

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

II-Syabolism-C.

No. 3502

Stock: Iroquoian

Language: Onondaga

Collector: J.N.B.Hewitt and Chief Abram Charles

Place: Six Nations Reserve. Date: 1913-1931

Remarks: Mnemonic pictographs relating to the Iroquois
Condolence Council, the Eulogy to the Founders and
Requickening, by Abram Charles, a Cayuga.

Mr. Hewitt's ms. was revised and discarded by
Dr. Fenton in publishing it. (Reprint of paper enclosed
with ms.).

ETHNOLOGY. *Some mnemonic pictographs relating to the Iroquois condolence council.*¹ J. N. B. HEWITT, late ethnologist, Bureau of American Ethnology, and WILLIAM N. FENTON, Bureau of American Ethnology.

The use of mnemonic pictographs by the Iroquois and cognate tribes has long been recognized by various writers, but hitherto the subject has not received the attention that its cultural importance merits. A thorough study, if properly done, should reveal the technique employed by the natives in adapting means to ends, showing how the Iroquois sought to obtain their needs by the readiest available methods. That the latter would change with time and place is obvious to anyone who considers even momentarily the long history of the Iroquois and their relations with Europeans. One might hope that such pictographs were drawn on bark or buckskin; he should not be disappointed to find them on paper. What is remarkable is that certain ideas persist, and they are expressed in changing media. Beyond brief references to

its casual use in the works of early writers, very little of a descriptive or interpretive nature exists in printed sources accessible to the student concerning the picture writing of the Iroquois Indians; its extent and the purposes it was made to serve are therefore but little known.

In the present brief study we do not aim to cover the entire subject of Iroquois pictography. Rather, this paper attempts to learn how the Iroquois adapted pictorial designs to form mnemonic records of what they deemed the distinctive features of two component rituals in the Condolence Council, which is a convocation of the confederated Iroquois tribes for the purpose of condoling the relatives of deceased federal chieftains and filling the ranks with chosen candidates; the visiting unscathed tribes of the League conduct the ceremony, restoring the minds of the mourning tribes. When the League was founded the law-givers decreed that no seat around the great council fire should remain vacant. Accordingly, the Condolence Council comprises five rituals of condolence and installation, among which the Roll Call of the Founders and the Requickening Address were remembered by the symbols that are discussed below.

On one of his many field trips to the Six Nations of Grand River in Ontario, Canada, Mr. Hewitt in 1920² fortunately acquired a

¹ Since this paper is written from the viewpoint of the junior author, the third person designates the senior author, who died in 1927, and the first person is reserved for the present writer. Opinions of the senior author I have labeled "J. N. B. H.," interpretations of Simon Gibson appear as "G. Gibson," those of Howard Skye as "H. Skye," and comments of my own are initialed. "W. N. F." Mr. Hewitt was in the field annually from 1916

¹ Published by permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution. Received May 23, 1915.

² This is the second of Mr. Hewitt's manuscripts relating to the Condolence Council of the Iroquois League to appear posthumously. The first, the Requickening Address of the Iroquois Condolence Council (this JOURNAL 34 (3): 67-85, 1941), introduces the subject and carries explanatory notes on the Iroquois Confederacy and its social organization that need not be repeated. Mr. Hewitt's original manuscript entitled "Mnemonic Pictographs of the Iroquois," much too broad a title for its contents, was never completed for publication. The unfinished paper, with notes for the balance comprising MS. No. 3502 in the Bureau of American Ethnology Catalogue of Manuscripts, has been entirely rewritten by the junior author, who began the work with the help of Simon Gibson in the autumn of 1943 and completed it in May 1945 at Ohsweken, Six Nations Reserve, with the assistance of Cayuga Chief Alex General and Howard Skye. The former field work derived support from a grant in aid from the American Council of Learned Societies, the latter from the Viking Fund and the Smithsonian Institution.

small well-worn memorandum book of about a dozen pages, of a kind that country grocery stores commonly furnished gratis to customers as advertising. On previous occasions Mr. Hewitt had observed this notebook in the possession of old Chief Abram Charles. Chief Charles, then an emeritus chief of the Cayuga tribe, consulted it frequently while he was engaged in reciting either the Roll Call of the chiefs or the Requickening Address during sessions of the Condolence Council. The first of these rituals, the Roll Call of the Founders, is chanted; the other, the Requickening Address, is spoken, preferably in a rhythm which reminded Hewitt of blank verse. Chief Charles drew these arduous assignments because his contemporaries recognized that he knew the contents of these two rites and performed them accurately. Because the rites directly concern the dead and the living and because the origins of the League have acquired a holy aura, the Iroquois regard them as sacred, and performing the rituals publicly demands strict accuracy, since ancient custom enjoins that the celebrant must not err during the recitation; should he hesitate or stumble, another performer must be ready to continue; an error of this nature is considered as boding ill to all the people. Not only is it imperative to adhere strictly to the ordered sequence, but not to follow the established sequence confuses and confounds well-known political relationships that are basic to the functioning of the League and its institutions. It was thought that failure to follow the roll call of official titles, their grouping into classes, tribes, and moieties, and the political relationships of these groups as kin would vitiate the purposes of the chants.

Well aware that Abram Charles had great difficulty to read or write the simplest matter in English, Mr. Hewitt naturally was curious to know the contents of this small notebook to which Chief Charles constantly referred. So when a favoring op-

portunity presented itself Chief Charles was consulted about the matter. Hewitt was no little amazed to learn that this unpretentious notebook contained sets of mnemonic symbols or characters which had been devised ingeniously to indicate the number, the correct sequence of topics, and the roll call of federal titles comprising these two important chants.

There are eight pages of drawings. The envelope, in which Hewitt kept the pages mounted on larger sheets of paper (see footnote 3), contains pages from what appear to have been two notebooks. There are five pages on buff-lined paper measuring 8 by 14.5 cm and three pages on narrower coated stock, measuring 6.6 by 13.8 cm and bearing double pink lines at the top, of which one page (list No. 1) is dated "SEPT--1 1913." Apparently the latter drawings are of more recent date, to judge by the condition of the paper, but they are possibly copies of older drawings. The eight pages are occupied by 13 sets of drawings, which largely depict the upper portion of the human body. Clearly, some of the 13 sets are merely revisions duplicating some one of the other sets. Nevertheless, the entire group of drawings constitutes notes or memoranda for two of the main chants in the Condolence Council.

The first of the two chants or rituals involved here bears two titles since it has two aspects which the terms describe: Its first use is during the journey of the condolers from their home country toward the settlement of the tribe which mourns for its official dead; on the long journey representatives of the several condoling tribes intone the ritual as they slowly follow the path to the home of the stricken tribe, repeating the song day after day on the trail. This aspect of the ritual, therefore, in Onondaga was called *atahinón'ye*, "While journeying," or, in modern reservation parlance, "Going on the road." Its second aspect derives from repeating the ritual on arrival inside the meeting place, the longhouse of the mourning tribe, where the Condolence Council convenes. The term for the second aspect is *ne' onlathnonhsen'dedáhhkwa'*, "that by which one passes through the house" (i.e., through the institution of the League).

to 1920, but he stayed in Washington throughout the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921. A letter envelope containing the pages from Chief Charles's notebook, bears the legend: "Chief Abram Charles/Books, Obawaken, Ontario, Canada/1920."

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Since Gibson rendered this term, "What a nation employs in calling at another nation's house." In this part of the ceremony the visiting singer leads the column of condoling chiefs into the longhouse of the mourning tribe, and then the singer alone paces to and fro reciting the Eulogy or Roll Call of the Founders of the League, which is the aspect of "Calling at the other tribe's house." The Roll Call is the roster of the 49(50) founders of the League,⁴ their blood ties, and their political relationships; hence its English title. Hewitt adopted the descriptive caption "The Eulogy of the Founders of the League" as being more expressive of a ritual that lists the official names of its founders, with pertinent laudatory and historical comments interspersed after each of the names.

The second ritual involved in the drawings is the Requickening Address, which has been published in this JOURNAL. One set of pictographs, therefore, comprises memoranda for the Fourteen (or Fifteen) Matters constituting the condolences. Each one of the 14 symbolic human figures in this set (Fig. 6) represents one of the 15 topical sections, except one, of the great requiem address for elevating the minds of the stricken federal chiefs who are addressed as an individual. The Fourteen Matters respectively describe the 14 hurts or wounds inflicted on mortals by "that demonic Being that is faceless, Death—the Great Destroyer." Stricken in body and mind are the kindred who mourn. In the second place, with the 14 sections of the address the unscathed phratry of tribes performs vicariously acts of symbolic restoration to the faculties and bodies of the mourning phratry through the voice of their speaker. Since this part of the ceremony prescribes for the bodily and mental effects of death, it deals with affected organs and faculties. The Iroquois believe that bitter grief induced by death of kindred sets up in the mourner a

blood deficiency that debilitates the organs and enfeebles the mind. So by the loss of a chief his kindred are depressed in mind and their vitality is lowered.

Before attempting to interpret the drawings of Chief Charles, one must understand some basic principles operative in the political structure of the League. One must also understand that the code of Condolence Law compels inflexible adherence to set forms in the two rites under discussion. Rather than repeat the exposition of these two sets of principles here, the reader is referred to the 1934 edition of Mr. Hewitt's paper on "The Requickening Address of the Iroquois Condolence Council," to which are appended notes on the Iroquois Confederacy and its social organization. For the benefit of those who do not have access to that paper, we may state briefly that the principles of blood kindred, duality (with mutual service between reciprocating units of society), relative age, and sex, as they operated in society as it was lived by the village band, were projected beyond the local group to the level of the tribe, and from the tribe to the confederacy. Thus what individuals do in the band, whole tribes perform in the confederacy. Tribes apply kinship terms to other tribes: they are related as mothers or little mothers (i.e., mother's sisters), daughters and sons, older sisters and younger sisters, elder brothers and younger brothers, and mother's brothers (uncles), father and little father (i.e., father's brother), father's sister, in some tribes, and mother or little mother, in others.⁵

Relations of consanguinity and affinity which the founders of the League ascribed to chiefs of the several tribes must be constantly kept in mind when reciting the chants. In performing the Eulogy or Roll Call the celebrant must remember three things: the song, the list of names, and the relationships between the names that fill out the verses of the chant. Therefore, the

⁴ Hewitt contended with the Cayugas that there were but 13 titles on the Onondaga list, the last person, *Stano'voti*, having two names correlative with peace and war functions. Instead of 14 Onondaga chiefships, since one man occupied two statuses and performed two roles, this left but 49 chiefs on the federal roster, not 50 as the Onondagas contend and as there were in later times.

⁵ The terms for aunt and uncle are found only among the Seneca and Tuscarora and do not occur in Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, and Onondaga dialects; the reason for this is not known. — J. N. B. H. It is my impression that these findings do not accord with Goldenweiser's data for the kinship of the Six Nations. — W. N. F.

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chanter must observe carefully the correct sequence of terms in the ritual. Evidently the task was not an easy one for an unassisted memory, and gradually mnemonic aids like the pictographs which are the subject of this paper came into use.

Chief Charles's drawings are of the same order as the symbols in wampum belts, although the latter are perforce geometric; the practice of using drawings is like holding a series of twigs or marked counters or sticking tallies upright in the ground; the drawings serve a similar purpose to tally sticks notched to indicate a period of days or points to be enumerated in speaking; and we are reminded of the series of wampum strings of graduated arrangement and distinct color patterns that accompany burdens of the Requickening Address. Moreover, the old chiefs carried canes. Sometimes the chiefs carved memoranda on canes as on other sticks to remind them of stations in a long address involving a dozen or more points. Again, the chiefs commissioned craftsmen to make canes and adorn the surfaces with symbols appropriate to reminding celebrants of the significant stations in a ritual. Thus, among the extant examples of such record canes, the Cayugas formerly had a Roll Call Cane, now in the Cranbrook Institute of Science, that the appointed Eulogy singer carried in the same ceremony as these drawings to denominate the 50 titles of the chiefs who founded the League.⁶

With the sole exception of the one page of illustrative drawings as symbols for the Fourteen Matters of Requickening (Fig. 6), the remaining notebook pages of pictographs refer to the Roll Call of chiefs. Four sets of these (Figs. 1-3 and one set not illustrated), however, stand for the Mohawk and Oneida rosters of chiefs. The Onondaga roster appears clearly once on the same page as the Seneca roster (Fig. 4); the latter is not represented again in recognizable form; but the Onondaga characters appear again on List No. 2 (Fig. 5),⁷ but out of order. The

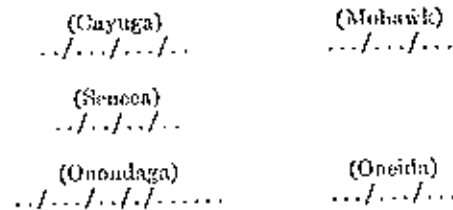
⁶ W. N. FENNER, *A Cayuga condolence cane with pictographs denominating the founders of the Iroquois League* (MS.).

⁷ List numbers derive from the original paper. To avoid confusion a correlation of List numbers and Figure numbers follows:

Cayuga chiefs are not illustrated except by a series of dots (Fig. 5), to which we return in a moment; Abram Charles, being a Cayuga chief, could remember the roster of his own tribal council.

In some respects the grouping of chiefs and their relationships to one another is more fundamental than their titles. At least the Iroquois ritualists have isolated the patterns of spatial arrangement which they illustrate in a number of ways. One page of Chief Charles's notebook contains a series of dots, (Fig. 5), spaced in the sequence 2-3-3-2, which is the grouping of Cayuga chiefs in council. Another page carries out similar sequences for all of five Nations.

On the latter sheet, Mohawk and Oneida appear at the right, one over the other in sequences of threes. On the left at the top are the Cayuga chiefs. Beneath them on a slant are the Seneca, four groups of two. The Onondaga list runs across the bottom of the page to the left of the Oneida, reading from right to left.



Knowing in part the sequence of chiefs from the Roll Call, and using these data, we can reconstruct the grouping of chiefs and their relationships, which, if Chief Charles's notes are read from right to left, work out as follows:

List No. 1. Mohawk and Oneida titles (Fig. 1). Older buff paper.

List No. 1. Onondaga and Seneca titles (Fig. 4). Newer coated stock, and dated "Sept. 1, 1913."

List No. 2. Onondaga titles (5 11; 1-6), and Cayuga groupings (Fig. 5). Older buff paper.

List No. 2. Mohawk and Oneida titles, with Seneca titles poorly drawn at bottom (not illustrated). Newer coated stock.

List No. 3. Mohawk and Oneida titles (Fig. 3). Newer coated stock.

List No. 4. Mohawk and Oneida titles (Fig. 2). Older buff paper.

Groupings of chiefs in five tribes (not illustrated). Older buff paper.

* (Hewitt.)
We find, committees Council. They sent these books, more down kernel Iroquois with Eulogy and in teach the grouping of pe Came in Cran. Evidently on the path mourning chief Call contained chiefs, according to the Male Brothers side); to the Cayuga, Mother side (the including Tascare of the council fire that our tribal League council, (also called Elder titles, represented only 19 titles being (also called Offspring Besides these two the great body of smaller, intratribal pressing similar relationships within the these lesser groupings and the plan with created the confeder these lesser groupings; often the large committee of units of two. Thus the social and political some of the Iroquois

Mohawk: 3-3-3
 Oneida: 3-3-3
 Cayuga: 2-3-2-2
 Seneca: 2-2-2-2
 Onondaga: 6-1-2-3-2*

* (Hewitt gives 1, making 13.)

We find, therefore, 19 groups (classes) or committees of chiefs in the Confederate Council. The arrangement of dots to represent these groups in Chief Charles's notebook, moreover, follows a design for laying down kernels of corn that he and other Iroquois ritualists employed when instructing Dulong singers in the Roll Call of chiefs and in teaching their relationships. Precisely the same pattern is found in the grouping of pegs on the Cayuga Condolence Cane in Cranbrook Institute.

Evidently when the ritual of Journeying on the path to visit the loughouse of the mourning chiefs took final form, the Roll Call contained 50 titles, represented by 49 chiefs, according to Hewitt and the Cayugas. Of these 50 titles, 9 belonged to the Mohawk, 8 to the Seneca, 14 to the Onondaga (represented by 13 chiefs), tribes on the Male or Father side (the Three Brothers side); and 9 to the Oneida and 10 to the Cayuga, tribes of the Female or Mother side (the Four Brothers side, later including Tuscarora, Tutelo, and Delaware) of the council fire of the League. This means that one tribal phratry or moiety of the League council, that of the Father side (also called Elder Brothers), claimed 31 titles, represented by 30 federal chiefs; and only 19 titles belonged to the Mother side (also called Offspring, or Younger Brothers).

Besides these two larger tribal moieties the great body of chiefs comprised 19 smaller, intratribal groupings (above), expressing similar blood and political relationships within the several tribes. At once these lesser groupings furnished the timber and the plan with which the founders erected the confederate structure. Within these lesser groupings no unit is larger than three; oftener the group includes two; one large committee of six comprises three units of two. Thus the tripartite grouping and the basic pattern of duality intersect in the social and political organization of the League of the Iroquois tribes as the warp

and the woof of the Great White Cloth of the Law, which spreads out beneath the political structure. Two men sit across a symbolic council fire from each other, as cousins, or they sit together on the same side of the fire as brothers opposite a third who is their cousin. From the fire-side council of the Mohawk Turtle clan, to the tribal council of the Mohawk Nation, to the confederate council of the League, the same patterns of tripartite grouping and reciprocity between moieties prevailed.

By way of illustration Hewitt summarized the social and political organization of the Mohawk and Oneida tribes. Each tribe had three clans: Turtle, Wolf, and Bear. With the Oneida, the order was Wolf, Turtle, and Bear. With the Mohawk Turtle and Wolf are political brothers, forming a moiety, one side of the tribal duality, and Bear sits alone. But among the Oneida, Wolf and Turtle are political brothers, forming one moiety, and Bear the other.

The Mohawk Turtle clan chiefs and the Oneida Wolf clan chiefs, in the councils of their respective tribes, functioned as chairman or presiding officer, and as such they took no part in deliberations of the council beyond hearing and determining whether the proceedings of the session were legal and conformed to established custom; if so they confirmed the decision; otherwise they referred the matter back to the council for further deliberation and action, perhaps with pertinent corrective comment. Tribal councils, organized on this pattern and functioning as described, resemble, Hewitt thought, an American court composed of judges and jury.

In confederating to form the federal council the founders of the League adopted this tripartite form of the dual tribal council, but they rearranged constructively the internal political structure of the Onondaga, whose duty it was to preside at the sessions of the federal council. From among the 14 Onondaga chief statuses the founders of the League appointed an executive committee of five who were called the Firekeepers. It was the function of the Firekeepers to decide what disposition should be made of the resolutions and de-

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isions arising out of the deliberations of the 36 chiefs representing the four other tribes of the League, and accordingly to advise the presiding chief, *Dehadodáho*, leading Onondaga chief, what action he should take. In possessing the Firekeepers, theoretically the Onondagas as presiding tribe of the League council in no way controlled the deliberations of the body, no more than did the presiding clans in the tribal councils of the Mohawk and Oneida, on which the confederate structure was modeled. The report of the committee called Firekeepers constituted a judgment, and when the presiding chief *Dehadodáho* pronounced a judgment the case was closed.

The following diagrams illustrate spatial arrangement of clans and the functions of the chiefs in relation to the symbolic council fire. It will be seen at a glance that the same pattern obtains at the level of the tribe and of the League. We give the number of chiefs for each grouping in the Mohawk and Oneida tribal councils. At the left is the Male of Father Side of the council fire, and the right is the Female of Mother Side.

MOHAWK TRIBAL COUNCIL

Turtle Clan
Three Chiefs
Judge

Wolf Clan
Three Chiefs
Legislative

Tribal Council
Fire

Bear Clan
Three Chiefs
Legislative

These are Brothers to
Turtles above.

These are Cousins to
Turtles and Wolves
across the fire.

ONEIDA TRIBAL COUNCIL

Wolf Clan
Three Chiefs
Judge

Turtle Clan
Three Chiefs
Legislative

Tribal Council
Fire

Bear Clan
Three Chiefs
Legislative

These are Brothers to
Wolves.

These are Cousins to
Wolves and Turtles
across the fire.

**FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE
IROQUOIS LEAGUE**

The Onondaga Tribe
Fourteen Chiefships,
held by 13 chiefs
Firekeepers
Judge

The Mohawk
Tribe
Nine Chiefs
Legislative
The Seneca
Tribe
Eight Chiefs
Doorkeepers
Legislative

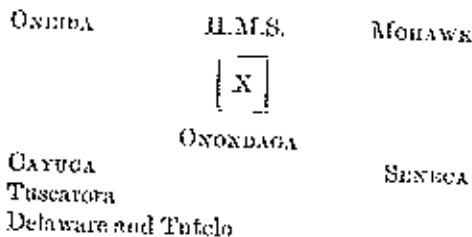
League
Council
Fire

The Oneida
Tribe
Nine Chiefs
Legislative
The Cayuga
Tribe
Ten Chiefs
Legislative

The Mohawk and Seneca tribes are Brothers to the Onondaga tribe. These three call the Oneida and Cayuga tribes "Offspring" or "Nephews."

The Oneida and Cayuga tribes are Cousins to the three tribes across the fire. They are "Offspring," being on the Mother Side of the council fire. Including adopted tribes in later times they became the "Four Brothers Side." They call the three other tribes of the Three Brothers Side, "Fathers' clansmen" or "Uncles."

In the old council of life chiefs on the Grand River, which held court until 1924 at Ohsweken on Six Nations Reserve, the above diagram would have been reversed, with Mohawk and Seneca sitting east of the "fire," the Onondaga as Firekeepers in the center, His Majesty's agent to the north, and the Oneida and Cayuga with appended tribes sitting west of the fire:



Under the latter arrangement, which is the same as the first only turned about for true orientation, Onondaga-Mohawk-Seneca constituted the Three Brothers Side,

Oct. 15, 1945

and the Four onondaga-Cayuga-Tutelo). The 1-tribes, adopted Oneida, had no. The remnants included among 1. Now let us which Chief C notebook draw

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Four sets of de-tribe: List No. shown), List No. Fig. 2). Hewitt the lists (see foot

1. *Tchariháke* the matter."

The first name on the Me sented on List 3 lists Nos. 2 and forked tongue pro to illustrate the i Six Nations, "Of the symbol for t No. 4.

2. *Hayenhiwécal* sieve." -J.N.B.H. am.)⁵

On the Mohaw represented by th (Fig. 1), on List 2 torso having five d "the sieve" (J.N.B. a bisected oval figu the piece of the t Mohawk title appe irregular figure wit (Fig. 2).

3. *Shutkuishu* height, words of eq Three vertical li line depict this ch

⁵ Hewitt did not pretation, which dif *Hiyawáha* (Haudenoi ad.). From Onondag Nations Reserve, M who sílta with a wove distinct forms: It *shuwáshá* (Hiyáwa third syllable wisp (M), La-(Oe).

and the Four Brothers Side comprised Onondaga-Cayuga-Tuscarora-Delaware (and Tutelo). The latter three, being dependent tribes, adopted by the Cayuga and the Oneida, had no voice in the federal council. The remnants of the Naticoke were included among the Delaware.

Now let us take up the lists of chiefs which Chief Charles illustrated with his notebook drawings.

THE MOHAWK PICTOGRAPHS

Four sets of drawings may be ascribed to this tribe: List No. 1 (Fig. 1), List No. 2 (not shown), List No. 3 (Fig. 3), and List No. 4 (Fig. 2). Hewitt is responsible for numbering the lists (see footnote 7). W.N.F.

1. *Tekarihókohk*, "It separates or divides the matter."

The first name on the Roll Call, and the first name on the Mohawk tribal roster, is represented on List No. 1 by a forked stick; on Lists Nos. 2 and 3 by a man's head with a forked tongue protruding from the mouth, as if to illustrate the interpretation now current at Six Nations, "Of two opinions." Apparently, the symbol for this name is lacking on List No. 4.

2. *Hayenhwéénthá*, "He sifts with a bark sieve." J.N.B.H., or "Early riser" (S. Gibson).⁸

On the Mohawk List No. 1, this chief is represented by three dots vertically arranged (Fig. 1), on List No. 3 by a man's head and torso having five dots on the body to represent "the sieve" (J.N.B.H.) (Fig. 3); List No. 2 has a bisected oval figure, probably an error, taking the place of the third name; and the second Mohawk title appears first on List No. 3 as an irregular figure with dots "to depict the sieve" (Fig. 2).

3. *Sha'tekarihwaánte*, "Matters of equal height, words of equal length."

Three vertical lines topped by a horizontal line depict this chief on Mohawk List No. 1

⁸ Hewitt did not comment on this new interpretation, which differs from that in his article *Hiawatha* (Handbook of American Indians, 1912 ed.). From Onondaga Chief John Buck of Six Nations Reserve, Mr. Hewitt had in 1931, "He who sifts with a woven bark sieve" in the following dialectal forms: *Hayenhwéénthá* (Oa.), *Hayenhwéénthá* (Hayenhwéénthá) (S.), *Hayenhwéénthá* (third syllable whispered) (C.), *Rayenhwéénthá* (M.), *La* (Oa.).

(Fig. 1), showing that the three items are of equal import. List No. 2 has a similar symbol of but two vertical lines with a horizontal line across the top. A man's head topped by a heavy horizontal line represents this chief on List No. 3 (Fig. 3). List No. 4 is less clear; the drape-shaped symbol is capped by a heavy horizontal line, defining a limit to its height (Fig. 2).

A hiatus occurs here in all the lists, indicating that these three, the Turtle clan chiefs, stand together apart from the next three.

4. *Sharenhóowane*, "He the great tree trunk."

A tall trunk of a tree having three long roots stands for this name on List No. 1 (Fig. 1), and



FIG. 1.—List No. 1: Mohawk and Oneida titles.

in the same manner on the remaining lists, but with four roots.

5. *Teyanhhétkohk*, "It lives by two life-givers," or "Double Life."

The name of this title is represented by two V-shaped characters on List No. 1 (Fig. 1), the one set above the other, enclosing two dots. The remaining lists show the head and torso of a man having two heart-shaped devices on the breast. "Double life" was the idea that Chief Charles evidently intended.

6. *Ohenh'é'gáonah* (Oa.) or *Orenh'e'gáonah* (M.), "Great White Eagle," or, possibly, "Great Canada Goose."

On all four lists of pictographs, this chief is depicted by the figure of a bird, facing to the left. On these lists the character of the bird resembles a fowl; on the Cayuga Condolence Cane at Cranbrook Institute, however, its aspect is that of a dove or hawk, facing the other way.

Here a hiatus of vertical dots on all lists signifies completing the roll of the Wolf Clan chiefs, who are cousins to the next three.

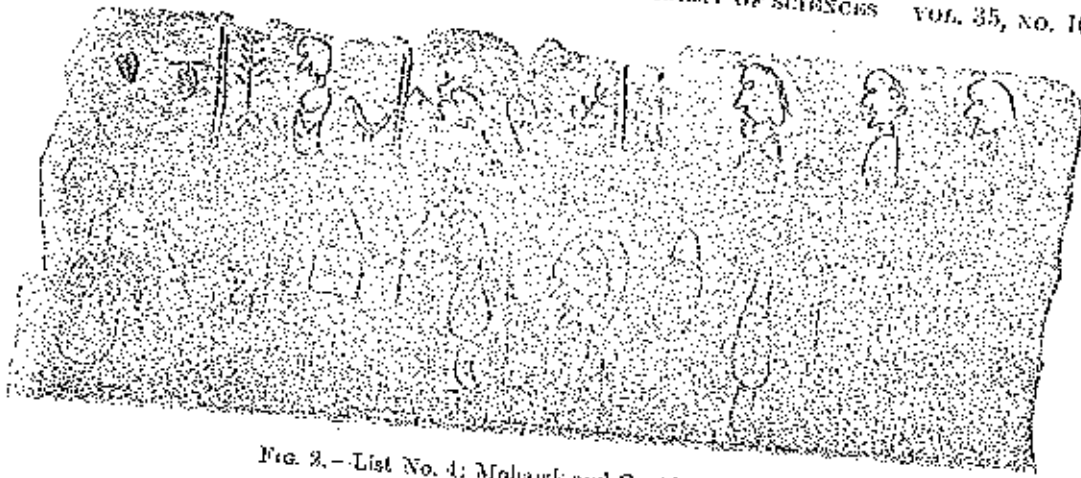


FIG. 2.—List No. 4: Mohawk and Oneida titles.

7. *Tekoune'karine'*, "His two horns are moving along," or "Dragging Antlers."

The antlers figure prominently in the symbols of all four lists: on List No. 1 (Fig. 1) a human head with antlers over its forehead; on List No. 2, merely a small round object bearing deer's antlers; on List No. 4, a poorly drawn human head with deer antlers. Chief Charles intended apparently to delineate a chief carrying his two antlers, the horns of office.

8. *Hohstawaen'serontha'*, "He attaches rattles to it."

This title is represented on List No. 1 by what appears to be an outline of a turtle shell rattle, held upright; the same is crudely drawn on List No. 2; on List No. 3, an outline of a rattle bears two dots on the shell; and on List No. 4 the attempt to draw such a rattle is crude, to say the least. The rattle is the key to this name.

9. *Sosyohhurówawane'*, "He the great branch." (Hewitt's MS. gives "He the great quantity of drift-wood" or, just as meaningful, "He has a large cadaver," but these interpretations make no sense.—W.N.B.)

The outline of a tree branch appears clearly on all the lists. Surely this is what Chief Charles had in mind.

This is the number of Mohawk chiefs, marked on all lists by a series of vertical dots.

THE ONEIDA PICTOGRAPHS

The following chiefs are the "Offspring" of the first. (The Roll Call continues, but we enumerate the chiefs of each succeeding tribe separately, e.g., 10/1, 19/1, 33/1, and 43/1.)

10/1. *Ho'datchéde'*, "He beats a quiver (by a forehead strap)" or, with a slight change in pronunciation, "He beats a fawn (buckskin pouch) by a burden strap—J.N.B.H." "He carries a quiver on his shoulder," or, simply, "Carries a quiver" is the usual meaning—W.N.B.

In all the drawings the quiver idea is prominent. What is possibly intended for a quiver with attachment for carrying appears on List No. 1 (Fig. 1). A human head and bust bearing a quiver on the shoulder occurs on List No. 2 (not illustrated); the same appears on Lists Nos. 3 (Fig. 3) and 4 (Fig. 2).

11/2. *Kanohkwon'gótota'*, "One has set upright several ears of corn," "Standing ears of corn," or "Standing cornucoba."

The second Oneida title is depicted on the first three lists by a straight line inclined at its top to the left; on List No. 4 is a drawing of an ear of corn, also inclined to the left at the top.

12/3. *Teyohhá'kwente'*, "It has a gullet" or "Difficult swallower." "Between the openings (of the forest)"—S. Gibson. In the Deganauidah legend, this chief passes without leaving an opening in the forest.

On List No. 1 this title is depicted simply by a crude drawing representing the profile of a human face; a pronounced double chin appears on a head and torso of List No. 2; several dots

* Quiver (*gohéskan'*) *g'dá'fáhe'*, buckskin pouch; but a new horn deer is *awáye'*, and deer (*shesóndou'*); "he carries the bulky" would be *hoya'dagshéde'*. The quiver that this old Oneida chief carried was made evidently of buck or fawn skin—S. Gibson.

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direct attention to the neck, probably to denote its opening, or the drawing of a head and body in List No. 3; and the double chin appears again on List No. 4.

A hiatus occurs here in all the lists. This is the number of Wolf Clan chiefs.

13/4. *Shouónhsese'*, "His lodge is very long."

A drawing of a house with or without a doorway appears on all four sets of drawings: a house (Fig. 1), a tall gable marked with a line for the doorway (List 2), two lines indicating doorway in gable (Fig. 3), and merely a house gable in List No. 4 (Fig. 2).

14/5. *Pehone'ohén'ah* or *Daonu'rohén'ah*, "He the small forked root."

In all four sets of drawings this chief is depicted by a drawing of a fork. In Onondaga and Cayuga this name changes to "Two words (voices) meet," (*dwen-naigén'a* (Oa.), *do-dwen-naigén'ah* (C.)). —S. Gibson.

15/6. *Hatya'touén'hdhu'*, "He swallows an object (body)" or "He drugs his body." The name is probably corrupted.

In all the sets of drawings this chief is depicted as swallowing an object: a small cross, an unrecognizable object protruding from the mouth of the figure (List No. 2), a 3-pronged object protruding from the mouth (Fig. 3), and List No. 4 (Fig. 2) shows the full figure of a man, and protruding from his mouth is an object which ends in a small loop.

This ends the second group of Oneida chiefs, the chiefs of the Turtle clan, and a line or series of dots indicates the hiatus.

16/7. *Tewutahouhénnyonk*, "Pairs of ears hanging," or "Pendulous vibrating ears (as if

slit)" *Dewatohénhdényonk* (Oa.). —S. Gibson.

The ear is the prominent feature in all four sets of drawings. An enormous ear appears on List No. 1; the remaining sets show a human head and neck, with a very large ear. Simeon Gibson, citing the Degonawidah Legend of the founding of the League, referred to the first appearance of this chief as having enormous ears that were probably slit for insertion of feathers, leaves, and other decorations, which, once removed, left the helix and lobe to hang vibrating. "Moving his ears" is the current interpretation.

17/8. *Koniga'toushtayen'*, or *Ronyá'dashdayenk* (M.), *Ganiya'dashóayen'* (Oa.), "A pouch (or bag) lying (resting)," or possibly a "lawn skin" (J.N.B.H.). In Onondaga, *ga'dashó'yen'* is a "lying pouch." But Simeon Gibson and a Mohawk matron independently gave "Slow swallower" for their respective dialectical variants of this name.

The pouch or bag theory is supported by Chief Charles's drawings. List No. 1 (Fig. 1) depicts the name by a lozenge-shaped object that Hewitt interpreted as a hanging pouch or skin; on List No. 2 the object resembles a quiver and is banded across the middle; List No. 3 (Fig. 3) has a similar design; and the character is a hanging pouch on List No. 4 (Fig. 2).

18/9. *Honwotsulónkhonh*, "One has covered him with fog." *Honwutdóuháwi* (Oa.), "He is covered with mist." —S. Gibson.

The head of a man shrouded in mist appears on all four lists. On List No. 4 it is a pot-bellied man.

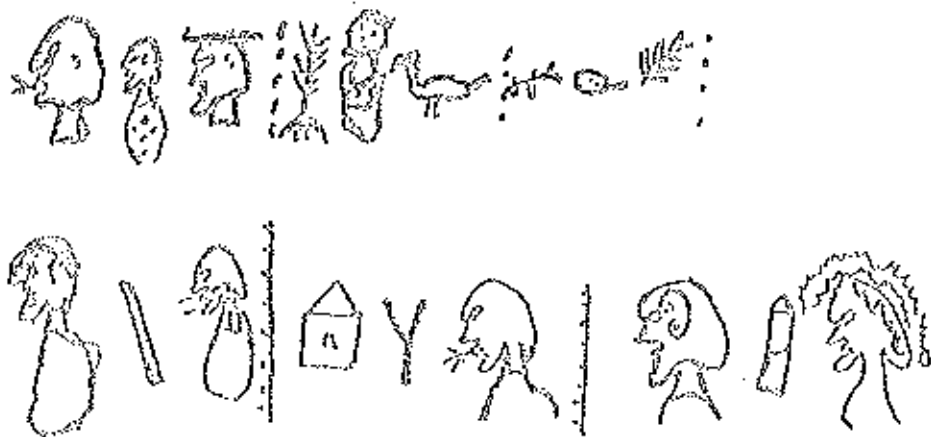


FIG. 3. —List No. 3: Mohawk and Oneida titles.

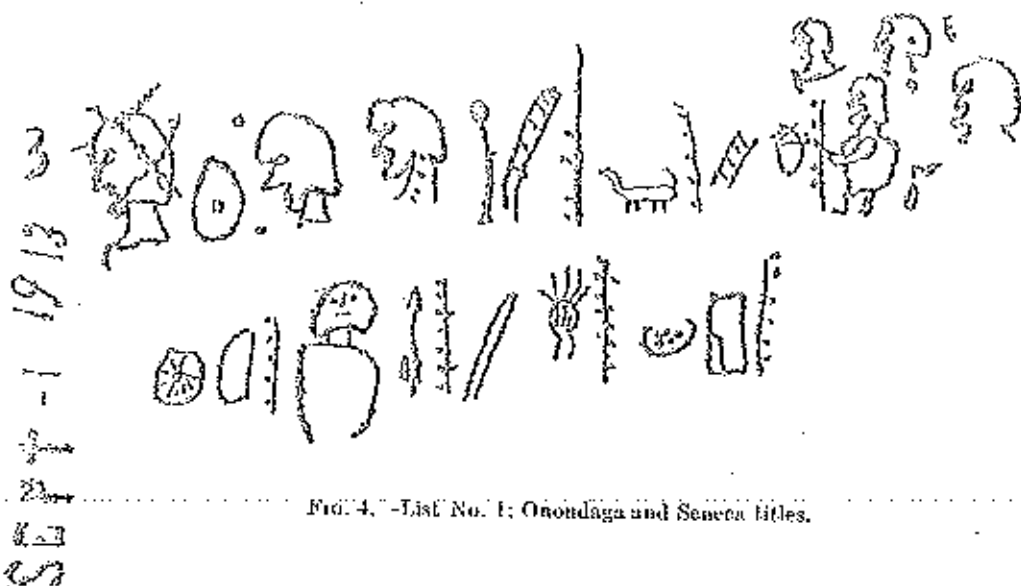


FIG. 4.—List No. 1: Onondaga and Seneca titles.

This group were the Bear clan chiefs. This was the roll of Oneida chiefs.

[For some reason Hewitt omitted an analysis of the Onondaga and Cayuga lists of drawings, and his notes for this manuscript (B.A.E. No. 3502) do not contain the rosters of chiefs' names for these two nations. However, Hewitt obtained from Chief Charles in 1917 a complete text in Onondaga for the Eulogy or Roll Call of the Founders of the League, together with independent lists of chiefs whose clan sponyms are differentiated (B.A.E. MS. No. 1281a, 51 pp. 6½×9½ inches, 15 pp., 8×10 inches). Also, we find a typed, revised list (No. 3558, 3 pp. 8×10 inches—Charles, 1917) of "Federal Chiefships and their kinship sponyms." From the latter sources, this paper has been completed.—W.N.F.]

19/1. *Dchadolohko'* (Oa.) or *Thadolohko'*, "Ensarted."

Only one set of drawings depicts the Onondaga chiefships (Fig. 4). Ragged lines cross over the head of a man to represent the leading Onondaga chief.

20/2. *One'sah'henh* (Oa.) or *Gone'sah'henh*, "A tied bundle." S. Gibson; "In the center of a coil, circle," or possibly of a "stretched hide"; but Onondaga opinion holds that the name means "on the middle of a field, *gane'sah'hen*."—H. Skye.

The character for this name is a circle with a dot at the center. Possibly it represents a

bundle. On the Condolence Cause of the Cayugas the symbol suggested to Howard Skye a hide stretched on a hoop.

21/3. *Dchatgahdons* (Oa.) or *Thuatgahdons*. "He looks both ways (or around); On watch."

A drawing of a head in which the eye is prominent stands for this chief.

22/4. *Honyadadji'wak* (Oa.) or *Honyadadji'wak*, "His throat is sour (or black)"; or "His sour body."—H. Skye.

Again we find the drawing of a chief's head; four dots direct attention to his throat which apparently is inflamed or sore by gall.

23/5. *Ane'gshahyal* (Oa.), "On the surface of the water."

A line with a knob on top perhaps represents a plant.

24/6. *Dchayr'tywoae'* (Oa.), or *Thayad-gwdae'*, "On one side of its leaning body" (?); "Both his wings are outspread."—H. Skye.

A jatterlike figure leans to the right.

This title is the last of the Firekeepers, and a line with dots along its left margin indicates a separation of this group from the next name.

25/7. *Hanonwichtih* (Oa.), "He conceals it" or "Covers it"; "He causes it to sink."—H. Skye.

This chief has special responsibilities. He is keeper of the wampans for the confederacy and since he is also called *ne' hogwaho'goone'*, "He the Great Wolf," he is represented by a miserable drawing of his sponym. This chief

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stands alone; a line with a margin of dots separates him from the remaining Onondaga chiefs.

26/8. *Gawawen'shendoh* (On.) or *Gawanne'sendoh*, "Her voice is hanging," or "Hanging strings."—S. Gibson.

Whatever this title means, and it is impossible to know what about one-quarter of the titles meant four centuries ago, it is depicted by a stepped character that leans to the right, composed of two leaning lines enclosing four oblique lines.

27/9. *Hahhikhon'* (On.), "He spills it" or "He tips it."

This name is also obscure and the character for it is not clear. The drawing is possibly intended for a vessel spilling over.

The latter two names are grouped together separated by dots and a line from the next four. They belong to the Deer clan.

28/10. *Hogonyenih* (On.), "He was made to do it."—H. Skye.

The next four characters are crowded into a corner of the notebook page and one can not be certain in what order to read them. On the assumption that the top two and the first character at the bottom are meant to be followed by three dots to segregate them as a class apart from the last, then a man's head atop an object drawn across the base of the neck may stand for this title.

29/11. *Shodeywasen'* (On.) or *Shodeywasen-shon'*, "He the bruiser," or "He smashes it again."—S. Gibson; "Bruised repeatedly."—H. Skye.

At the lower left there is a full-size figure of a man of gigantic proportions, but the figure at the upper right does not help.

30/12. *Shagoghukhe'* (On.) or *Shagoghukhe'*, "He saw the people."—S. Gibson; "He sees her (them) occasionally."—H. Skye.

These three chiefs of the Eel clan comprise a group to themselves.

31/13. *Ho'sahhukwih* (On.) or *Ho'sahhukwih*, "He hears a soft a toreh."—S. Gibson; but possibly just a name, although the Onondagas sometimes discuss the possibility of *Hoda'skwishukwih*, "He hears a tomahawk in his belt."—H. Skye.

This is the name that determines whether there are 49 or 50 chiefs in the League. The name appears in the first writing of the Abram Charles text for the Eulogy (p. 16), but at the bottom of the same page occurs, "1923 He

says again *Ho'sah'ha'hwih'* is not a title of a Federal Chief." Nevertheless, this name was recounted as part of the Roll Call, an Onondaga chief was installed in this title, but in recent times a controversy arose between the Cayugas and the Onondagas as to whether this title belonged to a separate individual or to the next chief.¹⁰

The last character, a male head, must stand for two titles.

32/14. *Syanawandihh*, "Across the swamp," "Over the river," or "Across the rapid."

The text implies that the last two names were additions to the roster in later times. One was a great war chief whose body was given in twain, being both a warrior and a counselor; hence the argument that one man occupied both offices. The first is of the Turtle clan. Hale says that *Skawewati* was the divided personality (p. 161). The Turtle clan claimed this name.

THE CAYUGA PICTOGRAPHS

33/1. *Dega'enyonk* (On.) or *Hoy'enyonk* (C.), "Wonderer."

Possibly because he was a Cayuga chief himself, Abram Charles evidently did not feel the need to provide himself with a set of drawings for remembering the Cayuga list. His notebook contains merely a design of spaced dots to indicate the number and groupings of the Cayuga chiefs: (2-3 3-2). The characters across the top of the same notebook page (Fig. 5) are of the Onondaga titles, but out of order. Simeon Gibson held this opinion, which

¹⁰ On the question of the number of chiefs in the League, Mr. Hewitt left this note:

"With the final amendment to the constitution of the Iroquois League, admitting and installing the last two chief warriors of the Seneca as federal chiefs, the final number of *Radlyawohs*, Federal Chiefs, became 49, which is the only number recognized by the ritual of the Eulogy of the Founders. This number was never increased, notwithstanding the adoption of the Tuscarora, the Nanticoke, and the Tutelo with their chiefs with sittings in the Federal Council Chamber. The most probable reason for this failure to add these official titles to the said ritual seems to be because the newly adopted chiefships had nothing whatever to do with the founding and institution of the League.

"Every one of these 49 Federal officials belonged to some one *akwachira* or uterine family, which probably had its own peculiar tutelary name taken from some bird or animal. One or more of these *akwachira* was organized into a higher unit—the clan. The three Oneida and the three Mohawk clans have three of these *akwachira* . . ."

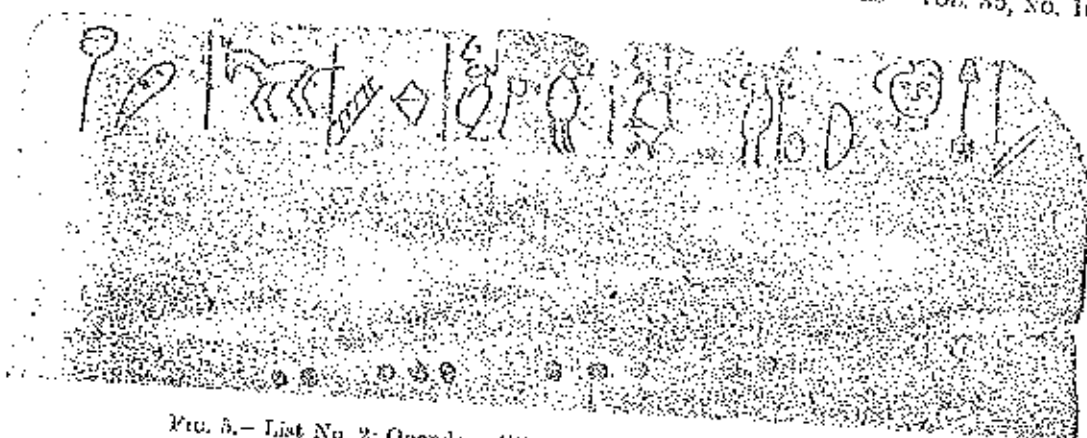


FIG. 3. - List No. 2: Onondaga titles (5-14; 1-6) and Cayuga groupings.

can be substantiated by comparing this set with the other Onondaga pictographs (Fig. 4). Taking the Onondaga list above, the order is: 5. 6/7-18 9/10-11 12/13 14/1 2 3 4. Some difficulty is encountered in adjusting the characters to the first and the last titles. Further, it is evident that when Chief Charles made this set of drawings he then regarded the thirteenth title, that of the disputed *Ha'saháhawih* as a separate office. Therefore, it may be that the list that we described in enumerating the Onondaga titles was of later composition.

31/2. *Gadji'nondawéhek* (On.), *Gadjinon'duwéhek* (C.), or *Dji'nondawéyah*. The interpretation of this name is uncertain. "Coming on its knees" (Hale), "Calls a summons" (?). -S. Gibson, and "Manipulating bugs." -H. Skye.

This and the previous title belong to the two leading chiefs of the Cayuga tribe, who are as father and son to each other. They preside as judges in the Cayuga council. The first is of the Bear clan, the second of the Hawk or "Hail" clan.

35/3. *Godagwéhjih* (On.) or *Godagwéhas* (C.), "Alashed," or "Softened." -S. Gibson.

This title and the next two belong in a group who are related as "brothers."

36/4. *Shoyónwes* (On.) or *Shonyónwes* (C.), "His guts are long." "He has a long wampum belt" (Hale).

37/5. *Hadyá'sáhne'* (On.) or *Hadyá'sénne'*, "He repeats (or rehearses) it." "He puts one on another, piles it on" (Hale).

These are a group to themselves. The first two belong to the Bear clan; the third to the Turtle clan.

38/6. *Doyanéhhyághok* (On.) or *Thowcá-*

hyághok or *Deponéhhyághok* (C.), "Reaches the sky."

39/7. *Depathwéhwéhwih* (On.), "Doubly cold."

40/8. *Doyaméhéthhon'* (On.), "Two things happen," "Double event." *Thonohwéthon'*, "Mossy place" (Hale).

This is the number of colleagues in this group, but the next one belongs in the same phratry, although they are called cousins to each other. Six and Seven are Wolf clan chiefs; Eight is of the Kilder, Small Plover, or Snipe clan. Hale ascribes it to Wolf.

41/9. *Hudonhdóhkhéha'*, "He shoulders a log (?)." -H. Skye; "Crowding himself in" (Hale).

This title belonging to the Large Plover lineage is in the same phratry as the preceding group, and his cousin across the fire is his colleague who follows. Hewitt's notes say that the latter two are brothers, but the text declares them "Cousins." The last chief is of the Bear clan.

42/10. *Deqóáhe'* (On.) or *Deqóáhe'* (C.), "He does something (?)."

It is not clear what this chief does. The present holder of the title, Chief Alex General of the Upper Cayuga band at Sour Springs, Six Nations Reserve, holds that the name means "More than Eleven."

This ends the Cayuga roster.

THE SENEGA PICTOGRAPHS

[In turning to the last tribe of the League we once more return to Hewitt's manuscript.]

43/1. *Skanyadáyo'* or *Sqanyadáyo'*, "It is a beautiful lake (Handsome Lake)" or, literally, "It is a very large lake." [As given these names are Onondaga or Cayuga, not Seneca forms.]

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There are two sets of Seneca pictographs. On Seneca List No. 1 (Fig. 4), this title is depicted by a circular design having radial lines from its center to the perimeter. On List No. 2 the character is merely a circle.

The Seneca councillors are linked in pairs of opposite moieties. As such they are cousins to each other. The first title belongs to the Turtle clan, the next to the Great Plover or Snipe.

44/2. *Sha'tekohahyes*, or *Tcu'dagutahyes*, "Two skies of equal length."

On both lists this title is represented by a character resembling the letter D; it is sometimes represented by two arcs of the celestial sphere. A line having dots along its left margin appears on one list, a line on the other, to separate the first pair of titles from the second.

45/3. *Shagen'djowonewh* or *Shagen'djowaneh*, "He of the large forehead."

This chief is depicted on both lists by a full face that accentuates the brow region over the eyes.

This title belongs to the Hawk clan, being in the same moiety as the second title, and his colleague, who sits across the fire as cousin of the first two, is of the Bear clan.

46/4. *Satyénawah* or *Sadyénawot*, "Do thou take hold of it"; "He grasps it."—S. Gibson.

Hewitt placed this name fourth on the list, although it is sixth on the Seneca roster in the Eulogy or Roll Call text by Chief Abram

Charles and in a combined list of the same date (1917) attributed to Chief Charles and to the Mohawk chief Seth Newhouse.

On List No. 1 (Fig. 4) the fourth title is represented by a character that neither Hewitt nor I could interpret. On the strength that the character stands for the name listed by Hewitt for it, Simon Gibson ventured that the vertical line was a pole grasped by two hands. This idea gains some strength from List No. 2. An arrow, however, appears at this same place on the Cayuga Condolence Cane of Andrew Spragg, and the same object was possibly intended by Chief Charles. Since these two old Cayugas lived as neighbors on the Six Nations Reserve and used to collaborate in teaching the roll call to younger men, we may assume that they agreed on the order of Seneca chiefs. Moreover, Chief Charles was also a poor draftsman. In view of the texts, the verbal lists of the Chiefs, and the Cayuga Condolence Cane, we find also:

46/4. *Ga'abogai'*, a title for which neither of us has discovered a satisfactory translation. The title suggests the homophonic word *ga'non* (S.), "arrow," which possibly helped the chiefs of recent years to remember the name. In Seneca the title is *ga'nogai'*, in contrast to the Onondaga above, which they translate as "chewer, biter, or killer." At least the name has this meaning to the Tonawanda Senecas.

This title belongs to the Turtle clan.

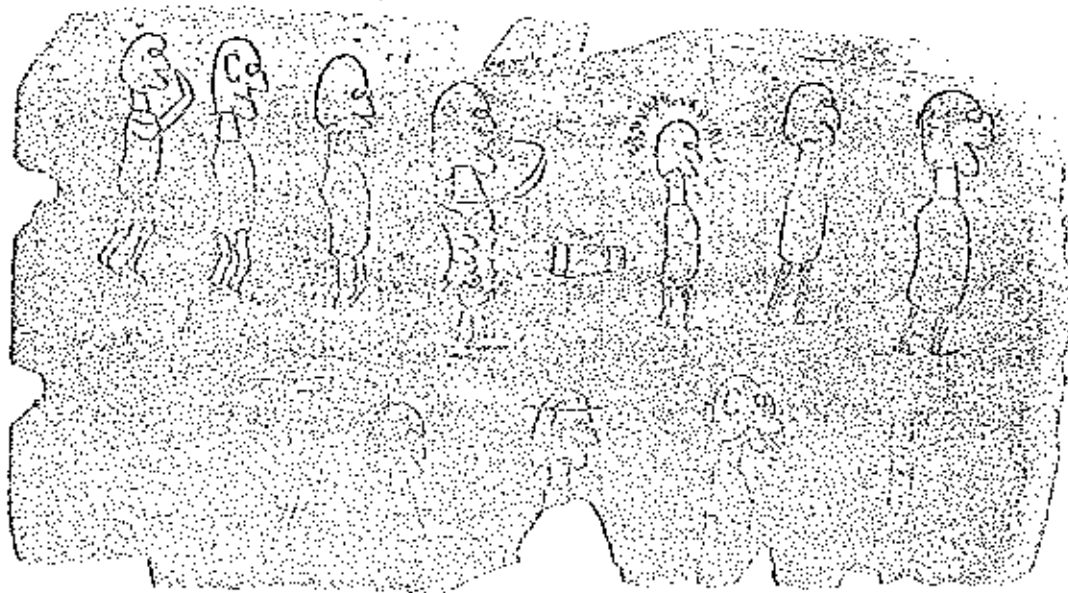


FIG. 6.—The Fourteen Matters of Requickening.

A line on both lists separates the second and third pair of Seneca chiefs.

47/5. *Onishogoné'ha'* or *Nishogoné'ni'* (?). Simon Gibson interpreted the former as meaning, "A man leaning nearly over," the latter as "Falling day," which it means to the Tomawanda Senecas. Small Plover or Snipe clan claims it.

On the first list a long object inclines to the right; on the second set of drawings a simple line inclines to the right. In either case the verb in this name denotes something falling from an upright position.

48/6. *Ka'nóokai'* (J.N.B.H.). (Cf. 46/4).

To Hewitt this character, the fifth on the Seneca List No. 1 (Fig. 4), suggested a stamp having sprouts and two roofs, but the design on the second set of drawings he found still less recognizable. The forty-eighth symbol on the Cayuga Condolence Case of Andrew Spragg is similar in appearance to the character on Chief Clowes first set of drawings (Fig. 4). It is a hand or bear paw or turtle foot having five claws or fingers. Both the Charles text for the Eulogy or Roll Call and a combined list of chiefs by Charles and Seth Newhouse would attribute this character to the name *Sadyénawát* (46/4), which we repeat here:

48/6. *Sadyénawát*, "Grasps it," which is consistent with the drawing as interpreted. Bear clan.

Another line segregates the latter pair of lines from the last two, which belong to the Doorkeepers of the Longhouse of the League.

49/7. *Kanonhkari'dáhhwi'* or *Geonohgei'diromi'*, "Its hair is stung," or "It broils." Snipe clan.

Hewitt interpreted the drawings on both lists as representing a bed of live coals.

50/8. *Peyoninshoká'wah,* *Deyoninshogán'wah,* "It keeps the doorway open"; literally, "It holds up the door-flap," referring to the ancient bark or skin door hinged at its top in the longhouse of the League. "Open Door" is the simpler rendering of Hala, and of Howard Skye.

This official is symbolized by characters representing an open doorway.

"This is the roll of the founders of the Great Peace; Mail Grandfathers."

THE SYMBOLS OF THE FOURTEEN MATTERS

There remains to describe, only the set of symbols for remembering the 14 Matters of

Requickening, which are perhaps the most interesting of the lot (Fig. 6). The Requickening Address is already in print, so the task of collating the drawings and the burdens of the address is not difficult. The list of burdens as given by Chief Charles faces a plate of the wampum strings that accompany the messages of condolence on pp. 78-79 of our previous article (this JOURNAL 34). Chief Charles covered one page of his notebook with 14 drawings, mostly crude outlines of the human form in the same style as his drawings of the chiefs' titles. Each of the drawings (Fig. 6) stands for one of the sections of the great requiem address for Condolence and Installation of Chiefs in the League. Only one symbol is lacking. There is none to represent death of a chief by murder.

Through the awful devastation of Death the phratry of the deceased chief have lost their faculties and their organs have been damaged; these are restored to them in the following stages:

1. *Omíthiri'*, "One's eyes" —drawing of a man pointing to his eyes.

2. *Hahondogáronde'*, His ear openings: Hearing—drawing of a stoop-kneed man with large ear.

3. *Dchanyá'dáwgon,* "Where is throat forks," his throat is full; Speaking—drawing of a man with round object in his throat.

Here three vertical lines indicate a hiatus; so many matters are recounted At the Wood's Edge where the mourners meet the condoling phratry.

4. *Eya'dagónwah,* "within his breast (body)" —drawing of a man with sketchy internal organs pointing to his mouth.

5. *Onyendikkhwa'*, "One's customary resting place": The bloody husk mat bed—drawing of rectangular object.

6. *Dagá'gauh,* "The deep darkness of grief" —drawing of man with deep halo around his head.

7. *Wa'hodronhyáhton'*, "He has lost sight of the Sky": Loss of the Sky—drawing of long-necked man seeking the sky.

8. *Ha'hodrahwánda'*, "He has lost sight of the Sun"—moon-faced figure seeking the Sun.

9. *Heyi'duigwánda'*, "At the Grave, at the mound of fresh earth"—drawing at lower left to represent dirt piled on grave.

10. or 11. *Dewáshen niyóihwaks,* "Twenty

Jan. 15, 1945

matters," the cost
ashijidubokwa
at the hearth of th
an &-shaped charc
tented for 20 in th
lowing. [Double m
Murder is omitted.]

12. *Onthome'sas*
and Warrior." The
the Requickening A
third figure with lo
drawings is the Mat
is Warrior.

13. *Hoyónah,*
latter, possibly.

14. *Hyáhten dá'*
thing can happen on

matters," the cost for homicide or (11), *deyoustedjisedodónhkw'h*, "Around the fire place," of the hearth of the home: the Council Fire — an S-shaped character with what may be intended for 20 in the loop and three marks following. [Double numbering arises if No. 10, Murder is omitted.]

12. *Outóowai'sas; hahskew'agóhwa'*, "Woman and Warrior." These are grouped together in the Requickening Address, but apparently the third figure with long hair in the lower set of drawings is the Matron; the next wearing a hat is Warrior.

13. *Hugóanch*, "The Federal Chief"—the latter, possibly.

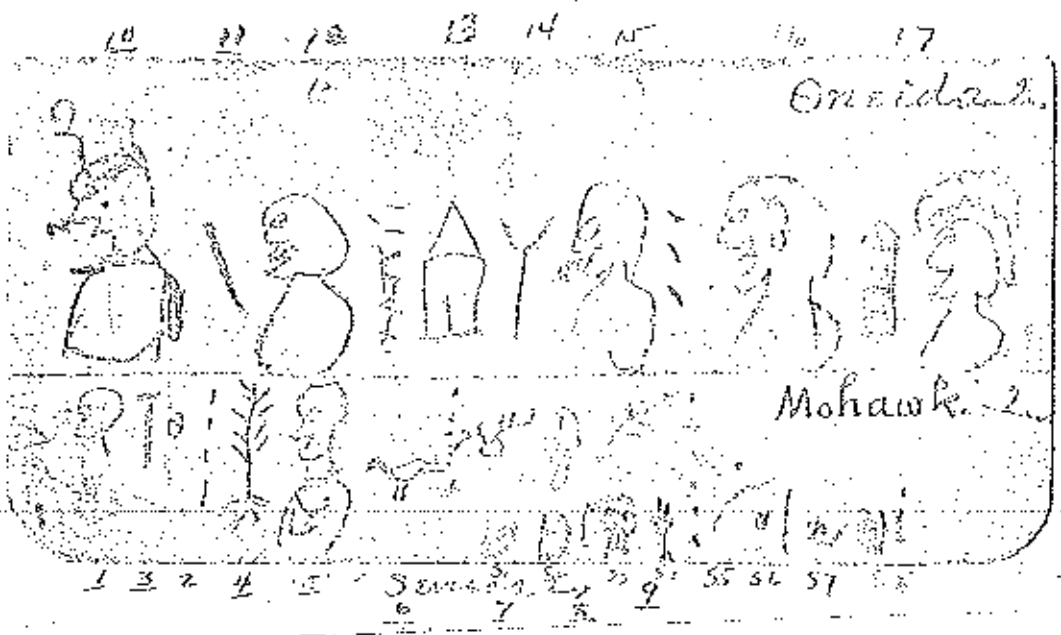
14. *Hyóhden de'nonhewndjana'gáwas*, "Anything can happen on earth"—even suicide or in-

sanity: the Mind's loss of reason—the next to the last drawing seems to have been intended to represent dementia.

15. *Gahushróke'*, "The Torch"—the last figure may be intended for a torch of hickory kind such as was formerly used to illuminate night councils. But it may also be intended to represent a "short string." The name of the last string in Requickening is also *yahóshkwe'*, "light," being the short string at the end of the set. According to Howard Skye, at the end of the ceremony the short string is put over the pole for both tribal planters to take up if any danger arises, when they say of it, "*de-waldá'a konyanonhsóhden'*, very quickly the news of it passes through the house (*Uéógúe*)."

So ends the Confotence Council.

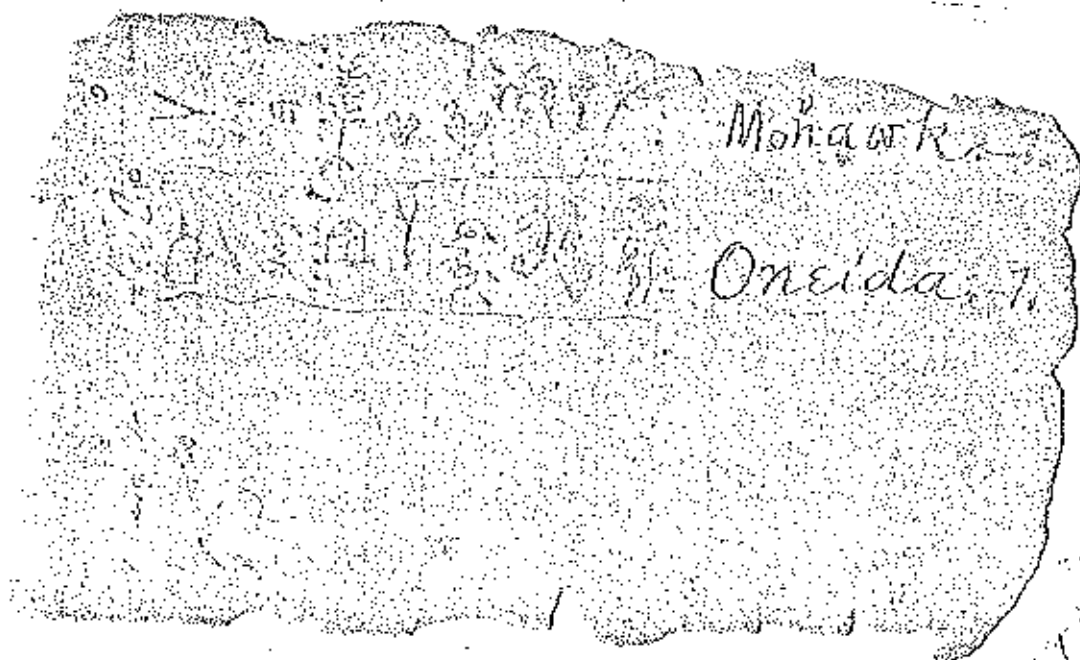
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Requiem Address, - 7.



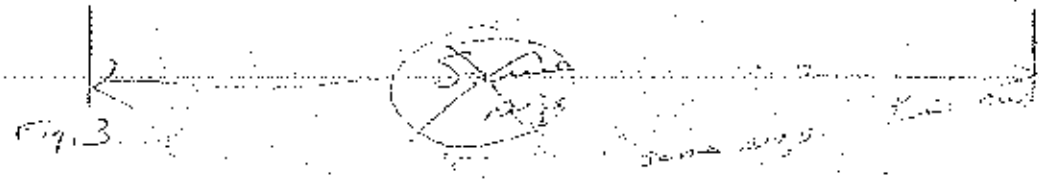
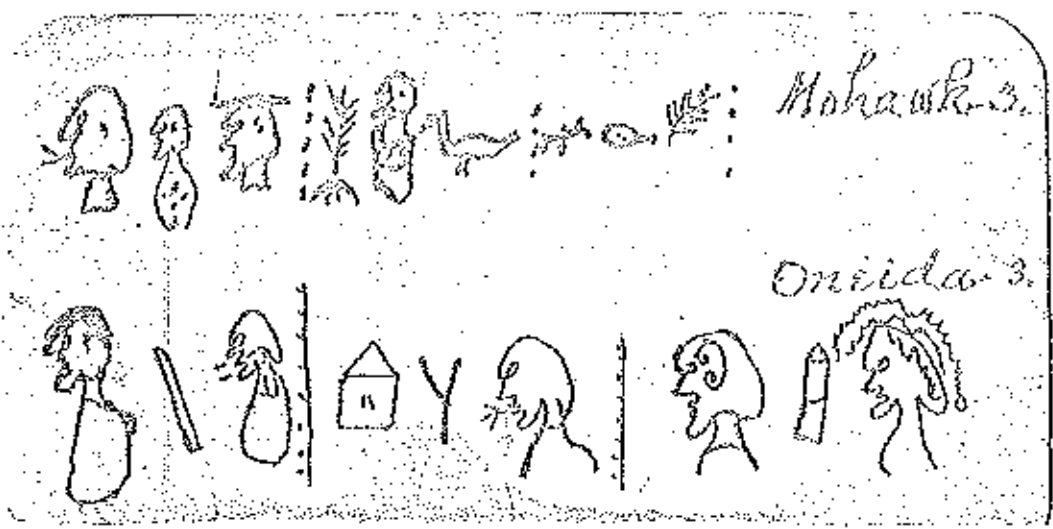
Symbol of 14 Matters,
1930



Mohawk

Oneida, N.Y.

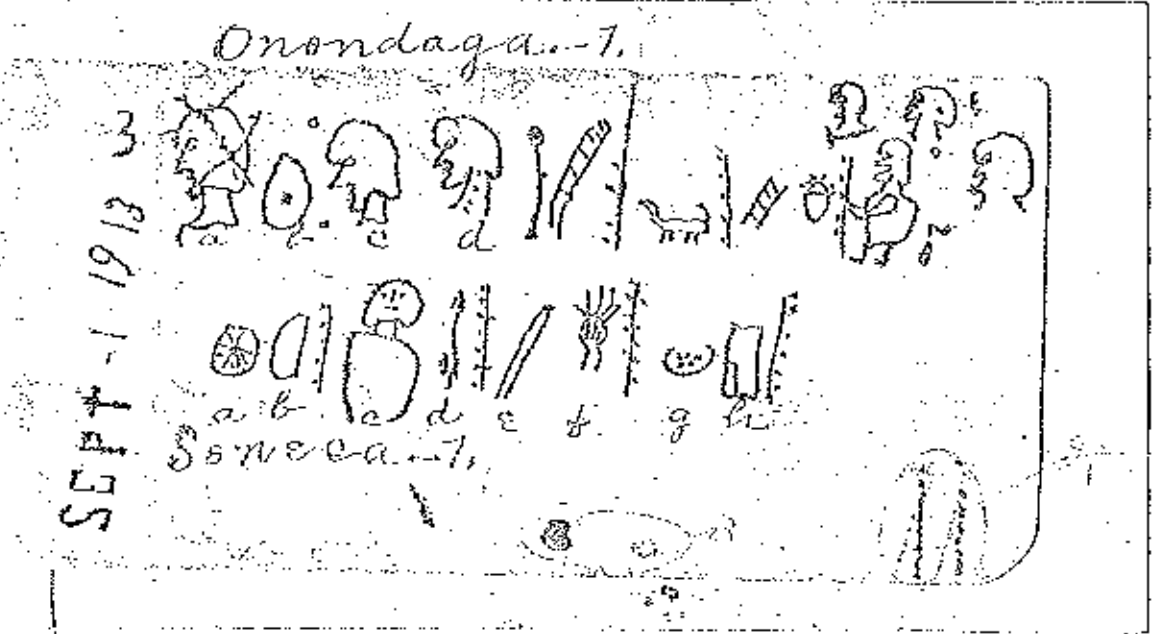




line cut

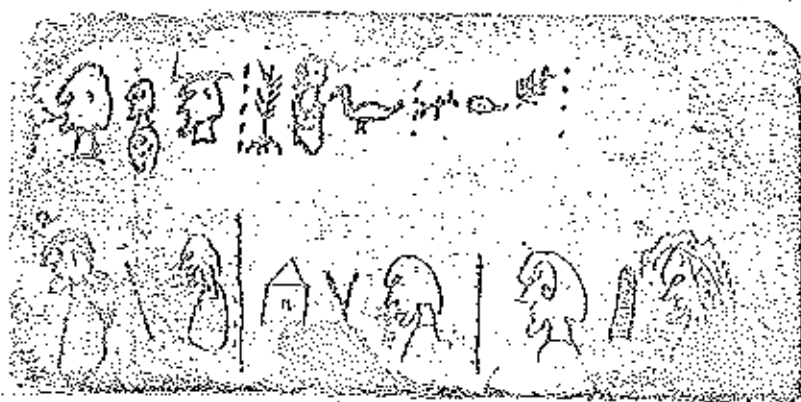
round red lines

Fig. 4



page width
- 5 1/2 -

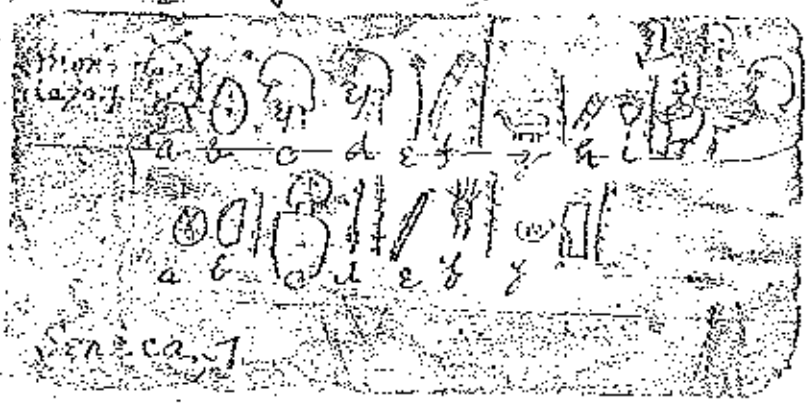
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Camp

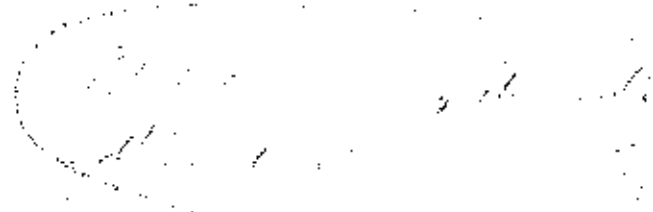
camp

3 1/2"



Seneca

Seneca



1111

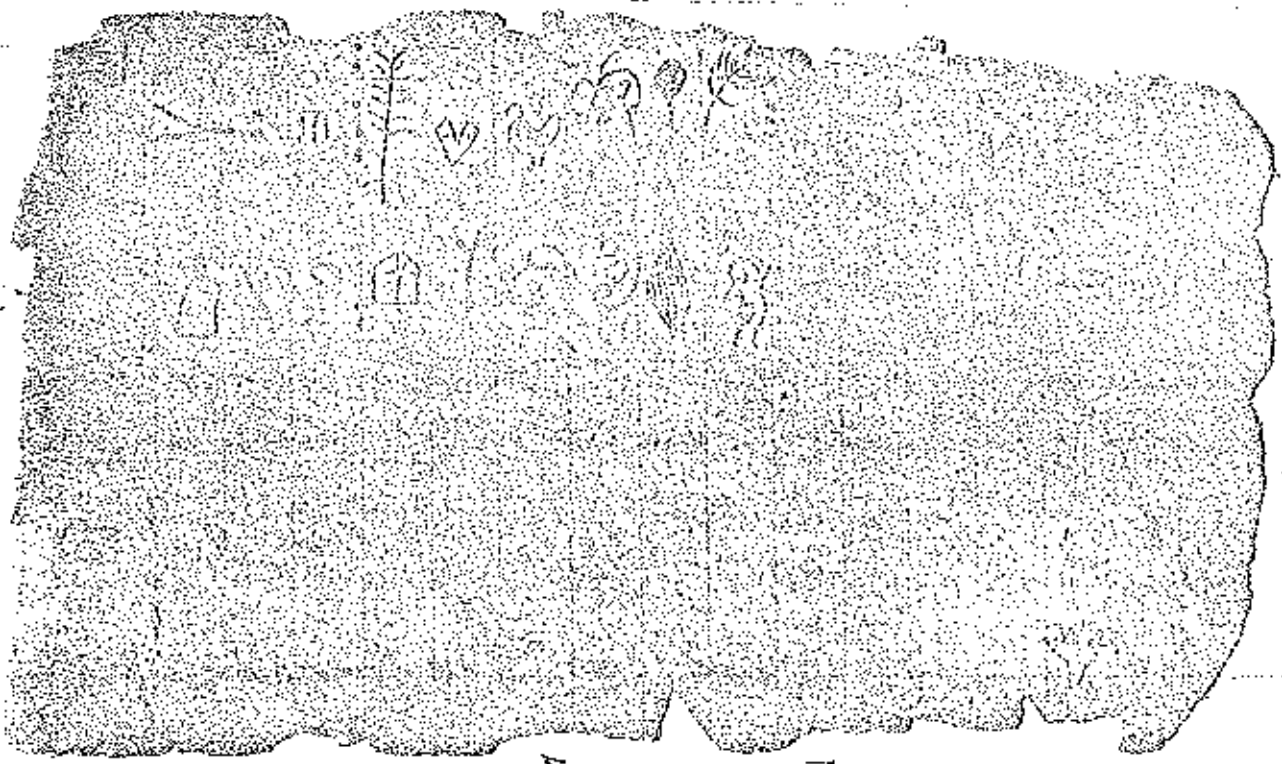


Fig. 1. List of Northern Forests, Mohawk and Oneida titles.

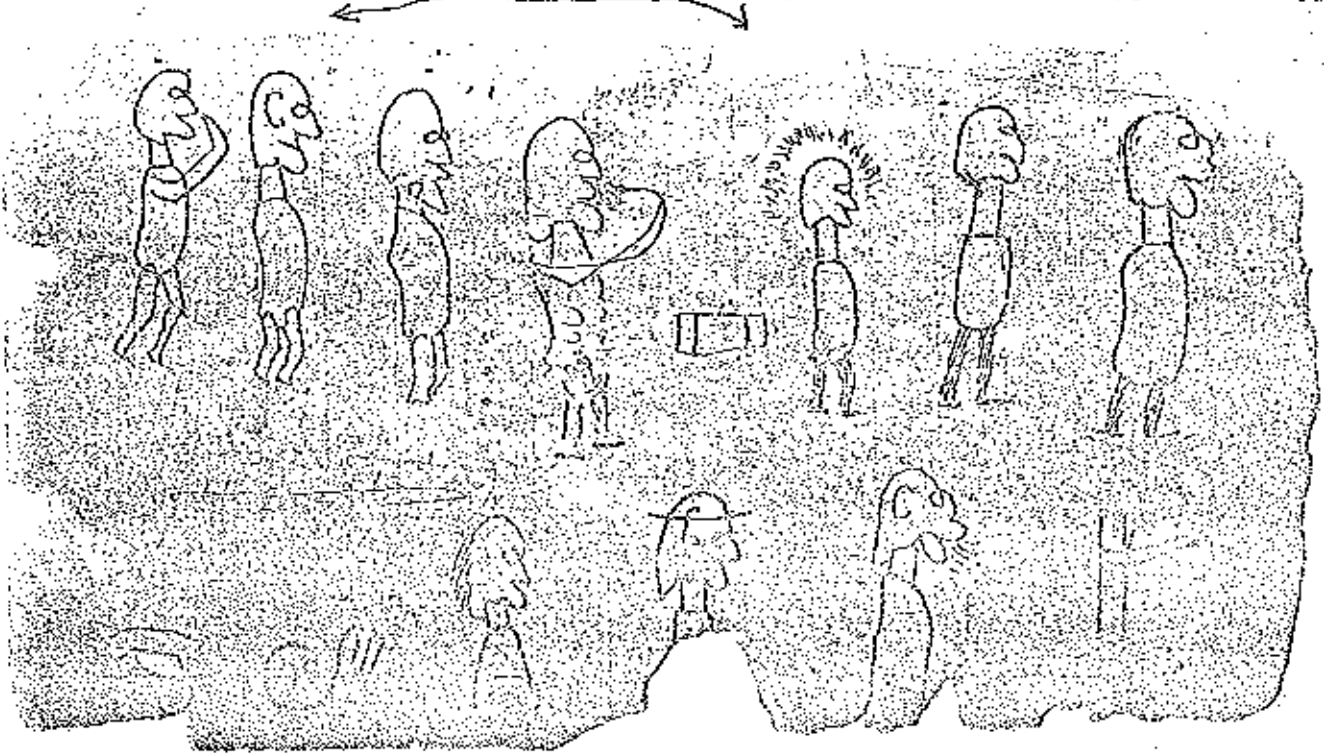
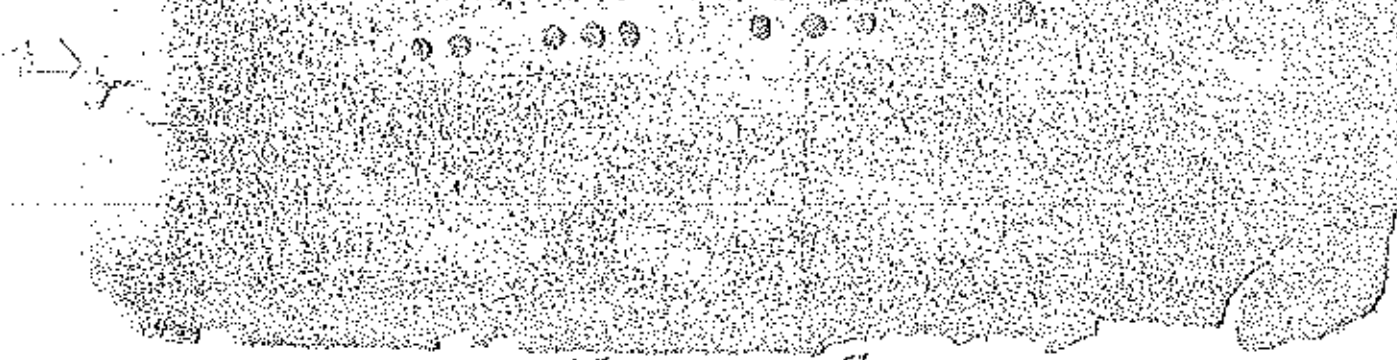


Fig. 2. The Fourteen Matters of Requickening.

HALF TONE.



Row
Row to these ridges



Reduce to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch