for it is Ne" Gayānēshā"gowā. It was transmitted orally from one generation to another through certain of the lords or sachems of the confederacy who had made it their business to learn it. Not until recently have the Iroquois attempted to put their code in written form. For many generations its knowledge has been preserved by a collection of wampum belts and strings, each of which served to recall each law or regulation. Many of the belts and strings became lost or destroyed, and fearing a total destruction of their ancient archives, the Six Nations¹ of New York Indians in 1898 elected The University of the State of New York the official custodian of their wampums. The University accepted the charge and the Legislature passed suitable laws governing the custody of the wampums. In 1908 the Director of the State Museum was proclaimed the keeper of the wampums by Sa-ha-whi, president of the Six Nations.

¹ The Five Nations became the Six Nations, with the admission of the Tuscarora in 1724.

The Iroquois constitution is mentioned by both Morgan and Hale, but neither seems to have been able to make a transcript and translation of it. All the Iroquois nations were acquainted with it and extracts from the law are found in many of the speeches of their sachems, as recorded by historians, notably the French explorers and Colden.

The version of the constitution now held authentic by the Iroquois of New York and Ontario, embraces a narrative of the events in the lives of Hiawatha and Dekanawida that lead up to its foundation. Its special interest lies in the fact that it is an attempt of the Iroquois themselves to explain their own civic and social system. It is therefore an invaluable guide to many interesting branches of Iroquois ethnology. Many of the facts contained in this document are familiar to students, but that they formed a part of a definite system of law will perhaps be new. Several of the wampum belts in the New York State Museum are constitutional belts or memorials.

Originally the Five Nations of Iroquois were similar to other Indian tribes or bands—independent bodies with similar dialects and similar customs but with no political coherence. Each man and each tribe to itself, was the rule. Often the individual nations warred with one another, and with external enemies pressing them from all quarters they found themselves in a precarious situation. The very peril in which they lived developed their strategic ability and fostered diplomacy. It likewise produced leaders and finally the great lawgiver who should bring about peace and unity and make the Iroquois the “Indians of Indian,” the “Romans of the New World.” Hale referred to Hiawatha as the “lawgiver of the Stone age”¹ but Hiawatha does not deserve the title. He was only the spokesman of a greater mind. The Mohawk nation recognizes in Dekanawida its great culture hero and the founder of its civic system, giving Haiyentwatha (Hiawatha) a second place. Nearly all authorities among the other nations of the five agree in this and attribute to Dekanawida the establishment of the Great Peace. The prefatory articles of the Great Immutable Law recognize him as such and represent him as saying:

I am Dekanawideh and with the Five Nations' confederate lords I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I plant it in your territory Adodarhoh and the Onondaga Nation, in the territory of you who are fire keepers.

I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of the Great Peace we spread the soft, white, feathery down of the globe thistle as seats for you, Adodarhoh and your cousin lords.

¹ Proc. Amer. Ass'n. Adv. Sci., 30:324. 1881.

There shall you sit and watch the council fire of the Confederacy of the Five Nations.

Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Peace . . . and the name of these roots is the Great White Roots of Peace. If any man of any nation outside of the Five Nations shall show a desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace . . . they may trace the roots to their source . . . and they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

The smoke of the confederate council fire shall ever ascend and shall pierce the sky so that all nations may discover the central council fire of the Great Peace.

I, Dekanawideh, and the confederate lords now uproot the tallest pine tree and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, down into the deep underearth currents of water flowing into unknown regions, we cast all weapons of strife. We bury them from sight forever and plant again the tree. Thus shall all Great Peace be established and hostilities shall no longer be known between the Five Nations but only peace to a united people.

As one goes further into the unique document, the method by which universal peace is to be established is revealed. All nations were to sit beneath the peace tree and acknowledge the imperial regency of the Five Nations' council. To the Five Nations this seemed a very simple thing for they called themselves Ongweoweh, Original Men, a term that implied their racial superiority. Thus to them it seemed quite natural that other nations should acknowledge their right to rule. They never doubted the justness of their claim or saw that it possibly could be disputed. With them it was the basis for universal action. Other nations were inclined to dispute that the Iroquois were inherently superior and naturally rebelled at the idea of submission, even though it might be for their own ultimate benefit.

From tribe to tribe, tradition shows,¹ the emissaries of the Great Peace went carrying with them the messages in their wampum strands, and inviting delegates to sit beneath the Peace Tree and "clasp their arms about it" and to discuss the advantages of an alliance.

The political success of the Iroquois as a result of their system gave them phenomenal strength and likewise excited widespread jealousy. Thus the Iroquois found themselves plunged in a war for existence and without friends to call upon.

How a government calling itself the Great Peace provided for war is shown in the part of the great immutable law called "Skana-watih's Laws of Peace and War." Extracts from these laws follow:

When the proposition to establish the Great Peace is made to a foreign nation it shall be done in mutual council. The nation is to be persuaded

¹ See, for example, *The Passamaquoddy Wampum Records* by J. D. Prince, page 483, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, v. 36. Also Appendix, page 119 of this bulletin.

by reason and urged to come into the Great Peace. If the Five Nations fail . . . after a third council . . . the war captain of the Five Nations shall address the head chief of the rebellious nation and request him three times to accept the Great Peace. If refusal steadfastly follows the war captain shall let a bunch of white lake shells fall from his outstretched hand and shall bound quickly forward and club the offending chief to death. War shall thereby be declared and the war captain shall have his men at his back to support him in any emergency. War shall continue until won by the Five Nations. . . . Then shall the Five Nations seek to establish the Great Peace by a conquest of the rebellious nation.

When peace shall have been established by the termination of the war . . . then the war captain shall cause all weapons of war to be taken from the nation. Then shall the Great Peace be established and the nation shall observe all the rules of the Great Peace for all time to come.

Whenever a foreign nation is conquered or has by their own free will accepted the Great Peace, their own system of internal government may continue so far as is consistent but they must cease all strife with other nations.

In this manner and under these provisions and others every rebellious tribe or nation, almost without exception, was either exterminated or absorbed. The Erie, the Neutral, the Huron, the Andaste and other cognate tribes of the Iroquoian stock were broken up and the scattered bands or survivors settled in the numerous Iroquois towns to forget in time their birth nation and to be known forever after only as Iroquois. The law read, "Henceforth let no one so adopted mention the name of his birth nation. To do so will hasten the end of the Great Peace." The Lenni Lenape or Delaware, the Nanticoke, the broken bands of the Minsi and the Shawne, the Brothertown and other Algonquian tribes yielded to the armed persuasions to accept the Great Peace; likewise did the Tutelo and Catawba of the eastern Siouan stock, and the Choctaw of the Muskoghean yield, and to that action is due the fact that they have descendants today.

The Iroquois policy of adopting captives led to the mixture of widely scattered stocks. The Iroquois therefore became an ethnic group of composite elements. Thus from the ideas of universal peace and brotherhood grew universal intermarriage, modified of course by clan laws.

According to the great immutable law the Iroquois confederate council was to consist of fifty *rodiyaner* (civil chiefs) and was to be divided into three bodies, namely, the older brothers, the Mohawk and the Seneca; the younger brothers, the Cayuga and the Oneida; and the fire keepers, the Onondaga. Each brotherhood debated a question separately and reported to the fire keepers, who referred the matter back and ordered a unanimous report. If the two brotherhoods still disagreed the fire keepers had the casting vote.

If, however, the brotherhoods agreed and their decision was not in accord with the wishes of the fire keepers, the fire keepers could only confirm the decision, for absolute unanimity was the law and required for the passage of any question. Provisions to break speedily any deadlock were provided. All the work of the council was done without an executive head, save a temporary speaker appointed by acclamation. Adodarhoh, in spite of his high title, was only the moderator of the fire keepers.

These "lords" or civil chiefs were nominated by certain noble women in whose families the titles were hereditary; the nominations were confirmed by popular councils both of men and of women and finally by the confederate council. Women thus had great power for not only could they nominate their rulers but also depose them for incompetency in office. Here, then, we find the right of popular nomination, the right of recall and of woman suffrage, all flourishing in the old America of the Red Man and centuries before it became the clamor of the new America of the white invader. Who now shall call Indians and Iroquois savages!

Not only were there popular councils to check an overambitious government, but both the men and the women had in their "war chief" a sort of aboriginal public service commissioner who had authority to voice their will before the council. Men of worth who had won their way into the hearts of the people were elected pine tree chiefs with voice but no vote in the governing body. The rights of every man were provided for and all things done for the promotion of the Great Peace.

Among the interesting things in this Iroquois constitution are the provisions for the official symbols. Many of these symbols, such as the point within a circle, the bundle of arrows, the watchful eagle, are described in detail. The fifteenth string of the Tree of the Long Leaves section, for example, reads:

"Five arrows shall be bound together very strongly and each arrow shall represent one nation. As the five arrows are strongly bound, this shall symbolize the union of the nations. . . ."

This reference to the arrows bound together was quoted by King Hendrick in 1755 in his talk with Sir William Johnson.

Perhaps a more striking paragraph to students of Indian history will be the reference to a certain wampum belt:

"A broad, dark belt of wampum . . . having a white heart in the center on either side of which are two white squares all connected with the heart by white rows shall be the emblem of the unity of the Five Nations. The white heart in the middle . . .

means the Onondaga nation . . . and it also means that the heart of the Five Nations is single in its loyalty to the Great Peace. . . ."

This belt is sometimes called the Hiawatha belt and is one of the most valuable Iroquois belts now extant. It is now on exhibition in the Congressional Library.

The Great Peace as a governmental system was an almost ideal one for the stage of culture with which it was designed to cope. I think it will be found to be the greatest ever devised by barbaric man on any continent. By adhering to it the Five Nations became the dominant native power east of the Mississippi and during the colonial times exercised an immense influence in determining the fate of English civilization on the continent. They, as allies of the British, fought for it and destroyed all French hopes for colonization.

The authors of the great immutable law gave the Iroquois two great culture heroes, heroes almost without equal in American Indian annals. Through the law as a guiding force and through the heroes as ideals the Iroquois have persisted as a people, preserved their national identity and much of their native culture and lore. Today in their various bodies they number more than 16,000 souls. This is a remarkable fact when it is considered that they are entirely surrounded by a dominant culture whose encroachments are persistent and unrelenting in the very nature of things.

The Canadian Iroquois indeed govern themselves by the laws contained in these codes, proving their utility even in modern days.

The two principal manuscripts that form the basis of this work were found in the Six Nations Reservation, Ontario, Canada, in 1910.

The first manuscript was a lengthy account of the Dekanawida legend and an account of the Confederate Iroquois laws. This material has been brought together by Seth Newhouse, a Mohawk, who has expended a large amount of time and given the subject a lengthy study. His account written in Indian English was submitted to Albert Cusick, a New York Onondaga-Tuscarora, for review and criticism. Mr Cusick had long been an authority on Iroquois law and civic rites, and had been a chief informant for Horatio Hale, William M. Beauchamp and in several instances for the present writer. Mr Cusick was employed for more than a month in correcting the Newhouse manuscript until he believed the form in which it is now presented fairly correct and at least as accurate as a free translation could be made.

The second manuscript was compiled by the chiefs of the Six Nations council and in the form here published has been reviewed and corrected by several of their own number, including Chiefs John Gibson, Jacob Johnson and John William Elliott. The official copy was made by Hilton Hill, a Seneca, then employed by the Dominion superintendent for the Six Nations. It has been reviewed and changes were suggested by Albert Cusick.

The Newhouse code was divided into three sections. These were, "The Tree of the Long Leaves," "The Emblematical Union Compact," and "Skanawatih's Law of Peace and War." Each law was associated with a wampum belt or string of wampum beads. The string number and the section of the code from which it is extracted is indicated after each law, as given in the text.

In examining this code of Iroquois law it will be noted that no reference is made in the Canadian codes to the "Long House of the Five Nations." Various reasons are assigned for this. Mr Newhouse cut out all reference to it from his original manuscript because some of the older chiefs said that Handsome Lake, the destroyer of the old religious system, had successfully associated his religious teachings with the Long House. The force of this fact is apparent when we learn that a follower of the Handsome Lake religion is called among other names, Gānūñ'sisnē'ha, "Long House Lover." Another reason is that the historic Long House territory is in New York State, and that the Ontario Iroquois who left New York after the Revolution to cling to the British, dislike any reference to their former habitation that seems to bind them to it. The Dekanawida code provides a refuge for the confederacy in distress, and in Canada they believe they have found "the great elm" under which they may gather in safety to continue their national existence.

In presenting these documents the original orthography has been retained. The only attempt to record Iroquois names and words phonetically is in the notes. This will account for some variations in spelling. The Mohawk and Onondaga writers in their manuscripts used Ayonhwatha and Hayonhwatha interchangeably and there are other variations.

THE DEKANAWIDA LEGEND¹

DEKANAWIDA'S BIRTH AND JOURNEY

North of the beautiful lake (Ontario) in the land of the Crooked Tongues, was a long winding bay and at a certain spot was the Huron town, Ka-ha-nah-yenh. Near by was the great hill, Ti-ro-nat-ha-ra-da-donh. In the village lived a good woman who had a virgin daughter. Now strangely this virgin conceived and her mother knew that she was about to bear a child. The daughter about this time went into a long sleep and dreamed that her child should be a son whom she should name Dekanawida. The messenger in the dream told her that he should become a great man and that he should go among the Flint people to live and that he should also go to the Many Hill Nation and there raise up the Great Tree of Peace. It was true as had been said the virgin gave birth to a boy and the grandmother greatly disliked him and she rebuked her daughter.

"You refuse to tell me the father of the child," she said, "and now how do you know that great calamity will not befall us, and our nation? You must drown the child."

So then the mother took the child to the bay and chopped a hole in the ice where she customarily drew water and thrust him in, but when night came the child was found at his mother's bosom. So then the mother took the child again and threw him in the bay but at night the child returned. Then the third time the grandmother herself took the child and drowned him but in the morning the child nestled as before on its mother's own bosom.

So the grandmother marveled that the child, her grandson, could not be drowned. Then she said to her daughter:

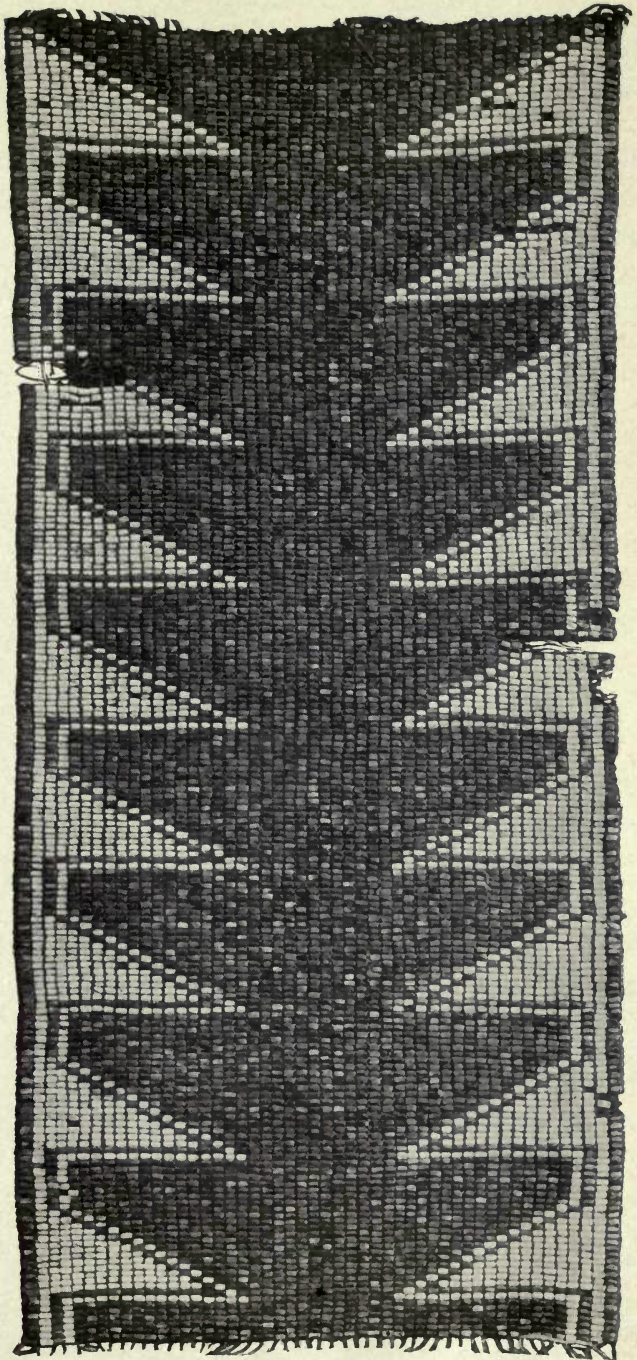
"Mother, now nurse your child for he may become an important man. He can not be drowned, we know, and you have borne him without having marriage with any man. Now I have never heard of such an occurrence nor has the world known of it before."

Beginning with that time the mother took great care of her child and nursed him. She named him Dekanawida in accord with the instruction of her dream.

The child rapidly grew and was remarkably strong and healthy. His appearance was noticed for its good aspect and his face was most handsome.

When Dekanawida had grown to manhood he was greatly abused

¹ From the Newhouse version.



Great Belt of the Confederacy symbolizing the Gayānēśhā'gowā as an
Digitized by ever growing tree

by the Huron people because of his handsome face and his good mind. He was always honest and always told what he believed was right. Nevertheless he was a peculiar man and his people did not understand him.

Many things conspired to drive him away for the Crooked Tongues had no love for such a man. Their hearts were bitter against a man who loved not war better than all things.

After a journey by canoe across the lake he came into the hunting territory of the Flint Nation. He journeyed on to the lower fall of the river of the Flint Nation and made a camp a short way from the fall on the flat land above it. He sat beneath a tall tree and smoked his pipe in quiet meditation.

A man of the Flints passed by and seeing the fire and the stranger approached him cautiously to discover what weapon he bore, if any. Carefully the man of the Flint reconnoitered but saw no weapon, but only the stranger quietly smoking. Returning to the town a short distance away the presence of the odd stranger was reported. Then the chiefs and their men went out and assembled about the man who smoked. One of the head men was delegated to question the stranger and so he asked "From whence came you?"

"I am from Ka-ka-na-yenh," the stranger replied.

"I am of the Wyandots, whom you call the Crooked Tongues because our speech is slightly different," answered the stranger, "My mother is a virgin woman."

"Then," said the speaker, "By what name are you known?"

"I am Dekanawidah, so named because my virgin mother dreamed that it should be so and no one else shall ever be named by this name."

"What brought you here to us," asked the speaker.

So then Dekanawidah answered, "The Great Creator from whom we all are descended sent me to establish the Great Peace among you. No longer shall you kill one another and nations shall cease warring upon each other. Such things are entirely evil and he, your Maker, forbids it. Peace and comfort are better than war and misery for a nation's welfare."

Then answered the speaker of the Flints, "All that you say is surely true and we are not able to contradict it. We must have proof, however, before we submit ourselves to you whereby we may know that you indeed possess rightful power to establish the Great Peace."

So answered Dekanawida, "I am able to demonstrate my power for I am the messenger of the Creator and he truly has given me my choice of the manner of my death."

"Choose then," said the speaker, "a manner of destruction for we are ready to destroy you." Dekanawida replied, "By the side of the falls at the edge of a precipice stands a tall tree. I will climb the tree and seat myself in the topmost branches. Then shall you cut down the tree and I shall fall into the depths below. Will not that destroy me?"

Then said the speaker, "Let us proceed at once."

Dekanawida ascended the tree and it was chopped down. A multitude of people saw him fall into the chasm and plunge into the water. So they were satisfied that he was surely drowned. Night came but Dekanawida did not appear and thus were the people sure of his death, and then were they satisfied.

The next morning the warriors saw strange smoke arising from the smoke hole of an empty cabin. They approached cautiously and peering in the side of the wall where the bark was loosened they saw Dekanawidah. He was alive and was not a ghost and he was cooking his morning meal.

So the watchers reported their discovery and then were the chiefs and people truly convinced that indeed Dekanawidah might establish the Great Peace.

THE TROUBLED NATIONS

The Ongwe-oweh had fought long and bravely. So long had they fought that they became lustful for war and many times Endeke-Gakwa, the Sun, came out of the east to find them fighting. It was thus because the Ongwe-oweh were so successful that they said the Sun loved war and gave them power.

All the Ongwe-oweh fought other nations sometimes together and sometimes singly and, ah-gi! oftentimes they fought among themselves. The nation of the Flint had little sympathy for the Nation of the Great Hill, and sometimes they raided one another's settlements. Thus did brothers and Ongwe-oweh fight. The nation of the Sunken Pole fought the Nation of the Flint and hated them, and the Nation of the Sunken Pole was Ongwe.

Because of bitter jealousy and love of bloodshed sometimes towns would send their young men against the young men of another town to practise them in fighting.

Even in his own town a warrior's own neighbor might be his enemy and it was not safe to roam about at night when Soi-ka-Gakwa, our Grandmother, the Moon, was hidden.

Everywhere there was peril and everywhere mourning. Men were ragged with sacrifice and the women scarred with the flints, so everywhere there was misery. Feuds with outer nations, feuds with brother nations, feuds of sister towns and feuds of families and of clans made every warrior a stealthy man who liked to kill.

Then in those days there was no great law. Our founder had not yet come to create peace and give united strength to the Real Men, the Ongwe-oweh.

In those same days the Onondagas had no peace. A man's life was valued as nothing. For any slight offence a man or woman was killed by his enemy and in this manner feuds started between families and clans. At night none dared leave their doorways lest they be struck down by an enemy's war club. Such was the condition when there was no Great Law.

South of the Onondaga town lived an evil-minded man. His lodge was in a swale and his nest was made of bulrushes. His body was distorted by seven crooks and his long tangled locks were adorned by writhing living serpents. Moreover, this monster was a devourer of raw meat, even of human flesh. He was also a master of wizardry and by his magic he destroyed men but he could not be destroyed. Adodarhoh was the name of the evil man.

Notwithstanding the evil character of Adadarhoh the people of Onondaga, the Nation of Many Hills, obeyed his commands and though it cost many lives they satisfied his insane whims, so much did they fear him for his sorcery.

The time came, however, when the Onondaga people could endure him no longer. A council was called to devise a way to pacify him and to entreat him to cease his evil ways. Hayonwatha called the council for he had many times sought to clear the mind of Adodarhoh and straighten his crooked body. So then the council was held in the house of Hayontawatha. It was decided that half the people should go by boat across the creek where it widens and that others should skirt the shore. Adodarhoh was not in his nest in the swale but in a new spot across the wide place in the creek.

The boats started and the people walked. From the bushes that overhung the shore a loud voice sounded. "Stand quickly and look behind you for a storm will overwhelm you."

In dismay the people arose in their canoes and turned about. As they did so the canoes overturned and the men were plunged into the water and many were drowned. A few escaped and then all survivors returned to the village. So had Adodarhoh frustrated the attempt to meet with him.

Again the people prepared to conciliate Adodarho. Three times they agreed to attempt the undertaking. So on the second occasion they go by canoe and by land, those who go by canoe follow the shore and those who go by land walk on the pebbles close to the water's edge.

Again the cunning Adodarho sees them and calling down Hagoks he shook him, and the people in a wild rush scramble for the feathers, for the plumes of Hagoks are most beautiful and men are proud when their heads are adorned with them. There is a tumult and blows are struck. Evil feelings arise and in anger the people return to the village still contending. The mission of conciliation is forgotten.

The next day Ayonhwatha called the people to their promise and for the third time to attempt a council with Adodarho. Moreover, they promised to obey every instruction and listen neither to a voice outside nor an omen nor any commotion.

Another council was held in the lodge of a certain great dreamer. He said, "I have dreamed that another shall prevail. He shall come from the north and pass to the east. Hayonwhatha shall meet him there in the Mohawk country and the two together shall prevail. Hayonwhatha must not remain with us but must go from us to the Flint land people."

So when the journey across the lake was attempted there was a division and the dreamer's council prevailed.

Then the dreamer held two councils and those who believed in him conspired to employ Ohsinoh, a famous shaman.

Hayonwhatha had seven daughters whom he loved and in whom he took great pride. While they lived the conspirators knew he would not depart. With the daughters dead they knew the crushing sorrow would sever every tie that bound him to Onondaga. Then would he be free to leave and in thinking of the welfare of the people forget his own sorrow.

Hayonwhatha could not call the people together for they refused further to listen to his voice. The dreamer's council had prevailed.

At night Osinoh climbed a tree overlooking his lodge and sat on a large limb. Filling his mouth with clay he imitated the sound of a screech owl. Calling the name of the youngest daughter he sang:

"Unless you marry Osinoh
You will surely die, -whoo-hoo!"

Then he came down and went to his own home.

In three days the maiden strangely died. Hayonwhatha was disconsolate and sat sitting with his head bowed in his hands. He mourned, but none came to comfort him.

In like manner five other daughters passed away and the grief of Hayonwhatha was extreme.

Clansmen of the daughters then went to the lodge of Hayonwhatha to watch, for they knew nothing of Osinoh's sorcery. They gathered close against the large trees and in the shadows of bushes. The clansmen suspected some evil treachery and were there to discover it.

There was no moon in the sky when Osinoh came. Cautiously he came from habit but he was not afraid. He drove his staff in the ground, he breathed loud like a magic totem animal snorting and then he climbed the tree. He spat the clay about the tree to imitate the screech owl and as he did he said: "Si-twit, si-twit, si-twit." Then he sang:

"Unless you marry Osinoh
You shall surely die, whoo-hoo!"

The morning came and Osinoh descended. As he touched the ground a clansman shot an arrow and transfixed him. Prostrate fell Osinoh and the clansman rushed at him with a club.

Osinoh looked up. "You are unable to club me," he said. "Your arm has no power at all. It weakens. Today I shall recover from this wound. It is of no purpose to injure me."

It was true indeed; the clansman could not lift the club to kill Osinoh. Then Osinoh arose and went home and in three days the daughter died. So perished all by the evil magic arts of Osinoh.

The grief of Hayonwhatha was terrible. He threw himself about as if tortured and yielding to the pain. No one came near him so awful was his sorrow. Nothing would console him and his mind was shadowed with the thoughts of his heavy sorrow.

"I shall cast myself away, I shall bury myself in the forest, I shall become a woodland wanderer," he said. Thus he expressed his desire to depart. Then it was known that he would go to another nation.

Hayonwhatha "split the heavens," Watanwhakacia, when he departed and his skies were rent asunder.

Toward the south he went and at night he camped on the mountain. This was the first day of his journey. On the second day he descended and camped at the base of the hill. On the third day

he journeyed onward and when evening came he camped in a hickory grove. This he named O-neə-no-ka-res-geh, and it was on the morning he came to a place where round jointed rushes grew. He paused as he saw them and made three strings of them and when he had built a fire he said: "This would I do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would console them for they would be covered with night and wrapped in darkness. This would I lift with words of condolence and these strands of beads would become words with which I would address them."

So at this place he stayed that night and he called the spot O-hon-do-gon-wa, meaning Rush-land.

When daylight came he wandered on again and altering the course of his journey turned to the east. At night he came to a group of small lakes and upon one he saw a flock of ducks. So many were there and so closely together did they swim that they seemed like a raft.

"If I am to be truly royaneh (noble)," he said aloud to himself, "I shall here discover my power." So then he spoke aloud and said: "Oh you who are 'floats' lift up the water and permit me to pass over the bottom of the lake dryshod."

In a compact body the ducks flew upward suddenly and swiftly, lifting the water with them. Thus did he walk down the shore and upon the bottom of the lake. There he noticed lying in layers the empty shells of the water snail, some shells white, and others purple. Stooping down he filled a pouch of deer skin with them, and then passed on to the other shore. Then did the ducks descend and replace the water.

It was here that Hayonwhatha desired for the first time to eat. He then killed three ducks and roasted them. This was the evening of the fifth day.

In the morning he ate the cold meat of the roasted ducks and resumed his journey. This was the sixth day and on that day he hunted for small game and slept.

On the morning of the seventh day he ate again and turned his way to the south. Late in the evening he came to a clearing and found a bark field hut. There he found a shelter and there he erected two poles, placed another across the tops and suspended three shell strings. Looking at them he said: "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do not do what they say. If I should see anyone in deep grief I would remove these shell strings from the pole and console them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover what I say I would surely do." This he repeated.

A little girl discovered smoke arising from the field lodge and she crept up and listened. She advanced and peered in a chink in the bark. Then she ran homeward and told her father of the strange man.

"The stranger must be Hayonwhatha," said the father, "I have heard that he has departed from Onondaga. Return, my daughter, and invite him to our house."

The girl-child obeyed and Hayonwhatha went to her house. "We are about to hold a council," the father said. "Sit in that place on one side of the fire and I will acquaint you with our decisions."

The council was convened and there was a great discussion. Before darkness every evening the council dissolved and at no time was Hayonwhatha called upon for advice nor was anything officially reported to him.

On the tenth day of his journey during the debate in the council Hayonwhatha quietly left and resumed his wandering. Nothing had been asked of him and he felt himself not needed by the people. Late in the evening he came to the edge of another settlement and as was his custom he kindled a fire and erected a horizontal pole on two upright poles. On this he placed three strings of the wampum shells. Then he sat down and repeated his saying: "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do not do what they promise. If I should see any one in deep grief I would remove these shells from this pole and console him. The shells would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover, I truly would do as I say." This he repeated.

The chief man of the village saw the smoke at the edge of the forest and sent a messenger to discover who the stranger might be. Now when the messenger reached the spot he saw a man seated before a fire and a horizontal pole from which three strings of small shells were suspended. He also heard the words spoken as the stranger looked at the strings. So then when he had seen all he returned and reported what he had seen and heard.

Then said the chief man, "The person whom you describe must truly be Hayonwhatha whom we have heard left his home at Onondaga. He it is who shall meet the great man foretold by the dreamer. We have heard that this man should work with the man who talks of the establishment of peace."

So then the chiefs sent a messenger who should say, "Our principal chief sent me to greet you. Now then I wish you would come into our village with me."

Hayonwhatha heard the messenger and gathered up his goods and went into the village and when he had entered the chief's house the chief said, "Seat yourself on the opposite side of the fire so that you may have an understanding of all that we do here in this place."

Then Hayonhwatha sat there for seven days and the chiefs and people talked without arriving at any decision. No word was asked Hayonhwatha and he was not consulted. No report was made officially to him. So he did not hear what they talked about.

On the eighteenth night a runner came from the south. He was from the nation residing on the seashore. He told the chiefs of the eminent man who had now come to the town on the Mohawk river at the lower falls. Then the messenger said: "We have heard of the dream of Onodaga which told of the great man who came from the north. Now another great man who shall now go forward in haste to meet him shall change his course and go eastward to meet in the Flinty land village (Kanyakahake), the great man. There shall the two council together and establish the Great Peace." So said the messenger from the salt water seashore, who came to tell Hayonwhatha to journey east.

So the chiefs of the town where Hayonhwatha was staying chose five men as an escort for Hayonhwatha. They must go with him until he reached the house where Dekanawida was present. So then on the next day the chief himself went with the party and watched carefully the health of Hayonhwatha. The journey lasted five days and on the fifth day the party stopped on the outskirts of the town where Dekanawida was staying and then they built a fire. This was the custom, to make a smoke so that the town might know that visitors were approaching and send word that they might enter without danger to their lives. The smoke was the signal of friends approaching.¹ The Mohawks (People of the Flinty Country) knew the meaning of the signal so they sent messengers and invited the party into the village.

When Hayonhwatha had entered the house where the people had gathered the chief asked him whom he would like to see most. Then Hayonhwatha answered, "I came to see a very great man who lately came from the north." The chief said, "I have with you two men who shall escort you to the house where Dekanawida is

¹ In those days it was necessary to build a fire on the outskirts of a village about to be entered. If necessary to kill an animal for food, its pelt must be hung on a tree in plain sight because it is the property of the nation in whose territory it is killed. This information was given to me by Albert Cusick and Seth Newhouse.

present." Then the people went out and the two men escorted Hayonhwatha to Dekanawida. This was on the twenty-third day. Then Dekanawida arose when Hayonhwatha had entered and he said: "My younger brother I perceive that you have suffered from some deep grief. You are a chief among your people and yet you are wandering about."

Hayonhwatha answered, "That person skilled in sorcery, Osinoh, has destroyed my family of seven daughters. It was truly a great calamity and I am now very miserable. My sorrow and my rage have been bitter. I can only rove about since now I have cast myself away from my people. I am only a wanderer. I split the heavens when I went away from my house and my nation."

Dekanawida replied, "Dwell here with me. I will represent your sorrow to the people here dwelling."

So Hayonhwatha had found some one who considered his distress and he did stay. Then Dekanawida told of his suffering and the people listened.

The five escorts were then dismissed and Hayonhwatha gave thanks to them and told them to return to their own region again. Then the escorts said, "Now today it has happened as was foretold in a dream. The two are now together. Let them now arrange the Great Peace." Then they returned home.

When Dekanawida laid the trouble before the council he promised to let Hayonhwatha know their decision. The chiefs deliberated over the sad events and then decided to do as Dekanawida should say. He then should remedy the trouble. Then Dekanawida went in perplexity to his lodge and as he came to it he heard Hayonhwatha say, "It is useless, for the people only boast what they will do, saying 'I would do this way,' but they do nothing at all. If what has befallen me should happen to them I would take down the three shell strings from the upright pole and I would address them and I would console them because they would be covered by heavy darkness." Dekanawida stood outside the door and heard all these words. So then Dekanawida went forward into the house and he went up to the pole, then he said: "My younger brother, it has now become very plain to my eyes that your sorrow must be removed. Your griefs and your rage have been great. I shall now undertake to remove your sorrow so that your mind may be rested. Have you no more shell strings on your pole?"

Hayonhwatha replied, "I have no more strings but I have many shells in a tanned deer's skin." So he opened his bundle and a great

quantity of shells fell out. So then Dekanawida said, "My younger brother, I shall string eight more strands because there must be eight parts to my address to you." So then Hayonhwatha permitted the stringing of the shells and Dekanawida made the strings so that in all there were thirteen strings and bound them in four bunches. These must be used to console the one who has lost by death a near relative. "My younger brother, the thirteen strings are now ready on this horizontal pole. I shall use them. I shall address you. This is all that is necessary in your case."

So then he took one bunch off the pole and held it in his hand while he talked. While he talked one after another he took them down and gave one to Hayonhwatha after each part of his address.

The words that he spoke when he addressed Hayonhwatha were eight of the thirteen condolences.

When the eight ceremonial addresses had been made by Dekanawida the mind of Hayonhwatha was made clear. He was then satisfied and once more saw things rightly.

Dekanawida then said, "My younger brother, these thirteen strings of shell are now completed. In the future they shall be used in this way: They shall be held in the hand to remind the speaker of each part of his address, and as each part is finished a string shall be given to the bereaved chief (Royaneh) on the other side of the fire. Then shall the Royaneh hand them back one by one as he addresses a reply; it then can be said, 'I have now become even with you.'"

Dekanawida then said, "My junior brother, your mind being cleared and you being competent to judge, we now shall make our laws and when all are made we shall call the organization we have formed the Great Peace. It shall be the power to abolish war and robbery between brothers and bring peace and quietness.

"As emblems of our Royoneh titles we shall wear deer antlers and place them on the heads of Royaneh men."

Hayonhwatha then said, "What you have said is good, I do agree."

Dekanawida said, "My younger brother, since you have agreed I now propose that we compose our Peace song. We shall use it on our journey to pacify Adodarhoh. When he hears it his mind shall be made straight. His mind shall then be like that of other men. This will be true if the singer remembers and makes no error in his singing from the beginning to the end, as he walks before Adodarhoh."

Hayonhwatha said, "I do agree, I truly believe the truth of what you say."

Then Dekanawida said, "My younger brother, we shall now propose to the Mohawk council the plan we have made. We shall tell our plan for a confederation and the building of a house of peace. It will be necessary for us to know its opinion and have its consent to proceed."

The plan was talked about in the council and Dekanawida spoke of establishing a union of all the nations. He told them that all the chiefs must be virtuous men and be very patient. These should wear deer horns as emblems of their position, because as he told them their strength came from the meat of the deer. Then Hayonhwatha confirmed all that Dekanawida had said.

Then the speaker of the Mohawk council said, "You two, Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha, shall send messengers to the Oneida (People of the Stone) and they shall ask Odatshedeh if he will consider the plan."

When Odatshedeh had been asked he replied, "I will consider this plan and answer you tomorrow."

When the tomorrow of the next year had come, there came the answer of the Oneida council, "We will join the confederation."

So then the Mohawks (Kanyenga) sent two messengers to Onondaga asking that the nation consider the proposals of Dekanawida. It was a midsummer day when the message went forth and the Onondaga council answered, "Return tomorrow at high sun." So the two great men returned home and waited until the next midsummer. Then the midday came and the Onondaga council sent messengers who said, "We have decided that it would be a good plan to build the fire and set about it with you." Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha heard this answer.

So then at the same time Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha sent messengers to the Cayuga nation and the answer was sent back. The Cayugas said they would send word of their decision tomorrow, upon the midsummer day. The next year at midsummer the Cayugas sent their answer and they said, "We do agree with Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha."

Now the People of the Great Hill were divided and were not agreed because there had been trouble between their war chiefs, but messengers were sent to them but the Senecas could not agree to listen and requested the messengers to return the next year. So when the messengers returned the councils did listen and considered

the proposals. After a year had passed they sent messengers to say that they had agreed to enter into the confederacy.

Then Dekanawida said, "I now will report to the Mohawk council the result of my work of five years." Hayonhwatha then said, "I do agree to the report."

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT PEACE

Dekanawida requested some of the Mohawk chiefs to call a council, so messengers were sent out among the people and the council was convened.

Dekanawida said, "I, with my co-worker, have a desire to now report what we have done on five successive midsummer days, of five successive years. We have obtained the consent of five nations. These are the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas. Our desire is to form a compact for a union of our nations. Our next step is to seek out Adodarhoh. It is he who has always set at naught all plans for the establishment of the Great Peace. We must seek his fire and look for his smoke."

The chief speaker of the council then said, "We do agree and confirm all you have said and we wish to appoint two spies who shall volunteer to seek out the smoke of Adodarhoh."

Two men then eagerly volunteered and Dekanawida asked them if they were able to transform themselves into birds or animals, for such must be the ability of the messengers who approached Adodarhoh. The two men replied, "We are able to transform ourselves into herons and cranes."

"Then you will not do for you will pause at the first creek or swamp and look for frogs and fish."

Two men then said, "We have magic that will transform us into humming birds. They fly very swiftly."

"Then you will not do because you are always hungry and are looking for flowers."

Two other men then said, "We can become the Dare, the white crane."

"Then you will not do because you are very wild and easily frightened. You would be afraid when the clouds move. You would become hungry and fly to the ground looking about for ground nuts."

Then two men who were crows by magic volunteered but they were told that crows talked too loudly, boasted and were full of mischief.

So then in the end two men who were powerful by the magic of the deer and the bear stepped before the council and were chosen. The speaker for the council then reported to Dekanawida that the spies were ready to go. Then they went.

Now Dekanawida addressed the council and he said, "I am Dekanawida and with me is my younger brother. We two now lay before you the laws by which to frame the Ka-ya-neh-renh-ko-wa. The emblems of the chief rulers shall be the antlers of deer. The titles shall be vested in certain women and the names shall be held in their maternal families forever." All the laws were then recited and Hayonhwatha confirmed them.

Dekanawida then sang the song to be used when conferring titles. So in this way all the work and the plans were reported to the Mohawk council and Hayonhwatha confirmed it all. Therefore the council adopted the plan.

When the spies returned the speaker of the council said, "Ska-non-donh, our ears are erected." Then the spies spoke and they said, "At great danger to ourselves we have seen Adodarihoh. We have returned and tell you that the body of Adodarihoh has seven crooked parts, his hair is infested with snakes and he is a cannibal."

The council heard the message and decided to go to Onondaga at midsummer.

Then Dekanawida taught the people the Hymn of Peace and the other songs. He stood before the door of the longhouse and walked before it singing the new songs. Many came and learned them so that many were strong by the magic of them when it was time to carry the Great Peace to Onondaga.

When the time had come, Dekanawida summoned the chiefs and people together and chose one man to sing the songs before Adodarihoh. Soon then this singer led the company through the forest and he preceded all, singing the Peace songs as he walked. Many old villages and camping places were passed as they went and the names were lifted to give the clan name holders. Now the party passed through these places:

Old Clearing
Overgrown with bushes
A temporary place
Protruding rocks
Between two places
Parties opposite at the council fire
In the Valley

Drooping Wing
On the Hillside
Man Standing
I have daubed it
Lake Bridge
Between two side hills
Lake Outlet
At the forks
Long Hill
Broken Branches Lying
The Spring
White
Corn Stalks on both sides
Two Hillsides
The Old Beast

All these places were in the Mohawk country.

Now they entered the Oneida country and the great chief Odatshedeh with his chiefs met them. Then all of them marched onward to Onondaga, the singer of the Peace Hymn going on ahead.

The frontier of the Onondaga country was reached and the expedition halted to kindle a fire, as was customary. Then the chiefs of the Onondagas with their head men welcomed them and a great throng marched to the fireside of Adodarhoh, the singer of the Peace Hymn leading the multitude.

The lodge of Adodarhoh was reached and a new singer was appointed to sing the Peace Hymn. So he walked before the door of the house singing to cure the mind of Adodarhoh. He knew that if he made a single error or hesitated his power would be weakened and the crooked body of Adodarhoh remain misshapen. Then he hesitated and made an error. So another singer was appointed and he too made an error by hesitating.

Then Dekanawida himself sang and walked before the door of Adodarhoh's house. When he finished his song he walked toward Adodarhoh and held out his hand to rub it on his body and to know its inherent strength and life. Then Adodarhoh was made straight and his mind became healthy.

When Adodarhoh was made strong in rightful powers and his body had been healed, Dekanawida addressed the three nations. He said, "We have now overcome a great obstacle. It has long stood in the way of peace. The mind of Adodarhoh is now made

right and his crooked parts are made straight. Now indeed may we establish the Great Peace.

"Before we do firmly establish our union each nation must appoint a certain number of its wisest and purest men who shall be rulers, Rodiyaner. They shall be the advisers of the people and make the new rules that may be needful. These men shall be selected and confirmed by their female relations in whose lines the titles shall be hereditary. When these are named they shall be crowned, emblematically, with deer antlers."

So then the women of the Mohawks brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rodiyaner and one man, Ayenwaehs, as war chief.

So then the women of the Oneidas brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rodiyaner, and one man, Kahonwadironh, who should be war chief.

So then the Onondaga women brought forward fourteen chiefs who should become Rodiyaner, and one man, Ayendes, who should be war chief.

Each chief then delivered to Dekanawida a string of lake shell wampum a span in length as a pledge of truth.

Dekanawida then said: "Now, today in the presence of this great multitude I disrobe you and you are not now covered by your old names. I now give you names much greater." Then calling each chief to him he said: "I now place antlers on your head as an emblem of your power. Your old garments are torn off and better robes are given you. Now you are Royaner, each of you. You will receive many scratches and the thickness of your skins shall be seven spans. You must be patient and henceforth work in unity. Never consider your own interests but work to benefit the people and for the generations not yet born. You have pledged yourselves to govern yourselves by the laws of the Great Peace. All your authority shall come from it.

"I do now order that Skanawateh shall in one-half of his being be a Royaneh of the Great Peace, and in his other half a war chief, for the Rodiyaner must have an ear to hear and a hand to feel the coming of wars."

Then did Dekanawida repeat all the rules which he with Ayonhwatha had devised for the establishment of the Great Peace.

Then in the councils of all the Five Nations he repeated them and the Confederacy was established.

THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT PEACE

THE GREAT BINDING LAW, GAYANASHAGOWA

1 I am Dekanawidah and with the Five Nations' Confederate Lords¹ I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Adodarhoh, and the Onondaga Nation, in the territory of you who are Firekeepers.

I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of the Great Peace we spread the soft white feathery down of the globe thistle as seats for you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords.

We place you upon those seats, spread soft with the feathery down of the globe thistle, there beneath the shade of the spreading branches of the Tree of Peace. There shall you sit and watch the Council Fire of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, and all the affairs of the Five Nations shall be transacted at this place before you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords, by the Confederate Lords of the Five Nations. (1-I, TLL).²

2 Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Peace, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south and one to the west. The name of these roots is The Great White Roots and their nature is Peace and Strength.

If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the Lords of the Confederacy, they may trace the Roots to the Tree and if their minds are clean and they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the Confederate Council, they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

We place at the top of the Tree of the Long Leaves an Eagle who is able to see afar. If he sees in the distance any evil approaching or any danger threatening he will at once warn the people of the Confederacy. (2-II, TLL).

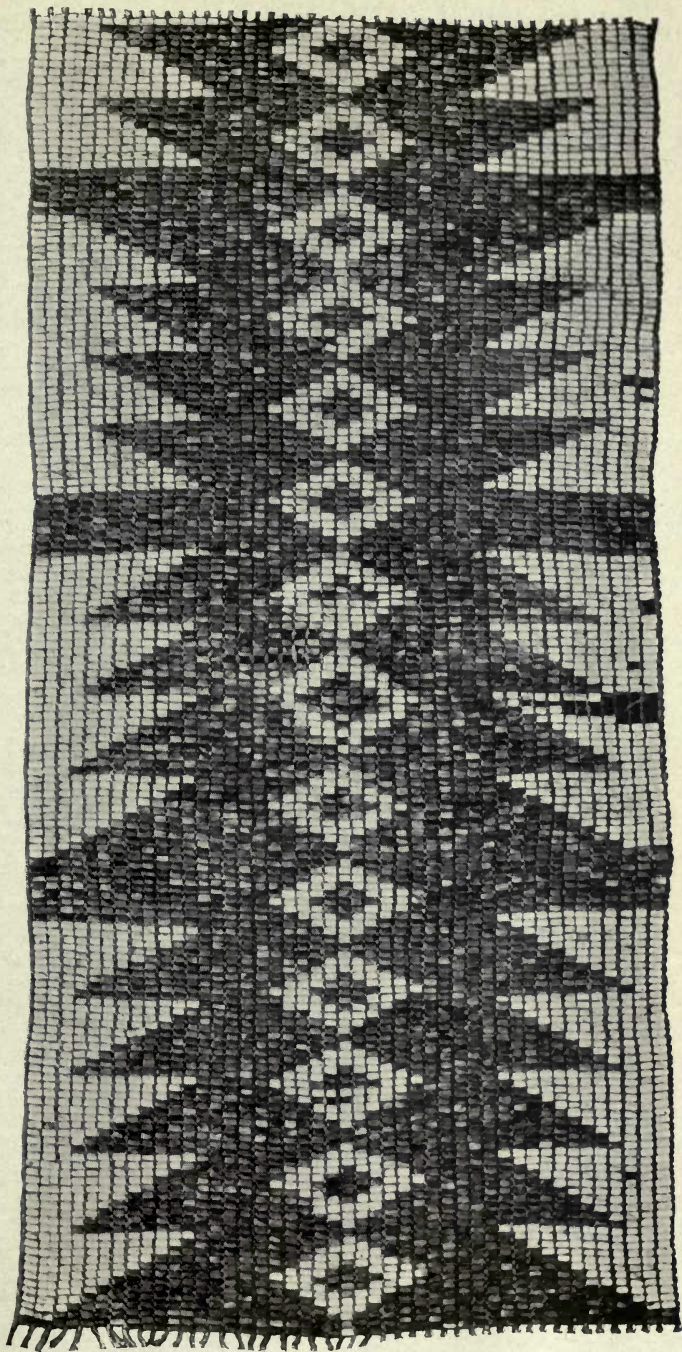
3 To you Adodarhoh, the Onondaga cousin Lords, I and the other Confederate Lords have entrusted the caretaking and the watching of the Five Nations Council Fire.

When there is any business to be transacted and the Confederate Council is not in session, a messenger shall be dispatched either to

¹ Royaneh is always translated "lord."

² The abbreviations after each law refer to the sections in the original code and their numbers. TLL, means Tree of the Long Leaves; EUC, Emblematical Union Compact, and LPW, Skanawita's Laws of Peace and War. The first number in Roman numerals refers to the original number of the law, the second number, in Arabic numerals, to the section number in the division of the law named by the abbreviation following.

Plate 3



Belt of the covenant. Displayed by the speaker of the confederate council.

Adodarhoh, Hononwirehtonh or Skanawatih, Fire Keepers, or to their War Chiefs with a full statement of the case desired to be considered. Then shall Adodarho call his cousin (associate) Lords together and consider whether or not the case is of sufficient importance to demand the attention of the Confederate Council. If so, Adodarhoh shall dispatch messengers to summon all the Confederate Lords to assemble beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

When the Lords are assembled the Council Fire shall be kindled, but not with chestnut wood,¹ and Adodarhoh shall formally open the Council.

Then shall Adodarhoh and his cousin Lords, the Fire Keepers, announce the subject for discussion.

The Smoke of the Confederate Council Fire shall ever ascend and pierce the sky so that other nations who may be allies may see the Council Fire of the Great Peace.

Adodarho and his cousin Lords are entrusted with the Keeping of the Council Fire. (4-IV, TLL).

4 You, Adodarho, and your thirteen cousin Lords, shall faithfully keep the space about the Council Fire clean and you shall allow neither dust nor dirt to accumulate. I lay a Long Wing before you as a broom. As a weapon against a crawling creature I lay a staff with you so that you may thrust it away from the Council Fire. If you fail to cast it out then call the rest of the United Lords to your aid. (3-III, TLL).

5 The Council of the Mohawk shall be divided into three parties as follows: Tekarihoken, Ayonhwhathah and Shadekariwade are the first party; Sharenhowaneh, Deyoenhegwenh and Oghrenghrehgowah are the second party, and Dehennakrineh, Aghstawenserenthah and Shoskoharowaneh are the third party. The third party is to listen only to the discussion of the first and second parties and if an error is made or the proceeding is irregular they are to call attention to it, and when the case is right and properly decided by the two parties they shall confirm the decision of the two parties and refer the case to the Seneca Lords for their decision. When the Seneca Lords have decided in accord with the Mohawk Lords, the case or question shall be referred to the Cayuga and Oneida Lords on the opposite side of the house. (5-V, TLL).

6 I, Dekanawidah, appoint the Mohawk Lords the heads and the leaders of the Five Nations Confederacy. The Mohawk Lords are

¹ Because chestnut wood in burning throws out sparks, thereby creating a disturbance in the council.

the foundation of the Great Peace and it shall, therefore, be against the Great Binding Law to pass measures in the Confederate Council after the Mohawk Lords have protested against them. (6-VI, TLL).

No council of the Confederate Lords shall be legal unless all the Mohawk Lords are present. (13-XIII, TLL).

7 Whenever the Confederate Lords shall assemble for the purpose of holding a council, the Onondaga Lords shall open it by expressing their gratitude to their cousin Lords and greeting them, and they shall make an address and offer thanks to the earth where men dwell, to the streams of water, the pools, the springs and the lakes, to the maize and the fruits, to the medicinal herbs and trees, to the forest trees for their usefulness, to the animals that serve as food and give their pelts for clothing, to the great winds and the lesser winds, to the Thunderers, to the Sun, the mighty warrior, to the moon, to the messengers of the Creator who reveal his wishes and to the Great Creator¹ who dwells in the heavens above, who gives all the things useful to men, and who is the source and the ruler of health and life.

Then shall the Onondaga Lords declare the council open.

The council shall not sit after darkness has set in. (7-VII, TLL).

8 The Firekeepers shall formally open and close all councils of the Confederate Lords, they shall pass upon all matters deliberated upon by the two sides and render their decision.

Every Onondaga Lord (or his deputy) must be present at every Confederate Council and must agree with the majority without unwarrantable dissent, so that a unanimous decision may be rendered. (8-VIII, TLL).

If Adodarho or any of his cousin Lords are absent from a Confederate Council, any other Firekeeper may open and close the Council, but the Firekeepers present may not give any decisions, unless the matter is of small importance. (9-IX, TLL).

9 All the business of the Five Nations Confederate Council shall be conducted by the two combined bodies of Confederate Lords. First the question shall be passed upon by the Mohawk and Seneca Lords, then it shall be discussed and passed by the Oneida and Cayuga Lords. Their decisions shall then be referred to the Onondaga Lords, (Fire Keepers) for final judgment. (10-X, TLL).

The same process shall obtain when a question is brought before the council by an individual or a War Chief. (11-XI, TLL).

¹ Hodiānok'doon Hēdiohe' (Seneca).

10 In all cases the procedure must be as follows: when the Mohawk and Seneca Lords have unanimously agreed upon a question, they shall report their decision to the Cayuga and Oneida Lords who shall deliberate upon the question and report a unanimous decision to the Mohawk Lords. The Mohawk Lords will then report the standing of the case to the Firekeepers, who shall render a decision (17-XVII, TLL) as they see fit in case of a disagreement by the two bodies, or confirm the decisions of the two bodies if they are identical. The Fire Keepers shall then report their decision to the Mohawk Lords who shall announce it to the open council. (12-XII, TLL).

11 If through any misunderstanding or obstinacy on the part of the Fire Keepers, they render a decision at variance with that of the Two Sides, the Two Sides shall reconsider the matter and if their decisions are jointly the same as before they shall report to the Fire Keepers who are then compelled to confirm their joint decision. (18-XVIII, TLL).

12 When a case comes before the Onondaga Lords (Fire Keepers) for discussion and decision, Adodarho shall introduce the matter to his comrade Lords who shall then discuss it in their two bodies. Every Onondaga Lord except Hononwiretonh shall deliberate and he shall listen only. When a unanimous decision shall have been reached by the two bodies of Fire Keepers, Adodarho shall notify Hononwiretonh of the fact when he shall confirm it. He shall refuse to confirm a decision if it is not unanimously agreed upon by both sides of the Fire Keepers. (19-XIX, TLL).

13 No Lord shall ask a question of the body of Confederate Lords when they are discussing a case, question or proposition. He may only deliberate in a low tone with the separate body of which he is a member. (21-XXI, TLL).

14 When the Council of the Five Nation Lords shall convene they shall appoint a speaker for the day. He shall be a Lord of either the Mohawk, Onondaga or Seneca Nation.

The next day the Council shall appoint another speaker, but the first speaker may be reappointed if there is no objection, but a speaker's term shall not be regarded more than for the day. (35-XXXV, TLL).

15 No individual or foreign nation interested in a case, question or proposition shall have any voice in the Confederate Council except to answer a question put to him or them by the speaker for the Lords. (41-XLI, TLL).

16 If the conditions which shall arise at any future time call for an addition to or change of this law, the case shall be carefully considered and if a new beam seems necessary or beneficial, the proposed change shall be voted upon and if adopted it shall be called, "Added to the Rafters." (48-XLVII, TLL).

Rights, duties and qualifications of Lords

17 A bunch of a certain number of shell (wampum) strings each two spans in length shall be given to each of the female families in which the Lordship titles are vested. The right of bestowing the title shall be hereditary in the family of females legally possessing the bunch of shell strings and the strings shall be the token that the females of the family have the proprietary right to the Lordship title for all time to come, subject to certain restrictions hereinafter mentioned. (59-LIX, TLL).

18 If any Confederate Lord neglects or refuses to attend the Confederate Council, the other Lords of the Nation of which he is a member shall require their War Chief to request the female sponsors of the Lord so guilty of defection to demand his attendance of the Council. If he refuses, the women holding the title shall immediately select another candidate for the title.

No Lord shall be asked more than once to attend the Confederate Council. (30-XXX, TLL).

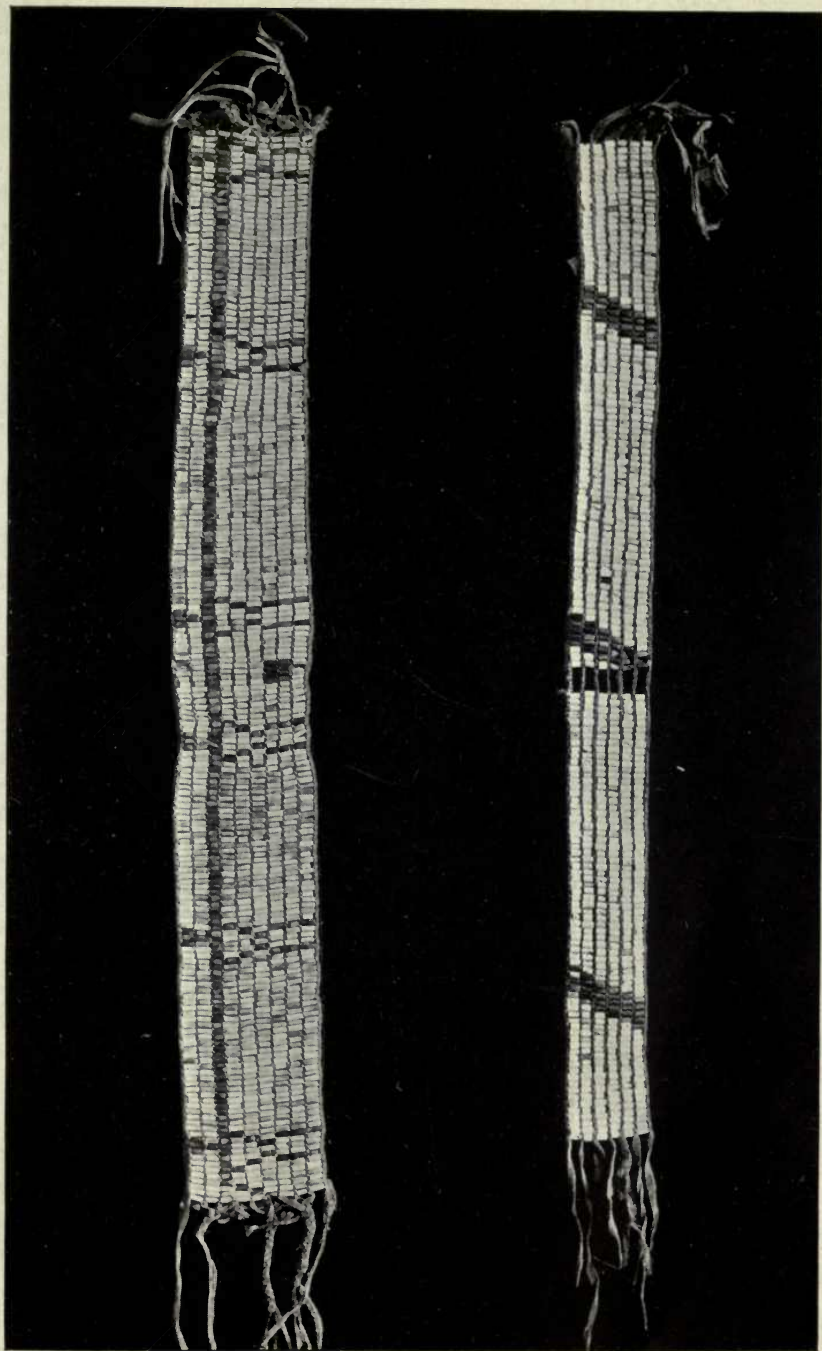
19 If at any time it shall be manifest that a Confederate Lord has not in mind the welfare of the people or disobeys the rules of this Great Law, the men or the women of the Confederacy, or both jointly,¹ shall come to the Council and upbraid the erring Lord through his War Chief. If the complaint of the people through the War Chief is not heeded the first time it shall be uttered again and then if no attention is given a third complaint and warning shall be given. If the Lord is still contumacious the matter shall go to the council of War Chiefs. (66-LXVI, TLL). The War Chiefs shall then divest the erring Lord of his title by order of the women in whom the titleship is vested. When the Lord is deposed the women shall notify the Confederate Lords through their War Chief, and the Confederate Lords shall sanction the act. The women will then select another of their sons as a candidate and the Lords shall elect him. Then shall the chosen one be installed by the Installation Ceremony. (123-XLI, EUC), (Cf. 42-XLII).

¹ See sections 94 and 95 for right of popular councils.

Plate 4

1

2



- 1 Nomination belt used to confirm the nomination of the civil chiefs
2 Welcome belt used in welcoming delegates



When a Lord is to be deposed, his War Chief shall address him as follows:

"So you, _____, disregard and set at naught the warnings of your women relatives. So you fling the warnings over your shoulder to cast them behind you.

"Behold the brightness of the Sun and in the brightness of the Sun's light I depose you of your title and remove the sacred emblem of your Lordship title. I remove from your brow the deer's antlers, which was the emblem of your position and token of your nobility. I now depose you and return the antlers to the women whose heritage they are."

The War Chief shall now address the women of the deposed Lord and say:

"Mothers, as I have now deposed your Lord, I now return to you the emblem and the title of Lordship, therefore repossess them."

Again addressing himself to the deposed Lord he shall say:

"As I have now deposed and discharged you so you are now no longer Lord. You shall now go your way alone, the rest of the people of the Confederacy will not go with you, for we know not the kind of mind that possesses you. As the Creator has nothing to do with wrong so he will not come to rescue you from the precipice of destruction in which you have cast yourself. You shall never be restored to the position which you once occupied."

Then shall the War Chief address himself to the Lords of the Nation to which the deposed Lord belongs and say:

"Know you, my Lords, that I have taken the deer's antlers from the brow of _____, the emblem of his position and token of his greatness."

The Lords of the Confederacy shall then have no other alternative than to sanction the discharge of the offending Lord. (42-XLII, TLL).

20 If a Lord of the Confederacy of the Five Nations should commit murder the other Lords of the Nation shall assemble at the place where the corpse lies and prepare to depose the criminal Lord. If it is impossible to meet at the scene of the crime the Lords shall discuss the matter at the next Council of their nation and request their War Chief to depose the Lord guilty of crime, to "bury" his women relatives and to transfer the Lordship title to a sister family.



The War Chief shall address the Lord guilty of murder and say:
"So you, _____ (giving his name) did kill _____
(naming the slain man), with your own hands! You have committed a grave sin in the eyes of the Creator. Behold the bright light of the Sun, and in the brightness of the Sun's light I depose you of your title and remove the horns, the sacred emblems of your Lordship title. I remove from your brow the deer's antlers, which was the emblem of your position and token of your nobility. I now depose you and expel you and you shall depart at once from the territory of the Five Nations Confederacy and nevermore return again. We, the Five Nations Confederacy, moreover, bury your women relatives because the ancient Lordship title was never intended to have any union with bloodshed. Henceforth it shall not be their heritage. By the evil deed that you have done they have forfeited it forever."

The War Chief shall then hand the title to a sister family and he shall address it and say:

"Our mothers, _____, listen attentively while I address you on a solemn and important subject. I hereby transfer to you an ancient Lordship title for a great calamity has befallen it in the hands of the family of a former Lord. We trust that you, our mothers, will always guard it, and that you will warn your Lord always to be dutiful and to advise his people to ever live in love, peace and harmony that a great calamity may never happen again."
(47-XLVII, TLL).

21 Certain physical defects in a Confederate Lord make him ineligible to sit in the Confederate Council. Such defects are infancy, idiocy, blindness, deafness, dumbness and impotency. When a Confederate Lord is restricted by any of these conditions, a deputy shall be appointed by his sponsors to act for him, but in case of extreme necessity the restricted Lord may exercise his rights. (29-XXIX, TLL).

22 If a Confederate Lord desires to resign his title he shall notify the Lords of the Nation of which he is a member of his intention. If his coactive Lords refuse to accept his resignation he may not resign his title.

A Lord in proposing to resign may recommend any proper candidate which recommendation shall be received by the Lords, but unless confirmed and nominated by the women who hold the title the candidate so named shall not be considered. (31-XXXI, TLL).

23 Any Lord of the Five Nations Confederacy may construct shell strings (or wampum belts) of any size or length as pledges or records of matters of national or international importance.

When it is necessary to dispatch a shell string by a War Chief or other messenger as the token of a summons, the messenger shall recite the contents of the string to the party to whom it is sent. That party shall repeat the message and return the shell string and if there has been a summons he shall make ready for the journey.

Any of the people of the Five Nations may use shells (or wampum) as the record of a pledge, contract or an agreement entered into and the same shall be binding as soon as shell strings shall have been exchanged by both parties. (32-XXXII, TLL).

24 The Lords of the Confederacy of the Five Nations shall be mentors of the people for all time. The thickness of their skin shall be seven spans—which is to say that they shall be proof against anger, offensive actions and criticism. Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will and their minds filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people of the Confederacy. With endless patience they shall carry out their duty and their firmness shall be tempered with a tenderness for their people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgement in their minds and all their words and actions shall be marked by calm deliberation. (33-XXXIII, TLL).

25 If a Lord of the Confederacy should seek to establish any authority independent of the jurisdiction of the Confederacy of the Great Peace, which is the Five Nations, he shall be warned three times in open council, first by the women relatives, second by the men relatives and finally by the Lords of the Confederacy of the Nation to which he belongs. If the offending Lord is still obdurate he shall be dismissed by the War Chief of his nation for refusing to conform to the laws of the Great Peace. His nation shall then install the candidate nominated by the female name holders of his family. (34-XXXIV, TLL).

26 It shall be the duty of all of the Five Nations Confederate Lords, from time to time as occasion demands, to act as mentors and spiritual guides of their people and remind them of their Creator's will and words. They shall say:

“Hearken, that peace may continue unto future days!

“Always listen to the words of the Great Creator, for he has spoken.

“United People, let not evil find lodging in your minds

“For the Great Creator has spoken and the cause of Peace shall not become old.

“The cause of peace shall not die if you remember the Great Creator.”

Every Confederate Lord shall speak words such as these to promote peace. (37-XXXVII, TLL).

27 All Lords of the Five Nations Confederacy must be honest in all things. They must not idle or gossip, but be men possessing those honorable qualities that make true royaneh. It shall be a serious wrong for anyone to lead a Lord into trivial affairs, for the people must ever hold their Lords high in estimation out of respect to their honorable positions. (45-XLV, TLL).

28 When a candidate Lord is to be installed he shall furnish four strings of shells (or wampum) one span in length bound together at one end. Such will constitute the evidence of his pledge to the Confederate Lords that he will live according to the constitution of the Great Peace and exercise justice in all affairs.

When the pledge is furnished the Speaker of the Council must hold the shell strings in his hand and address the opposite side of the Council Fire and he shall commence his address saying: “Now behold him. He has now become a Confederate Lord. See how splendid he looks.” An address may then follow. At the end of it he shall send the bunch of shell strings to the opposite side and they shall be received as evidence of the pledge. Then shall the opposite side say:

“We now do crown you with the sacred emblem of the deer’s antlers, the emblem of your Lordship. You shall now become a mentor of the people of the Five Nations. The thickness of your skin shall be seven spans — which is to say that you shall be proof against anger, offensive actions and criticism. Your heart shall be filled with peace and good will and your mind filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people of the Confederacy. With endless patience you shall carry out your duty and your firmness shall be tempered with tenderness for your people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgement in your mind and all your words and actions shall be marked with calm deliberation. In all of your deliberations in the Confederate Council, in your efforts at law making, in all your official acts, self interest shall be cast into oblivion. Cast not over your shoulder behind you the warnings of the nephews and nieces should they chide you for any error or wrong you may do, but return to the way of the Great Law which is just and right. Look and listen for the welfare of the whole people and have always in view not only the present but also the coming generations, even

those whose faces are yet beneath the surface of the ground — the unborn of the future Nation.” (51-LI, TLL).

29 When a Lordship title is to be conferred, the candidate Lord shall furnish the cooked venison, the corn bread and the corn soup, together with other necessary things and the labor for the Conferring of Titles Festival. (50-L, TLL).

30 The Lords of the Confederacy may confer the Lordship title upon a candidate whenever the Great Law is recited, if there be a candidate, for the Great Law speaks all the rules. (XLIV-44, TLL).

31 If a lord of the Confederacy should become seriously ill and be thought near death, the women who are heirs of his title shall go to his house and lift his crown of deer antlers, the emblem of his Lordship, and place them at one side. If the Creator spares him and he rises from his bed of sickness he may rise with the antlers on his brow.

The following words shall be used to temporarily remove the antlers:

“Now our comrade Lord (or our relative Lord) the time has come when we must approach you in your illness. We remove for a time the deer’s antlers from your brow, we remove the emblem of your Lordship title. The Great Law has decreed that no Lord should end his life with the antlers on his brow. We therefore lay them aside in the room. If the Creator spares you and you recover from your illness you shall rise from your bed with the antlers on your brow as before and you shall resume your duties as Lord of the Confederacy and you may labor again for the Confederate people.” (XXVII-27, TLL).

32 If a Lord of the Confederacy should die while the Council of the Five Nations is in session the Council shall adjourn for ten days. No Confederate Council shall sit within ten days of the death of a Lord of the Confederacy.

If the Three Brothers (the Mohawk, the Onondaga and the Seneca) should lose one of their Lords by death, the Younger Brothers (the Oneida and the Cayuga) shall come to the surviving Lords of the Three Brothers on the tenth day and console them. If the Younger Brothers lose one of their Lords then the Three Brothers shall come to them and console them. And the consolation shall be the reading of the contents of the thirteen shell (wampum) strings of Ayonhwhathah. At the termination of this rite a successor shall be appointed, to be appointed by the women

heirs of the Lordship title. If the women are not yet ready to place their nominee before the Lords the Speaker shall say, "Come let us go out." All shall then leave the Council or the place of gathering. The installation shall then wait until such a time as the women are ready. The Speaker shall lead the way from the house by saying, "Let us depart to the edge of the woods and lie in waiting on our bellies."

When the women title holders shall have chosen one of their sons the Confederate Lords will assemble in two places, the Younger Brothers in one place and the Three Older Brothers in another. The Lords who are to console the mourning Lords shall choose one of their number to sing the Pacification Hymn as they journey to the sorrowing Lords. The singer shall lead the way and the Lords and the people shall follow. When they reach the sorrowing Lords they shall hail the candidate Lord and perform the rite of Conferring the Lordship Title. (22-XXII, TLL).

33 When a Confederate Lord dies, the surviving relatives shall immediately dispatch a messenger, a member of another clan, to the Lords in another locality. When the runner comes within hailing distance of the locality he shall utter a sad wail, thus: "Kwa-ah, Kwa-ah, Kwa-ah!" The sound shall be repeated three times and then again and again at intervals as many times as the distance may require. When the runner arrives at the settlement the people shall assemble and one must ask him the nature of his sad message. He shall then say, "Let us consider." Then he shall tell them of the death of the Lord. He shall deliver to them a string of shells (wampum) and say "Here is the testimony, you have heard the message." He may then return home.

It now becomes the duty of the Lords of the locality to send runners to other localities and each locality shall send other messengers until all Lords are notified. Runners shall travel day and night. (23-XXIII, TLL).

34 If a Lord dies and there is no candidate qualified for the office in the family of the women title holders, the Lords of the Nation shall give the title into the hands of a sister family in the clan until such a time as the original family produces a candidate, when the title shall be restored to the rightful owners.

No Lordship title may be carried into the grave. The Lords of the Confederacy may dispossess a dead Lord of his title even at the grave. (24-XXIV, TLL).

Election of Pine Tree chiefs

35 Should any man of the Nation assist with special ability or show great interest in the affairs of the Nation, if he proves himself wise, honest and worthy of confidence, the Confederate Lords may elect him to a seat with them and he may sit in the Confederate Council. He shall be proclaimed a *Pine Tree sprung up for the Nation* and be installed as such at the next assembly for the installation of Lords. Should he ever do anything contrary to the rules of the Great Peace, he may not be deposed from office — no one shall cut him down¹ — but thereafter everyone shall be deaf to his voice and his advice. Should he resign his seat and title no one shall prevent him. A Pine Tree chief has no authority to name a successor nor is his title hereditary. (LXVIII-68, TLL).

Names, duties and rights of war chiefs

36 The title names of the Chief Confederate Lords' War Chiefs shall be:

Ayonwaehs, War Chief under Lord Takarihoken (Mohawk)

Kahonwahdironh, War Chief under Lord Odatshedeh (Oneida)

Ayendes, War Chief under Lord Adodarhoh (Onondaga)

Wenenhs, War Chief under Lord Dekaenyonh (Cayuga)

Shoneradowaneh, War Chief under Lord Skanyadariyo (Seneca)

The women heirs of each head Lord's title shall be the heirs of the War Chief's title of their respective Lord. (52-LII, TLL).

The War Chiefs shall be selected from the eligible sons of the female families holding the head Lordship titles. (53-LIII, TLL).

37 There shall be one War Chief for each Nation and their duties shall be to carry messages for their Lords and to take up the arms of war in case of emergency. They shall not participate in the proceedings of the Confederate Council but shall watch its progress and in case of an erroneous action by a Lord they shall receive the complaints of the people and convey the warnings of the women to him. The people who wish to convey messages to the Lords in the Confederate Council shall do so through the War Chief of their Nation. It shall ever be his duty to lay the cases, questions and propositions of the people before the Confederate Council. (54-LIV, TLL).

38 When a War Chief dies another shall be installed by the same rite as that by which a Lord is installed. (56-LVI, TLL).

¹ Because, "his top branches pierce the sky and if his roots are cut he will not fall but hang upright before the people."

39 If a War Chief acts contrary to instructions or against the provisions of the Laws of the Great Peace, doing so in the capacity of his office, he shall be deposed by his women relatives and by his men relatives. Either the women or the men alone or jointly may act in such case. The women title holders shall then choose another candidate. (55-LV, TLL).

40 When the Lords of the Confederacy take occasion to dispatch a messenger in behalf of the Confederate Council, they shall wrap up any matter they may send and instruct the messenger to remember his errand, to turn not aside but to proceed faithfully to his destination and deliver his message according to every instruction. (57-XLVII, TLL).

41 If a message borne by a runner is the warning of an invasion he shall whoop, "Kwa-ah, Kwa-ah," twice and repeat at short intervals; then again at a longer interval.

If a human being is found dead, the finder shall not touch the body but return home immediately shouting at short intervals, "Koo-weh!" (23-XXIII, TLL).

Clans and consanguinity

42 Among the Five Nations and their posterity there shall be the following original clans: Great Name Bearer, Ancient Name Bearer, Great Bear, Ancient Bear, Turtle, Painted Turtle, Standing Rock, Large Plover, Little Plover, Deer, Pigeon Hawk, Eel, Ball, Opposite-Side-of-the-Hand, and Wild Potatoes. These clans distributed through their respective Nations, shall be the sole owners and holders of the soil of the country and in them is it vested as a birthright. (94-XI, EUC).

43 People of the Five Nations members of a certain clan shall recognize every other member of that clan, irrespective of the Nation, as relatives. Men and women, therefore, members of the same clan are forbidden to marry. (98-XV, EUC).

44 The lineal descent of the people of the Five Nations shall run in the female line. Women shall be considered the progenitors of the Nation. They shall own the land and the soil. Men and women shall follow the status of the mother. (60-LX, TLL).

45 The women heirs of the Confederate Lordship titles shall be called Royaneh (Noble) for all time to come. (61-LXI, TLL).

46 The women of the Forty Eight (now fifty) Royaneh families shall be the heirs of the Authorized Names for all time to come.

When an infant of the Five Nations is given an Authorized Name at the Midwinter Festival or at the Ripe Corn Festival, one in the cousinhood of which the infant is a member shall be appointed a speaker. He shall then announce to the opposite cousinhood the names of the father and the mother of the child together with the clan of the mother. Then the speaker shall announce the child's name twice. The uncle of the child shall then take the child in his arms and walking up and down the room shall sing: "My head is firm, I am of the Confederacy." As he sings the opposite cousinhood shall respond by chanting, "Hyenh, Hyenh, Hyenh, Hyenh," until the song is ended. (95-XII, EUC).

47 If the female heirs of a Confederate Lord's title become extinct, the title right shall be given by the Lords of the Confederacy to the sister family whom they shall elect and that family shall hold the name and transmit it to their (female) heirs, but they shall not appoint any of their sons as a candidate for a title until all the eligible men of the former family shall have died or otherwise have become ineligible. (25-XXV, TLL).

48 If all the heirs of a Lordship title become extinct, and all the families in the clan, then the title shall be given by the Lords of the Confederacy to the family in a sister clan whom they shall elect. (26-XXVI, TLL).

49 If any of the Royaneh women, heirs of a titleship, shall wilfully withhold a Lordship or other title and refuse to bestow it, or if such heirs abandon, forsake or despise their heritage, then shall such women be deemed buried and their family extinct. The titleship shall then revert to a sister family or clan upon application and complaint. The Lords of the Confederacy shall elect the family or clan which shall in future hold the title. (28-XXVIII, TLL).

50 The Royaneh women of the Confederacy heirs of the Lordship titles shall elect two women of their family as cooks for the Lord when the people shall assemble at his house for business or other purposes.

It is not good nor honorable for a Confederate Lord to allow his people whom he has called to go hungry. (62-LXII, TLL).

51 When a Lord holds a conference in his home, his wife, if she wishes, may prepare the food for the Union Lords who assemble with him. This is an honorable right which she may exercise and an expression of her esteem. (38-XXXVIII, TLL).

52 The Royaneh women, heirs of the Lordship titles, shall, should it be necessary, correct and admonish the holders of their titles. Those only who attend the Council may do this and those

who do not shall not object to what has been said nor strive to undo the action. (63-LXIII, TLL).

53 When the Royaneh women, holders of a Lordship title, select one of their sons as a candidate, they shall select one who is trustworthy, of good character, of honest disposition, one who manages his own affairs, supports his own family, if any, and who has proven a faithful man to his Nation. (64-LXIV, TLL).

54 When a Lordship title becomes vacant through death or other cause, the Royaneh women of the clan in which the title is hereditary shall hold a council and shall choose one from among their sons to fill the office made vacant. Such a candidate shall not be the father of any Confederate Lord. If the choice is unanimous the name is referred to the men relatives of the clan. If they should disapprove it shall be their duty to select a candidate from among their own number. If then the men and women are unable to decide which of the two candidates shall be named, then the matter shall be referred to the Confederate Lords in the Clan. They shall decide which candidate shall be named. If the men and the women agree to a candidate his name shall be referred to the sister clans for confirmation. If the sister clans confirm the choice, they shall refer their action to their Confederate Lords who shall ratify the choice and present it to their cousin Lords, and if the cousin Lords confirm the name then the candidate shall be installed by the proper ceremony for the conferring of Lordship titles. (65-LXV, TLL).

Official symbolism

55 A large bunch of shell strings, in the making of which the Five Nations Confederate Lords have equally contributed, shall symbolize the completeness of the union and certify the pledge of the nations represented by the Confederate Lords of the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca, that all are united and formed into one body or union called the Union of the Great Law, which they have established.

A bunch of shell strings is to be the symbol of the council fire of the Five Nations Confederacy. And the Lord whom the Council of Fire Keepers shall appoint to speak for them in opening the council shall hold the strands of shells in his hands when speaking. When he finishes speaking he shall deposit the strings on an elevated place (or pole) so that all the assembled Lords and the people may see it and know that the council is open and in progress.

When the council adjourns the Lord who has been appointed by

his comrade Lords to close it shall take the strands of shells in his hands and address the assembled Lords. Thus will the council adjourn until such a time and place as appointed by the council. Then shall the shell strings be placed in a place for safekeeping.

Every five years the Five Nations Confederate Lords and the people shall assemble together and shall ask one another if their minds are still in the same spirit of unity for the Great Binding Law and if any of the Five Nations shall not pledge continuance and steadfastness to the pledge of unity then the Great Binding Law shall dissolve. (14-XIV, TLL).

56 Five strings of shell tied together as one shall represent the Five Nations. Each string shall represent one territory and the whole a completely united territory known as the Five Nations Confederate territory. (108-XXV, EUC).

57 Five arrows shall be bound together very strong and each arrow shall represent one nation. As the five arrows are strongly bound this shall symbolize the complete union of the nations. Thus are the Five Nations united completely and enfolded together, united into one head, one body and one mind. Therefore they shall labor, legislate and council together for the interest of future generations.

The Lords of the Confederacy shall eat together from one bowl the feast of cooked beaver's tail. While they are eating they are to use no sharp utensils for if they should they might accidentally cut one another and bloodshed would follow. All measures must be taken to prevent the spilling of blood in any way. (15-XV, TLL).

58 There are now the Five Nations Confederate Lords standing with joined hands in a circle. This signifies and provides that should any one of the Confederate Lords leave the council and this Confederacy his crown of deer's horns, the emblem of his Lordship title, together with his birthright, shall lodge on the arms of the Union Lords whose hands are so joined. He forfeits his title and the crown falls from his brow but it shall remain in the Confederacy.

A further meaning of this is that if any time any one of the Confederate Lords choose to submit to the law of a foreign people he is no longer in but out of the Confederacy, and persons of this class shall be called "They have alienated themselves." Likewise such persons who submit to laws of foreign nations shall forfeit all birthrights and claims on the Five Nations Confederacy and territory.

You, the Five Nations Confederate Lords, be firm so that if a tree falls upon your joined arms it shall not separate you or weaken your hold. So shall the strength of the union be preserved. (16-XIV, TLL).

59 A bunch of wampum shells on strings, three spans of the hand in length, the upper half of the bunch being white and the lower half black, and formed from equal contributions of the men of the Five Nations, shall be a token that the men have combined themselves into one head, one body and one thought, and it shall also symbolize their ratification of the peace pact of the Confederacy, whereby the Lords of the Five Nations have established the Great Peace.

The white portion of the shell strings represent the women and the black portion the men. The black portion, furthermore, is a token of power and authority vested in the men of the Five Nations.

This string of wampum vests the people with the right to correct their erring Lords. In case a part or all the Lords pursue a course not vouched for by the people and heed not the third warning of their women relatives, then the matter shall be taken to the General Council of the women of the Five Nations. If the Lords notified and warned three times fail to heed, then the case falls into the hands of the men of the Five Nations. The War Chiefs shall then, by right of such power and authority, enter the open council to warn the Lord or Lords to return from their wrong course. If the Lords heed the warning they shall say, "we will reply tomorrow." If then an answer is returned in favor of justice and in accord with this Great Law, then the Lords shall individually pledge themselves again by again furnishing the necessary shells for the pledge. Then shall the War Chief or Chiefs exhort the Lords urging them to be just and true.

Should it happen that the Lords refuse to heed the third warning, then two courses are open: either the men may decide in their council to depose the Lord or Lords or to club them to death with war clubs. Should they in their council decide to take the first course the War Chief shall address the Lord or Lords, saying: "Since you the Lords of the Five Nations have refused to return to the procedure of the Constitution, we now declare your seats vacant, we take off your horns, the token of your Lordship, and others shall be chosen and installed in your seats, therefore vacate your seats."

Should the men in their council adopt the second course, the War Chief shall order his men to enter the council, to take positions beside the Lords, sitting between them wherever possible. When this is accomplished the War Chief holding in his outstretched hand a bunch of black wampum strings shall say to the erring Lords: "So now, Lords of the Five United Nations, harken to these last words from your men. You have not heeded the warnings of the women relatives, you have not heeded the warnings of the General Council of women and you have not heeded the warnings of the men of the nations, all urging you to return to the right course of action. Since you are determined to resist and to withhold justice from your people there is only one course for us to adopt." At this point the War Chief shall let drop the bunch of black wampum and the men shall spring to their feet and club the erring Lords to death. Any erring Lord may submit before the War Chief lets fall the black wampum. Then his execution is withheld.

The black wampum here used symbolizes that the power to execute is buried but that it may be raised up again by the men. It is buried but when occasion arises they may pull it up and derive their power and authority to act as here described. (SPW 81 XII).

60 A broad dark belt of wampum of thirty-eight rows, having a white heart in the center, on either side of which are two white squares all connected with the heart by white rows of beads shall be the emblem of the unity of the Five Nations.¹

The first of the squares on the left represents the Mohawk nation and its territory; the second square on the left and the one near the heart, represents the Oneida nation and its territory; the white heart in the middle represents the Onondaga nation and its territory, and it also means that the heart of the Five Nations is single in its loyalty to the Great Peace, that the Great Peace is lodged in the heart (meaning with Onondaga Confederate Lords), and that the Council Fire is to burn there for the Five Nations, and further, it means that the authority is given to advance the cause of peace whereby hostile nations out of the Confederacy shall cease warfare; the white square to the right of the heart represents the Cayuga nation and its territory and the fourth and last white square represents the Seneca nation and its territory.

White shall here symbolize that no evil or jealous thoughts shall creep into the minds of the Lords while in council under the Great

¹ This is the "Hiawatha Belt" purchased by John Boyd Thatcher of Albany and now in the Congressional Library.

Peace. White, the emblem of peace, love, charity and equity surrounds and guards the Five Nations. (84-EUC, 1).

61 Should a great calamity threaten the generations rising and living of the Five United Nations, then he who is able to climb to the top of the Tree of the Great Long Leaves may do so. When, then, he reaches the top of the Tree he shall look about in all directions, and, should he see that evil things indeed are approaching, then he shall call to the people of the Five United Nations assembled beneath the Tree of the Great Long Leaves and say: "A calamity threatens your happiness."

Then shall the Lords convene in council and discuss the impending evil.

When all the truths relating to the trouble shall be fully known and found to be truths, then shall the people seek out a Tree of Ka-hon-ka-ah-go-nah,¹ and when they shall find it they shall assemble their heads together and lodge for a time between its roots. Then, their labors being finished, they may hope for happiness for many days after. (II-85, EUC).

62 When the Confederate Council of the Five Nations declares for a reading of the belts of shell calling to mind these laws, they shall provide for the reader a specially made mat woven of the fibers of wild hemp. The mat shall not be used again, for such formality is called the honoring of the importance of the law. (XXXVI-36, TLL).

63 Should two sons of opposite sides of the council fire agree in a desire to hear the reciting of the laws of the Great Peace and so refresh their memories in the way ordained by the founder of the Confederacy, they shall notify Adodarho. He then shall consult with five of his coactive Lords and they in turn shall consult their eight brethren. Then should they decide to accede to the request of the two sons from opposite sides of the Council Fire, Adodarhoh shall send messengers to notify the Chief Lords of each of the Five Nations. Then they shall despatch their War Chiefs to notify their brother and cousin Lords of the meeting and its time and place.

When all have come and have assembled, Adodarhoh, in conjunction with his cousin Lords, shall appoint one Lord who shall repeat the laws of the Great Peace. Then shall they announce who they have chosen to repeat the laws of the Great Peace to the two sons. Then shall the chosen one repeat the laws of the Great Peace. (XLIII-43, TLL).

¹ A great swamp Elm.

64 At the ceremony of the installation of Lords if there is only one expert speaker and singer of the law and the Pacification Hymn to stand at the council fire, then when this speaker and singer has finished addressing one side of the fire he shall go to the opposite side and reply to his own speech and song. He shall thus act for both sides of the fire until the entire ceremony has been completed. Such a speaker and singer shall be termed the "Two Faced" because he speaks and sings for both sides of the fire. (XLIX-49, TLL).

65 I, Dekanawida, and the Union Lords, now uproot the tallest pine tree and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, down into the deep underearth currents of water flowing to unknown regions we cast all the weapons of strife. We bury them from sight and we plant again the tree. Thus shall the Great Peace be established and hostilities shall no longer be known between the Five Nations but peace to the United People.

Laws of adoption

66 The father of a child of great comeliness, learning, ability or specially loved because of some circumstance may, at the will of the child's clan, select a name from his own (the father's) clan and bestow it by ceremony, such as is provided. This naming shall be only temporary and shall be called, "A name hung about the neck." (XII-96, EUC).

67 Should any person, a member of the Five Nations' Confederacy, specially esteem a man or a woman of another clan or of a foreign nation, he may choose a name and bestow it upon that person so esteemed. The naming shall be in accord with the ceremony of bestowing names. Such a name is only a temporary one and shall be called "A name hung about the neck." A short string of shells shall be delivered with the name as a record and a pledge. (XIV-97, EUC).

68 Should any member of the Five Nations, a family or person belonging to a foreign nation submit a proposal for adoption into a clan of one of the Five Nations, he or they shall furnish a string of shells, a span in length, as a pledge to the clan into which he or they wish to be adopted. The Lords of the nation shall then consider the proposal and submit a decision. (XXI-104, EUC).

69 Any member of the Five Nations who through esteem or other feeling wishes to adopt an individual, a family or number of families may offer adoption to him or them and if accepted the

matter shall be brought to the attention of the Lords for confirmation and the Lords must confirm the adoption. (XXII-105, EUC).

70 When the adoption of anyone shall have been confirmed by the Lords of the Nation, the Lords shall address the people of their nation and say: "Now you of our nation, be informed that such a person, such a family or such families have ceased forever to bear their birth nation's name and have buried it in the depths of the earth. Henceforth let no one of our nation ever mention the original name or nation of their birth. To do so will be to hasten the end of our peace. (XXIII-106, EUC).

Laws of emigration

71 When any person or family belonging to the Five Nations desires to abandon their birth nation and the territory of the Five Nations, they shall inform the Lords of their nation and the Confederate Council of the Five Nations shall take cognizance of it. (XXXIX-39, TLL).

72 When any person or any of the people of the Five Nations emigrate and reside in a region distant from the territory of the Five Nations Confederacy, the Lords of the Five Nations at will may send a messenger carrying a broad belt of black shells and when the messenger arrives he shall call the people together or address them personally displaying the belt of shells and they shall know that this is an order for them to return to their original homes and to their council fires. (XL-40, TLL).

Rights of foreign nations

73 The soil of the earth from one end of the land to the other is the property of the people who inhabit it. By birthright the Oñgwehonweh (Original beings) are the owners of the soil which they own and occupy and none other may hold it. The same law has been held from the oldest times.

The Great Creator has made us of the one blood and of the same soil he made us and as only different tongues constitute different nations he established different hunting grounds and territories and made boundary lines between them. (LXIX-69, TLL).

74 When any alien nation or individual is admitted into the Five Nations the admission shall be understood only to be a temporary one. Should the person or nation create loss, do wrong or cause suffering of any kind to endanger the peace of the Confederacy,

the Confederate Lords shall order one of their war chiefs to reprimand him or them and if a similar offence is again committed the offending party or parties shall be expelled from the territory of the Five United Nations. (XXVI-119, EUC).

75 When a member of an alien nation comes to the territory of the Five Nations and seeks refuge and permanent residence, the Lords of the Nation to which he comes shall extend hospitality and make him a member of the nation. Then shall he be accorded equal rights and privileges in all matters except as after mentioned. (XXXVII-120, EUC).

76 No body of alien people who have been adopted temporarily shall have a vote in the council of the Lords of the Confederacy, for only they who have been invested with Lordship titles may vote in the Council. Aliens have nothing by blood to make claim to a vote and should they have it, not knowing all the traditions of the Confederacy, might go against its Great Peace. In this manner the Great Peace would be endangered and perhaps be destroyed. (XXXVIII-121, EUC).

77 When the Lords of the Confederacy decide to admit a foreign nation and an adoption is made, the Lords shall inform the adopted nation that its admission is only temporary. They shall also say to the nation that it must never try to control, to interfere with or to injure the Five Nations nor disregard the Great Peace or any of its rules or customs. That in no way should they cause disturbance or injury. Then should the adopted nation disregard these injunctions, their adoption shall be annulled and they shall be expelled.

The expulsion shall be in the following manner: The council shall appoint one of their War Chiefs to convey the message of annulment and he shall say, "You (naming the nation) listen to me while I speak. I am here to inform you again of the will of the Five Nations' Council. It was clearly made known to you at a former time. Now the Lords of the Five Nations have decided to expel you and cast you out. We disown you now and annul your adoption. Therefore you must look for a path in which to go and lead away all your people. It was you, not we, who committed wrong and caused this sentence of annulment. So then go your way and depart from the territory of the Five Nations and from the Confederacy." (XXXIX-122, EUC).

78 Whenever a foreign nation enters the Confederacy or accepts the Great Peace, the Five Nations and the foreign nation shall

enter into an agreement and compact by which the foreign nation shall endeavor to persuade other nations to accept the Great Peace. (XLVI-46, TLL).

Rights and powers of war

79 Skanawatih shall be vested with a double office, duty and with double authority. One-half of his being shall hold the Lordship title and the other half shall hold the title of War Chief. In the event of war he shall notify the five War Chiefs of the Confederacy and command them to prepare for war and have their men ready at the appointed time and place for engagement with the enemy of the Great Peace. (I-70, SPW).

80 When the Confederate Council of the Five Nations has for its object the establishment of the Great Peace among the people of an outside nation and that nation refuses to accept the Great Peace, then by such refusal they bring a declaration of war upon themselves from the Five Nations. Then shall the Five Nations seek to establish the Great Peace by a conquest of the rebellious nation. (II-71, SPW).

81 When the men of the Five Nations, now called forth to become warriors, are ready for battle with an obstinate opposing nation that has refused to accept the Great Peace, then one of the five War Chiefs shall be chosen by the warriors of the Five Nations to lead the army into battle. It shall be the duty of the War Chief so chosen to come before his warriors and address them. His aim shall be to impress upon them the necessity of good behavior and strict obedience to all the commands of the War Chiefs. He shall deliver an oration exhorting them with great zeal to be brave and courageous and never to be guilty of cowardice. At the conclusion of his oration he shall march forward and commence the War Song and he shall sing:

Now I am greatly surprised
And, therefore, I shall use it,—
The power of my War Song.
I am of the Five Nations
And I shall make supplication
To the Almighty Creator.
He has furnished this army.
My warriors shall be mighty

In the strength of the Creator.¹
Between him and my song they are
For it was he who gave the song
This war song that I sing!
(III-72, SPW).

82 When the warriors of the Five Nations are on an expedition against an enemy, the War Chief shall sing the War Song as he approaches the country of the enemy and not cease until his scouts have reported that the army is near the enemies' lines when the War Chief shall approach with great caution and prepare for the attack. (IV-73, SPW).

83 When peace shall have been established by the termination of the war against a foreign nation, then the War Chief shall cause all the weapons of war to be taken from the nation. Then shall the Great Peace be established and that nation shall observe all the rules of the Great Peace for all time to come. (V-74, SPW).

84 Whenever a foreign nation is conquered or has by their own will accepted the Great Peace their own system of internal government may continue, but they must cease all warfare against other nations. (VI-75, SPW).

85 Whenever a war against a foreign nation is pushed until that nation is about exterminated because of its refusal to accept the Great Peace and if that nation shall by its obstinacy become exterminated, all their rights, property and territory shall become the property of the Five Nations. (VII-76, SPW).

86 Whenever a foreign nation is conquered and the survivors are brought into the territory of the Five Nations' Confederacy and placed under the Great Peace the two shall be known as the Conqueror and the Conquered. A symbolic relationship shall be devised and be placed in some symbolic position. The conquered nation shall have no voice in the councils of the Confederacy in the body of the Lords. (VIII-77, SPW).

87 When the War of the Five Nations on a foreign rebellious nation is ended, peace shall be restored to that nation by a withdrawal of all their weapons of war by the War Chief of the Five Nations. When all the terms of peace shall have been agreed upon a state of friendship shall be established. (IX-78, SPW).

¹ It will be recalled that when the Eries demanded by what power the Five Nations demanded their surrender, the Iroquois replied "The Master of Life fights for us!"

88 When the proposition to establish the Great Peace is made to a foreign nation it shall be done in mutual council. The foreign nation is to be persuaded by reason and urged to come into the Great Peace. If the Five Nations fail to obtain the consent of the nation at the first council a second council shall be held and upon a second failure a third council shall be held and this third council shall end the peaceful methods of persuasion. At the third council the War Chief of the Five Nations shall address the Chief of the foreign nation and request him three times to accept the Great Peace. If refusal steadfastly follows the War Chief shall let the bunch of white lake shells drop from his outstretched hand to the ground and shall bound quickly forward and club the offending chief to death. War shall thereby be declared and the War Chief shall have his warriors at his back to meet any emergency. War must continue until the contest is won by the Five Nations (X-79, SPW).

89 When the Lords of the Five Nations propose to meet in conference with a foreign nation with proposals for an acceptance of the Great Peace, a large band of warriors shall conceal themselves in a secure place safe from the espionage of the foreign nation but as near at hand as possible. Two warriors shall accompany the Union Lord who carries the proposals and these warriors shall be especially cunning. Should the Lord be attacked, these warriors shall hasten back to the army of warriors with the news of the calamity which fell through the treachery of the foreign nation. (XI-80, SPW).

90 When the Five Nations' Council declares war any Lord of the Confederacy may enlist with the warriors by temporarily renouncing his sacred Lordship title which he holds through the election of his women relatives. The title then reverts to them and they may bestow it upon another temporarily until the war is over when the Lord, if living, may resume his title and seat in the Council. (XII-82, SPW).

91 A certain wampum belt of black beads shall be the emblem of the authority of the Five War Chiefs to take up the weapons of war and with their men to resist invasion. This shall be called a war in defense of the territory. (XIV-83, SPW).

Treason or secession of a nation

92 If a nation, part of a nation, or more than one nation within the Five Nations should in any way endeavor to destroy the Great Peace by neglect or violating its laws and resolve to dissolve the

Confederacy, such a nation or such nations shall be deemed guilty of treason and called enemies of the Confederacy and the Great Peace.

It shall then be the duty of the Lords of the Confederacy who remain faithful to resolve to warn the offending people. They shall be warned once and if a second warning is necessary they shall be driven from the territory of the Confederacy by the War Chiefs and his men. (III-86, EUC).

Rights of the people of the Five Nations

93 Whenever a specially important matter or a great emergency is presented before the Confederate Council and the nature of the matter affects the entire body of Five Nations, threatening their utter ruin, then the Lords of the Confederacy must submit the matter to the decision of their people and the decision of the people shall affect the decision of the Confederate Council. This decision shall be a confirmation of the voice of the people. (XV-84, SPW).

94 The men of every clan of the Five Nations shall have a Council Fire ever burning in readiness for a council of the clan. When it seems necessary for a council to be held to discuss the welfare of the clans, then the men may gather about the fire. This council shall have the same rights as the council of the women. (V-88, EUC).

95 The women of every clan of the Five Nations shall have a Council Fire ever burning in readiness for a council of the clan. When in their opinion it seems necessary for the interest of the people they shall hold a council and their decision and recommendation shall be introduced before the Council of Lords by the War Chief for its consideration. (IV-87, EUC).

96 All the Clan council fires of a nation or of the Five Nations may unite into one general council fire, or delegates from all the council fires may be appointed to unite in a general council for discussing the interests of the people. The people shall have the right to make appointments and to delegate their power to others of their number. When their council shall have come to a conclusion on any matter, their decision shall be reported to the Council of the Nation or to the Confederate Council (as the case may require) by the War Chief or the War Chiefs. (VI-89, EUC).

97 Before the real people united their nations, each nation had its council fires. Before the Great Peace their councils were held. The five Council Fires shall continue to burn as before and they

are not quenched. The Lords of each nation in future shall settle their nation's affairs at this council fire governed always by the laws and rules of the council of the Confederacy and by the Great Peace. (VII-90, EUC).

98 If either a nephew or a niece see an irregularity in the performance of the functions of the Great Peace and its laws, in the Confederate Council or in the conferring of Lordship titles in an improper way, through their War Chief they may demand that such actions become subject to correction and that the matter conform to the ways prescribed by the laws of the Great Peace. (LXVII-67, TLL).

Religious ceremonies protected

99 The rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed and shall continue as before because they were given by the people of old times as useful and necessary for the good of men. (XVI-99, EUC).

100 It shall be the duty of the Lords of each brotherhood to confer at the approach of the time of the Midwinter Thanksgiving and to notify their people of the approaching festival. They shall hold a council over the matter and arrange its details and begin the Thanksgiving five days after the moon of Dis-ko-nah is new. The people shall assemble at the appointed place and the nephews shall notify the people of the time and the place. From the beginning to the end the Lords shall preside over the Thanksgiving and address the people from time to time. (XVII-100, EUC).

101 It shall be the duty of the appointed managers of the Thanksgiving festivals to do all that is needful for carrying out the duties of the occasions.

The recognized festivals of Thanksgiving shall be the Midwinter Thanksgiving, the Maple or Sugar-making Thanksgiving, the Raspberry Thanksgiving, the Strawberry Thanksgiving, the Corn-planting Thanksgiving, the Corn Hoeing Thanksgiving, the Little Festival of Green Corn, the Great Festival of Ripe Corn and the complete Thanksgiving for the Harvest.

Each nation's festivals shall be held in their Long Houses. (XVIII-101, EUC).

102 When the Thanksgiving for the Green Corn comes the special managers, both the men and women, shall give it careful attention and do their duties properly. (XIX-102, EUC).

103 When the Ripe Corn Thanksgiving is celebrated the Lords of the Nation must give it the same attention as they give to the Midwinter Thanksgiving. (XX-103, EUC).

104 Whenever any man proves himself by his good life and his knowledge of good things, naturally fitted as a teacher of good things, he shall be recognized by the Lords as a teacher of peace and religion and the people shall hear him. (X-93, EUC).

The installation song

105 The song used in installing the new Lord of the Confederacy shall be sung by Adodarhoh and it shall be:

“ Haii, haii Agwah wi-yoh
 “ “ A-kon-he-watha,
 “ “ Ska-we-ye-se-go-wah
 “ “ Yon-gwa-wih
 “ “ Ya-kon-he-wa-tha

Haii, haii, It is good indeed
 “ “ (That) a broom,—
 “ “ A great wing,
 “ “ It is given me
 “ “ For a sweeping
 instrument.

(LVIII-58, TLL).

106 Whenever a person properly entitled desires to learn the Pacification Song he is privileged to do so but he must prepare a feast at which his teachers may sit with him and sing. The feast is provided that no misfortune may befall them for singing the song on an occasion when no chief is installed. (XXIV-107, EUC).

Protection of the house .

107 A certain sign shall be known to all the people of the Five Nations which shall denote that the owner or occupant of a house is absent. A stick or pole in a slanting or leaning position shall indicate this and be the sign. Every person not entitled to enter the house by right of living within it upon seeing such a sign shall not approach the house either by day or by night but shall keep as far away as his business will permit. (IX-92, EUC).

Funeral addresses

108 At the funeral of a Lord of the Confederacy, say: "Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a Lord of the Five Nations' Confederacy and the United People trusted you. Now we release you for it is true that it is no longer possible for us to walk about together on the earth. Now, therefore, we lay it (the body) here. Here we lay it away. Now then we say to you, 'Persevere onward to the place where the Creator dwells in peace. Let not the things of the earth hinder you. Let nothing that transpired while yet you lived hinder you. In hunting you once took delight; in the game of Lacrosse you once took delight and in the feasts and pleasant occasions your mind was amused, but now do not allow thoughts of these things to give you trouble. Let not your relatives hinder you and also let not your friends and associates trouble your mind. Regard none of these things.'

"Now then, in turn, you here present who were related to this man and you who were his friends and associates, behold the path that is yours also! Soon we ourselves will be left in that place. For this reason hold yourselves in restraint as you go from place to place. In your actions and in your conversation do no idle thing. Speak not idle talk neither gossip. Be careful of this and speak not and do not give way to evil behavior. One year is the time that you must abstain from unseemly levity but if you can not do this for ceremony, ten days is the time to regard these things for respect."

109 At the funeral of a War Chief, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a war chief of the Five Nations' Confederacy and the United People trusted you as their guard from the enemy. (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord). (XXVII-110, EUC).

110 At the funeral of a Warrior say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. Once you were a devoted provider and protector of your family and you were ever ready to take part in battles for the Five Nations' Confederacy. The United People trusted you. (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord). (XXVIII-111, EUC).

111 At the funeral of a young man, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. In the beginning of your career you are taken away and the flower of your life is withered away. (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord). (XXIX-112, EUC).

112 At the funeral of a chief woman say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a chief woman in the Five Nations' Confederacy. You once were a mother of the nations. Now we release you for it is true that it is no longer possible for us to walk about together on the earth. Now, therefore, we lay it (the body) here. Here we lay it away. Now then we say to you, 'Persevere onward to the place where the Creator dwells in peace. Let not the things of the earth hinder you. Let nothing that transpired while you lived hinder you. Looking after your family was a sacred duty and you were faithful. You were one of the many joint heirs of the Lordship titles. Feastings were yours and you had pleasant occasions. . . .' (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord). (XXX-113, EUC).

113 At the funeral of a woman of the people, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a woman in the flower of life and the bloom is now withered away. You once held a sacred position as a mother of the nation. (Etc.) Looking after your family was a sacred duty and you were faithful. Feastings . . . (Etc.) (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord.) (XXXI-114, EUC).

114 At the funeral of an infant or young woman say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were a tender bud and gladdened our hearts for only a few days. Now the bloom has withered away . . . (Etc.) Let none of the things that transpired on earth hinder you. Let nothing that happened while you lived hinder you. (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord.) (XXXII-115, EUC).

115 When an infant dies within three days, mourning shall continue only five days. Then shall you gather the little boys and girls at the house of mourning and at the funeral feast a speaker shall address the children and bid them be happy once more, though by a death, gloom has been cast over them. Then shall the black clouds roll away and the sky shall show blue once more. Then shall the children be again in sunshine. (XXXIII-116, EUC).

116 When a dead person is brought to the burial place, the speaker on the opposite side of the Council Fire shall bid the bereaved family cheer their minds once again and rekindle their hearth fires in peace, to put their house in order and once again be in brightness for darkness has covered them. He shall say that the black clouds shall roll away and that the bright blue sky is

visible once more. Therefore shall they be in peace in the sunshine again. (XXXIV-117, EUC).

117 Three strings of shell one span in length shall be employed in addressing the assemblage at the burial of the dead. The speaker shall say:

“Hearken you who are here, this body is to be covered. Assemble in this place again ten days hence for it is the decree of the Creator that mourning shall cease when ten days have expired. Then shall a feast be made.”

Then at the expiration of ten days the Speaker shall say: “Continue to listen you who are here. The ten days of mourning have expired and your minds must now be freed of sorrow as before the loss of the relative. The relatives have decided to make a little compensation to those who have assisted at the funeral. It is a mere expression of thanks. This is to the one who did the cooking while the body was lying in the house. Let her come forward and receive this gift and be dismissed from the task. In substance this shall be repeated for every one who assisted in any way until all have been remembered. (XXXV-118, EUC).

THE CODE OF DEKANAHWIDEH
TOGETHER WITH
THE TRADITION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FIVE
NATIONS' LEAGUE

Prepared by the committee of chiefs appointed by the Six Nations' Council of Grand River, Canada, and adopted by Council of Chiefs, July 3, 1900.

The committee was as follows:

Chief Peter Powless	Mohawk
Chief J. W. M. Elliott	Mohawk
Chief Nicodemus Porter	Oneida
Chief Thomas William Echo	Onondaga
Chief William Wage	Cayuga
Chief Abram Charles	Cayuga
Chief John A. Gibson	Seneca
Chief Josiah Hill	Tuscarora
Chief John Danford	Oneida of the Thames
Chief Isiah Sickles	Oneida of the Thames

INTRODUCTORY

For several hundred years the Five Nations (since 1715 the Six Nations) have existed without a written history chronicled by themselves, of their ancient customs, rites and ceremonies, and of the formation of the Iroquois League. Books have been written by white men in the past, but these have been found to be too voluminous and inaccurate in some instances.

Of the existence of the Five Nations therefore, before the formation of the League of Great Peace by Dekanahwideh, living as they did apart from one another as separate nations and having nothing in common, much might be written, but at this juncture our object will only admit of the relation of the formation of the League of the Five Nations, which as far as can be ascertained took place about the year 1390.

The purpose for which this league or confederation of the Five Nations was organized was to enable them to protect themselves against the invasion of their vast domains by other nations who

were hostile to them, and also the formation of a form of government among themselves. Ever since the birth of the league this government has existed with but very slight modifications.

The student of ethnology may find something which may be of interest to him in this record, compiled as it is by the elder ceremonial chiefs who are now among those who are ruling the people of the Six Nations as chiefs or lords, under the old régime of dynastical lords in perpetuation of that system of government by hereditary succession as it was constituted by Dekanahwideh and his associates at the time of the formation of the League of the Iroquois.

This account is not intended to be a concise history of this interesting people, but simply a record of those interesting traditions which have been for centuries handed down from father to son in connection with the formation of the league.

There is no doubt in the minds of the writers of this preface that many of the ancient traditions of the Six Nations have become much modified, and some have been long relegated to oblivion owing to the fact that in the earlier history of these peoples there were for a long time no members of the various nations capable of rendering these traditions in writing and thus preserving them intact to their posterity.

It is a noteworthy fact that the League of the Five Nations (now known as the Six Nations) as constituted centuries ago by Dekanahwideh and his associates, has been followed in accordance with the rules of the confederacy as laid down by this founder of the league, and that the installation of the lords (chiefs) as rulers of the people as laid down in these unwritten rules hundreds of years ago is still strictly observed and adhered to by the chiefs of the Six Nations and their people.

With reference to the origin or birth, character and doings of Dekanahwideh as herein chronicled, it will be observed that they present an analogy or similarity to Hebrew biblical history and teachings. This is portrayed strongly in the narration of the birth of Dekanahwideh and also in certain extraordinary powers which he is attributed to have possessed.

There is little doubt that some of this influence was brought about as a result of the labors and teachings of the Jesuit fathers among them. In the early discovery of the Five Nations the Jesuit fathers made an effort to christianize them.

These precepts as taught and inculcated in the minds of the people by these missionaries have been assimilated to some extent and

wrought into their own religious belief, as well perhaps as into the story of the traditional nativity of this founder of the Iroquois Confederacy.

It was in recognition of the fact that all nations have a traditional history similar to this one (and some of them have long since become enlightened and educated to better things) which originated with these people while they were yet in a crude state (notably, for example, may be cited the English, Irish and Scotch legends and traditions) that this small fragment of Iroquois traditional history was written by the chiefs, so that they might preserve it as other nations have done.

It is only natural for a people undergoing a transition from a state of barbarism to that of civilization and christianity to evince a desire to have their past mythological legends and crude history preserved.

It was therefore at the request of, and by the authority of the Six Nations' Council, that that portion of the traditional history of this people relating to the formation of the League of the Five Nations, together with the condolence ceremonies, now used in the creation and induction into office of new chiefs as successors to deceased members of the council, was written from dictation by the ceremonial chiefs as follows: Chiefs Peter Powless, Mohawk; Nicodemus Porter, Oneida; William Wage and Abram Charles, Cayuga; John A. Gibson, Seneca; Thomas William Echo, Onondaga; and Josiah Hill, Tuscarora. Chiefs Josiah Hill and J. W. M. Elliott were appointed to act as secretaries, with the express purpose of having it published by the Department of Indian Affairs, so that the future generations of the people of the Six Nations may have preserved to them these traditions of their forefathers which otherwise in time would become lost.

Signed at Ohsweken Council House, Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, Canada, August 17, 1900.

JOSIAH HILL, *Secretary Six Nations' Council.*

J. W. M. ELLIOTT, *Mohawk Chief, Secretary of the ceremonial committee of Indian rites and customs.*

Indian words

The meanings of some of the more difficult Indian words to be found in this work are as follows:

- 1 A-ka-rah-ji-ko-wah—A great swamp elm
- 2 Ska-reh-heh-se-go-wah—The great tall tree

- 3 Jo-neh-rah-de-se-go-wah—The great long leaves
- 4 Djok-de-he-sko-na—The great white roots.
- 5 Ka-ya-neh-renh-ko-wah—The great peace
- 6 Karihwi-yoh—Good tidings of peace and power
- 7 Rodiyanesho'o—Lords or chiefs
- 8 Hoyane (Royaneh) — Lord or chief
- 9 Ehkanehdodeh—A pine tree, applied to earned or self-made chiefs
- 10 Kwa-ah — The mourning cry used by a chief warrior to convey the news of the death of a lord or head chief
- 11 Kanekonketshwaserah — The condolence ceremony used upon the death of a lord or chief

THE TRADITIONAL NARRATIVE

OF THE

ORIGIN OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE FIVE NATIONS

COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE IROQUOIS

Together with an account of the ancient customs, usages and ceremonies in use by these nations in the choice and installation into office of their Ro-de-ya-ner-shoh (lords or chiefs), including traditions relating to the lives and characters of Dekanahwideh, the framer of the league, Hay-yonh-wa-tha (Hiawatha), the lawgiver, Tha-do-da-ho and other leaders.

The peculiar beginning of the Great Peace,¹ or the Great League of the Five Nations at a time most ancient, is here told.

The name of the place mentioned as the birthplace of Dekanahwideh² was called Kah-ha-nah-yenh,³ somewhere in the neighborhood of the Bay of Quinte.

According to tradition, a woman⁴ was living in that neighborhood who had one daughter of stainless character who did not travel away from home, but remained with her mother constantly, and when she had attained the age of womanhood she had held no manner of intercourse with any man. In the course of time, notwithstanding, she showed signs of conception and her mother was very much aggrieved. The mother, therefore, spoke to her daughter and said: "I am going to ask you a question and I want you to tell me the truth. What has happened to you and how is it that you are going to bear a child?" Then the daughter replied and said, "Mother I will tell you the truth, I do not know how I became with child."⁵

Then the mother said: "The reply you give me is not sufficient to remove my grief. I am sure that you did not tell me the full truth concerning what I asked you." Then the daughter replied: "I have indeed told you the whole truth concerning what you asked me." Then the sorrowing mother said: "Of a truth, my daughter, you have no love for me."

¹ Gaya'nässhägo, in Onondaga; Gayanës'shä'gowa, in Seneca. Derived from Gayanës'shä, *A compelling rule of virtue, and gowa, great, exalted.*

² Dekanāwī'da, *Two water currents flowing together.*

³ Kanyē'gē (Onon.), *Among the flints, Flinty peace, cf. Hadineyē'ge'gā, They are flint people.*

⁴ No father or husband; that is, no male is mentioned in this family until Dekanahwideh appears.

⁵ A virgin (female) is called deyə'n'nowādon'; (masc.) deha'nowā'don' meaning, *He is hidden*; from nowā'don', *hidden*. Ye'wayei' is the word for *pure*.

Then she began to ill-treat her daughter, and then the daughter also began to feel aggrieved because of this ill-treatment from her mother.

It so happened that as the time approached when the daughter would deliver the child, that the mother dreamed¹ that she saw a man whom she did not know, and that he said that he appeared as a messenger to her on account of her troubled mind, caused by the condition of her daughter who had in so mysterious a manner conceived a child.

"I am here to deliver to you a message and now I will ask you to cease your grieving and trouble of mind, and the ill-treatment of your daughter from day to day because it is indeed a fact that your daughter does not know how she became with child. I will tell you what has happened. It is the wish of the Creator that she should bear a child, and when you will see the male child you shall call him Dekanahwideh. The reason you shall give him that name is because this child will reveal to men-beings (Oñg'wěoⁿwě'), the Good Tidings of Peace and Power² from Heaven, and the Great Peace shall rule and govern on earth, and I will charge you that you and your daughter should be kind to him because he has an important mission to perform in the world, and when he grows up to be a man do not prevent him from leaving home."

Then the old woman, (Iăğⁿ'tci) asked the messenger, what office the child should hold.

The messenger answered and said: "His mission is for peace and life to the people both on earth and in heaven."

When the old woman woke up the next morning she spoke to her daughter and said: "My daughter, I ask you to pardon me for all the ill-treatment I have given you because I have now been satisfied that you told me the truth when you told me that you did not know how you got the child which you are about to deliver."

Then the daughter also was made glad, and when she was delivered of the child, it was as had been predicted; the child was a male child, and the grandmother called him Dekanahwideh.

The child grew up rapidly, and when he had become a young man he said: "The time has come when I should begin to perform my duty in this world. I will therefore begin to build my canoe and by tomorrow I must have it completed because there is work for me to do tomorrow when I go away to the eastward."

¹ *She dreamed*, waagoi'shěⁿdüksěⁿá. To guess the meaning of a dream, third person, plural, present, Hodinowaiya'ha.

² Ne'gā'ihwio'ne'skāⁿñoⁿkhu (Seneca), literally, *The good message* (or edict), *the power*.

Then he began to build his canoe out of a white rock, and when he had completed it, Dekanahwideh said: "I am ready now to go away from home and I will tell you that there is a tree¹ on top of the hill and you shall have that for a sign whenever you wish to find out whether I shall be living or dead. You will take an axe and chop the tree and if the tree flows blood² from the cut, you will thereby know that I am beheaded and killed, but if you find no blood running from this tree after you have chopped a chip from it, then you may know that my mission was successful. The reason that this will happen is because I came to stop forever the wanton shedding of blood among human beings."

Then Dekanahwideh also said: "Come to the shore of the lake and see me start away."

So his mother and his grandmother went together with him and helped to pull the boat to the lake and as they stood at the lake, Dekanahwideh said: "Good bye, my mothers, for I am about to leave you for I am to go for a long time. When I return I will not come this way."

Then the grandmother said "How are you going to travel since your canoe is made out of stone. It will not float."

Then Dekanahwideh said, "This will be the first sign of wonder that man will behold; a canoe made out of stone will float."

Then he bade them farewell, put his canoe in the lake and got in. Then he paddled away to the eastward and the grandmother and his mother with wonder beheld him and saw that his canoe was going swiftly. In a few moments he disappeared out of their sight.

It happened at that time a party of hunters had a camp on the south side of the lake now known as Ontario and one of the party went toward the lake and stood on the bank of the lake, and beheld the object coming toward him at a distance, and the man could not understand what it was that was approaching him; shortly afterwards he understood that it was a canoe, and saw a man in it, and the moving object was coming directly toward where he stood, and when the man (it was Dekanahwideh) reached the shore he came out of his boat and climbed up the bank.

Then Dekanahwideh asked the man what had caused them to be where they were, and the man answered and said: "We are here

¹ Djirhonathāradadon'.

² That men enter into or become trees is an old Iroquois conception. The sap of the tree becomes blood that flows when the tree is injured.

for a double object. We are here hunting game for our living and also because there is a great strife in our settlement."

Then Dekanahwideh said, "You will now return to the place from whence you came. The reason that this occurs is because the Good Tidings of Peace and Friendship have come to the people, and you will find all strife removed from your settlement when you go back to your home. And I want you to tell your chief that the Ka-rih-wi-yoh¹ (Good Tidings of Peace and Power) have come and if he asks you from whence came the Good Tidings of Peace and Power, you will say that the Messenger of the Good Tidings of Peace and Power will come in a few days.

Then the man said: "Who are you now speaking to me?"

Dekanahwideh answered: "It is I who came from the west and am going eastward and am called Dekanahwideh in the world."

Then the man wondered and beheld his canoe and saw that his canoe was made out of white stone.

Then Dekanahwideh said, "I will go and visit Tyo-den-he deh² first." Dekanahwideh then went down the bank and got into his boat, and passed on. Then the man also turned away and went home, and when he came back to the camp he said: "I saw a strange man coming from the lake with a canoe made out of white stone and when he landed he came up the bank and I had a conversation with him. First, he asked me where I came from and when I told him he understood everything.³ Then he said: "You will all go home for there is now peace, and all strife has been removed from the settlement."

Then the party went home and as soon as they reached home, they went and told the Royaner⁴ (lord) and said that the Good Tidings of Peace and Power had come. Then the lord asked the speaker who told him the message and then he said that he saw a man who was called Dekanahwideh in the world. Then the lord asked him from whence the Good Tidings of Peace and Strength were coming.

¹ Karhihwiiio, or in Seneca, Ne"Gā'ihwiiio, meaning a proclamation of good tidings. Literally the word is interpreted, *A good message*. The missionaries use the word *gā-i-hwi-io* for *Gospel*. The power of the new civil government is called *skēn'no'*, meaning *inherent potency*.

² Tiodenhe'dē, meaning He (having died) lives again, cf. Siga'hedūs, *He resurrects*, used as a name for Christ.

³ Dekanawida is reputed to have been a clairvoyant.

⁴ Royaner is *hoya'ne* in Seneca. The Mohawk root-equivalent is *Ya'nerhe*. Royaner means *excellent, noble, good, exalted, pure*. Thus as a title the name is translated *Lord*. Missionaries so use the name, cf. Hale Book of Rites, p. 65.

Then the man said: "It is coming and will come soon."

Then the lord said: "Where did you see the man?" He replied, "I saw him in the lake with his canoe; he came from the west and he is going eastward."

Then the lord began to wonder and said that he thought the settlement should remain in silence, for all would be glad and satisfied.

Dekanahwideh continued his journey and came to where the great wizard Toh-do-dah-ho¹ lived. This man was possessed with great power as a wizard and no man could come to him without endangering his life and it is related that even the fowls of the air whenever they flew directly over his place of abode would die and fall down on his premises, and that if he saw a man approaching him he was sure to destroy him or kill him. This man was a cannibal, and had left the settlement to which he belonged for a long time and lived by himself in an isolated place.

Dekanahwideh came² and approached the abode of the cannibal and saw him carrying a human body into his house and shortly he saw him come out again and go down to the river and draw some water. Dekanahwideh went closer and when he had come to the house he went up onto the roof and from the chimney opening³ he looked in and saw the owner come back with a pail of water, put up a kettle on the fireplace to cook his meal and after it was cooked he saw him take the kettle from the fire and place it at the end of the fireplace and say to himself, "I suppose it is now time for me to have my meal and after I am finished I will go where I am required on business."

Dekanahwideh moved still closer over the smoke hole and looked straight down into the kettle. The man Tah-do-dah-ho was then moving around the house and when he came back to take some of the meat from the kettle he looked into it and saw that a man was looking at him from out of the kettle. This was the reflection of Dekanahwideh. Then the man Tah-do-dah-ho moved back and sat down near the corner of the house and began to think seriously and he thought that it was a most wonderful thing which had happened. He said to himself that such a thing had never occurred before as long as he had been living in the house. "I did not

¹ Thadoda'ho.

² He came on a tour of inspection. The Onondaga version says it was Hiawatha.

³ Albert Cusick, the Onondaga informant, says this incident is an interpolation.

know that I was so strange a man," he said. "My mode of living must be wrong." Then he said: "Let me look again and be sure that what I have seen is true." Then he arose, went to the kettle and looked into it again, and he saw the same object—the face of a great man and it was looking at him. Then he took the kettle and went out and went toward the hillside and he emptied it there.

Then Dekanahwideh came down from the roof and made great haste toward the hillside, and when Tha-do-dah-ho came up the hill he met Dekanahwideh.

Dekanahwideh asked Tah-do-dah-ho where he came from and he said, "I had cooked my meal and I took the kettle from the fire and placed it on the floor. I thought that I would take some of the meat out of the kettle and then I saw a man's face looking at me from the kettle. I do not know what had happened; I only know such a thing never occurred to me before as long as I have been living in this house. Now I have come to the conclusion that I must be wrong in the way I am and the way I have been living. That is why I carried the kettle out of my house and emptied it over there by the stump. I was returning when I met you." Then he said, "From whence did you come?"

Dekanahwideh answered, "I came from the west and am going eastward."

Then the man said, "Who are you that is thus speaking to me?"

Then Dekanahwideh said, "It is he who is called Dekanahwideh in this world." Dekanahwideh then asked: "From whence have you come?"

The man then said: "There is a settlement to which I belong but I left that settlement a long time ago."

Then Dekanahwideh said, "You will now return, for peace and friendship have come to you and your settlement and you have now repented the course of wrong doing which you pursued in times past. It shall now also occur that when you return to your settlement you, yourself, shall promote peace and friendship for it is a fact that peace is now ruling in your settlement and I want you to arrange and settle all matters." Then Dekanahwideh also said: "I shall arrive there early tomorrow morning. I shall visit the west first. I shall visit there the house of the woman, Ji-kon-sah-seh. The reason why I shall do this (go and visit this woman first) is because the path passes there which runs from the east to the west."

Then after saying these words Dekanahwideh went on his way and arrived at the house of Ji-kon-sah-seh and said to her that he

had come on this path which passed her home and which led from the east to the west, and on which traveled the men of blood-thirsty and destructive nature.

Then he said unto her, "It is your custom to feed these men when they are traveling on this path on their war expeditions." He then told her that she must desist from practising this custom. He then told her that the reason she was to stop this custom was that the Karihwiyo¹ or Good Tidings of Peace and Power had come. He then said: "I shall, therefore, now change your disposition and practice." Then also, "I now charge you that you shall be the custodian of the Good Tidings of Peace and Power, so that the human race may live in peace in the future." Then Dekanahwideh also said, "You shall therefore now go east where I shall meet you at the place of danger (to Onondaga), where all matters shall be finally settled and you must not fail to be there on the third day. I shall now pass on in my journey."

Then he journeyed on a great way and went to another settlement. Here he inquired who their Royaner was and after he had ascertained his abode he went to his home and found him, and when they met, Dekanahwideh said, "Have you heard that the Good Tidings of Peace and Power are coming?" The lord then said: "I truly have heard of it."

Then Dekanahwideh asked him what he thought about it.

Then the lord said, "Since I have heard of the good news I have been thinking about it and since then I have not slept." Then Dekanahwideh said, "It is now at hand—that which has been the cause of your sleeplessness."

Then Dekanahwideh said, "You shall hereafter be called Hay-yonh-wa-tha² (Hiawatha)."

Then the lord said, "To whom am I speaking?" Dekanahwideh answered and said: "I am the man who is called on earth by the name of Dekanahwideh, and I have just come from the west and am now going east for the purpose of propagating peace, so that the shedding of human blood might cease among you."

Then the Lord Hahyonhwatha asked, "Will you wait until I go and announce the news to my colleagues?" Dekanahwideh then

¹ Djikonsă'sě, *The wild cat* (fat faced), known as the "mother of nations." This was the most honored female title among the Huron Iroquois. She is sometimes called the Peace Queen. She was of the Neuter Nation and her lodge was on the east side of the Niagara, at Kai-a-nieu-ka. Often she was termed Ye-go-wa-neh, the great woman.

² Haiyohwat'hă, meaning *He has misplaced something but knows where to find it.*

said that he could wait as he was on this good mission. Then the Lord Hahyonhwatha announced to his colleagues and people that they assemble to hear Dekanahwideh, and when they were assembled Hahyonhwatha asked Dekanahwideh what news he had for the people. Dekanahwideh answered that the proclamation of the Good Tidings of Peace and Power had arrived and that he had come on a mission to proclaim the Good News of Peace and Power that bloodshed might cease in the land, as the Creator, he had learned, never intended that such should ever be practised by human beings.

Lord Hahyonhwatha answered the people: "We have now heard the Good News of Peace and Power from this man Dekanahwideh." He then turned and asked his colleagues and all the people what answer they should give. Then one of the chief warriors asked: "What shall we do with the powerful tribes on the east and on the west¹ of our villages who are always hostile to us?"

Then Dekanahwideh answered and said that the hostile nations referred to had already accepted the Good News of Peace and Power.

Then the chief warrior answered and said: "I am still in doubt and I would propose (as a test of power) that this man (Dekanahwideh) climb up a big tree by the edge of a high cliff and that we then cut the tree down and let it fall with him over the cliff,² and then if he does not die I shall truly believe the message which he has brought us."

Then the deputy chief warrior said: "I also am of the same opinion and I approve of the suggestion of the chief warrior."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "I am ready and most willingly accede to your request, because the Good News of Peace and Power has come unto us, I now confidently place myself in your hands."

Then the lord said: "It has now been decided. We will therefore all go to where the tree stands." They then started to go there and when they arrived where the tree stood, the lord said: "We have now arrived where the tree that we have decided upon stands."

Then the chief warrior said to Dekanahwideh: "I made this proposal and therefore you will now climb this tree so that it will

¹ To the west of the Onondagas were the Seneca and Cayuga nations; to the east the Oneida and Mohawk. It is possible, however, that the New England Indians on the east and the Neuters on the west were meant by this paragraph. Consult J. D. Prince, Wampum Records of the Passamaquoddy Documents, *Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci.* No. 15, p. 369-77. 1898.

² The Newhouse version (q.v.) gives more details of this incident.

be a sign of proof, and the people may see your power. If you live to see tomorrow's sunrise then I will accept your message."

Then Dekanahwideh said, "This shall truly be done and carried out." He then climbed the tree and when he had reached the top of the tree¹ he sat down on a branch, after which the tree was cut down, and it fell over the cliff with him.

Then the people kept vigilant watch so that they might see him, but they failed to see any signs of him. Then the chief warrior said, "Now my proposition has been carried out and Dekenahwideh has disappeared and so now we will vigilantly watch at sunrise tomorrow morning. Then the Lord Hahyonhwatha said, "We shall now return home."

Now when the new day dawned one of the warriors arose before sunrise and at once went to the place where the tree had been cut and when he had arrived there he saw at a short distance a field of corn, and near by the smoke from a fire² toward which the warrior went. When he arrived there he saw a man sitting by the fire and after seeing the man he at once returned to the Lord Hahyonhwatha and when he arrived there he said that he had seen the man sitting by the fire, and that it was he who was on the tree which was cut the evening before.

Then Hahyonhwatha charged him to convey these tidings to his colleagues and all the people and in a short time all the people had assembled. Then the Lord Hahyonhwatha said, "We will now call Dekanahwideh," and he then commissioned the chief warrior and the deputy chief warrior to go after him and they went to where Dekanahwideh had his fire and when they arrived they told him that the Lord Hahyonhwatha had sent them to bring him and that they would escort him to the home of Hahyonhwatha.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "It is right. I shall go with you."

They then returned and when they arrived back at the abode of Hahyonhwatha, the chief warrior spoke and said, "We have returned with Dekanahwideh, and he is now in your charge." Lord Hahyonhwatha then said: "I am now surely ready to fully accept the Good News of Peace and Power, and it now rests with you as your opinion in this matter."

¹ This event took place on the cliff overlooking the lower falls of the Mohawk. The tree was a bitter hickory, (güs'thik), which stood at the doorway of a woman named De'siio'. When Dekanawida climbed the tree he sang the air of "the six songs of the pacification hymn."

² The column of smoke from Dekanawida's fire is said always to have "pierced the sky." The term is, Wagayëngwa'idënwagaiyaestä', *It forms smoke, smoke pierces the sky.*

The chief warrior then said: "I was in great doubt, but have now truly concluded to accept the Good News of Peace and Power." Then Royaner (Lord) Hahyonhwatha said: "Now faithfully see these matters are settled and finished."

Then he further said: "Dekanahwideh, you may now listen to the answer we have concluded to give you. We have received the message which you brought us, and we have jointly concluded to accept the message of Good News of Peace and Power and we have now concluded all we have to say, and the matter shall now rest with you entirely."

Dekanahwideh then said: "This day is early and yet young, so is the new mind also tender and young, so also is the Good Tidings of Peace and Power, and as the new sun of Good Tidings of Peace and Power arose, so it will proceed on its course and prosper; so also will the young mind, and the Good Tidings of Peace and Power shall prevail and prosper. Therefore in the future your grandchildren forever shall live in peace."

Then Dekanahwideh answered again: "You, chief warrior, you have had power in warfare, but now this is all changed. I now proclaim that since you had doubts, you shall be hereafter known in the land by the name of Tha-ha-rih-ho-ken (De-ka-ri-ho-ken),¹ which means doubting or hesitating over two things as to which course to adopt."

And Dekanahwideh said: "You, the deputy chief warrior, I charge you that you shall be called and known hereafter in the land by the name of Sa-de-ga-rih-wa-den² (one-who-respects-all-matters-as-important-equally) because you truly have concurred in and justly confirmed all that you have heard."

Then Dekanahwideh also said: "I shall now pass on and go east, and we shall meet again tomorrow³ to add to what we have already accomplished."

Then Dekanahwideh passed on in his journey.

Then in Lord Hahyonhwatha's family composed of three⁴ daughters, the eldest was taken ill and in a little time she died.⁵

¹ In Onondaga, Degaihō'kēn'. His name appears first on the roll of "Rodiyaner."

² Tcā'dekaiiwāt'dě, sometimes translated, *Two stories diverging in conclusions*.

³ "Tomorrow," or "on another day" frequently means the next year. Dekanawida in going east possibly went to the Abenaki or other New England Indians. See Prince, *op. cit.*

⁴ Newhouse says seven.

⁵ A Mohawk account. Cf. Newhouse, who says the daughters all perished through the witchcraft of Osī'no'. One account says that he took the form

The mind of Hahyonhwatha was troubled. His colleagues and the people assembled at his home and condoled with him and admonished him to forget his sorrow, and he acceded to their desire.

Shortly afterwards the second daughter took sick and in a short time died. Then the sorrow and trouble of the Lord Hahyonhwatha was greatly increased, and again his colleagues and people assembled at his abode and again they tried to induce him to forget his sorrow and trouble, but he could not answer them. So Deharihoken said: "I will not tell you my mind (my purpose). I think that we should look for something which would console the mind of our lord in his trouble and bereavement." Then he also said: "I would lay before you warriors, for your consideration, that you cheer him by playing a game of lacrosse."¹

Then Sadekarihwadeh said: "I will now tell you my mind, first let the people all assemble to console him. This shall be done as alas our lord has now only one daughter left alive."

Then Dekarihoken confirmed all that Sadekarihwadeh had said.

Then the people assembled at the home of the Lord Hahyonhwatha and they spoke unto him words of condolence that he might forget his grief and bereavement.

But the lord did not answer them. So then the warriors decided that they would play a game of lacrosse in order to cheer him and during the time that they were playing, the last daughter of Hahyonhwatha came out of the family abode to go after some water and when she had gone half way to the spring she saw flying high up in the air above a beautiful bird.² She paused in her journey and the bird flew downwards toward her. She cried out aloud, being frightened, and said, "O, see this bird!" after which she ran away.

Then the warriors saw it and as it was then flying low, the warriors followed it, and as they were looking at the bird they did not notice the daughter of Hahyonhwatha before them and in their haste they ran over and trampled her to death, and it transpired that the daughter of Hahyonhwatha was with child.

Then Sadekarihwadeh went and told Hahyonhwatha that a strange bird called Teh-yoh-ronh-yoh-ron (a high flying bird which

of a screech owl and conjured from a tree overlooking the daughters' lodge; another that he became a poison shadow at the bottom of a spring.

¹ Each game had a reputed medicinal effect.

² This was the magic Hă'goks, sometimes called "the wampum eagle." Another descriptive name is given later in the text.

pierces the skies) had come amongst them and that it was due to the visit of the bird that his daughter was killed.

Then Hahyonhwatha answered sadly and said: "I have now lost all my daughters and in the death of this, my last daughter, you have accidentally and unwittingly killed two beings."¹

And Hahyonhwatha further said: "I must now go away to the west," and he started immediately on his way. He met Dekanahwideh on the trail and Dekanahwideh warned him of the danger on his way, especially with reference to a certain man who was watching, saying as follows:

"There is danger in front of you, there is a man watching your way in front of you. It is necessary for you to approach him without his becoming aware of your coming until you get to him. If you can get up to him while he is unaware of your approach then we shall surely prosper in our mission. You will then speak to him and ask him what thing he is watching for. He will answer you and say that he is watching to protect the fields of corn as the people of other nations and also animals destroy the crops and he is watching therefore that the crops might be preserved, so that the children might live from the harvest."

Then Hahyonhwatha proceeded on his journey and when he arrived where the man was sitting beside a fire near a big tree and watching; he quickly spoke, asking, "What are you doing?" And the man answered and said: "I am watching the fields of corn to protect them from other nations and also from animals that our children might live from the harvest."

Hahyonhwatha then said to the man: "Return home now and tell your lord that the Good News of Peace and Power has come." So he returned and told his Lord the message given to him by Hahyonhwatha. Then the lord said: "Who is it who told you this strange news?" Then the man who had been watching said: "A man suddenly appeared to me when I was watching the fields of corn and he told me the news."

Hahyonhwatha went to the other end of the corn field and there met Dekanahwideh. Dekanahwideh said: "We have now announced the (Ka-ya-ne-reh) Good Tidings of Peace and Power, therefore you shall abide in this hut near these corn fields, which you will only leave when you receive an invitation from the people.

¹Other versions say that this event took place before Hiawatha met Dekanawida, his grief over his losses, driving him into a self-imposed exile, during which he lamented all evil conditions. Later he met Dekanawida. A. Cusick, and Baptist Thomas, New York Onondagas, both concurred in this.

You must not go unless the invitation is official. A woman shall first come to you early tomorrow morning who will be the first to see you, then you shall cut and prepare some elderberry twigs.¹ You shall cut them into pieces and remove the heart pulp and then you shall string them up." "Then the lord (Royaner) shall send a messenger to you to invite you, but you must not accept the invitation until he shall send to you a string of twigs similar to your own."

Then Hahyönhwatha went on his journey and found the hut beside the cornfield and built a fire, and in the morning a woman came to the cornfield and saw the smoke from the fire at the end of the cornfield and when she arrived there she saw a man sitting with his head hanging down. Then the woman hurried home and went straightway to where the lord (Royaner) lived and when she arrived she told him that she had seen a strange man sitting beside a fire in the cornfield.

Then the lord asked her: "What thing was this man doing there?" And the woman answered and said that the man was sitting there quietly looking on the ground.²

Then the lord said: "This must be the man who sent the message of the Good Tidings of Peace and Power. I shall therefore now send a messenger to bring him hither."

He then summoned the chief warrior and the deputy chief warrior to come to him and when the two had come, the lord said to them: "You shall go after the man who is at the fire in the cornfield and bring him to me. The lord then said to the deputy chief warrior: "I send you to go after him," and the deputy chief warrior went to bring this man, and when he arrived at the place where the man had built the fire, he saw a man sitting there and he was looking at a string of elderberry twigs which was hanging on a pole horizontally placed in front of him.

Then the deputy chief warrior said: "I am sent after you by the lord (Royaner)."

The man did not answer and so the deputy chief warrior repeated the message of the lord three times, but the man did not give any

¹ Wampum at first seems to have been any kind of cylindrical bead, large or small. The Mohawk name is o'tgo'rha; Seneca, o'tko'ä'. The quills of feathers and porcupines were used as wampum (o'tgo'rha). Indeed Baptist Thomas, an Onondaga informant, says porcupine quills were used and not elderberry twigs as stated in this version.

² Hiawatha kept repeating the phrase, äsanatick, meaning, *they should give me a wampum token*.

reply. Then the deputy chief warrior turned and returned to the lord, and when he arrived, he said to the lord: "He did not reply."

The lord then asked: "What did you see?" Then the deputy chief warrior answered and said, "I saw a string of elderberry twigs hanging on a pole in front of him and he was looking at it." Then the lord answered and said: "I now understand; I shall therefore make a similar string out of quills which will cause him to come." The lord then made two strings of quills and put them on a thong.

The lord then said: "I have now completed the strings and you shall both go after him and bring him here. You shall therefore take these strings of quills with you to him and they shall become words and that will induce him to come. They then went on their errand and when they had arrived at the fire the chief warrior said: "The lord has again sent us after you, and this string of quills are his words which are to bring you to him."

Then Hahyonhwatha answered and said: "This is what should have been done." He then took the string of quills and said: "After I get through smoking¹ I shall go to the lord."

They then returned to the lord and when they had arrived they said that the man had now answered and that when he had finished smoking his pipe he would come.

The lord then told them to tell the people so that they would all assemble when the man should arrive.

The chief warrior and the deputy chief warrior then went to tell the people to assemble as soon as possible to the abode of the lord.

The people had therefore all assembled when Hahyonhwatha arrived. The lord said to him: "You have come amongst us and doubtless you have some important matter to convey to us. The people have already assembled and are prepared to listen to the matter which you may have to communicate to us."

Then Hahyonhwatha answered: "I have come here to deliver to you the message of Good Tidings of Peace and Power so that our children in the future may live in peace."

Then the lord said: "We shall defer answering you until the return of a certain man for whom we are waiting, but in the meantime we desire that you shall remain in our village with us."

Then Hahyonhwatha answered and said: "This can be safely

¹ To have gone in haste without a semblance of deliberation would have been considered insulting.

done as I came to you with the message of Good Tidings of Peace and Power."

Then the lord said: "I shall therefore entertain you myself. This will be done because the message which you have brought to us may be the same as the other man's for which we are waiting, and he has sent word that he is coming." Then Hahyonthwatha said: "I approve of all this."

The assembled people then dispersed and when night came the lord told Hahyonthwatha that he could sleep in the inner room. Then he (Hahyonthwatha) went in and retired. Shortly after he heard a voice outside which said: "Are you stopping here?" and Hahyonthwatha replied, "Yes." Now the voice from outside said that it was very urgent for him to come out.

So Hahyonthwatha went out and he saw Dakanahwideh standing outside. Dekanahwideh then said: "It is now urgent that we proceed directly on our journey.¹ You have now accomplished all that is necessary to be done here at present; we can go to another settlement now and afterwards return. The man you are now waiting for will likely have returned by that time."

"There is one settlement left to be visited, although I have been there before and had conversation with the man. I have promised him that I will visit him again and for that reason when you left home you heard a loud toned voice in front of you saying, 'A-son-kek-ne-eh.'² We will now proceed on our journey."

They then went and while they were on their way Dekanahwideh said, "Let us stop here and wait a while, and you will look toward the southeast. So they stood still and Hahyonthwatha looked toward the southeast and saw the smoke arising and reaching to the sky.

Then Dekanahwideh asked: "What do you see?"

Hahyonthwatha said: "I see smoke piercing the sky."

Then Dekanahwideh answered: "That smoke which you saw is where the abode of Dyon-yon-ko is. The reason you see the smoke piercing the sky is because the Good Tidings of Peace and Power have come to the people of that settlement but unfortunately, owing to the selfishness and lack of energy of these people, the Good Tidings of Peace and Power have not prospered and have not extended to other settlements.³ It is thus good that these people

¹ Baptist Thomas says Hiawatha left this council because of a dispute on the part of the people, who forgot him in their effort to honor another man.

² "It has not yet occurred," asoñ'de'nēi'.

³ It is said that the New England Indians (Adirhon'daks), the Cherokee (Oya'de), the Wyandott (Thästähetci), the Tionante (Tyonontate'ka'), the

have received the Good Tidings of Peace and Power. We shall therefore take power from them which will enable us to complete the work we have undertaken to accomplish."

They then heard the loud toned voice saying: "A-soh-kek-ne——eh" (it is not yet; which means, impatiently waiting). Then Dekanahwideh said: "It is now very urgent for us to proceed on our journey to the place from whence this voice proceeds." They then went and they had not gone far when they came to a lake. Then Dekanahwideh said: "It is now left with you to decide what we shall do; you have seen the lake and it is beside this lake that the man lives whose loud voice you have heard saying: 'Asohkene——eh.'"

Dekanahwideh then also said: "There are two ways which we can pursue to get across the lake, and you can have your choice. We can take the boat which you see lying flat on the ground and paddle over or we can magically pass above the lake, and so get over it." Dekanahwideh also said: "That man whom you heard calling in a loud voice is able to cause the boat to upset if he sees it and the people within it to become drowned; he has ended the lives of many people in this way in the lake."¹

Then Hahyonhwatha said: "My choice is that we pass over above the lake." Then Dekanahwideh said: "It is best to approach this man from behind; the reason we should do this is that he has been so long impatiently waiting that it would not be wise to approach him from the front and it might cause trouble." Then Dekanahwideh also said: "We shall now therefore proceed on our journey."

Then they went on their journey and arrived at the other side of the lake. They had not gone far when Hahyonhwatha saw the man sitting on a high knoll where it was his custom to sit. When silently they arrived where he was sitting, Dekanahwideh stood on the right side and Hahyonhwatha on the left. The man had not yet seen them when he called again: "A-soh-kek-ne——eh!"

Then Hahyonhwatha saw what this man was doing and as soon as the man called out in the loud voice the lake became very rough and troubled and great billows formed on its surface.

Then Dekanahwideh spoke and said: "I have now returned

Neuter Nation (Atirhagenrat), the Erie (Djikon'saseoano') and others, including the Delaware and some southern tribes, were invited into the confederacy.

¹ Onondaga lake at a point near the present village of Liverpool.

and according to my promise. I promised to bring some one with me and I have now fulfilled this promise."

Then the man who was sitting down turned around and saw Dekanahwideh and said: "Who is the man that has come with you?"

Dekanahwideh then said: "Look to your left and you will see." Then he looked to his left and saw the man standing there; then he said to the man (Hahyonhwatha): "What are you doing here?"

Hahyonhwatha answered and said: "I am standing here beside you because our minds are with you and are turned toward you, for the Good Tidings of Peace and Power have now arrived. You will therefore now see as you turn around in every direction the columns of smoke arising."¹

Then the man raised his head and carefully looked around and he asked: "Who will accomplish this, that the Good Tidings of Peace and Power be propagated?"

Dekanahwideh said: "Tomorrow in the day time the delegates will come and approach you; then all things will be completed."

Then the man said: "I shall wait until all the delegates shall have arrived."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We must now return but we must all meet again tomorrow."

So Dekanahwideh and Hahyonhwatha went away and returned again to the abode of the lord where Hahyonhwatha had been lodging when Dekanahwideh called him out and when they had arrived there the lord found out that Hahyonhwatha had returned. Then the lord called him in and told him that the man for whom they had been waiting had returned and said: "We are now ready to answer your message."

Then Hahyonhwatha said: "I am also now ready and I am accompanied by my coworker."

Then the lord answered and said: "You will now bring him in." Then Hahyonhwatha called Dekanahwideh and he came in.

Then the lord said: "The man for whom we have been waiting has now returned and he has delivered his message fully and according to our understanding it is the same as your message. We now understand and we therefore have now decided to accept your message."

¹ Smoke arises from settlements of people at peace with each other. The tall column of smoke symbolized the establishment of the Gayanësshä"gowä.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We shall now conclude the object of this message." He then asked the question: "To whom among us did the message of the Good Tidings of Peace and Power first come?"

The lord answered and said: "It is to the man who was guarding the cornfield."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "Where is the man? You shall now bring him here." So the lord called him in and when he had come the lord said: "This is the man who guarded the fields of corn so that our children might live on the harvest."

Dekanahwideh said: "I now ask you if you are indeed the man who guards the cornfields and what your magical power is when you are so guarding the cornfields."

Then the man answered and said: "I rely entirely on my bow and arrows and when I go to the cornfields I take all my arrows with me."

Then Dekanahwideh asked the question: "How or in what manner do you carry your power?" (meaning his bows and arrows).

The man then answered and said: "I place them in a quiver and place the quiver on my back."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You shall now therefore be called 'Oh-dah-tshe-deh' "¹ (meaning, the quiver bearer), as your duty as a guardian of the cornfields is now changed because the Good News of Peace and Power has now come. Your duty hereafter shall now be to see that your children (instead of fields) shall live in peace."

Then Dekanahwideh again asked the lord: "In the past (during the long time he had been guarding the cornfields), what did you do with reference to that part of the crops which were damaged?"

Then the lord answered and said: "I used to send the warriors to gather the damaged crops and they brought them to me and I would divide the corn in equal shares among the people."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You shall now therefore hereafter be called Ka-non-kwe-yo-da."² It shall therefore now be your duty to propagate the Good Tidings of Peace and Power so that your children may live in peace."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "Where is the man for whom you have been waiting?" The lord then called this man and when

¹ Odatcē'te', quiver bearer, principal Oneida chief.

² Kanoⁿkwe'yō'don', *A row of ears of corn standing upright.*

he had arrived, Dekanahwideh said: "Are you the man for whom this people have been waiting so long to return?" Then the man answered, "I am that man." Then Dekanahwideh said: "What was the cause of your long delay in coming?" The man answered and said, "I was waiting for that other man who passed here, and who promised to return but who did not return, and while I was vigilantly watching and waiting for him I could not see him and he failed to return as promised, and when I was on the point of returning I tore down my hut which I had built, then I looked back to my home for the path by which I had come. It had been plainly open before me but now on each side of the path was the forest. I then left and came home here and then I found that already the people had all heard of the Good News which I wished to bring them, so I simply corroborate what they have already heard (from Hahyonhwatha)."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "Everything is now completed, and as you have now torn down your hut, your duty is now changed. You looked back and saw plainly the path through the forest. You shall therefore be known in the land by the name of De-yo-ha'-kwe-de.¹ Your duty shall therefore be to propagate the Good Tidings of Peace and Power so that your children in the future may live in peace." Then Dekanahwideh also said: "I will now tell you that the people through whose settlements I have passed have all accepted the Good Tidings of Peace and Power. Hahyonhwatha shall therefore now go after his colleagues and I shall now visit the settlement at the big mountain² and see what is happening there. I have been there before but I have not yet received an answer and what I think now is that we ought to join together in this great work for it is now urgent that it would be done for our time is getting shortened and we have only until tomorrow³ to complete the whole compact." Then he, Dekanahwideh, also said: "It would be best to appoint two delegates to go and find the smoke."

Then Hahyonhwatha said: "Where shall we meet again?"

Dekanahwideh answered and said: "We shall meet again by the lake shore where my boat lies."⁴

Then Ohdahtshedeh spoke and said: "I shall lie across the pathway like a log and when you come to me you will come in

¹ Teyoha'gwěntě', *Hollow voice in the throat.*

² Ganundawao, Bare Hill, the Seneca capitol.

³ The term "tomorrow" means *a year hence.*

⁴ At the mouth of the Oswego river; Oswě'ge', meaning, *the place of the outpouring.*

contact with a log and I shall then join with you" (meaning that he, Ohdahtshedeh, would be lying in wait for them and when they should come to the log, which means his settlement, he could accompany them). Then Ohdahtshedeh further said that he would agree to appoint two delegates to go and look for smoke (smoke means settlements).

Then Ohdahtshedeh said: "It is now left with you, the warriors, as to which of you will volunteer to go."

Then the chief warrior said: "I shall be one of those who volunteer to go." Then Ohdahtshedeh also said: "There is one more required to go; who will therefore volunteer?"

For a long time no one gave answer. Then Ohdahtshedeh asked the question anew and still again no one answered. Then Ohdahtshedeh said: "I shall ask the question once again, for the last time, and if any one desires to volunteer let him speak at once", and from the outside of the gathering a man spoke out and said that he would be one of the volunteers.

Then Dekanahwideh said, "Go and call that man who is speaking from the outside." The man was called in and he was asked to stand by the chief warrior in the meeting. Then Dekanahwideh said to the chief warrior: "You are the first to accede to the request of the lord to volunteer, therefore, your duty shall be to obey orders whenever the (lord) has any duties to give you." Then Dekanahwideh said to the warrior who was the second to volunteer: "As you came from the outside of the meeting, you shall therefore in the future be an assistant to the chief warrior in his duties, and whenever the chief warrior assigns his duties to you, you shall perform his duties and carry out his instructions." Then Dekanahwideh said: "It is now completed; you have all been assigned your duties. You will now go and search for the smoke and wherever you see smoke you shall go there and when you arrive there you shall see the lord of the settlement, then you shall tell him your message. You will say we were sent here by the lords (Ro-de-ya-ners-onh) who take you by the hand and invite you to the place of meeting. You will say to the lord you will send delegates and on their way to the conference to pass where the lord lives at the big mountain and you shall invite him to accompany you. Then if the lord asks you the place of meeting you shall say, 'by the lake where lives the Great Wizard who calls out in the loud-toned voice.'"

They then separated, the chief warrior and his assistant going on their mission, and Dekanahwideh and Hahyonhwatha going to

their own home settlements, and when Hahyonhwatha had arrived home he said, "Everything is now completed and we shall (all colleagues) now all go to the conference. You shall therefore all make ready."

The people watched the two volunteer delegates start on their mission and saw them become transformed into high-flyers (a species of hawk)¹ and they arose high in the air and soared southward and when they descended and alighted near the settlement they were retransformed and proceeded to the village.² Here they inquired the abode of the lord, and they were conducted to him and when they had arrived they saw a man. Then the chief warrior asked: "Are you the lord?"

And he answered and said: "I am. Are you seeking for me?"

The chief warrior then said: "Yes, truly we are looking for you."

Then the lord said: "I will now ask you upon what mission have you come here."

Then the chief warrior said: "We are sent by the lords (Rodeyanersonh) who invite you to go to the meeting place of the conference, and you are to take your power with you" (meaning peaceful intent). "You shall therefore invite the lord who lives on the great mountain to accompany you."

Then the lord spoke and said, "Where shall we meet in conference," and the chief warrior answered and said, "By the lake."

Then the lord said: "I have known about this for a long time. I shall therefore now accept your message." Then he took his pipe and said: "When I finish smoking I shall attend the conference" and the chief warrior and his assistant saw the pipe which was an exceedingly large one and larger than any pipe which they had ever seen before. They then returned to their own settlement and when they had returned Ohdahtshedeh asked, "Did you discover the smoke?" Then the chief warrior answered and said: "Everything is right, all is well, and we have discovered the object which you desired; when we saw the smoke we went there and when we arrived we found the lord and we repeated to him fully all our message, and when he had heard all, he answered and said, 'I had known about this for a long time, and knew that I was required to attend the great conference and I now therefore accept and

¹ The two birds into which the messengers were transformed were Hă'goks' and Skadjie'na.

² To the Cayuga capitol town. The Cayuga have the council name of Sononawendo'na, Great Pipe People.

approve the message.' He promised to pass on his way to the conference, the settlement at the great mountain,¹ and the people there are to accompany him to the conference."

Then Ohdahtshedeh said: "It is now time that Hahyonhwatha should return, and as soon as he returns we shall at once go to the conference."

Dekanahwideh himself had also gone to the settlement of the great mountain and when he had arrived at the abode of the lord of the settlement he said: "It is now very urgent that you should reply to the message which I have left here before."

The lord answered and said: "The chief warrior and his deputy have failed to unanimously agree with me to accept the message of Good Tidings of Peace and Power, and I am now bewildered and I am at loss to discover any course which might lead me to overcome this difficulty. The reason why we are thus placed is that the chief warrior and his deputy, who have the power and the control of the people, have disagreed with us to accept the message."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "That which has occurred with you will not make a difference. The reason why it will not make any difference is that you, being the lord, have accepted the message. You are not alone, for they are many who have now accepted the message and they will assist you to successfully consider the difficulty in which you are placed."

Then moreover Dekanahwideh said: "You will now notify the brother lord whose abode is on the *other side of the river*² that it is now urgent for him to come over the river, so that we might meet together here." Then the lord sent a messenger to notify the lord, whose abode was on the other side of the river, and shortly after the lord arrived at the appointed place.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We have now all met together. I will therefore ask your mind."

Then the lord who had come from over the river spoke and said: "We lords on either side of the river have decided to accept your message which you left. The only difficulty which we have now to contend with is that our chief warrior and his deputy have failed to agree with us to accept the message, and they have the power to control the people, and we lords on either side of the

¹ The Seneca capitol. The Senecas were divided into two bands, one of which seems to have been allied with the Erie.

² Probably the Genesee river. "The other lord" means the chief of the trans-Genesee Seneca.

river are totally bewildered and fail to see a way out of the difficulty.”¹

Then Dekanahwideh said: “I now fully understand everything and I will encourage you with reference to this matter which has occurred to you. You are not alone for many have accepted the message of Good Tidings of Peace and Power. Therefore, owing to that which has occurred to you, you (the lord) whose abode is on this east side of the river and to whom the message first came shall be known in the land by the name of Ska-nya-dah-ri-yoh,² and you, the lord who came from over the river who has agreed in mind with your colleague on this side of the river, shall be called in the land by the name of Sa-denka-ronh-yes.”³

Then Dekanahwideh also said: “This is now complete! Now it is for you to make ready, for in a little while a man will come whom you will accompany to the conference.” They then in the distance heard the man call, “A-soh-kek-ne——eh,” meaning “It is not yet.”

Then Hahyonhwatha distinctly heard where he was. Then Hahyonhwatha said to his colleague: “The time is now come when we should go to the conference.” They then started to go to the place appointed for the conference and they arrived at the place where the log (the Lord Ohdahtshedeh) was lying across the path.

Ohdahtshedeh said: “We have been impatiently waiting for we have heard the man calling with a loud voice now for a long time. It is at the place appointed for the meeting of the conference.”

Then Hahyonhwatha said: “Let us now proceed to the conference.” They then went to the conference. Then Dekanahwideh said, “I shall now return to my abode and we shall all meet at the place appointed for the conference.” Then the Lords Deh-ka-eh-yonh, Ji-non-dah-weh-hon⁴ and Dyon-yonh-koh came from their settlement and when they arrived at the abode of Skanyadahriyoh, they said that the lords had decided and arranged that all should call here on their way to the conference and that they were to invite all to accompany them.

¹ The difficulties of the Senecas are related in all versions of this tradition. Two separate bodies of the Senecas are described in nearly all stories of the origin of the league.

² Ganiodai'io' (Seneca), Handsome Lake.

³ Sadegai'yēs (Onondaga), or Dyādegaihyēs.

⁴ Djinondawē'ho'.

Then Skanyadariyoh said: "We are ready now and we have been waiting for a long time."

They then journeyed on their way to the conference. Dekanahwideh had arrived at the place of meeting first, and after him arrived Hahyonhwatha, Ohdahtshedeh and their colleagues and shortly afterwards Skanyadariyoh, Dehkaehyonh and their colleagues arrived.

After they had all assembled in conference, Dekanahwideh stood up and said:

"This conference met here composed of four nations being now assembled, you will therefore now first consider what we shall do with reference to a certain woman, our mother, who has not yet arrived." They then considered the matter and they decided that they would proceed with the business on hand and the matter would be in progress when she arrived.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "The first thing we shall do will be to cross over the lake and it shall be Hahyonhwatha and Ohdahtshedeh and Dehkaehyonh and Skanyadariyoh and Sadehkaronyes, who are the rulers with power who shall cross first. If these lords can safely get across the lake and make peace, then you, the whole delegation, can cross. Therefore you shall now watch and you shall see a display of power when they leave the shore in their boat. I shall therefore appoint Hahyonhwatha to guide the boat."

They then entered the boat and he (Dekanahwideh) stood in front of the boat and Hahyonhwatha sat in the stern and the rest of the lords then noticed that the boat was made of white marble. Then they embarked in this boat from the shore and they had not proceeded far on their journey when they heard a voice calling out, "A-soh-kek-ne——eh," and as soon as this voice had called out a strong wind arose and caused the lake to become very rough and troubled and great billows¹ formed upon its surface and more especially around the boat. Then those in the boat became frightened and said: "We are now going to die," but Dekanahwideh spoke and said: "There is no danger because Peace has prevailed."

Then Dekanahwideh further said to the wind and lake, "Be thou quiet, Gā-hä",² and rest." Then the wind and the roughness of the lake ceased. They had not gone much farther when the man across the lake called out "Asohkekne——eh," and then the wind and roughness of the lake became still more violent. Then again

¹ The lake was troubled because certain ceremonial words were spoken, making it become alive.

² The Wind God.

Dekanahwideh said: "You, the wind and the lake, be still, for we have not crossed the water yet." Then again the lake became calm. Then Hahyonhwatha began to paddle hard and the boat went so swiftly that when they reached the shore, the boat plowed deeply into the dry land on the shore bank.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We will now get out of the boat for we have now arrived at the place where we desire to go." Then he got out and the other lords followed him and they continued on their journey and they had only gone a short distance when they beheld a man sitting on a high, round knoll and when they arrived where he was sitting they stood all around him and Dekanahwideh stood directly in front of him, then he spoke and said: "We have now arrived, we representing the four nations. You will therefore now answer the message which we have left here with you. These lords who now stand all around you have now accepted the Good Tidings of Peace and Power, which signifies that hereafter the shedding of human blood shall cease, for our Creator the Great Ruler never intended that man should engage in any such work as the destruction of human life. There are many who have perished in the direction you are now facing, and these lords have come to induce you to join them so that the shedding of human blood might cease and the Good Tidings of Peace and Power might prevail."

Then the man looked around and saw these men (the lords) standing all around him, but he did not answer but kept silent. Then these lords looked at his head while he was sitting on the ground and they saw his hair moving as if it were all alive and they saw that the movements of the hair greatly resembled that of serpents, and they looked at his hands and saw that his fingers were twisting and contorting continually in all directions and in all manner of shapes, and they became impatient because he would not answer the message.

Then Dekanahwideh said to Hahyonhwatha: "You shall now recross the lake and the chief warrior and De-ha-rih-ho-ken and Dyon-yonh-koh and our mother Ji-kon-sah-seh, shall accompany you back in the boat (when you return here)."

Then the man who was sitting on the ground smiled a little. Then Hahyonhwatha hurriedly went back and reembarked in the boat and recrossed the lake and when he had come to shore on the other side of the lake, they asked what had occurred.

Hahyonhwatha answered and said: "It is not yet complete, I have therefore come after the chief warrior, De-ha-rih-ho-ken and

Dyon-yonh-koh and our mother Ji-kon-sah-seh,"¹ and they answered him and said: "She has now arrived."

Then all those whom he had named got into the boat. Then Hahyonhwatha said: "You will take as a sign that if we can get across the lake in safety and the lake remains calm all the way across then our message of peace will be accepted." They then embarked on the lake² and the boat was rapidly propelled and as they looked at the lake they saw that it was calm all the way across and they arrived on to the shore in safety, and when they had returned to where the man was sitting, Hahyonhwatha said, "Everything is completed, we are now all assembled here."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We shall now first give thanks to the Great Ruler. We will do this because our power is now completed." He also said: "It shall be that each nation shall now have a voice in the thanksgiving and I shall therefore be the first to lead. He then exclaimed "Yo——hen!"

Then Ohdahtshedeh also repeated "Yo——hen" and after him followed Dehkaehyonh who also repeated "Yo——hen." The next in order was Skanyadahriyoh who also repeated "Yo——hen" and after him Hahyonhwatha repeated "Yo——hen."

When Dekanahwideh started to address this man, the man became troubled and after all of the lords finished addressing the man his sympathy was affected and he shed tears. Then Dekanahwideh said: "We, the delegates of all the nations who have accepted the Good Tidings of Peace and Power, are now assembled here.

"The course, therefore, that we shall now pursue is that of the representatives of each nation giving utterance to their opinion upon this matter."

Ohdahtshedeh was the first to address the assembly and he said: "I shall be the first to give utterance to my opinion upon this matter. In my opinion this man may approve of our mission if we all lay our heads before him." (This means that the nations here represented would be submissive to this man Tha-do-dah-ho).

Then Dekanahwideh and Skanyadahriyoh spoke and said: "We acquiesce to all that Ohdahtshedeh has said."

Then Dekanahwideh said to Thadodahho: "Now you will answer and state if you are satisfied with the submission of these

¹ Djikon'sase is a character who should be better known in Iroquois mythology. There are several traditions about her, in the various events of Iroquois tradition. The name passed as a title from one generation to another.

² Mud Lake, or Diok'to, Otisco Lake.

lords who have laid their heads before you," but even then Thadodah-ho did not answer.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You Dyon-yonh-koh will now give utterance and express your opinion on this matter, as you now have the authority."

Then Dyon-yonh-koh spoke and said to Thadodah-ho: "The Creator, the Great Ruler, created this day which is now shedding its light upon us; he also created man and he also created the earth and all things upon it. Now look up and see the delegates of the Four Nations sitting around you, also see the chief warrior and this great woman our mother (Jiknosahseh), standing before you, all of whom have approved of this message. The lords and all the chief warriors and this great woman, our mother, have all agreed to submit the Good Tidings of Peace and Power to you, and thus if you approve and confirm the message, you will have the power and be the Fire-Keeper of our Confederate Council, and the smoke from it will arise and pierce the sky, and all the nations shall be subject to you."

Then the twisting movements of the fingers and the snakelike movements of the hair of Thadodahho ceased.

Then he spoke and said: "It is well. I will now answer the mission which brought you here. I now truly confirm and accept your message, the object of which brought you here."

THE DEER'S HORNS THE EMBLEM OF POWER

Then Dakanahwideh said: "We have now accomplished our work and completed everything that was required with the exception of shaping and transforming him (by rubbing him down), removing the snake-like hair from him and circumcising him."

The lords therefore all took part in doing this and Ohdahtshedeh was the first to rub down Thadodahho and the others followed his example so that the appearance of Thaddodahho might be like that of other men.

When this had been done then Dekanahwideh again said: "You, the chief warrior, and you, our mother, you have the control of the power (the authority), and we will now put upon him a sign, by placing upon his head the horns of a buck deer. The reason why we do this is because all people live upon the flesh of the deer, and the reason that we take the emblem of the deer horns is that this institution, the Great Peace, shall be the means of protecting our children hereafter."

Then Dekanahwideh also said: "We shall now use these symbolic deer's horns by placing them upon the heads of each other. It shall be thus then that these horns shall be placed upon the head of a man who shall be called a lord by his people—he shall have the power to rule his people." Then Dekanahwideh further said: "And now you, the chief warrior and our mother, shall place these horns upon the head of him, Thadodahho."

Then they looked and saw antlers lying on the ground in the midst of them, and Dekanahwideh said: "Pick these horns up and put them upon him." Then the mother went forward and picked them up. Then the chief warrior and the woman each grasped the horns and placed them on his head.

Then Dekanahwideh said to the man who was still sitting on the ground: "Now arise," and the man stood up.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You, the nations who are assembled here, behold this man who stands up before us. We have now placed the deer's horns upon his head as an emblem of authority. The people shall now call him Lord Tha-do-dah-ho, in the land." Then Dekanahwideh said: "It shall now, in the future among us, the United Nations, thus be a custom that whenever a lord is to be created we shall all unite in a ceremony (such as this)."

POSITIONS OF THE CONFEDERATE LORDS

Then Dekanahwideh said: "Skanyadahriyoh and Sadehkarohyehs shall be the uncles of Dehkaehyonh. We have now formed the confederacy, and we shall now have two sets of lords, one on each side of the council fire.

"Then also Hahyonhwatha and Ohdahtshedeh, father and son, shall sit and face each other, one on each side of the council fire.

"Then Skanyadahriyoh and Sadehkaronhyes shall sit on one side of the council fire and their nephew Dehkaehyonh shall sit on the opposite side.

"On one side of the council fire shall then be seated Hayonhwatha, Skanyadahriyoh and Sadehkaronhyes and on the opposite side shall sit Ohdahtshedeh and Dehkaehyonh and it shall be that we shall place Thadodahho in the center between the two sets of lords in the council.

We shall establish this relationship as follows: You, Thadodahho, shall be the father of Ohdahtshedeh and Dehkaehyonh and Hahyonhwatha, Skanyadahriyoh and Sadehkaronhyes shall be your brothers and you shall be the principals of the confederation which we have just made and completed.

"The first matter which I shall lay before you for your consideration is that as clans¹ are already established among the people, that the several clans form relations as brothers and cousins.

So the lords answered and said: "We have decided to adopt your suggestion."

Then he, Dekanahwideh said: "You, Hahyonhwatha, shall be the first to come and appoint your colleagues; you are of the Turtle Clan and shall therefore appoint your colleagues of the same clan."

Then when this was done Hahyonhwatha said: "This is now all ready, they have accepted and they are as follows: De-ha-rih-ho-ken, Sa-de-ka-rih-wa-deh."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "These shall therefore be your brother colleagues, you of the Turtle Clan. The brethern of the Wolf Clan shall be Sa-renh-ho-wa-neh,² De-yon-heh-kon³ and On-renh-reh-ko-wah⁴ and our cousins of the Bear Clan⁵ shall be De-hen-nah-ke-re-neh,⁶ Ah-stah-weh-seh-ron-ron-tha⁷ and Soh-sko-ha-roh-wa-neh."⁸

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You, Hahyonhwatha, have now completed appointing your colleagues of your nation, as the Good Tidings of Peace and Power first originated at Kan-yen-geh, you shall be called Ka-nyen-geh-ha-kah⁹ (Mohawk)."

Then Dekanahwideh said to Hahyonhwatha: "Now it shall fall upon your son Ohdahtshedeh who sits upon the opposite side of the council fire to appoint his brother colleagues." Then Ohdahtshedeh appointed his brother colleagues of the Turtle Clan as follows: So-non-sehs¹⁰ (Long House), Tho-nahonh-ken-ah¹¹ and A-tye-donj-eneh-tha.¹² And then he, Ta-na-o-ge-a, appointed his cousins of the Bear Clan as follows: Deh-ha-da-weh-de-yons,¹³ Deh-ha-nyen-da-sah-deh¹⁴ and Roh-wa-tsha-don-hon.¹⁵ These being the

¹ In some traditions the origin of the clans is stated as coeval with the beginning of the Confederacy; the more accurate view is that clans had long existed.

² Saihowa'ne.

³ Dionhekwi.

⁴ Orhehe'gowa.

⁵ Hodigwaho'.

⁶ Dehenagai'ne', Dragging horns.

⁷ Hastame'sēntā', Dropped rattle.

⁸ Soskohai'ine'.

⁹ Kanyēngēhākā, Flint people; cf. kanyēngē', flinty place.

¹⁰ Sono's'es.

¹¹ Tonaoge'n'ā.

¹² Hadyā'donent'ha, Swallows his own body.

¹³ Dehadaho'dēnyonk.

¹⁴ Dehanye'dāsāyēn', Two legs together.

¹⁵ Howashado'nonkho'.

second nation who accepted the message of Peace and Power and as their settlement (from whence they came) was where the great historic stone was situated, O-neh-yont; they were called O-neh-yodeh-ha-ka.¹ (Oneidas).

Then Dekanahwideh said: "It shall now rest with you, the uncles, Skanyadahriyoh and Sadehkaronhyes, to appoint your colleagues." Then Skanyadahriyoh said: "I (myself) shall appoint two of my brothers and my cousin, Sa-deh-ka-ronh-yes, shall appoint two of his brethern." Then Skanyadahriyoh of the Turtle Clan also said: "I therefore now appoint Ka-no-kye² of the Turtle Clan and Sa-tye-na-wat³ of the Bear Clan as my colleagues."

Then Sa-deh-ka-ronh-yes of the Snipe clan said: "I now appoint Sa-ken-jo-wah-neh⁴ of the Pigeon Hawk Clan and Nis-ha-yeh-nehs⁵ of the Snipe Clan as my colleagues."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You have all appointed your colleagues and Kanokye⁶ and Sakenhiwahneh⁷ shall be cousins, and Nishayehnehs and Satyenawat⁸ shall be cousins." He then said, "You, Skanyadahriyoh and Sadehkaronhyes of the Seneca Nation, have now completed appointing your colleagues. Your settlement is at the big mountain and you shall therefore be called O-neh-dowah-ka⁹ (people of the big mountain) Senecas."

Then Dekanahwideh also said: "And now your son Deh-ka-eh-yonh,¹⁰ who sits on the opposite side of the council fire, shall name and appoint his colleagues."

Then Dehkaehyonh of the Big Bear Clan appointed his colleagues, saying as follows: "I shall now appoint my son Ji-non-dah-weh-honh¹¹ of the Ball Clan and my mother Ka-da-gwa-seh¹² of the Bear Clan and my brother Sho-yonh-wehs¹³ of the Young Bear Clan and Hathatrohneh¹⁴ of the Turtle Clan, Dyon-yonh-koh¹⁵ of the Hand Clan, and Deh-yoh-doh-weh-kon¹⁶ of the Wolf Clan, and

¹ Onāyont, or Hadiniyutgä".

² Ga'noṅgǎi'.

³ Sadyē'awat.

⁴ Sagendjo'nä.

⁵ Nishayene'thā'.

⁶ Ga'noṅgǎ-i'.

⁷ Gakē'iwane'.

⁸ Sadyē'awat.

⁹ Onundawāga. Nundawā'g'g, The hill people.

¹⁰ De'hagǎ'e'yok.

¹¹ Djinon'dāwē'hon.

¹² Kadāgwā'dji.

¹³ Sho'yoñwēs, Long wind.

¹⁴ Ha-tha'troh-ne'.

¹⁵ Dion'yoñko'.

¹⁶ Diotowē'kon, Two colds.

Dyon-weh-thoh¹ of the Snipe Clan. These are the brother colleagues.

Then Deh-ka-eh-yonh appointed the cousin of the chief so named as follows: Nah-don-dah-heh-ha² of the Plover Clan and Des-da-heh³ of the Young Bear Clan.

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You, Deh-ka-eh-yonh⁴ of the Cayuga Nation, have now finished appointing your colleagues and you shall therefore be called Queh-you-gwe-hah-ka⁵ (Cayuga) from your custom of portaging your canoe at a certain point in your settlement."

Then Dekanahwideh also said: "I shall now leave it to you, Tha-do-dah-ho, to appoint your colleagues."

Then Thadodahho of the Bear Clan said: "The first I shall appoint will be Onh-neh-sah-heh,⁶ my cousin of the Beaver Clan, and Ska-nya-da-ge-wak⁷ of the Snipe Clan and Ah-weh-ken-yath⁸ of the Ball Clan and Deh-ha-yat-kwa-eh⁹ of the Turtle Clan, and these are all brothers."

Then Thadodahho appointed their son, Ho-noh-we-yeh-deh¹⁰ of the Wolf Clan, and then Thadodahho appointed his (Ho-noh-we-yeh-dehs) uncles as follows: Kon-weh-neh-senh-don of the Deer Clan and Ha-he-honk also of the Deer Clan and then their brothers as follows: Ho-yonh-nye-neh¹¹ of the Eel Clan and So-deh-kwa-seh¹² also of the Eel Clan and Sa-ko-ken-o-heh¹³ of the Pigeon Hawk Clan, and then he (Thadodahha) appointed the sons of the latter as follows: Ho-sah-ha-wa¹⁴ of the Deer Clan and Ska-nah-o-wa-da¹⁵ of the Small Turtle Clan.

Then Dekanahwideh spoke and said: "We have now come to appointing the lords of the Five Nations hereby represented. These lords have now all been crowned with deer's horns in conformity and in a similar manner to Thadodahho who was first crowned. Therefore we have now accomplished and completed the work of laying the foundation of the confederation."

¹ Dionwāthon".

² Nadondahē'hā'.

³ Desgā'hē'.

⁴ De'hagā'eⁿyok.

⁵ Gw^{lio}gwehā'ka, drawn up from the water people.

⁶ Oni'sāāhā'.

⁷ Skanyā'dadji'wak, Bitter throat.

⁸ Aweken'yat, Near the shore.

⁹ Dehayatgwa iēⁿ. Red spots on wings.

¹⁰ Honowiyē'ghī.

¹¹ Hoyoⁿnyēⁿni'.

¹² Sodē'gwāsēⁿ, Bruised all over.

¹³ Sāgogēⁿhē', I shall see them again.

¹⁴ Hosāhāhwi.

¹⁵ Skanawā'di.

PACIFICATION OF THE SENECA CHIEFS

Then Dekanahwideh spoke again and said: "I will now lay before your confederate council for your consideration one matter, and that is with reference to the conduct of the chief warriors of O-non-do-wa-ka (Senecas) who have refused to act in conjunction (or accord) with the lords in accepting the message of Good Tidings of Peace and Power."

Then the lords sent messengers for these two chief warriors of the Onondowaka (Senecas) to appear. And when they had come to the council, Lord Hahyonhwatha addressed these two chief warriors and said: "This Confederate Council now in session, together with their warriors, have unanimously accepted the message of Peace and Power and only you two chief warriors have not yet accepted and neither have expressed yourselves on this matter." Then Hayonhwatha further said: "This Confederate Council and their chief warriors have unanimously decided to leave all the war power and military control of the people in your hands providing you accept the message so that in case of war with other nations you shall be the leaders of the people of the Confederate Nations in defense of their confederacy." Then one of these two warriors spoke and said: "We are agreed to accept the message."

Then Dekanahwideh continued his address and said: "Now our power is full and complete and the two chief warriors of the Onondowaka (Senecas) have agreed to accept the message of Good Tidings; therefore we shall now add to the number of the lords of the confederacy (Eh-ji-twa-nah-stah-soh-de-renh),¹ we shall call it Ka-na-stah-ge-ko-wah² and these two chief warriors shall represent the door of the long house. Ka-noh-hah-ge-ko-wah,³ meaning *the great black door through which all good and evil messages must come to reach the confederate house of lords or council*, shall be the name of the door, and if any person or nation has any news, message or business matter to lay before the Confederate Council, he or they must come through this door."

Then Dekanahwideh again further said, "We shall now crown these two chief warriors with deer's horns⁴ and make them lords also. We shall now first crown with deer's horns Deyohneohkaweh⁵ of the Wolf Clan and then we shall also crown Kanonkedahwe⁶

¹ Nedjitwanastashoñdä'.

² Kana'stadjigō'wa, Black timbers.

³ Kanohwa'gēgo'na.

⁴ Skāno^odo^oonā'gā, Deer horns.

⁵ Deyoñehogā'wē', Open door.

⁶ Kano'gida'hwi', Hair burned off.



Reciting the Laws of the Confederacy

From an engraving in Laftau's, Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains, published in 1724

of the Snipe Clan and these two shall be cousins and they shall guard the door of the long house.¹ And we shall now floor the doorway with slippery elm bark, and it shall be that whenever we have visitors from other nations who will have any message or any business to lay before the Confederate Council, these two door-keepers shall escort and convey them before the council, but whenever the visitor or visitors have come for evil purposes, then Kanonkedahwe shall take them by the hand and lead them in and they shall slip on the slippery elm bark and fall down and they shall be reduced to a heap of bones (He-yoh-so-jo-de-hah² in Onondaga language; Ehyohdonyohdaneh in Mohawk), and the bones of the enemy shall fall into a heap before the lords of the confederacy." (A heap of bones here signifies a conquered nation to be dealt with by the lords of the confederacy who shall decide as to what manner they will be allowed to exist in the future.)

LAWS OF THE CONFEDERACY

Then Dekanahwideh again said: "We have completed the Confederation of the Five Nations, now therefore it shall be that hereafter the lords who shall be appointed in the future to fill vacancies caused by death or removals shall be appointed from the same families and clans from which the first lords were created, and from which families the hereditary title of lordships shall descend."

Then Dekanahwideh further said: "I now transfer and set over to the women who have the lordships' title vested in them, that they shall in the future have the power to appoint the successors from time to time to fill vacancies caused by death or removals from whatever cause."

Then Dekanahwideh continued and said: "We shall now build a confederate council fire³ from which the smoke shall arise and pierce the skies and all nations and people shall see this smoke. And now to you, Thadodahho, your brother and cousin colleagues shall be left the care and protection of the confederate council fire, by the Confederate Nations."

¹ The term "long house" as applied to the confederacy is not generally used by the Canadian Iroquois in their manuscript copies of the confederate laws and legends. A mistaken notion that the long house idea originated with Handsome Lake accounts for it. Newhouse used the term "long house" in his earlier manuscripts but later erased it supplying the word "confederacy." He explained this by saying that he had heard an old man say that long house meant Handsome Lake's new religion, the thing that destroyed the knowledge of the old ways. Thus the term was tabooed in connection with the confederacy.

² En'yosodjodä'ha.

³ Gadiista'ien'.

Then Dekanahwideh further said: "The lords have unanimously decided to spread before you on the ground this great white wampum belt Ska-no-dah-ken-rah-ko-wah¹ and Ka-yah-ne-renh-ko-wah,² which respectfully signify purity and great peace, and the lords have also laid before you this great wing, Ska-weh-yeh-seh-ko-wah,³ and whenever any dust or stain of any description falls upon the great belt of white wampum, then you shall take this great wing and sweep it clean." (Dust or stain means evil of any description which might have a tendency to cause trouble in the Confederate Council.)

Then Dekanahwideh said: "The lords of this confederacy have unanimously decided to lay by you this rod (Ska-nah-ka-res)⁴ and whenever you see any creeping thing which might have a tendency to harm our grandchildren or see a thing creeping toward the great white wampum belt (meaning the Great Peace), then you shall take this rod and pry it away with it, and if you and your colleagues fail to pry the creeping, evil thing out, you shall then call out loudly that all the Confederate Nations may hear and they will come immediately to your assistance."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "Now you, the lords of the several Confederate Nations, shall divide yourselves and sit on opposite sides of the council fire as follows: "You and your brother colleagues shall sit on one side of the council fire (this was said to the Mohawks and the Senecas), and your sons, the Oneidas and Cayugas, shall sit on the opposite side of the council fire. Thus you will begin to work and carry out the principles of the Great Peace (Ka-yah-ne-renh-ko-wah) and you will be guided in this by the great white wampum belt (Ska-no-dah-ke-rah-ko-wah) which signifies Great Peace."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You, Thadodahho, shall be the fire keeper, and your duty shall be to open the Confederate Council with praise and thanksgiving to the Great Ruler and close the same."

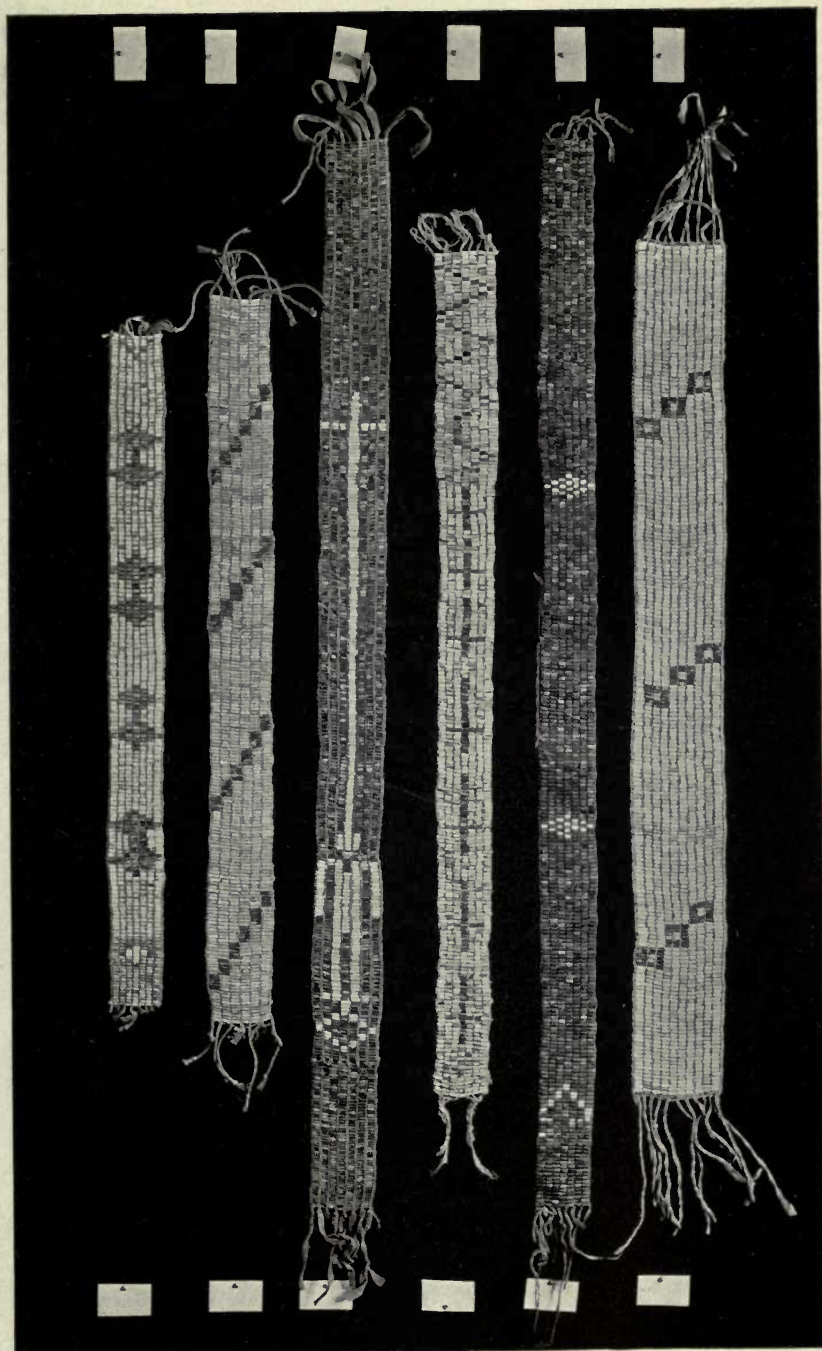
Then Dekanahwideh also said: "When the council is opened, Hayonhwatha and his colleagues shall be the first to consider and give their opinion upon any subject which may come before the council for consideration, and when they have arrived at a decision, then shall they transfer the matter to their brethren, the Senecas, for their consideration, and when they, the Senecas, shall have

¹ Skanon'dă'kerhagona.

² Gayanăsshăgona (Onon.).

³ Another belt known as the great wing, Dega'yado'wa'ne (Onon.).

⁴ Ganagă'is.



Commemoration belts of the Five Nations recording events and alliances

arrived at a decision on the matter then they shall refer it back to Hahyonhwatha and his colleagues. Then Hahyonhwatha will announce the decision to the opposite side of the council fire.

"Then Ohdahtshede and his colleagues will consider the matter in question and when they have arrived at a decision they will refer the matter to their brethren, the Cayugas, for their consideration and after they have arrived at a decision, they will refer the matter back to Ohdahtshede and his colleagues. Then Ohdahtshede will announce their decision to the opposite side of the council fire. Then Hahyonhwatha will refer the matter to Thadodahho and his colleagues for their careful consideration and opinion of the matter in question and if Thadodahho and his colleagues find that the matter has not been well considered or decided, then they shall refer the matter back again to the two sides of the council fire, and they shall point out where, in their estimation, the decision was faulty and the question not fully considered, and then the two sides of the council will take up the question again and reconsider the matter, and after the two sides of the council have fully reconsidered the question, then Hahyonhwatha will again refer it to Thadodahho and his colleagues, then they will again consider the matter and if they see that the decision of the two sides of the council is correct, then Thadodahho and his colleagues will confirm the decision."

Then Dekanahwideh further said: "If the brethren of the Mohawks and the Senecas are divided in their opinion and can not agree on any matter which they may have for their consideration, then Hahyonhwatha shall announce the two decisions to the opposite of the council fire. Then Ohdahtshede and his brother colleagues, after they have considered the matter, and if they also are divided in their decision, shall so report, but if the divided factions each agree with the decision announced from the opposite side of the council, then Ohdahtshede shall also announce their two decisions to the other side of the council fire; then Hahyonhwatha shall refer the matter to Thadodahho and his colleagues who are the fire keepers. They will fully consider the matter and whichever decision they consider correct they will confirm."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "If it should so happen that the lords of the Mohawks and the lords of the Senecas disagree on any matter and also on the opposite side of the council fire, the lords of the Oneidas and the lords of the Cayugas disagree among themselves and do not agree with either of the two decisions of the

opposite side of the council fire but of themselves give two decisions which are diverse from each other, then Hahyonhwatha shall refer the four decisions to Thadodahho and his colleagues who shall consider the matter and give their decision and their decision shall be final."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We have now completed the system for our Confederate Council."

Then Dekanahwideh further said: "We now, each nation, shall adopt all the rules and regulations governing the Confederate Council which we have here made and we shall apply them to all our respective settlements and thereby we shall carry out the principles set forth in the message of Good Tidings of Peace and Power, and in dealing with the affairs of our people of the various dominions, thus we shall secure to them contentment and happiness."

Then he, Dekanahwideh, said: "You, Ka-nyen-ke-ha-ka (Mohawk), you, Dekarihoken, Hahyonhwatha and Sadekarihwareh, you shall sit in the middle between your brother lords of the Mohawks, and your cousin lords of the Mohawks, and all matters under discussion shall be referred to you by your brother lords and your cousin lords for your approval or disapproval.

"You, O-nen-do-wa-ka (Senecas), you, Skanyhadahriyoh and Sadeh-ka-ronh-yes, you shall sit in the middle or between your brother lords and your cousin lords of the Senecas and all matters under discussion shall be referred to you by them for your approval or disapproval.

"You, Ohnenyohdehaka (Oneidas), you, Ohdahtshede, Kanonkweyoudoh and Deyouhahkwede, you shall sit in the middle between your brother lords and your cousin lords of the Oneidas and all matters under discussion shall be referred to you by them for your approval or disapproval.

"You, the Que-yen-kwe-ha-ka (Cayugas), you, Dekahyonh and Jinondahwehonh, you shall sit in the middle between your lords and your cousin lords of the Cayugas and all matters under discussion shall be referred to you by them for your approval or disapproval."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We have now completed arranging the system of our local councils and we shall hold our annual Confederate Council at the settlement of Thadodahho, the capitol or seat of government of the Five Nations' Confederacy."

Dekanahwideh said: "Now I and you lords of the Confederate Nations shall plant a tree Ska-renj-heh-se-go-wah¹ (meaning a tall

¹ Skarhehē" gowa.

and mighty tree) and we shall call it Jo-ne-rak-deh-ke-wah¹ (the tree of the great long leaves).

"Now this tree which we have planted shall shoot forth four great, long, white roots (Jo-doh-ra-ken-rah-ko-wah).² These great, long, white roots shall shoot forth one to the north and one to the south and one to the east and one to the west, and we shall place on the top of it Oh-don-yonh³ (an eagle) which has great power of long vision, and we shall transact all our business beneath the shade of this great tree. The meaning of planting this great tree, Skarehhehsegowah, is to symbolize Ka-yah-ne-renh-ko-wa, which means Great Peace, and Jo-deh-ra-ken-rah-ke-wah, meaning Good Tidings of Peace and Power. The nations of the earth shall see it and shall accept and follow the roots and shall follow them to the tree and when they arrive here you shall receive them and shall seat them in the midst of your confederacy. The object of placing an eagle, Skadjí'enă', on the top of the great, tall tree is that it may watch the roots which extend to the north and to the south and to the east and to the west, and whose duty shall be to discover if any evil is approaching your confederacy, and he shall scream loudly and give the alarm and all the nations of the confederacy at once shall heed the alarm and come to the rescue."

Then Dekanahwideh again said: "We shall now combine our individual power into one great power which is this confederacy and we shall therefore symbolize the union of these powers by each nation contributing one arrow, which we shall tie up together in a bundle which, when it is made and completely tied together, no one can bend or break."

Then Dekanahwideh further said: "We have now completed this union by securing one arrow from each nation. It is not good that one should be lacking or taken from the bundle, for it would weaken our power and it would be still worse if two arrows were taken from the bundle. And if three arrows were taken any one could break the remaining arrows in the bundle."

Then Dekanahwideh continued his address and said: "We shall tie this bundle of arrows together with deer sinew which is strong, durable and lasting and then also this institution shall be strong and unchangeable. This bundle of arrows signifies that all the lords and all the warriors and all the women of the Confederacy have become united as one person."

¹ Onă'dedjisko'na skaskohăi'nă', Big long leaves, big limber tree.

² Djok'dehësgo'na.

³ The "upper world eagle" is called skadjí'enă'.

Then Dekanahwideh again said: "We have now completed binding this bundle of arrows and we shall leave it beside the great tree (Skarehhehsegowah) and beside the Confederate Council fire of Thadodahho."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "We have now completed our power so that we the Five Nations' Confederacy shall in the future have one body, one head and one heart."

Then he (Dekanahwideh) further said: "If any evil should befall us in the future, we shall stand or fall united as one man."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "You lords shall be symbolized as trees of the Five Confederate Nations. We therefore bind ourselves together by taking hold of each other's hands firmly and forming a circle so strong that if a tree shall fall prostrate upon it, it could neither shake nor break it, and thus our people and our grandchildren shall remain in the circle in security, peace and happiness. And if any lord who is crowned with the emblem of deer's horns shall break through this circle of unity, his horns shall become fastened in the circle, and if he persists after warning from the chief matron, he shall go through it without his horns and the horns shall remain in the circle, and when he has passed through the circle, he shall no longer be lord, but shall be as an ordinary warrior and shall not be further qualified to fill any office."

Then Dekanahwideh further said: "We have now completed everything in connection with the matter of Peace and Power, and it remains only for us to consider and adopt some measure as to what we shall do with reference to the disposal of the weapons of war which we have taken from our people."

Then the lords considered the latter and decided that the best way which they could adopt with reference to the disposal of the weapons would be to uproot the great tall tree which they had planted and in uprooting the tree a chasm would form so deep that it would come or reach the swift current of the waters under it, into which the weapons of war would be thrown, and they would be borne and swept away forever by the current so that their grandchildren would never see them again. And they then uprooted the great tree and they cast into the chasm all manner of weapons of war which their people had been in the custom of using, and they then replaced the tree in its original position.

Then Dekanahwideh further continued and said: "We have completed clearing away all manner of weapons from the paths of our people."

Then Dekanahwideh continued and said: "We have still one matter left to be considered and that is with reference to the hunting grounds of our people from which they derive their living."

They, the lords, said with reference to this matter: "We shall now do this: We shall only have one dish (or bowl) in which will be placed one beaver's tail and we shall all have coequal right to it, and there shall be no knife in it, for if there be a knife in it, there would be danger that it might cut some one and blood would thereby be shed." (This one dish or bowl signifies that they will make their hunting grounds one common tract and all have a coequal right to hunt within it.¹ The knife being prohibited from being placed into the dish or bowl signifies that all danger would be removed from shedding blood by the people of these different nations of the confederacy caused by differences of the right of the hunting grounds.)

Then Dekanahwideh continued and said: "We have now accomplished and completed forming the great Confederacy of the Five Nations together with adopting rules and regulations in connection therewith."

Then he, Dekanahwideh, continued and said: "I will now leave all matters in the hands of your lords and you are to work and carry out the principles of all that I have just laid before you for the welfare of your people and others, and I now place the power in your hands and to add to the rules and regulations whenever necessary and I now charge each of you lords that you must never seriously disagree among yourselves. You are all of equal standing and of equal power, and if you seriously disagree the consequences will be most serious and this disagreement will cause you to disregard each other, and while you are quarreling with each other, the white panther² (the fire dragon of discord)³ will come and take your rights and privileges away. Then your grandchildren will suffer and be reduced to poverty and disgrace."

Then he, Dekanahwideh, continued and said: "If this should ever occur, whoever can climb a great tree (Skarehhehsegowah) and ascend to the top, may look around over the landscape and will see if there is any way or place to escape to from the calamity of the threatening poverty and disgrace, so that our children may have a home where they may have peace and happiness in their day.

¹ Dio^odowēs'tă', hunting ground.

² Usually translated *lion*.

³ Oshondowēk'gona.

And if it so occurs that he can not see any way or place to escape the calamity, he will then descend the tree. You will then look for a great swamp elm tree (Aka-rah-ji-ko-wah) ¹ and when you have found one with great large roots extending outwards and bracing outwards from the trunk, there you will gather your heads together."

Then Dekanahwideh continued and said: "It will be hard and your grandchildren will suffer hardship. And if it may so occur that the heads of the people of the confederacy shall roll and wander away westward, if such thing should come to pass, other nations shall see your heads rolling and wandering away and they shall say to you, 'You belong to the confederacy, you were a proud and haughty people once,' and they shall kick the heads with scorn, and they shall go on their way, but before they shall have gone far they shall vomit up blood." (Meaning that the confederacy shall still have power enough to avenge their people.)

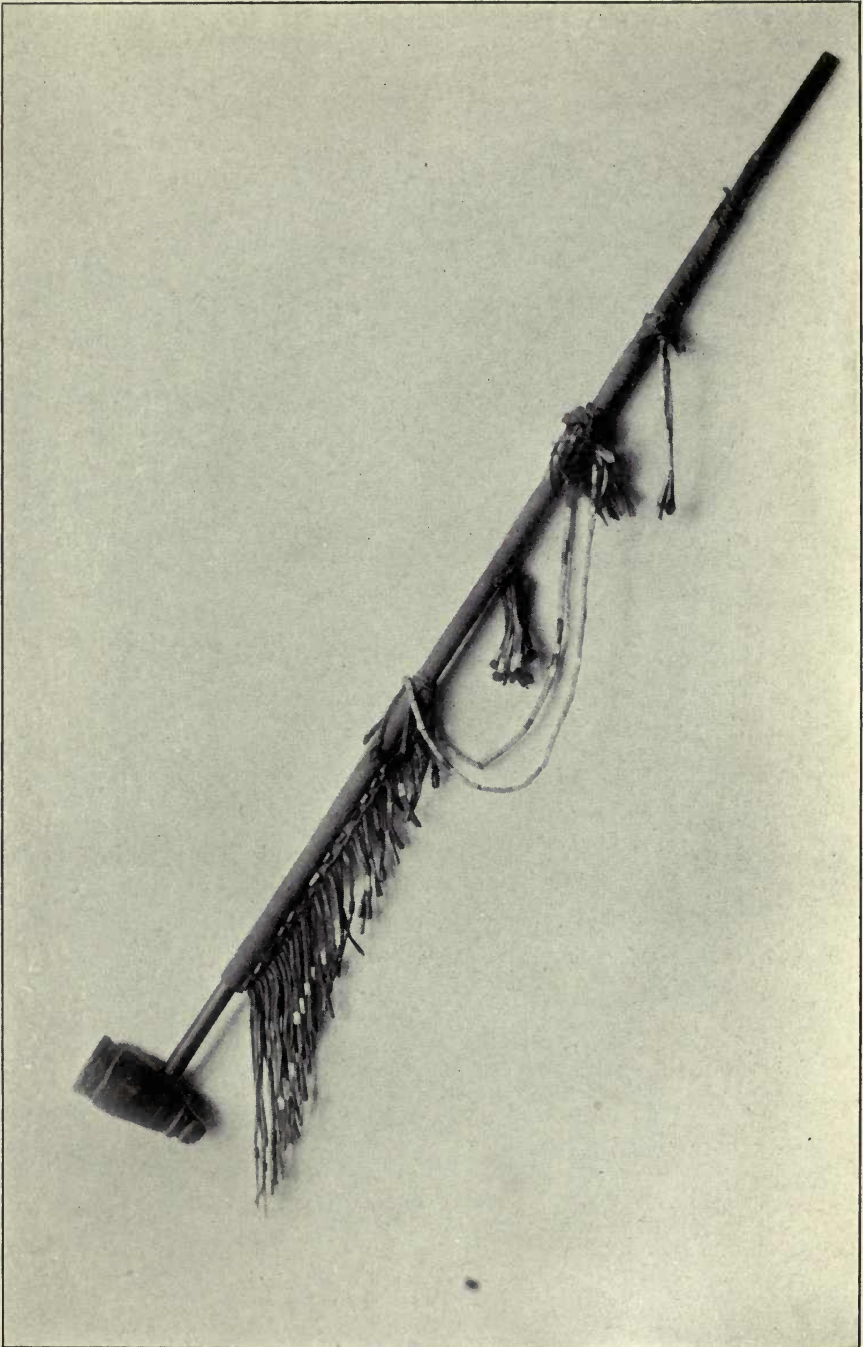
Then Dekanahwideh further said: "There may be another serious trouble. Other nations may cut or hack these four great roots which grow from the great tree which we have planted and one of the roots shoots to the north and one to the south and one to the east and one to the west. Whenever such thing happens, then shall great trouble come into the seat of your lords of the confederacy."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "I shall now therefore charge each of your lords, that your skin be of the thickness of seven spreads of the hands ² (from end of thumb to the end of the great finger) so that no matter how sharp a cutting instrument may be used it will not penetrate the thickness of your skin. (The meaning of the great thickness of your skins is patience and forbearance, so that no matter what nature of question or business may come before you, no matter how sharp or aggravating it may be, it will not penetrate to your skins, but you will forbear with great patience and good will in all your deliberations and never disgrace yourselves by becoming angry.) You lords shall always be guided in all your councils and deliberations by the Good Tidings of Peace and Power."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "Now, you lords of the different nations of the confederacy, I charge you to cultivate the good feeling of friendship, love and honor amongst yourselves. I have now

¹ Gain'dadjikgo'na.

² Djadük'niyionk'gage', seven fingers.



Council pipe used in the ceremonies of raising a civil chief. This pipe was last owned by Albert Cusick, who presented it to the State Museum in 1911.



fulfilled my duty in assisting you in the establishment and organization of this great confederacy, and if this confederation is carefully guarded it shall continue and endure from generation to generation and as long as the sun shines. I shall now, therefore, go home, conceal and cover myself with bark and there shall none other be called by my name."

Then Dekanahwideh further continued and said: "If at any time through the negligence and carelessness of the lords, they fail to carry out the principles of the Good Tidings of Peace and Power and the rules and regulations of the confederacy and the people are reduced to poverty and great suffering, I will return."

Then Dekanahwideh said: "And it shall so happen that when you hear my name mentioned disrespectfully without reason or just cause, but spoken in levity, you shall then know that you are on the verge of trouble and sorrow. And it shall be that the only time when it shall be proper for my name to be mentioned is when the condolence ceremonies are being performed or when the Good Tidings of Peace and Power which I have established and organized are being discussed or rehearsed."

Then the lords (Ro-de-ya-ner-shoh) said: "We shall begin to work and carry out the instructions which you, Dekanahwideh, have laid before us."

Then they said: "We shall therefore begin first with the Confederate Council of the Five Nations and other nations who shall accept and come under the Great Law of the confederacy will become as props, supports of the long house.

"The pure white wampum strings shall be the token or emblem of the council fire, and it shall be that when the fire keepers shall open the council, he shall pick up this string of wampum and hold it on his hand while he is offering thanksgiving to the Great Ruler and opening the council." And then they also said: "That while the council is in session the strings of the white wampum should be placed conspicuously in their midst and when they should adjourn then, the fire keepers should pick up these strings of wampum again, offer thanksgiving, close the council and all business in connection with the council should then be adjourned."

Then they said: "We shall now establish as a custom that when our annual Confederate Council shall meet we shall smoke the pipe of peace."¹

¹ Swě^{no}"āndwahē'n'.

And they, the lords, then said: "We shall now proceed to define the obligations and position of the lords of the Confederacy as follows:

"If a lord is found guilty of wilful murder, he shall be deposed without the warning (as shall be provided for later on) by the lords of the confederacy, and his horns (emblem of power) shall be handed back to the chief matron of his family and clan.

"If a lord is guilty of rape he shall be deposed without the usual warning by the lords of the confederacy, and his horns (the emblem of power) shall be handed back to the chief matron of his family and clan.

"If a lord is found guilty of theft, he shall be deposed without the usual warning by the lords of the confederacy and his horns (the emblem of power) shall be handed back to the chief matron of his family and clan.

"If a lord is guilty of unwarrantably opposing the object of decisions of the council and in that his own erroneous will in these matters be carried out, he shall be approached and admonished by the chief matron of his family and clan to desist from such evil practices and she shall urge him to come back and act in harmony with his brother lords.

"If the lord refuses to comply with the request of the chief matron of his family and clan and still persists in his evil practices of unwarrantably opposing his brother lords, then a warrior of his family and clan will also approach him and admonish him to desist from pursuing his evil course.

"If the lord still refuses to listen and obey, then the chief matron and warrior shall go together to the warrior and they shall inform him that they have admonished their lord and he refused to obey. Then the chief warrior will arise and go there to the lord and will say to him: 'Your nephew and niece have admonished you to desist from your evil course, and you have refused to obey.' Then the chief warrior will say: 'I will now admonish you for the last time and if you continue to resist, refuse to accede and disobey this request, then your duties as lord of our family and clan will cease, and I shall take the deer's horns from off your head, and with a broad edged stone axe I shall cut down the tree' (meaning that he shall be deposed from his position as lord or chief of the confederacy). Then, if the lord merits dismissal, the chief warrior shall hand back the deer's horns (the emblem of power) of the deposed lord to the chief matron of the family or clan."

Whenever it occurs that a lord is thus deposed, then the chief matron shall select and appoint another warrior of her family or clan and crown him with the deer's horns and thus a new lord shall be created in the place of the one deposed.

The lords of each of the confederate nations shall have one assistant and their duty, each of them, shall be to carry messages through the forests between our settlements and also in the absence of the lord through illness or any other impediment he shall be deputed by him (his lord) to act in his place in council.

The lords then said: "We have now completed defining the obligations and positions of a lord (Royaner) and therefore in accordance with the custom which we now have established, it shall be that when a lord is deposed and the deer's horns (emblem of power) are taken from him, he shall no longer be allowed to sit in council or even hold an office again."

Then the lords continued and said: "What shall we do in case some of us lords are removed by sudden death and in whom so much dependence is placed?"

"In such case (this shall be done), the chief matron and the warriors of the family and clan of the deceased lord, shall nominate another lord from the warriors of the family and clan of the dead lord to succeed him, then the matter will be submitted to the brother lords and if they (the brother lords) confirm the nomination, then the matter will be further submitted to their cousin lords and if they also confirm the nomination, then the candidate shall be qualified to be raised by the condolence ceremony (Honda nas)."

Then the lords continued and said: "In case the family and clan in which a lordship title¹ is vested shall become extinct, this shall be done: It shall then be transferred and vested in the hands of the confederate lords and they will consider the matter and nominate and appoint² a successor from any family of the brother lords of the deceased lord, and the lords may in their discretion vest the said lordship title in some family, and such title will remain in that family so long as the lords are satisfied.

"If ever it should occur that the chief matron in a family or clan in which a lordship title is vested should be removed by death and leave female infants who, owing to their infancy can not nominate a candidate to bear their lordship title, then the lords (of the same nation) at their pleasure may appoint an adult female of a sister family who shall make a temporary appointment, shall

¹ Nihosēnnodē', *the title*.

² The term is Naho^ayawādāgā yā'dēn.

come before the lords and request that the lordship title be restored to them, then the lords must obtain the title and restore it accordingly."

Then the lords continued and said: "We now have completed laying the foundation of our rules and methods (Kayanehrenokowa) and we will now proceed to follow and carry out the working of these rules and methods of the confederacy, and the local affairs of our respective settlements, and whenever we discover a warrior who is wise and trustworthy and who will render his services for the benefit of the people and thus aid the lords of the confederacy, we will claim him into our midst and confer upon him the title of 'He has sprung up as a Pine Tree'¹ (Eh-ka-neh-do-deh) and his title shall only last during his lifetime² and shall not be hereditary and at his death it shall die with him."

Then the lords (Rodiyaner) again considered and said: "We have now completed the appointment of our lords. It may so occur that before we may be quietly reseated in our respective places, we may sustain another loss by death (of a lord) and in that case we shall do this: While yet the dying lord is suffering in the agonies of death, his brother lords will come and remove his deer's horns from his head and place them beside the wall and if by the will of the Great Ruler he recovers from his illness, he shall then reclaim his crown of deer's horns and resume the duties of a lord. They further considered this matter and said: "While the lord is ill we will place a string of black wampum at the head of his bed and if he dies anyone belonging to his clan may take this string of black wampum and announce his death to the whole circle of the confederacy as follows:

"If a Lord among the three brothers,³ Mohawk, Seneca and Onondaga, dies, the chief warrior or a warrior will convey the string of black wampum to their son, Ohdahtshedeh or Dehkaehyonh, or their colleagues, and he will leave it there, and while on his way from the home of the dead lord he will repeat at regular intervals the mourning cry, three times thus — 'Kwa — — ah; Kwa — — ah; Kwa — — ah.'

"Then Ohdahtshedeh or Dehkaehyonh or their colleagues will convey the string of black wampum to their four brothers, and so

¹ Waganeda'nyūk.

² Enkanedoden, *the pine tree shall grow*.

³ A'sē'nihoñdadē'n'gēn, three brothers.

on until the whole circle of the confederacy shall become aware of the death of the lord. And if a lord among the two (now four) brothers (the Oneida and Cayuga) dies, then the chief warrior or any warrior deputed will carry and convey the string of black wampum to Dekarihoken or Skanyadahriyoh or Thadodahho, or their brother colleagues, and the chief warrior or any warrior so deputed will, while on his way, repeat the mourning cry three times at regular intervals as follows: 'Kwa ---ah; Kwa ---ah; Kwa ---ah;' ¹ and if a chief warrior on either side of the council dies (or now if a chief of Tuscarora, Delaware, Nanticoke or Tuteli member ² of the council dies), then the mourning messenger will, while on his way to announce the death of either of these, repeat the mourning cry twice only as follows: 'Kwa ---ah; Kwa ---ah.' In case of the sudden death of a lord, then his colleagues will remove his crown of deer's horns and will put it to one side where the chief matron of the family or clan to which he belonged will find and take it up again.

"If from whatever cause the crown of deer's horns are not removed from the head of the lord at the time of his death, then his colleagues will remove the same at the time of his burial and will place it beside the grave where the chief matron will find and pick it up again."

Then the lords said: "If a lord dies we will do this: we will put up a pole horizontally, and we will hang a pouch upon it, and we will put into the pouch a short string of wampum, and the side of the council fire which has sustained the loss by death shall do it and the side which has not sustained the loss will depute one of their lords to take the pouch off the pole, then he shall follow the path and go to the opposite side of the council fire where the loss has been sustained, and when he arrives at the house where the lord died he will stand at one end of the hearth and he will speak consoling words to the bereaved, and he will cheer them up, and this will be our mode of condolence, and these shall consist of eleven passages to be expressed in this condolence (Ka-ne-kon-kets-kwa-se-rah) ³ and eleven wampum strings shall be used in this ceremony.

¹ Kwa ä".

² Captive or adopted tribes having a seat and a voice in their own national affairs but no voice in the confederate council.

³ Ganigohagetc'gwën', Their spirits are lifted up.

THE CONDOLENCE CEREMONY

The beginning of the condolence ceremony used immediately after the death of a chief (or lord) and which is subsequently followed by the preliminary ceremony called, "At the wood's edge."

1 Now hear us our uncles, we have come to condole with you in your great bereavement.

We have now met in dark sorrow to lament together over the death of our brother lord. For such has been your loss. We will sit together in our grief and mingle our tears together, and we four brothers will wipe off the tear from your eyes, so that for a day period you might have peace of mind. This we say and do, we four brothers.

2 Now hear us again, for when a person is in great grief caused by death, his ears are closed up and he can not hear and such is your condition now.

We will therefore remove the obstruction (grief) from your ears, so that for a day period you may have perfect hearing again. This we say and do, we four brothers.

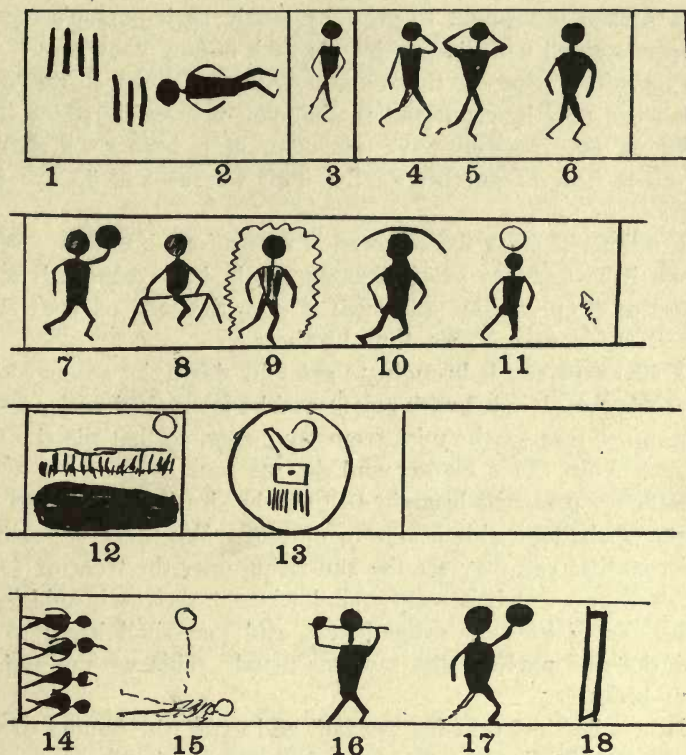
3 Continue to hear the expression of us four brothers, for when a person is in great sorrow his throat is stopped with grief and such is your case; now, we will therefore remove the obstruction (grief) so that for a day period you may enjoy perfect breathing and speech; this we say and do, we four brothers.

The foregoing part of the condolence ceremony is to be performed outside of the place of meeting.

Then the bereaved will appoint two of their chief warriors to conduct the four brothers into the place of meeting.

4 Continue to hear the expression of us four brothers, for when a person is in great grief caused by death, he appears to be deformed, so that our forefathers have made a form which their children may use in condoling with each other (Ja-wek-ka-ho-denh) which is that they will treat him a dose of soft drink (medicine) and which when it is taken and settled down in the stomach it will pervade the whole body and strengthen him and restore him to a perfect form of man. This we say and do, we four brothers.

5 Continue to hear the expression of us four brothers. Now



PICTOGRAPHS ON RECORD STAFF

(1) The seven parallel lines represent the four elder brothers and the three younger brothers of the eight clans who are mourning. (2) The prostrate figure is that of the dead chief of the eighth clan. (3) A chanter of condolence appears to comfort the sorrowing friends and relatives, (4) he lifts one hand to say, "we are mourning," (5) then both arms are raised to the heavens and he asks the people to look to the sun and be gladdened, and (6) then he points to the earth where sorrow shall be buried. (7) "Behold the sun in its brightness shining (8) for there sits the new chief (royaneh) on a bench with four legs, like the roots of the great tree." (9) Now the chief is in a bower of pine boughs where his enemies cannot discover him, there he sits and thinks of his duties. (10) Night covers him and he still meditates, (11) but the morning sun comes again like a circle of horns over his head and he approaches like the new sun. It shines over the new chief and (12) it shines over the grave of the chief who died. (13) Then shall the clans come in council and the new chief appears before them on a new mat, but the path is not yet clear or straight, until the (14) mourning clans arise and take their minds from (15) the dead chief whose spirit has gone after ten days from his body. Then (16) the new chief takes his staff and (17) goes forward with his sun before him, as a light to his mind and that people may see he is royaneh. Then (18) is his door open and his path made clear.

when a person is brought to grief by death, such person's seat or bed seems stained with human blood; such is now your case.

We therefore wipe off those stains with soft linen so that your seat and bed may be clean and so that you may enjoy peace for a day, for we may scarcely have taken our seats before we shall be surprised to hear of another death. This we say and do, we four brothers.

6 Continue to hear the expression of us four brothers. When a person is brought to grief through death, he is confined in the darkness of deep sorrow, and such is now the case of your three brothers. This we say, we four brothers.

7 When a person is brought to grief by death, he seems to lose sight of the sky (blinded with grief) and he is crushed with sorrow. We therefore remove the mist from your eyes, so that the sky may be clear to you. This we say and do, we four brothers.

8 When a person is brought to grief by death he seems to lose the sight of the sun; this is now your case. We therefore remove the mist so that you may see the sun rising over the trees or forest in the east, and watch its course and when it arrives in midsky, it will shed forth its rays around you, and you shall begin to see your duties and perform the same as usual. This we say and do, we four brothers.

9 Now when the remains are laid and cause the mound of clay (grave), we till the ground and place some nice grass over it and place a nice slab over it, so that his body (that of the dead lord) may quietly lay in his resting place, and be protected from the heavy wind and great rain storms. This we say and do, we four brothers.

10 Now continue to listen, for when a person is brought to grief, and such is your condition, the sticks of wood from your fire are scattered caused by death, so we the four brothers, will gather up the sticks of wood and rekindle the fire, and the smoke shall rise and pierce the sky, so that all the nations of the confederacy may see the smoke, and when a person is in great grief caused by the death of some of our rulers, the head is bowed down in deep sorrow. We therefore cause you to stand up again, our uncles and surround the council fire again and resume your duties. This we say and do, we four brothers.

11 Continue to listen for when the Great Spirit created us, he created a woman as the helpmate of man, and when she is called

Record staff containing the history of a condolence and raising ceremony of a royaneh or councillor.

away by death, it is grievously hard for had she been allowed to live she may have raised a family to inhabit the earth, and so we four brothers raise the woman again (to encourage and cheer up their downcast spirits) so that you may cheerfully enjoy peace and happiness for a day. This we say and do, we four brothers.

12 Now my uncle lords, you have two relations, a nephew and a niece. They are watching your course. Your niece may see that you are making a misstep and taking a course whereby your children may suffer ruin or a calamity, or it may be your nephew who will see your evil course and never bear to listen when the woman or warrior approach you and remind you of your duties, and ask you to come back and carry out your obligations as a Royaner or lord of the band. This we say and do, we four brothers.

13 They say it is hard for any one to allow his mind to be troubled too greatly with sorrow. Never allow yourself to be led to think of destroying yourself by committing suicide for all things in this world is only vanity. Now we place in your midst a torch. We all have an equal share in the said light, and would now call all the Rodhanersonh (lords) to their places and each perform the duties conferred upon each of them. This we say and do, we four brothers.

Now we return to you the wampum which we received from you when you suffered the loss by death. We will therefore now conclude our discourse. Now point out to me the man whom I am to proclaim as chief in place of the deceased.

THE HIAWATHA TRADITION

Related by Baptist Thomas (Sa ha whi) an Onondaga (Turtle Clan) as he had it from Thomas Commissary (Ostowägō'nā* Big Feather).

When a man's heart is heavy with sorrow because of death he wanders aimlessly (wa-hē-des-yas-sha-dā'-na').¹ That is why Ha-yěnt-watha went away from the Mohawks. His only sister — he had only one sister — died. She was Da-si-yu' and she died. She was not a comely woman but her brother loved her and so Ha-yent-watha mourned and no one came to comfort him. Not one person came to him in his grief to comfort him, therefore his mind was clouded in darkness. His throat was dry and heavy and bitter. So he went away for he did not wish to stay among a people who had no hearts of sympathy for sorrow. The Mohawks had grown callous and so accustomed to troubled times that they did not care for the sorrows of others and even despised the tears of mourners. They were always fighting. Even they sent out war parties among their own relatives in other towns. Hayentwatha often said this was wrong but no one listened to him. So when his great sorrow came he went away. He took a canoe and went upstream. He paddled up the Mohawk river and when he landed to camp he talked to himself about his sorrow. "I would comfort others in sorrow," he said, "but no one comforts me."

After a long time he reached the portage and carried his canoe to Wood creek.² Here he camped three days. He took up his journey again and camped at one of two islands and went through Oneida lake. Then he went up the river and came to Three River point. Here he heard a broken branch creaking against a tree. It cried giis, giis, giis, so he named this spot Dyo-neda-tonk. So then he went up the river into Onondaga lake. He landed on the north side, (near the present site of Liverpool),⁴ and built a hut. Here he made a camp fire and stayed for three days. Then he saw the monster. He was a long way off and he was looking at Hayěnt-watha. So Hayěntwatha moved his camp but the next morning the monster came nearer. This being was Thă-do-dā'-ho'. So the next evening Hayěntwatha moved his camp again and in the

¹ Onondaga vocabulary.

² This portage is called De-hon-yugwha-tha.

³ Odī-nēs'-shi-yū, People of the sand and they shall be of the Snipe Clan.

⁴ This spot he named Gă'skwasoētge'.

morning again he saw the monster before his camp fire. It seems that he had snakes in his hair and covering his shoulders and one great one came up from his thighs and went over his shoulders. Hayëntwatha looked at Thădodaho and said "Shon-nis'?" (who are you?) The monstrous being did not reply but his face looked very angry.

Again Hayëntwatha changed his camp and built a shelter on one of the two islands in the lake. This spot he named Si-ye-ge. As before, the monster camped silently near him. He was nearer than ever before and seemed watching him from the corner of his eyes.

So then again Hayëntwatha moved his camping place. He crossed the lake and camped at the point on the south shore. As he built his lodge he looked inland and saw seated on a knoll, the monster Thădodă'ho'. He then observed that what ever move he made the snake-bearing monster was ever before him. He seemed to anticipate his movements. This fact frightened Hayëntwatha and he prepared to take up his journey again.

His sorrow was not diminished but hung like a black cloud over him. His heart was very heavy and there was no clear sky for him. He carried no war weapons and the monster frightened him. So Hayëntwatha journeyed in his canoe up Onondaga creek. So in this manner he came to the Onondaga village. How long he stayed at the Onondaga town, my grandfather, Tom Commissary, did not say. Some say he stayed there and married. Some say he enjoined the Onondaga towns to be at peace and stop their quarreling. After a time when another great sorrow came, some say it was because his daughters died, he again continued his journey but Thădodă'ho' went before him and Hayëntwatha saw him.

So Hayëntwatha went south up Onondaga creek and he came to a certain spot where a brook enters the creek¹ and he saw there a pond and a grassy place. There it is said he saw a very large turtle and some women playing ball. Some say boys were playing ball but I say that women were playing ball because my grandfather said so. So Hayëntwatha called this place Dwěn-the'-gă^s, and said from this spot comes the Ball Clan (Dwěn-the-gă^s Hadi-nya'-těn') of the Great Turtle.

Hayëntwatha continued his journey and went over Bear mountain.² First he camped at night at the foot of the high hill. Here

¹ A brook running through Cardiff, N. Y.

² Southwest of Cardiff, Lafayette township, Onondaga county.

he built a shelter. That night he heard a song and its words were what he believed and had spoken many times to the Onondaga chiefs and to the Mohawks.

In the morning he ascended the mountain and there he found five stalks of corn springing from four roots and there was only one large stalk at the root from which the five stalks grew. On each stalk were three large ears of ripe corn. Near the corn he saw a large turtle with a red and yellow belly and it was the turtle that danced. He danced the Ostowago'na, the great feather dance. So then Hayëntwatha said "Did you sing last night? I heard singing." Then the turtle replied, "I sang. Now this is the great corn and you will make the nations like it. Three ears represent the three nations¹ and the five stalks from a single stalk represent the five nations and the four roots go to the north and west the south and the east."

Hayëntwatha proceeded on his journey and after a time he came to a group of lakes. He called it Tgă-ni-yă-da-hă-nioñ (the lake group on hill) (the present Tully group of lakes). On one of these lakes were many ducks swimming very closely together. The ducks covered the lake. So Hayëntwatha stopped to look at so strange a sight. "What are you doing there, so many of you?" he said all to himself. The ducks heard him and at the same moment, whoo! every one of them flew into the air and lifted up the water, so quickly did they fly up. The bottom of the lake was left dry and Hayëntwatha walked across it. As he walked he saw many small shells and he gathered a deer skin full of shells so many were there. When he reached the opposite shore he saw a man limping toward him. He was dragging a large snapping turtle. "What troubles your walk?" asked Hayëntwatha. "I have a blister on my crotch" answered the man.

Then said Hayëntwatha to himself, "In the future this man and his brothers with all his female relations shall be known as Hodî-ho'ô'ën'h. They have blisters on their crotches and they shall be of the Small Turtle Clan."

Then again he proceeded on his journey and after a time he saw an old corn field and a field shelter house with a roof of stalks. So he went there for a camp.

The great sorrow had not left him so he sat by his campfire and talked to himself. Then he strung up the shells and placed three strings on a pole laid across two upright poles. He continued to talk.

¹ The original confederates were the Mohawk, Oneida and Onondaga.

A little girl saw the smoke of the campfire and went out into the field. She went close to the shelter house and listened to what Hayëntwatha said. Then she returned and told her father what she had seen. He then sent two men to invite Hayëntwatha to the village.

Hayëntwatha did not reply to them but with his head bowed before his fire he said aloud to himself, "These people should know that every invitation should be confirmed by a string of shells such as hang before me; they should give me a strand (ä-sa-na-tcik')."

The men returned to their chief and told what they had heard. Then he ordered them to string up some beads of large porcupine quills and carry them to the stranger to become words of invitation. This they did and Hayëntwatha said, "It is now right."

The warriors who came with the two messengers returned to the village and after smoking his pipe Hayëntwatha went to the village with the two guides. At the settlement the council was in session and Hayëntwatha was invited to sit on one side of the fire. The discussion was a spirited one and none of the head men could agree on any question. During the debate a great man came in. The room was crowded and the head man who had invited Hayëntwatha arose and gave his place to the great man. The debate continued and Hayëntwatha silently departed, angry at the slight he had received. In the council room the debate was as devoid of result as before when the head man arose and said, "I have staying with me a friend. He is a stranger and I do not know from whence he came. Perhaps he can settle our dispute."

Then everyone looked for the stranger but Hayëntwatha was not there. The head man could not find him. So then the head man said, "I think I have made a great mistake. He must have been a great man and I have offended him. He has magically disappeared."

So the man who was able to settle the quarrel of the people was not there.

When Hayëntwatha left the council he journeyed on to the outskirts of another settlement and made a camp. Here he commanded his two guardian birds to come to him. Their names were Hä'-goks' and Skadjie'na.¹ He said, "Go and see if smoke arises from any settlement."

Then the birds arose and when they returned they said, "Smoke arises from the Oneida villages."

¹ Said by some informants to have been two human messengers bearing these names and not actually birds.

So then Hayəntwatha went eastward and in all the Oneida towns he heard the people talking about the Great Law and about the Great Peace. Dekanawida had told of it but the people failed to understand it. So then Hayəntwatha said, "I must meet that man for my mind is not yet unburdened." So he continued on his journey down the river, toward the Mohawk country, for he greatly wished to see Dekanawida.

APPENDIX A

THE PASSAMAQUODDY WAMPUM RECORDS

RECORDED BY J. D. PRINCE¹

Many bloody fights had been fought, many men, women and children had been tortured by constant and cruel wars until some of the wise men among the Indians began to think that something must be done, and that whatever was to be done should be done quickly. They accordingly sent messengers to all parts of the country, some going to the south, others to the east, and others to the west and northwest. Some even went as far as the Wabanaki.² It was many months before the messengers reached the farthest tribes. When they arrived at each nation, they notified the people that the great Indian nations of the Iroquois, Mohawks and others had sent them to announce the tidings of a great Lagootwagon or general council for a treaty of peace. Every Indian who heard the news rejoiced, because they were all tired of the never-ending wars. Every tribe, therefore, sent two or more of their cleverest men as representatives to the great council.

When all the delegates were assembled they began to deliberate concerning what was best to do, as they all seemed tired of their evil lives. The leading chief then spoke as follows: "As we look back upon our blood-stained trail we see that many wrongs have been done by all of our people. Our gory tomahawks, clubs, bows and arrows must undoubtedly be buried for ever." It was decided, therefore, by all concerned to make a general Lagootwagon or treaty of peace, and a day was appointed when they should begin the rites.

For seven days, from morning till night, a strict silence was observed, during which each representative deliberated on the speech

¹ See "Klooskape, The Master." Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1899.

² According to Indian tradition, six Iroquoian tribes united in confederation in the interests of peace. This was the famous League of the Six Nations: Onondagas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras. The first five of these completed their league as early as the middle of the fifteenth century under the Onondaga chief Hiawatha. The object of the federation was to abolish war altogether (see Brinton, *The American Race*, p.82,83). It is evident that the Passamaquoddy tradition embodied in this part of the Wampum Records refers to these proposals made by their Iroquois neighbors.

he should make and tried to discover the best means for checking the war. This was called the "Wigwam of silence."

After this, they held another wigwam called m'sittakw-wen tle-westoo, or "Wigwam of oratory." The ceremonies then began. Each representative recited the history of his nation, telling all the cruelties, tortures and hardships they had suffered during their wars and stating that the time had now come to think of and take pity on their women and children, their lame and old, all of whom had suffered equally with the strongest and bravest warriors. When all the speeches had been delivered, it was decided to erect an extensive fence and within it to build a large wigwam. In this wigwam they were to make a big fire and, having made a switch or whip, to place "their father" as a guard over the wigwam with the whip in his hand. If any of his children did wrong he was to punish them with the whip. Every child of his within the inclosure must therefore obey his orders implicitly. His duty also was to keep replenishing the fire in the wigwam so that it should not go out. This is the origin of the Wampum laws.

The fence typified a treaty of peace for all the Indian nations who took part in the council, fourteen in number, of which there are many tribes. All these were to go within the fence and dwell there, and if any should do wrong they would be liable to punishment with the whip at the hands of "their father." The wigwam within the fence represented a universal house for all the tribes, in which they might live in peace, without disputes and quarrels, like members of one family. The big fire (ktchi squat) in the wigwam denoted the warmth of the brotherly love engendered in the Indians by their treaty. The father ruling the wigwam was the great chief who lived at Caughnawaga. The whip in his hand was the type of the Wampum laws, disobedience to which was punishable by consent of all the tribes mentioned in the treaty.

After this, they proceeded to make lesser laws, all of which were to be recorded by means of wampum, in order that they could be read to the Indians from time to time. Every feast, every ceremony, therefore, has its own ritual in the wampum; such as the burial and mourning rites after the death of a chief, the installation of a chief, marriage etc. There were also salutation and visiting wampum.

CEREMONIES CUSTOMARY AT THE DEATH OF A CHIEF

When the chief of the tribe died, his flag pole was cut down and burnt, and his warlike appurtenances, bows and arrows,

tomahawk and flag were buried with him. The Indians mourned for him one year, after which the Pwutwusimwuk or leading men were summoned by the tribe to elect a new chief. The members of one tribe alone could not elect their own chief; according to the common laws of the allied nations, he had to be chosen by a general wigwam. Accordingly, after the council of the leading men had assembled, four or six canoes were dispatched to the Micmac, Penobscot and Maliseet tribes if a Passamaquoddy chief had died.¹ These canoes bore each a little flag in the bow as a sign that the mission on which the messengers came was important. On the arrival of the messengers at their destination, the chief of the tribe to which they came called all his people, children, women and men, to meet the approaching boats. The herald springing to land first sang his salutation song (n'skawewintuagunul), walking back and forth before the ranks of the other tribe. When he had finished his chant the other Indians sang their welcoming song in reply.

As soon as the singing was over they marched to some imwewigwam or meeting house to pray together. The visiting Indians were then taken to a special wigwam allotted to their use over which a flag was set. Here they were greeted informally by the members of the tribe with hand-shaking etc. The evening of the first day was spent in entertaining the visitors.

On the next day the messengers sent to the chief desiring to see all the tribe assembled in a gwandowanek or dance hall. When the tribe had congregated there, the strangers were sent for, who, producing their strings of wampum to be read according to the law of the big wampum, announced the death of the chief of their tribe, "their eldest boy" (ktchi w'skinosismowal), and asked that the tribe should aid them to elect a new chief. The chief of the stranger tribe then arose and formally announced to his people the desire of the envoys, stating his willingness to go to aid them, his fatherless brothers, in choosing a new father. The messengers, arising once more, thanked the chief for his kindness and appointed a day to return to their own people.

The ceremony known as kelhoochun then took place. The chief notified his men that his brothers were ready to go, but that they

¹ From here on the recorder mentions only the neighboring Algonkin tribes as belonging to the federation which he has in mind. The northern Algonkin tribes were very probably in a loose federation with the Iroquois merely for purposes of intertribal arbitration. These Algonkin clans themselves, however, seem to have been politically interdependent, as one clan could not elect a chief without the consent of all the others.

should not be allowed to go so soon. The small wampum string called *kellhoweyi* or prolongation of the stay was produced at this point, which read that the whole tribe, men, women and children, were glad to see their brothers with them and begged them to remain a day or two longer; that "our mothers" (*kigwusin*), that is, all the tribal women, would keep their paddles yet a little while. This meant that the messengers were not to be allowed to depart so soon.

Here followed the ceremony called *N'skahudin*. A great hunt was ordered by the chief and the game brought to the meeting hall and cooked there. The *noochila-kalwet* or herald went about the village crying *wikw-poosaltin*, which was intelligible to all. Men, women and children immediately came to the hall with their birch-bark dishes and sat about the game in a circle, while four or five men with long-handled dishes distributed the food, of which every person had a share. The feast was called *kelhootwi-wikw-poosaltiu*. When it was all over the Indians dispersed, but returned later to the hall when the messengers sang again their salutation songs in honor of their forefathers, in reply to which the chief of the tribe sang his song of greeting.

When the singing was over the chief seated himself in the midst of the hall with a small drum in one hand and a stick in the other. To the accompaniment of his drum he sang his *k'tumasooi-n'tawagunul* or dance songs, which was the signal for a general dance, followed by another feast.

The envoys again appointed a day to return, but were deterred in the same manner. As these feasts often lasted three weeks or a month, a dance being held every night, it was frequently a long time before they could go back to their own tribe, because the chief would detain them whenever they wished to return. Such was the custom.

THE CEREMONY OF INSTALLATION

When they reached home, however, and the embassies from the other Wabanaki tribes had also returned, the people of the bereaved tribe were summoned to assemble before the messengers, who informed them of the success of their mission. When the delegates from the other tribes, who had been appointed to elect the chief, had arrived and the salutation and welcome ceremonies had been performed, an assembly was called to elect the chief.

This took place about the second day after the arrival of the other Wabanaki representatives. A suitable person, a member of the bereaved tribe, was chosen by acclamation for the office of chief.

If there was no objection to him a new flag pole was made and prepared for raising, and a chief from one of the kindred tribes put a medal of wampum on the chief-elect who was always clothed in new garments. The installing chief then addressed the people, telling them that another "eldest boy" had been chosen, to whom they owed implicit obedience. Turning to the new chief, he informed him that he must act in accordance with the wishes of his people. The main duties of a chief were to act as arbiter in all matters of dispute, and to act as commander in chief in case of war, being ready to sacrifice himself for the people's good if necessary.

After this ceremony they marched to the hall, where another dance took place, the new chief singing and beating the drum. A wife of one of the other chiefs then placed a new deer skin or bear skin on the shoulders of the new chief as a symbol of his authority, after which the dance continued the whole night.

The officers of the new chief (geptins) were still to be chosen. These were seven in number and were appointed in the same manner and with the same ceremonies as the chief. Their duties, which were much more severe, were told them by the installing chief. The flag pole, which was the symbol of the chief, was first raised. The geptins stood around it, each with a brush in his hand, with which they were instructed to brush off any particle of dust that might come upon it. This signified that it was their duty to defend and guard their chief and that they should be obliged to spill their blood for him, in case of need and in defense of the tribe. All the women and children and disabled persons in the tribe were under the care of the geptins. The chief himself was not allowed to go into battle, but was expected to stay with his people and to give orders in time of danger.

After the tribal officers had been appointed, the greatest festivities were carried on; during the day they had canoe races, foot races and ball playing, and during the night, feasting and dancing. The Indians would bet on the various sports, hanging the prizes for each game on a pole. It was understood that the winner of the game was entitled to all the valuables hung on this pole. The festivities often lasted an entire month.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY: THE ANCIENT RITE

It was the duty of the young Indian man who wished to marry to inform his parents of his desire, stating the name of the maiden. The young man's father then notified all the relatives and friends

of the family that his son wished to marry such and such a girl. If the friends and relations were willing, the son was permitted to offer his suit. The father of the youth prepared a clean skin of the bear, beaver or deer, which he presented to his son. Provided with this, the suitor went to the wigwam of his prospective bride's father and placed the hide at the back of the wigwam or nowteh. The girl's father then notified his relations and friends, and if there was no objection, he ordered his daughter to seat herself on the skin, as a sign that the young man's suit was acceptable. The usual wedding ceremonies were then held, namely, a public feast, followed by dancing and singing, which always lasted at least a week.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY IN LATER DAYS

After the adoption of the Wampum laws the marriage ceremony was much more complicated.¹

When the young man had informed his parents of his desire to marry and the father had secured the consent of the relations and friends, an Indian was appointed to be the Keloolwett or marriage herald, who, taking the string of wampum called the Kelolwawei, went to the wigwam of the girl's father, generally accompanied by as many witnesses as cared to attend. The herald read the marriage wampum in the presence of the girl and her father, formally stating that such and such a suitor sought his daughter's hand in marriage. The herald, accompanied by his party, then returned to the young man's wigwam to await the reply. After the girl's father had notified his relatives and friends and they had given their consent, the wedding was permitted to go on.

The usual ceremonies then followed. The young man first presented the bride-elect with a new dress. She, after putting it on, went to her suitor's wigwam with her female friends, where she and her company formally saluted him by shaking hands. This was called wulisakowdowagon or salutation. She then returned to her father's house, where she seated herself with her following of old women and girls. The groom then assembled a company of his friends, old and young men, and went with them to the bride's wigwam to salute her in the same manner. When these salutations were over a great feast was prepared by the bride, enough for all the people, men, women and children. The bridegroom also prepared a similar feast. Both of these dinners were cooked in the

¹ Mitchell interpolated this remark.

open air and when the food was ready they cried out k'waltewall "your dishes." Every one understood this, which was the signal for the merry-makers to approach and fall to.

The marriage ceremonies, however, were not over yet. The wedding party arrayed themselves in their best attire and formed two processions, that of the bride entering the assembly wigwam first. In later times it was customary to fire a gun at this point as a signal that the bride was in the hall, whereupon the groom's procession entered the hall in the same manner, when a second gun was fired. The geptins of the tribe and one of the friends of the bride then conducted the girl to the bridegroom to dance with him. At midnight after the dancing a supper was served, to which the bride and groom went together and where she ate with him for the first time. The couple were then addressed by an aged man (noiimikokemit) on the duties of marriage.

Finally, a number of old women accompanied the newly made wife to her husband's wigwam, carrying with them her bed clothes. This final ceremony was called natboonan, taking or carrying the bed.

APPENDIX B

SKETCHES OF AN INDIAN COUNCIL, 1846

(From Schoolcraft's Census of 1845)

A grand council of the confederate Iroquois was held last week, at the Indian council house on the Tonawanda Reservation, in the county of Genesee. Its proceedings occupied three days, closing on the third instant. It embraced representatives from all the Six Nations—the Mohawk, the Onondaga, the Seneca; and the Oneida, the Cayuga and the Tuscarora. It is the only one of the kind which has been held for a number of years, and is the last which will ever be assembled with a full representation of all the confederate nations.

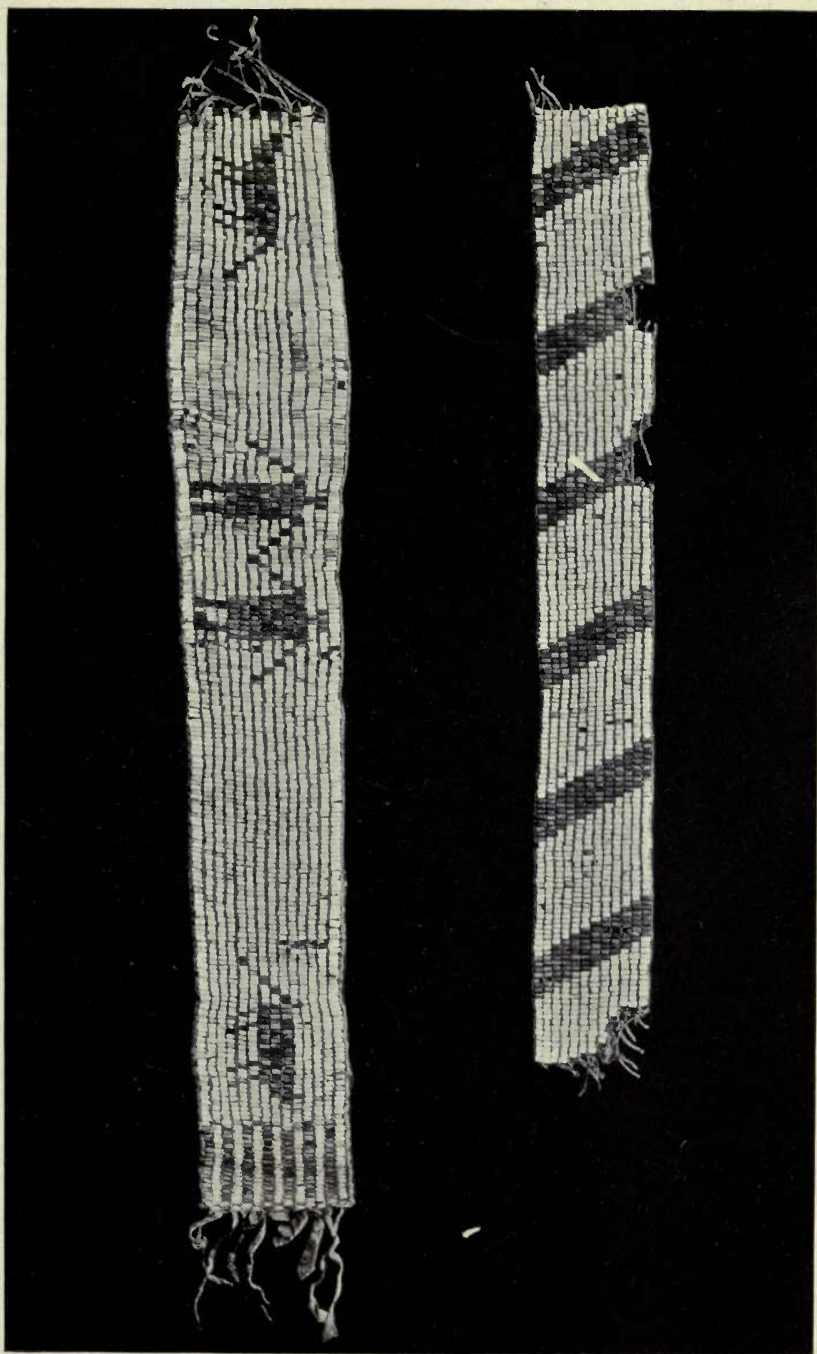
With the expectation that the council would commence on Tuesday, two or three of us had left Rochester so as to arrive at the council house Monday evening; but owing to some unsettled preliminaries, it had been postponed till Wednesday. The Indians from abroad, however, arrived at the council grounds, or in their immediate vicinity, on Monday; and one of the most interesting spectacles of the occasion, was the entry of the different nations upon the domain and hospitality of the Senecas, on whose ground the council was to be held. The representation of Mohawks, coming as they did from Canada, was necessarily small. The Onondagas, with the acting Tod-o-dah-hoh of the confederacy, and his two counsellors, made an exceedingly creditable appearance. Nor was the array of Tuscaroras, in point of numbers at least, deficient in attractive and imposing features.

Monday evening we called upon, and were presented to, Blacksmith, the most influential and authoritative of the Seneca sachems. He is about 60 years old, is somewhat portly, is easy enough in his manners, and is well disposed and even kindly towards all who convince him that they have no sinister designs in coming among his people.

Jemmy Johnson is the great high priest of the confederacy. Though now 69 years old, he is yet an erect, fine looking, and energetic Indian, and is both hospitable and intelligent. He is in possession of the medal presented by Washington to Red Jacket in 1792 which among other things of interest, he showed us.

1

2



1 Wolf clan belt said to represent a pact of the Mohawk with the French
2 Tuscarora entrance belt

It would be incompatible with the present purpose to describe all the interesting men who there assembled, among whom were Captain Frost, Messrs Le Fort, Hill, John Jacket, Doctor Wilson and others. We spent most of Tuesday, and indeed much of the time during the other days of the week in conversation with the chiefs and most intelligent Indians of the different nations, and gleaned from them much information of the highest interest in relation to the organization, government and laws, religion, customs of the people, and characteristics of the great men, of the old and once powerful confederacy. It is a singular fact, that the peculiar government and national characteristics of the Iroquois is a most interesting field for research and inquiry, which has never been very thoroughly, if at all, investigated, although the historic events which marked the proud career of the confederacy, have been perseveringly sought and treasured up in the writings of Stone, Schoolcraft, Hosmer, Yates and others.

Many of the Indians speak English readily; but with the aid and interpretations of Mr Ely S. Parker, a young Seneca of no ordinary degree of attainment, in both scholarship and general intelligence, and who with Le Fort, the Onondaga, is well versed in old Iroquois matters, we had no difficulty in conversing with any and all we chose to.

About midday on Wednesday, the council commenced. The ceremonies with which it was opened and conducted were certainly unique, almost indescribable; and as its proceedings were in the Seneca tongue, they were in a great measure unintelligible, and in fact profoundly mysterious to the pale faces. One of the chief objects for which the council had been convoked, as has been heretofore editorially stated in the *American*, was to fill two vacant sachemships of the Senecas, which had been made by the death of the former incumbents; and preceding the installation of the candidates for the succession, there was a general and dolorous lament for the deceased sachems, the utterance of which, together with the repetition of the laws of the confederacy—the installation of the new sachems—the impeachment and deposition of three unfaithful sachems—the elevation of others in their stead, and the performance of the various ceremonies attended upon these proceedings, consumed the principal part of the afternoon.

At the setting of the sun, a beautiful repast, consisting of an innumerable number of rather formidable looking chunks of boiled fresh beef, and an abundance of bread and succotash, was brought into the council house. The manner of saying grace on this

occasion was indeed peculiar. A kettle being brought, hot and smoking from the fire, and placed in the center of the council house, there proceeded from a single person, in a high shrill key, a prolonged and monotonous sound, resembling that of the syllable *wah* or *yah*. This was immediately followed by a response from the whole multitude, uttering in a low and profoundly guttural but protracted tone, the syllable *whe* or *swe*, and this concluded grace. It was impossible not to be somewhat mirthfully effected at the first hearing of grace said in this novel manner. It is, however, pleasurable to reflect that the Indians recognize the duty of rendering thanks to the Divine Being in some formal way, for the bounties and enjoyments which he bestows; and were an Indian to attend a public feast among his pale faced brethern he would be effected, perhaps to a greater degree of marvel, at witnessing a total neglect of this ceremony, than we were at his singular way of performing it.

After supper commenced the dances. All day Tuesday, and on Wednesday, up to the time that the places of the deceased sachems had been filled, everything like undue joyfulness had been restrained. This was required by the respect customarily due to the distinguished dead. But now, the bereaved sachemships being again filled, all were to give utterance to gladness and joy. A short speech from Captain Frost, introductory to the employments of the evening, was received with acclamatory approbation; and soon eighty or ninety of these sons and daughters of the forest—the old men and the young, the maidens and matrons—were engaged in the dance. It was indeed a rare sight.

Only two varieties of dancing were introduced the first evening—the trotting dance and the fish dance. The figures of either are exceedingly simple, and but slightly different from each other. In the first named, the dancers all move round a circle, in a single file, and keeping time in a sort of trotting step to an Indian song of *Yo-ho-ha*, or *yo-ho-ha-ha-ho*, as sung by the leaders, or occasionally by all conjoined. In the other, there is the same movement file round a circle, but every two persons, a man and a woman, or two men, face each other, the one moving forward and the other backward, and all keeping step to the music of the singers, who are now, however, aided by a couple of tortoise or turtle shell rattles or an aboriginal drum. At regular intervals there is a sort of cadence in the music, during which a change of position by all the couples take place, the one who had been moving backward

taking the place of the one moving forward, when all again move onward, one-half of the whole, of course, being obliged to follow on by advancing backward.

One peculiarity in Indian dancing would probably strongly commend itself to that class among pale-faced beaux and belles denominated the bashful; though perhaps it would not suit others as well. The men, or a number of them, usually begin the dance and the women, or each of them, selecting the one with whom she would like to dance, presents herself at his side as he approaches, and is immediately received into the circle. Consequently, the young Indian beau knows nothing of the tact required to handsomely invite and gallantly lead a lady to the dance; and the young Indian maiden presents her personage to the one she designs to favor, and thus quietly engage herself in the dance. And, moreover, while an Indian beau is not necessarily obliged to exhibit any gallantry as toward a belle, till she has herself manifested her own pleasure in the matter, so therefore the belle can not indulge herself in vacillant flirtations with any considerable number of beaux, without being at once detected.

On Tuesday the religious ceremonies commenced, and the council from the time it assembled, which was about 11 o'clock a. m., till 3 or 4 o'clock p. m., gave the most serious attention to the preaching of Jemmy Johnson, the great high priest, and the second in the succession under the new revelation. Though there are some evangelical believers among the Indians, the greater portion of them cherish the religion of their fathers. This, as they say, has been somewhat changed by the new revelation, which the Great Spirit made to one of their prophets about 47 years ago, and which, as they also believe, was approved by Washington. The profound regard and veneration which the Indian has ever retained toward the name and memory of Washington is most interesting evidence of his universally appreciated worth; and the fact that the red men regard him not merely as one of the best, but as the very best man that ever has existed, or that will ever exist, is beautifully illustrated in a single credence which they maintain even to this day, namely, that Washington is the only white man that has ever entered heaven, and is the only one who will enter there, till the end of the world.

Among the Senecas, public religious exercises take place but once a year. At these times Jemmy Johnson preaches hour after hour, for three days; and then rests from any public discharge of ecclesiastica¹ offices the remaining 362 days of the year. On this, an

unusual occasion, he restricted himself to a few hours in each of the last two days of the council. We were told by young Parker, who took notes of his preaching, that his subject matter on Tuesday abounded with good teachings, enforced by appropriate and happy illustrations and striking imagery. After he had finished, the council took a short respite. Soon, however, a company of warriors ready and eager to engage in the celebrated "corn dance," made their appearance. They were differently attired; while some were completely enveloped in a closely fitting and gaudy colored garb, others, though perhaps without intending it, had made wonderfully close approaches to an imitation of the costume said to have been so fashionable in many parts of the state of Georgia during the last hot summer, and which is also said to have consisted simply of a shirt collar and a pair of spurs. But in truth, these warriors, with shoulders and limbs in a state of nudity, with faces bestreaked with paints, with jingling trinkets dangling at their knees, and with feather war-caps waving above them, presented a truly picturesque and romantic appearance. When the center of the council house had been cleared, and the musicians with the shell rattles had taken their places, the dance commenced; and for an hour and a half, perhaps two hours, it proceeded with surprising spirit and energy. Almost every posture of which the human frame is susceptible, without absolutely making the feet to be uppermost, and the head for once to assume the place of the understanding, was exhibited. Some of the attitudes of the dancers were really imposing, and the dance as a whole could be got up and conducted only by Indians. The women in the performance of the corn dance, are quite by themselves, keeping time to the beat of the shells, and gliding along sideways, scarcely lifting their feet from the floor.

It would probably be well if the Indians everywhere could be inclined to refrain at least from the more grotesque and boisterous peculiarities of this dance. The influence of these can not be productive of any good; and it is questionable whether it would be possible, so long as they are retained, to assimilate them to any greater degree of civilization or to more refined methods of living and enjoyment, than they now possess. The same may be said of certain characteristics of the still more vandalic war dance. This, however, was not introduced at the council.

A part of the proceedings of Friday, the last day of the council, bore resemblance to those of the preceding day. Jemmy Johnson resumed his preaching, at the close of which the corn dance was again performed, though with far more spirit and enthusiasm than

at the first. Double the number that then appeared — all hardy and sinewy men, attired in original and fantastic style, among whom was one of the chiefs of the confederacy, together with forty or fifty women of the different nations — now engaged and for two hours persevered in the performance of the various complicated and fatiguing movements of this dance. The appearance of the dusky throng, with its increased numbers and, of course, apportionably increased resources for the production of shrill whoops and noisy stamping, and for the exhibition of striking attitudes and rampant motions, was altogether strange, wonderful and seemingly super-human.

After the dance had ceased another kind of "sport," a well-contested foot race, claimed attention. In the evening after another supper in the council house, the more social dances — the trotting, the fish, and one in which the women alone participated — were resumed. The fish dance seemed to be the favorite; and being invited to join it by one of the chiefs, we at once accepted the invitation, and followed in mirthful chase of pleasure, with a hundred forest children. Occasionally the dances are characterized by ebullitions of merriment and flashes of real fun; but generally a singular sobriety and decorum are observed. Frequently, when gazing at a throng of sixty or perhaps a hundred dancers, we have been scarcely able to decide which was the most remarkable, the staid and imperturbable gravity of the old men and women, or the complete absence of levity and frolicsomeness in the young.

The social dances of the evening, with occasional speeches from the sachems and chiefs, were the final and concluding ceremonies of this singular but interesting affair. Saturday morning witnesses the separation of the various nations, and the departure of each to their respective homes.

The writer would like to have said a word or two in relation to the present condition and prospects of the Indians, but the original design in regard to both the topics and brevity of this writing having been already greatly transcended, it must be deferred. The once powerful confederacy of the Six Nations, occupying in its palmy days the greater portion of New York State, now number only a little over 3000. Even this remnant will soon be gone. In view of this, as well as of the known fact that the Indian race is everywhere gradually diminishing in number, the writer can not close without invoking for this unfortunate people, renewed kindness and sympathy and benevolent attention. It is true that, with some few

exceptions, they possess habits and characteristics which render them difficult to approach; but still they are only what the Creator of us all has made them. And let it be remembered, it must be a large measure of kindness and benevolence, that will repay the injustice and wrong that have been inflicted upon them.

R. S. G.

Rochester, October 7, 1845

APPENDIX C

MINUTES OF THE SIX NATIONS COUNCIL OF 1839¹

LIST OF CHIEFS

Selected and inaugurated at the Six Nations' Council at
the Six Nations Onondaga Council House, July 17, 1839
Sen (eca)

Of the Chicken Hawk Tribe

- 1 Shagëhjowa, Joseph Silverheels of
Cattaraugus Reservation a Sachem of the
Long House of the Six nations
(Capt. Jones of Allegany, Gan'nage).
- 2 Sgāndiuhgwadi, Owen Blacksnake
James Robinson (Shaweegët) of Allegany
abdicated in favor of Blacksnake
A War Chief.

Of the Snipe tribe

- 1 Hah-jih-nya-wās, Jacob Johnson
Walter Thomson (Honondahes) of Cattaraugus
Sachem of the Senecas
- 2 Degas swēn'gaent, Davis Isaac
(English name not known) (Othowă) of Cattaraugus
War Chief.

Of the Swan tribe —

- 1 Deyúgāhashā, John Mitten
(Old Greenblanket, Don dae hañ) of Buffalo reservation.
Sachem or as we might say sub-sachem for the Senecas, but
not entitled to a seat in the Six Nations' Council
 - 2 Ga'nāyuehse. James Pierce
English name not known (Toa'wihdoh)
War Chief.
- Of the Deer Tribe
- 1 Swaowaeh, Jonah
White Chief Deganohsogă of Buffalo reservation
War Chief
 - 2 Dóhsihdāsgowa, John Baldwin
(George White Sa'gonondano of Buffalo.)
War Chief

¹ From the original manuscript.

- 3 Hãondyeyah, Lewis Kennedy
(Capt. M'Gee Thoiwae) of Tonawanda
Sachem of the Senecas.

These four clans are brethren
Of the Wolf tribe

- 1 Deonihhogã'hwã, Blacksmith
Little Johnson of Buffalo (Jã-oyah-geãh) deposed
of Tonawanda —
Sachem of the Six Nations
- 2 Ganiyãs, John Dickie
(No English name) (Dijihhnak) of Cattaraugus
War chief and runner under the preceding.
- 3 Degaãont, John Kennedy jr
(No English name) (Gagóh) of Buffalo
War Chief
- 4 Gásgaodoh, John Joshua Bluesky
(Two Guns) Gihdoondoh of Buffalo
Killed in battle of Chippeway
Sachem of the Senecas
- 5 Hayahsajih, Peter Johnson
(Old Two Guns, brother
of the preceding.) (Degeyáhghoh)
War Chief
- 6 Gayáhsodoh George Green Blanket
(No English name) (Gonyus,) Buffalo
War Chief
- 7 Dagéhsahěh Isaac Shanks
(Reuben James) (Jiyakhoh)
Tonawandi
Sachem of the Senecas
Of the Turtle tribe.
- 1 Hadogut Jacob Shongo
(No English name) Waonohsihdeh
of Allegany
Sachem of Seneca
- 2 Gahnase Abram John
(No English name) (Ganăyáhseh)
Of Cattaraugus
Sachem of Senecas

- 3 Gan̄hdadēháoh
(No English name) Danl Spring
of Tonawandi
War Chief. James, Spring
- 4 Gahn̄odoh Gan̄nwēhdōoh
(Thomson S. Harris)
(deposed) Buffalo
War Chief
Speaker for the women.
Of the Beaver tribe
- 1 Aanishādekhah
Abram Johny John
Tall Chief Howanyaondyo
of Genesee Buffalo
Sachem for the Senecas
- 2 Ohgahdont Isaac Johny John
Guardian of the preceding during his minority
- 3 Doāhsah Hemlock
(Jack Berry) (Jinōhsowă)
Buffalo
Sachem for the Senecas
- 4 Dayagodāhseh George Turkey
(Jack Snow) (Dyneah)
Cattaraugus
War Chief
- 5 Hayā'ndagā'nyahháh
Joe Hemlock Peter White
Thayah'dah'ah
War Chief Cattaraugus
Of the Bear Clan
- 1 Gāhgwasah Saul Logan
Shoiwagayāt
Buffalo
War Chief
- 2 Aodogwēh Jack Doxtator
Hajā'anoh
Buffalo
War Chief
- These five Clans are brothers like the preceding four.
Of the Cayuga Nation
Of the Swan Tribe

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 | Wăowawănaok, | Peter Wilson |
| | No English name | (Dyawegaathet) |
| | | Buffalo |

Sachem of the Cayugas

- | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------|
| 2 | Ganyáh'geodoh | Jacob Seneca |
| | | Hahsegwih |
| | | Buffalo |

War Chief and runner for the preceding.

Of the Snipe Clan.

- | | | |
|---|-------------|--------------|
| 1 | Gendăohoh' | Joseph Peter |
| | James Young | Darhsas |
| | War Chief | |

The preceding minutes were taken at the time of the transaction recorded and are the original thereof.

ASHER WRIGHT

RECORD OF A CONDOLENCE COUNCIL

The Mourning Council for the raising of chiefs

See writing on letter & consult other interpreters for the full meaning of the rest of the song.

Very mournful and solemn "There lays a number of with their horns on!! (Emblems of power like Hebrews)

Rehearsing the ancient custom that when they come we will give them a part of the five, (as he did in the beginning of the ceremony) Here ends the first song.

This was sung by Hyah'dajiwak after Col. Silversmith had presented the five as above. Then Elijah Williams answered by alluding to the loss they had & gave a string of wampum recounted the meanings of the several strings. Thanks them for wiping away their tears & this day thank the Great Spirit that they can thus cleanse away their grief and smoke the pipe of peace together, & then replies in a simular manner. We have come and found you also mourning and we also wipe away your tears, etc. Then Hayahdijiwak informed them that Gov. Blacksnake would take the lead of the Oneida party.

Then the Seneca side started —

(Dan'a says that if any portion of the Six Nations should go off he will be the confederacy)

Soon after the other side led by Blacksnake and young Jones repaired to the Council House and were received there by others who were seated there. Then came waiting & for many minutes one of the Oneidas second in the march walked the floor carrying the bag of old things & sang a wailing song, being frequently answered by the other side with a long wail & once by Elijah Williams. (What must be the feeling of these men.) Again Williams wails in a high tone & then others in a suppressed note an octave below. Wms. wails again & the low note is repeated & the bag bearer goes on singing. Now the wail and low tone are responded from the other side of the house. (I believe in his song he is repeating the names of the hadiyanne & then offices) of all the Six Nations. Now he is upon the Onondagas, and now they wail again as before. Now again. Now again. Is it repeated when he is coming to the names of the dead? Or is it at the finishing of those who belong to the same tribe? The latter I think or both.

Hai! Hai gayahaagweniohgwe!

Now he is upon the Cayugas. The exclamation hai! hai! seems a mourning interjection at the beginning of every sentence, between all the simple sentences & at the close of every paragraph. (Once Wms. made a little mistake & began to wail a word or two too soon & I noticed a little smiling) Now he is upon the Senecas. And now done & he has sat down by the side of Elijah Williams & now he has risen & began to speak instead of singing & desired them all to hear & said I have spoken the old way, continue it for one benefit, let it be followed forever.

Then silence and something which seemed like a consultation for several minutes followed. At length blankets were brought and a cord stretched across the Council House so as to separate the two parties from each other and cut off communication. Then another long interval of waiting. Then a bench was brought in to the Cayuga side and the wampum laid out before the masters of ceremonies, preparatory to the songs etc. These songs are the several articles of the ancient confederacy. Art 1 *Hai hai! Hai hi hi haih ne* etc. closing with a semitone downward slide of the voice etc.

It was so made everything was right when altogether they did it. There a relationship was made between them. (Song and response regular always interspersed with hai etc.) A chief warrior i. e. This wampum is so called, I suppose a chief or great woman. It was by their transaction that this operation goes forward.

After singing thus far he rose and made a wonderful speech to the dead man who invented the ceremonies, stating that, we have heard from our forefathers that these Nations will become extinct but we have now come to raise up chiefs and let the people hear the laws of our forefathers. Then he sung over the same speech.

Then Elijah Williams rose & recounted what was done in ancient times something like a declaration of independence repeating the names of the nations, or the others, united in one house & of the Sachems addressing the speech to "Ak sut" i. e. the other side, I suppose regarding them as the mother as it were of the Confederacy. (Here needs more inquiry)

Speaking of Ganinduiyes who used to live at Tonawanta, called him a Long Hickory Tree. After he had finished he received four papers of tobacco from the other side of the house & (shouted as it were.)

Then the other Oneida, Peter Williams, rose and took a string of wampum & explained the duties of a chief warrior as agreed by our forefathers that he must look to all the people and take care of them all old, young, women, children, creepers & the breast etc. So it was unanimously agreed (This was the black wampum)

2 A short wampum signifying that when a chief is buried his grave must be leveled as soon as possible (i. e. a new chief must be chosen)

3 As soon as done always gives over to the other side & Wm. had another Comforting all who have been called to mourning by the death of Chiefs so as not to feel their loss always.

4 Now another sun breaks through the clouds and enlightened the faces which were sad before.

5 When the council five bands have been all scattered they must be gathered together again, i. e. when death has scattered the chiefs they must be collected again around the council fire and fill their places.

6 This is to comfort and pacify & satisfy the minds of the Chiefs, so that they can come together cheerfully to transact business.

7 If any of the chiefs go contrary to the law, the chiefs & chief warriors must consult the mother and follow her advice, thus, say we three of the children who are charging you.

8 We have poured water into the thirsty throats that they may be able to feel comfortable and speak freely.

9 He must carry his bag always whenever he goes anywhere he must go and stand by the corner of the fire and draw out his speech from the bag and if need be draw out his arrows also and declare war.

10 Requesting them to appoint men to fill the places of the dead and tell us that we may know who they are — (And then he joked a little and said we three brothers have got through, it is time to adjourn & we can get to the tavern.)

Then Hayahdajiwak rose and requested the three brothers to have patience.

The curtain was put up in the other side of the house and preparations made to send back another set of wampums to be kept by this party.

(Meanwhile the four papers of tobacco had been divided among the three brothers.)

Now the other side commence with a kind of a shout to call attention & a repetition of the Songs nearly as before with a wampum before them on the little bench.

(It is said the words are the same as used by the Oneidas, although sung by an Onondaga. Probably a form either compounded to suit the occasion or perhaps one of the ancient languages as it was hundreds of years ago.)

In the song on the other side they mentioned the death of the fathers. Now these sing that the children are alive yet (of course we are not in mourning as before). Oyehgwohdoh was the name of the founder of the confederacy.

Sing again we must always hear what our ancestors have said and hear the Chief Woman who can call a council of the women and tell their voice in council among the chiefs & they are obliged to listen, as to a chief (or perhaps more seriously).

Now the wampums are sent back beginning with the black one.

It is true as you have said we have experienced a great loss etc. & we will do as well as we can etc.

(Note certain of the wampums not brought or delayed.)

Note the peculiar manner of recitation accent on the first syllable spoken & then again on the last. I think these replies accompanying the several strings of wampum were (or mean) "Now

the word shall go forth in relation to what you have spoken.”
 “Our children (or younger brothers) all which you have said is wise. It is a good matter. You are wise. Now hear, all which you have spoken relative to this string of wampum is wise & we will do accordingly ”—

But there is some variation in the words used according to the particular charge given by the party.

There are two sets of wampum & every time new chiefs are elected these are exchanged and kept till the next election by the two parties. (Did the two parties originate in the conjunction of the two confederacies in ancient times?)

Then he proceeded to bring forward the newly elected chiefs.

1 Shagehjowa- Joseph Silverheels a sachem. Degahnoge

You have requested us to tell us who we appoint to a co-worker with the chiefs in accordance with the example of our forefathers and now we have brought him forward, now know him, & know that he is called such an one.

2 In the place of Robinson i. e. next to the chief warrior, Dyāndinghwadih, Owen Black Snake, Shaweegah’.

3 Twenty Summers, John Mitten.

(It is said that they have a string of wampum for every *name* and that these are kept so that the names may not be lost.)

4 A man not here, living at Alleghany in place of Ganāynihse, dead James Pierce.

5 In the place of Gaswāhgaah, lives at Cattaraugus, Chief Warrior.

6 Daandieyah, a young man at Tonawandi.

7 Sgaowai, Jonah — White Chief, Gahnnyagoh.

8 Daāshihdasgowa, John Baldwin.

9 Hahjihnyawāy Dea. Jacob Johnson
 Walter Thompson.

10 In place of Little Johnson, (deposed) Dasnihogāhweh, Blacksmith of Tonawandi, Gāoyah’gea.

11 Janiyāhs, not present. John Dicker.

12 Degaāout, John Kennedy.

13 Gasgaa-doh' John Joshua Sachem Gih'oh, in place of Two Guns, father of Henry Two Guns and Daniel, killed in battle of Chippeway—

14 Hayasajih, War Chief Gih'-oh.

Peter Johnson

(Degiyah'goh) in place of old Two Guns, brother of preceding.

15 Gayáhsodoh', George Green Blanket in place of his grandfather some time since dead.

16 Waádogut, Jacob Shongo, Dep. Sachem.

17 Dagehsadēh young man from Tonawandi.

18 Gah'nase, Abram John sub Sachem.

19 Gah'neodoh' James Spring in place of T. S. Harris deposed.

20 Ganēhdadīhdāoh. A young man from Tonawandi.

Then Hayahdajiwak said that is all and Peter Williams begun to speak when Col. Silversmith beckoned him down and Hayahdajiwak proceeded.

21 To put in Saul Logan Gaāhgwas-Chief or head of the warriors.

22 Othaoh'dogwēh. Jack Doxtader, a chief of the warriors.

23 In place of Jack Berry Doāsah (Sub Sachem) lives at the falls.

24 Ohāneshadekhah'. Johnny Johnny John's son Sub-Sachem.

25 Isaac Johnny John. Guardian of preceding till he grew up.

26 Peter White of Cattaraugus Hayāndagānyathah.

27 George Turkey, Do Da-yagodāhsch War chiefs.

Now he says we have finished for the Senecas, Doorkeepers.

Then Peter Williams ansd. and charged the chiefs to take care of the people and not do anything contrary to the will of the people and not to trust in their own wisdom because they are elevated not to try to get above them but to promote their benefit and conform to the laws of the Six Nations.

If it had not been for the wampums which have been preserved it would have been difficult to have filled all these offices, of those which are dead, etc. etc.

Congratulates them highly and says there is only one thing lacking i. e. we begin to feel hungry—Then sat down but soon after rose. Held a wampum in his hand and made a speech & proceeded to put Peter Wilson 1 Waowawāvaok, a Cayuga chief in place of some old man and also Wm King resigned to him his office.

2 Jacob G. Seneca was put in his second Ganyahgeodoh.

3 Joseph Satourette in place of James Young, Gēhdāodoh. —and made a speech afterward and presented a wampum but I had no interpreter at hand & could not understand whether another chief was put in or not.

About this time the provisions were brought in.

Peter Williams sat down & soon a shout was raised or wail. I do not know what to call it. (Elevated note drawn out & then the low octave followed) & was soon after repeated. After some moments repeated again and drawn out longer than before—

Then a long interval, while there were more provisions brought in, in which the assembled seemed to get in promiscuous conversation in a low tone and many were going out and coming in as if to relieve themselves after so long a confinement.

When Hayahdajiwak began to speak and as I supposed returned thanks and compliments & gave some notices etc. and then invited them according to the rule of our forefathers to take the food before they go out that they may be strengthened & then took a wampum and presented it to this side with an exhortation never to flinch from duty nor fail to come when called to a council of this kind. We exhort you and exhort ourselves.

Then Peter Williams took the same wampum and gave an answer that we were bound together again in fellowship according to the rules of our forefathers. We three brothers on this side of as you on that side and all together and keep the council houses in order. Thus we will all do according to the wishes of our forefathers.

Then Col. Silversmith sometime and exhorted them to keep the rules and create the new tunes and alluded to the dancing of the

night and told them of strangers coming from abroad wish to have anything to do with our young women we shall not withhold them but shall act according to the rule and those who do not wish to have anything to do with these things can have an opportunity to stay away etc.

(According to the old custom of the Northern & perhaps of all other Indians)

(And let them take warning, Dea. White says in a whisper to them not to act so bad.)

Ayokhiyatgah agwus weetgat agwus weetgāh agwus.



APPENDIX D

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SIX NATIONS, UPON THE CATTARAUGUS RESERVATION¹

Dec. 1st, 1862.

Andrew Snow made a few remarks that all the chiefs take places.

Dewathaaseh made a few congratulatory remarks of thanks. According to Indian customs thanked the Great Spirit for having preserved of those as were, now represented in council. He further stated that it devolved upon the Canada Indians to proceed with the exposition of the law.

Nowineehdoh' & Ganohgaihdawih' then opened the bag of wampum.

Nowineehdoh' arose & spake saying that we are now got together. When our forefathers finished the law they in the first place would return thanks — that was passed.

As far as was proceeded they would go on with the exposition of the law — In the first place think this, we are poor it will therefore depend our brother on the other side of the fire. That was the arrangement.

Seneca Johnson then arose & spoke exhorting the people to listen.

There is a goodly number — We therefore give thanks to the whole — It was the conclusion of my brother on the other side of the fire to devolve upon me.

In the first place you were told the other day of how the law came into existance, lastly the Tuscaroras came into the confederacy. Our forefathers foretold of the destiny of the Indians at the commencement of All. council. We have now come to that.

Long House used to sing when we were in power they went on in harmony. Hense they foretold what would happen.

They have now gone to their grave.

Their footsteps are a great way off that made the law.

What I say I am responsible for

¹ From the original manuscript by N. H. Parker.

I will commence here. my told the truth in saying that the fire was here — Jonodagāantyewa. He was to have a stick when he could not do it he was to whoop and in less than no time the chiefs that is all true we could not go further than what was said by Hōhsānehdeh'. The Long House says Six Nations — Tuscarora came in last —

5 nations made the law so & so — they were to be united by this law. If any one go through, his horns would fall off from his head.

Or if any should fall another should be raised.

But if any should refuse to come back by three time — they should take them off — Thus they arranged it, as it was to last forever (the law)

It is true in what he said by saying that they should pull the tree &c.

A Brand was taken from the real fire & laid into Canada after the expedition against the Indians. The chief went across the river. They had a great council at Gāndayēh by name. They said we should put up a tha — so no one could not get one (or over (?))

They went to work — the law — here it is. We do not know all Deaigā — & sa — know it all they have it written.

Concerning the tree —

Dasdaegih to watch the west root — south root Cherochees to charge of done by Six Nations East root 7 nations St Regis took charge of the ocean — North root. Ojigweh nation took charge of.

Long House did this large wampum there at Canada.

When peace was declared Long House put fire there into Canada to watch the north region — This is why they said the great white root should grow, & we should put our heads there should anyone strike the root &c.

This is the sum and substance of what the Canadians have.

Presented a belt with 12 black crosses. the words of Otawatgae-noot the name where a great council was held all summer.

Gosiweh was the name of the chief dwah'gahah'

They was to kill the chief of the Six Nations Sawanoonoh took the law

I said just now — Canada nations presented the wampum with a dark spot in the middle represent a bowl or dish with beaver tail in it — they also made a road — also presented a wampum — I say nothing about this wampum presenting it being the british —

This belt represents the encircling of the Six Nations similar to the one at Onondaga —

Israel Jameson wished the speaker to turn it to the females. You see they the chiefs cannot get through.

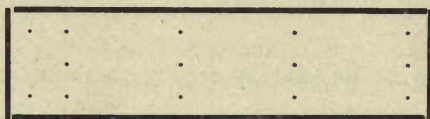
Now this belt show the 12 nations said &c.

All the nations of the Six Nations were represented.

Dish represented with beaver meat in it They should eat together — use no knife for fear they should cut and draw blood.

This belt is with hearts to represent one heart. This the to other nations.

This belt Brant & Nīāondahgowa throwed into the fire representing their repentence. So all must do



Again

I am merely what the proceedings were here and Canada 8 year council was held or called of all the nations & 4 years ago another was held of all the nations.

They were all united in the force of the law in Canada.

Now at this council many were present who were educated at that council.

As we now see here many are educated writing down the proceedings for future generations as it was the plan of our forefathers —

At this council a vote was taken whether they should adhere to the law all rose.

This is all I can do as I fear I might injure feelings as there those present who made the law

But the main fire is not here Still it was your minds here to have the exposition of law again that was right. You now can see whether you have erred from the path of this law —

The white man has found his gun — now fighting. Let it not be so with us.

— Speech ended —

Additional remarks — It was the intention of the Long House wherever a council was held to bring the fires together. We heard that you was to take from us the fire that is the reason &c.

I will explain concerning this belt encircling the reason

6 arrows in a bundle

— We are weak —

The fathers & son's repentence this belt.

The Tuscarora said I am now at ease & therefore I shall not come to the fire.

I had a conversation with the British he asked me where I was going. I told him he said it was not right I protect you here — I said wonderful — your law & interest are connected by iron &c.

I said that those who erred were to be seen to &c.

S. S. D. Spoke It turned upon the Tuscaroras no chiefs here & it may true that he mind in peace as he is now able to take of chel,—

Sigwaih'seh is here installed at Onondaga he wishes to be in the confederacy —

Now and then you know they are divided still he will always be present & hopes that the other party will come to repentance —

Thomas Jameson

Spoke & said he was happy to my friends — I wish to explain — before the sale of lands I used to talk with my friends old Canada. I thought I would try to live a different life — I bought lands — pay taxes — White man collected taxes first it was small 2d year I went & paid taxes again pd a little more than \$20 — Path Master came next increased a little every year — came up to \$40 — & 50 days roads Taxes. finally they petitioned for a corporation about 2 year it went through — City tax came in collector posted bills to pay on 1st of Oct. quite high about \$110. Taxes must be pd or land sold — on the next Aug I pd again a little & on 1st of Dec since 5 year for 2 years I paid \$50. — then officers changed time came. Tax fell off also on county Tax.

George Buck spoke in brief

The principal business of the day has gone by — it was concluded that the exposition of the law be made —

The council was called some time since Now you this day. You all Six Na have heard what was said by the keepers of the fire.

Both parties were here from Canada & here. you have heard all — ädwadegonih onäh

Detwathaahseh' spoke and said I will tell what happened where we came from — It was done in council. Sanctioned by Sardohahoh' Now I will tell about the chief. All claim him & for a reason — how we are to live encircling belt. I would say this is the same Six Nations joined in hands in the middle the house.

It is therefore important should he go through or over or go in ground to come out & some to do for the distruction of chil —

Again when he was chief he attended to interest of the land not to sell — also the interest of women chil — not to make chil. — or people cry — therefore his horns must fall on other nations west did not look to us — heads will roll

Chiefs skin must be thick & have patience.

Warriors beyond the circle & women (?) next therefore 3 times &c. chiefs must consider their (?) warriors then women

Then all shall come together to consider.

Again how a chief shall speak chiefs shall have control of Deaths of chiefs to sympathize with such family.

Chief shall hold office for life or good behavior.

Again we see our Canada friend. We see here the fire — the minds seems the same concerning the law. So you ought to do. I shall adhere to it — Speech closed.

Wish to Amend

How the council should never speak of dividing land by disbanding the Na —

Again

When white man became brothers they traded land. Chiefs said All lands sold should be in common.

Nowineedoh' to speak for or in behalf of the chiefs from abroad.
listen brothers

You see us here Onondagas — All is exposed the law in full this day & all we can do —

You see us chiefs here this all they can do —

Their minds is, we have all construed the law should a council be called at some other place Then you may have the whole.

Again this thing is come to pass according to your mind —

It now devolve upon you to consider We all see our troubles — some day — it is therefore you should consider carefully.

How shall we do that our chil shall & have many days — Therefore you consider carefully in regard to this matter.

This much we say in brief — I would say again you are wise & you can see what to do.

Speech ended

Little Joe spoke

We have heard all the law exposed regard to what has been said. We have no time now tomorrow we will tell you.

Dec. 2d 1862

Council of the Six Nations resumed its deliberation by opening remarks of John Cook according to the custom of such councils —

Thanking the Great Spirit in preserving the lives of all now present & those who have come from abroad —

The council therefore was ready to proceed to *business*.

John Cook again spoke

saying his friends had now come from Canada as they were to do by and by.

It is this, that each tribe in N. Y. speak for themselves — to commune in order. When after all have spoken a certain one will be appointed to speak for the whole —

Tonawandas to council first, then Alle. then Catt — They were then ordered to take their accustomed seats

Tonawandas

Jubez Ground spoke as follows:

That it was the duty in all such gatherings to exchange words of thanks before proceeding to business.

It was announced that we were the first to explain our troubles in council — We have divided. Some of us thought we were not going right — Blksmith and Jemmy Johnson were strait till their death Had they been living it would not have been so —

The other side tells us that we have erred because we would not comply with the law. So we said to them

Hence the party thought it best to have a council called to hear the exposition of the law — Our party is strong in the faith of the law.

You understand how we stand We are divided. We stand on the Six Na law & will stand by it — This is the feeling of our party. So you understand.

They have firm reliance on the law —

Now we tell how large our party is who *will* adhere to the law 282.

We were told that belt was left for repentance — We have none to leave as they not believe they have erred.

The above is the actual number who voluntarily wished to on our side joined us without threats. Thus much we explain to you and our position *in brief*

Seneca Johnson said

The No of your party as I understand is 282. Now I ask the whole No at Ton

Isaac Doctor said that we do not know exactly but the other side has the majority — our party was once over 300 but fell off to the other side by threats, such as you will have no more goods & money if you keep the other side & you go to Kansas.

Alle —

Isaac Halftown —

I am appointed to speak for Alle & I will be brief as respects the condition of our people — we have what the Ton have said

They say that the other side has the majority how they (?) will do in that case I do not know.

The Alle would be glad to get back

They expect to take their band and explain to those left at home

Daniel Two Guns said that he speaks for the old folks — they have not let go the law

They will in the first place have to talk with the Pres. The Pres. have erred from the contract

In respect to our party we have a party but cannot say how many

So much in brief. Daniel 2 guns added

I said we do not know but we will go to work and see & let you know how many wish to adhere to the Six Nations Law.

Isaac Halftown spoke again saying (the Alle) we will take hold of it.

I now ask concerning the wampum belt of repentance. You said &c

We Catt & Alle have erred we got white man law.

Shall we put the belt there too?

This is what I wish to know.

Little Joe said the thing today was going on what was to happen. The Cayugas also would have the privilege to speak he has erred it therefore may be of some help to those who have erred to hear them speak.

Joseph Isaac explained that they were ready to speak as soon Seneca Johnson:

In reference to the question, let my brothers have patience until we answer to all that may be said.

Dr Wilson:

We will inform you how we feel we are much enlightened greatly in the exposition of the law — we therefore thank you — Now in reference to another matter, the white man long ago turned the Indians mind —

Concerning the arrows. This is to be of one mind — we come from the west through the white man's advice we now have small pieces of land. It now depends on you old folks to determine what to do —

Concerning the fires &c the white man has mixed his laws in criminal cases &c. Then went on to relate the condition of Catt & Alle Reservations from the commencement up to this time, but still

the idea is (our idea) that the old fellows are still chiefs in Six Nations Council —

Our idea is that there is lack in the exposition of the law. Still we hope that at some future time the whole will come together & still their faith remained the same relying on the law of the Six Nations

Adjourned to eat —

John Cook spoke for women

Jisgoh'goh gave notice who was to make

answer —

Silverman spoke

Ganyodiyooh

Dewathaah'sech' said that our destruction is being brought about by the white man

In regard to murder and theft the laws of the white man has jurisdiction also in case of liquor Laws by U. S. made

Our condition is this Our old chiefs beg laws for the protection of timber.

APPENDIX E

CERTAIN IROQUOIS TREE MYTHS AND SYMBOLS¹

A student of Iroquoian folklore, ceremony, or history will note the many striking instances in which sacred or symbolic trees are mentioned. One finds allusions to such trees not only in the myths and traditions that have long been known to literature, and in the speeches of Iroquois chiefs in council with the French and English colonists, but also in the more recently discovered wampum codes and in the rituals of the folk-cults.

There are many references to the "tree of peace" in the colonial documents on Indian relations. Cadwallader Colden, for example, quotes the reply of the Mohawk chief to Lord Effingham in July 1684. The Mohawk agreed to the proposals for peace and their spokesman said: "We now plant a Tree who's tops will reach the sun, and its Branches spread far abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off; and we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in Peace, without molestation." (Gives two beavers.)²

In a footnote Colden says that the Five Nations always express peace under the metaphor of a tree. Indeed, in the speech, a part of which is quoted above, the peace tree is mentioned several times.

In Garangula's reply to De la Barre, as recorded by Lahontan, are other references to the "tree." In his "harangue" Garangula said:

"We fell upon the Illinese and the Oumamis, because they cut down the Trees of Peace. . ." "The Tsonontouans, Gayougouans, Onnotagues, Onnoyoutes and Agnies declare that they interred the Axe at Cataracuoy in the Presence of your Predecessor the very Center of the Fort; and planted the Tree of Peace in the same place; 'twas then stipulated that the Fort should be used as a Place of Retreat for Merchants, and not as a Refuge for Soldiers. You ought to take care that so great a number of Militial Men as we now see . . . do not stifle and choke the Tree of Peace . . . it must needs be of pernicious Consequences to stop its Growth and hinder it to shade both your Country and ours with its Leaves."³

The examples cited above are only a few of many that might be quoted to show how commonly the Iroquois mentioned the peace

¹ A. C. Parker; an extract from *Amer. Anthropologist*, v. 14, No. 4, 1912.

² Colden, *History of the Five Nations*, reprint, p. 58, New York, 1866.

³ Lahontan, *Voyages*, v. 1, p. 42. London, 1735.

tree. There are also references to the tree that was uprooted "to afford a cavity in which to bury all weapons of war," the tree being replanted as a memorial.

In the Iroquoian myth, whether Cherokee, Huron, Wyandot, Seneca or Mohawk, the "tree of the upper world" is mentioned, though the character of the tree differs according to the tribe and sometimes according to the myth-teller.

Before the formation of the lower or earth world the Wyandot tell of the upper or sky world and of the "big chief" whose daughter became strangely ill.¹ The chief instructs his daughter to "dig up the wild apple tree; what will cure her she can pluck from among its roots." David Boyle² wondered why the apple tree was called "wild" but that the narrator meant wild-apple and not wild apple is shown by the fact that in some versions the Seneca call the tree the crab-apple. The native apple tree with its small fruit was intended by the Indian myth-teller, who knew also of the cultivated apple and took the simplest way to differentiate the two.

With the Seneca this tree is described more fully. In manuscript left by Mrs Asher Wright, the aged missionary to the Seneca, I find the cosmologic myth as related to her by Esquire Johnson, a Seneca, in 1870. Mrs Wright and her husband understood the Seneca language perfectly and published a mission magazine in that tongue as early as 1838. Her translation of Johnson's myth should therefore be considered authentic. She wrote:

"There was a vast expanse of water. . . . Above it was the great blue arch of air but no signs of anything solid. . . . In the clear sky was an unseen floating island sufficiently firm to allow trees to grow upon it, and there were men-beings there. There was one great chief who gave the law to all the Ongweh or beings on the island. In the center of the island there grew a tree so tall that no one of the beings who lived there could see the top. On its branches flowers and fruit hung all the year round. The beings who lived on the island used to come to the tree and eat the fruit and smell the sweet perfume of the flowers. On one occasion the chief desired that the tree be pulled up. The great chief was called to look at the great pit which was to be seen where the tree had stood."

The story continues with the usual description of how the sky-mother was pushed into the hole in the sky and fell upon the wings of the waterfowl who placed her on the turtle's back. After this mention of the celestial tree in the same manuscript is the story of

¹ Connelley, W. E., *Wyandot Folk Lore*. Topeka, 1889.

² Boyle, *The Iroquois*, in *Archeological Report of Ontario for 1905*, p. 147.

the central world-tree. After the birth of the twins, Light One and Toadlike (or dark) One, the Light One, also known as Good-minded, noticing that there was no light, created the "tree of light." This was a great tree having at its topmost branch a great ball of light. At this time the sun had not been created. It is significant, as will appear later, that the Good-minded made his tree of light one that brought forth flowers from every branch. After he had continued experimenting and improving the earth, "he made a new light and hung it on the neck of a being, and he called the new light Gaagwaa (ga gwa) and instructed its bearer to run his course daily in the heavens." Shortly after he is said to have "dug up the tree of light, and looking into the pool of water in which the stump (trunk) had grown, he saw the reflection of his own face and thereupon conceived the idea of creating Ongwe and made them both a man and a woman."

The central world-tree is found also in Delaware mythology, though so far as I can discover it is not called the tree of light. The *Journal of Dankers and Slyter*¹ records the story of creation as heard from the Lenape of New Jersey in 1679. All things came from a tortoise, the Indians told them. "It had brought forth the world, and in the middle of its back had sprung a tree upon whose branches men had grown."² This relation between men and the tree is interesting in comparison with the Iroquois myth, as it is also conceived to be the central world-tree. Both the Lenape and the Iroquois ideas are symbolic and those who delight in flights of imagination might draw much from both.

The Seneca world-tree is described elsewhere in my notes as a tree whose branches pierce the sky and whose roots extend to the waters of the underworld. This tree is mentioned in various ceremonial rites of the Iroquois. With the False Face Company, Hadigo sa sho o, for example, the Great Face, chief of all the False Faces, is said to be the invisible giant that guards the world tree (gain-dowa ne). He rubs his turtle-shell rattle upon it to obtain its power, and this he imparts to all the visible false faces worn by the company. In visible token of this belief the members of the company rub their turtle rattles on pine-tree trunks, believing that thereby they become imbued with both the earth power and the sky power. In this use of the turtle-shell rattle there is perhaps a recognition of

¹ *Journal of Voyage to New York in 1679-80*, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Slyter. translated in *Trans. L. I. Hist. Soc.*, v. I. 1867.

² With the New England Indians the idea was held that men were found by Glooskap in a hole by an arrow which he had shot into an ash tree.

the connection between the turtle and the world-tree that grows upon the primal turtle's back.

In the prologue of the Wampum Code of the Five Nations Confederacy we again find references to a symbolic "great tree." In the code of Dekanawide, the Iroquois culture hero exclaims:

"I am Dekanawide, and with the Five Nations' confederate lords (rodiyaner) I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Adodarho and the Onondaga nation, in the territory of you who are Fire Keepers.

"I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of Peace we spread the soft, feathery down of the globe thistle, there beneath the spreading branches of the Tree of Peace."

In the second "law" of the code, the four roots of the "tree" are described, and the law-giver says:

"If any individual or any nation outside of the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the lords of the confederacy, they may trace the roots of the tree, and if their minds are clean and obedient . . . they shall be welcome to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

"We place in the top of the Tree of the Long Leaves an Eagle who is able to see afar; . . . he will warn the people."

In another place is the following:

"I, Dekanawide, and the union lords now uproot the tallest pine tree and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, down into the deep underearth currents of water flowing to unknown regions we cast all the weapons of strife. We bury them from sight and we plant again the tree. Thus shall the Great Peace, *Kaye narhe ko wa*, be established."

These laws and figures of speech are evidently those which the Iroquois speakers had in mind when addressing "peace councils" with the whites.

Symbolic trees appear not only in Iroquois history, mythology, and folk beliefs, but also in their decorative art. The numerous decorative forms of trees embroidered in moose hair and porcupine quills by the eastern Algonquians, by the Hurons, and by the Iroquois appear to be attempts to represent the world-tree and the celestial tree, in some cases, with "all manner of fruits and flowers." Many, if not most, of the modern descendants of the old-time Indians, who copy these old designs, have forgotten their meanings, and some have even invented new explanations. A few of the more conservative, however, still remember the true meanings of their designs and from these much of interest has been learned.

INDEX

- Adoption**, laws of, 49
Arrows bound together, 11, 45, 101
- Canadian** Iroquois, 12
 Cayugas, younger brothers, 10
 Chiefs, ceremonies at death of, 120-22; ceremony of installation, 122-23
 Civil chiefs, 10; nominated by certain noble women, 11
 Clans and consanguinity, 42-44
 Code of Dekanahwideh, 61-109
 Confederate lords, positions of, 92-95
 Condolence ceremony, 110-13
 Condolence council, record of, 136-43
 Council of Six Nations, 1839, minutes of, 133-36
 Council of the Six Nations upon the Cattaraugus reservation, minutes of, 144-51
 Cusick, Albert, correction of New-house manuscript, 12
- Deer's** horns the emblem of power, 91
 Dekanahwideh, 8; traditional narrative of birth, etc., 14-16, 65-109; Code of, 61-109
- Emigration**, laws of, 50
- Fire** keepers, 10
 Five Nations, rights of the people of, 55
 Five Nations' league, tradition of origin, 61-109
 Foreign nations, rights, 50-52
 Funeral addresses, 58-60
- Gayanashagowa**, great binding law, 30-60
 Great peace, 12; establishment of, 26-29; council of, 30-60
- Hiawatha**, 8, 71
 Hiawatha belt, 12, 47
 Hiawatha tradition, 114-18
 Hill, Hilton, copy of manuscript made by, 13
 House, protection of, 57
- Indian** council 1846, sketches of, 126-32
 Indian words, meaning, 63
 Installation, ceremony of, 122-23
 Installation song, 57
 Iroquois, racial superiority, 9; laws of peace and war, 9; absorption of other nations, 10; confederate council, 10; Canadian, 12
- Jesuit** fathers, efforts to Christianize the Five Nations, 62
- Laws** of the confederacy, 97-109
 Long house, use of term, 97
 Lords, rights, duties and qualifications of, 34-41
- Marriage** ceremony, the ancient rite, 123; in later days, 124
 Mohawks, older brothers, 10
- Newhouse**, Seth, manuscript written by, 12
- Older** brothers, 10
 Oneidas, younger brothers, 10
 Onondagas, fire keepers, 10
- Passamaquoddy** wampum records, 119-25
 Pine tree chiefs, election, 41
 Prince, J. D., Passamaquoddy wampum records, 119-25
 Protection of the house, 57

- Religious ceremonies protected, 56
- Schoolcraft's census of 1845, extract from, 126-32
- Secession of a nation, 54
- Seneca chiefs, pacification of, 96
- Senecas, older brothers, 10
- Symbolism, official, 11, 44-49
- Tradition of the origin of the Five Nations' league, 61-109
- Treason of a nation, 54
- Tree myths and symbols, 152-55
- Troubled nations, 16-20
- Wampum belt, 11
- Wampum keeper of the Six Nations, 7
- War, rights and powers of, 52-54
- War chiefs, names, duties and rights, 41-42
- Women, political powers, 11
- Younger brothers, 10

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The annual reports of the original Natural History Survey, 1837-41, are out of print.

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Report	Price	Report	Price	Report	Price
12 (1892)	\$.50	17	\$.75	21	\$.40
14	.75	18	.75	22	.40
15, 2v.	2	19	.40	23	.45
16	1	20	.50	[See Director's annual reports]	

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2	.30	12	.25	22 (" 110)	.25
5	.25	13	<i>Out of print</i>	23 (" 124)	.75
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Separate reports for 1871-74, 1876, 1888-98 are out of print. Report for 1899 may be had for 20c; 1900 for 50c. Since 1901 these reports have been issued as bulletins.

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Museum bulletins 1887-date. 8vo. To advance subscribers, \$2 a year, or \$1 a year for division (1) geology, economic geology, paleontology, mineralogy, 50c each for division (2) general zoology, archeology, miscellaneous, (3) botany (4) entomology.

Bulletins are grouped in the list on the following pages according to divisions.

The divisions to which bulletins belong are as follows:

1 Zoology	63 Geology	124 Entomology
2 Botany	64 Entomology	125 Archeology
3 Economic Geology	65 Paleontology	126 Geology
4 Mineralogy	66 Miscellaneous	127 "
5 Entomology	67 Botany	128 "
6 "	68 Entomology	129 Entomology
7 Economic Geology	69 Paleontology	130 Zoology
8 Botany	70 Mineralogy	131 Botany
9 Zoology	71 Zoology	132 Economic Geology
10 Economic Geology	72 Entomology	133 Director's report for 1908
11 "	73 Archeology	134 Entomology
12 "	74 Entomology	135 Geology
13 Entomology	75 Botany	136 Entomology
14 Geology	76 Entomology	137 Geology
15 Economic Geology	77 Geology	138 "
16 Archeology	78 Archeology	139 Botany
17 Economic Geology	79 Entomology	140 Director's report for 1909
18 Archeology	80 Paleontology	141 Entomology
19 Geology	81 Geology	142 Economic Geology
20 Entomology	82 "	143 "
21 Geology	83 "	144 Archeology
22 Archeology	84 "	145 Geology
23 Entomology	85 Economic Geology	146 "
24 "	86 Entomology	147 Entomology
25 Botany	87 Archeology	148 Geology
26 Entomology	88 Zoology	149 Director's report for 1910
27 "	89 Archeology	150 Botany
28 Botany	90 Paleontology	151 Economic Geology
29 Zoology	91 Zoology	152 Geology
30 Economic Geology	92 Paleontology	153 "
31 Entomology	93 Economic Geology	154 "
32 Archeology	94 Botany	155 Entomology
33 Zoology	95 Geology	156 "
34 Geology	96 "	157 Botany
35 Economic Geology	97 Entomology	158 Director's report for 1911
36 Entomology	98 Mineralogy	159 Geology
37 "	99 Paleontology	160 "
38 Zoology	100 Economic Geology	161 Economic Geology
39 Paleontology	101 Paleontology	162 Geology
40 Zoology	102 Economic Geology	163 Archeology
41 Archeology	103 Entomology	164 Director's report for 1912
42 Geology	104 "	165 Entomology
43 Zoology	105 Botany	166 Economic Geology
44 Economic Geology	106 Geology	167 Botany
45 Paleontology	107 Geology and Paleontology	168 Geology
46 Entomology	108 Archeology	169 "
47 "	109 Entomology	170 "
48 Geology	110 "	171 "
49 Paleontology	111 Geology	172 "
50 Archeology	112 Economic Geology	173 Director's report for 1913
51 Zoology	113 Archeology	174 Economic Geology
52 Paleontology	114 Geology	175 Entomology
53 Entomology	115 "	176 Botany
54 Botany	116 Botany	177 Director's report for 1914
55 Archeology	117 Archeology	178 Economic Geology
56 Geology	118 Geology	179 Botany
57 Entomology	119 Economic Geology	180 Entomology
58 Mineralogy	120 "	181 Economic Geology
59 Entomology	121 Director's report for 1907	182 Geology
60 Zoology	122 Botany	183 "
61 Economic Geology	123 Economic Geology	184 Archeology
62 Miscellaneous		

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20-25	52, v. 1	83, 84	58, v. 1	124	61, v. 2	158	65, v. 1
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49-54	55, v. 1	92	58, v. 3	133	62, v. 1	164	66, v. 1
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56	56, v. 1	94	58, v. 4	135	63, v. 1	168-70	66, v. 1
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58	56, v. 1	97	58, v. 5	137	63, v. 1		
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19 Merrill, F. J. H. *Guide to the Study of the Geological Collections of the New York State Museum.* 164p. 119pl. map. Nov. 1898. *Out of print.*

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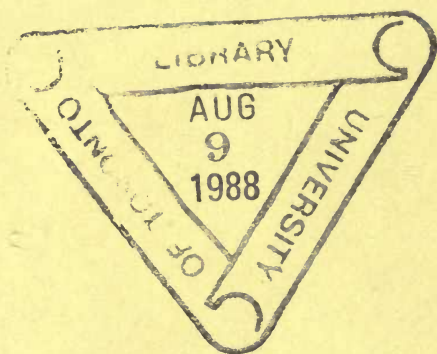


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