

Lettered. Belts with letters on them obviously had a civilized origin, and were often made by Indians to whom the design was given. Animated by religious zeal, and naturally liberal in their gifts, the poor Huron exiles near Quebec devised such a belt in 1654. It was an offering to the Virgin Mary by the first congregation of Notre Dame in the Huron colony. They had small means, but collected several hundred beads and formed of these a belt. On a ground of white wampum black beads made the words *Ave Maria gratia, plena*. This was accompanied by a Huron letter on birch bark, dictated by the Indians and written by the priests. Both were sent to Paris, where later belts found their way. The same colony sent a belt to Chartres cathedral in 1679, which was 4 feet 9 inches long, and 2.75 inches wide. On a foundation of white beads were black letters reading *Virgini pariturae votum Huronum*. This belt was bordered with embroidery of red porcupine quills.

The writer of the *Relation* of 1683-4 was enthusiastic over the *Abenakis* mission, in the chapel of which was a figure of St Francis de Sales:

There was placed below the image of the saint a very large porcelain collar, adorned with porcupine quills. . . It is the most beautiful collar I have seen made here. . . Tall Jeanne, who made the whole collar and colette, who set the porcupine quills in it, has done so with a great zeal of honoring the saint. The inscription on the collar is: *S. franc salisio Abnaq. D. (Sancto francisco salisio Abnaquiis Donatum)*.

W. L. Hildburgh has furnished the writer with descriptions and sketches of some wampum belts in Europe. Of one in the museum of the Propaganda in Rome little could be learned. Four are in the Trocadero palace in Paris, all of which are Huron. One is 12 beads deep and about 200 long, but is broken at both ends. The black letters on the white ground read, VIRGIN. IMMAC. HVRD. D. This has been figured in *Gallerie Americaine du musée ethnographie du Trocadero*, with three others. Fig. 271 shows this as drawn from the photograph by Mr Hildburgh.

A small number of lettered belts appeared in the English colonies much later. Gov. Burnett gave one to the Six Nations at Albany in 1724, on which were the letters G. R., for King George. An-

other had G. P. W., for George, Prince of Wales. A third had P F., for Prince Frederick. A more striking example is that of the great belt given at Easton by the governor of Pennsylvania in 1757. Peace had been concluded with *Teedyuscung* and the Delawares, and the Five Nations had approved of the terms, having sovereign power over the Pennsylvania Indians. In confirmation of the treaty Gov. Denny "gave a very large belt with the figures of three men in it, representing His Majesty King George taking hold of the 5 Nations King with one hand, and *Teedyuscung* the Delaware King with the other, and marked with the following letters and figure: G. R. or King George 5 N five Nations and D. K. Delaware King." A curious belt was shown by *Teedyuscung* a little before this. It was "a Short, broad Belt of White Wampum, having in the Center two Hearts of a Reddish Colour, and in Figures, 1745. . . . The Belt had a round Circle Pendant, representing the Sun."—*Penn. Minutes*, 8:217. This ornament may have been a flat, metallic ring. The belt was given to the Wappingers by the government of New York. Between the numerals 17 and 45 were two small ornaments. One other belt must have been inspired for the occasion. Preparations for the siege of Fort Niagara were in progress, and Johnson held a council. At this the Six Nations presented him "a Belt with the Figure of Niagara at the end of it, & Sir William's name worked thereon." Of course the baronet thanked them and expressed his satisfaction at their readiness for the work. This was in 1759, and Fort Niagara soon fell. Belts of this character were not common, the Indians preferring symbolic figures, such as they had known from early days. Another of Johnson's lettered belts is elsewhere mentioned, and also one probably presented by Gov. Simcoe, now in the national museum. This appears in fig. 269.

Emblematic. The earliest emblematic belt of which we have any distinct account was presented at Quebec in 1653 by an Indian chief from New England. He spread this out saying:

"This is the road that it is necessary to keep in order to come to visit your friends." The collar was composed of white and violet porcelain, so that there were some figures which this good man ex-

plained in his fashion: "There," said he, "are the lakes, here are the rivers, here are the mountains and the valleys that it is necessary to pass. Here are the portages and waterfalls."—*Relation*, 1653. He had meanings for all his other belts but they contained no figures.

There has been a disposition to consider an existing Onondaga belt as one presented by Chaumonot in 1655, but there is little ground for this. Had the one he gave at that time contained such figures, they would certainly have been described. It happened that Father Le Moyne went on an embassy to the Mohawks in the autumn of that year, and was warmly greeted by them. He was at once received with three belts and the next day had other rich presents. "The first and most elaborate of these presents was a large figure of the sun, wrought with 6000 beads of porcelain, to the end, he said, that darkness may have no place in their councils, but that the sun may shed his light upon them even in the night." This is not expressly called a belt, but was probably of that nature and wrought in some convenient form.

Very few of these strictly emblematic belts were described in the 17th century. One belt received at Oneida from the French, while Father Milet was a captive there, brought a response which stirred up the colonial authorities. The Five Nations called Milet to Onondaga to write down the message they wished to send to Frontenac with three belts. "The 1st in which there are five black squares on a white ground, indicates the Five Iroquois Nations, who have all unanimously agreed to this embassy from the Iroquois to Kebec. They, therefore, say by this belt: Here we are, Father Onontio, by your invitation, on your mat." Rev. Mr Dellius translated this for Gov. Fletcher, and the commotion subsided. In 1690 the last of 13 belts presented by the Five Nations at Albany had also the five houses on it. It is probable that the Onondaga covenant chain belt of 1682 was emblematic, but no figures are described.

There were frequent quarrels with traders, and the Iroquois often made stringent rules against the introduction of strong drink into their towns. In 1721, many years after they had conquered the Indians of Pennsylvania, "the five Nations had sent down a large Belt of Wampum with the figure of a Rundlet and an Hatchet on

it, to the Indians settled upwards on Susquehanna, with orders to stave all the Rum they met with."—*Penn. Minutes*, 3:154. This vigorous order brought trouble. At Staunton in the same state, in 1736, a white belt of eleven rows had "four black St George's crosses in it."—*Penn. Minutes*, 4:83

A supposed earlier emblematic belt, suggestive of a later date, was seen by Conrad Weiser at Logstown in 1748. He was told that it was given to the Wyandots by the governor of New York 50 years before; and if this could be proved, it might sustain the antiquity of the Penn belt, which has a similar character. Of the one in question Weiser said:

The Belt was 25 Grains wide & 265 long, very Curiously wrought. There were seven Images of Men holding one another by the Hand, the 1st signifying the Governor of New York (or rather, as they said, the King of Great Britain) the 2d the Mohawks, the 3d the Oneidas, the 4th the Cajugas, the 5th the Onondagers, the 6th the Senekas, the 7th the Owandaets, and two Rows of black Wampum under their feet, thro' the whole length of the Belt to signify the Road from Albany thro' the 5 Nations to the Owendaets; That 6 years ago they had sent Deputies with the same Belt to Albany to renew the Friendship.—*Penn. Minutes*, 5:351

The writer finds no records of this later visit. Some Wyandots came to Albany in 1702 to trade, and in the same year a belt was sent to them, possibly this one, but there is no allusion to its character. Some were there in 1723, and received presents but no belts. Allowing the possible identity of the belt, it is strange that the emblems had little use for half a century later. Even then its date would be 20 years later than Penn's first contact with the Indians. It seems better to assign the Penn belt to his second visit at least. Mr Holmes said that "it has an extremely interesting, although a somewhat incomplete history attached to it. It is believed to be the original belt delivered by the *Leni-Lenape* sachems to William Penn at the celebrated treaty under the elm tree at Shackamaxon in 1682. Although there is no documentary evidence to show that this identical belt was delivered on that occasion, it is conceded on all hands that it came into the possession of the great founder of Pennsylvania at some one of his treaties with the tribes that occupied the province ceded to him. Up to the year 1857 this belt

remained in the keeping of the Penn family. In March 1857, it was presented to the Pennsylvania historical society by Granville John Penn, a great grandson of William Penn."—*Holmes*, p. 253-54. So much for its history. In his address on its presentation Mr Penn said its dimensions were greater than those used on ordinary occasions, being 18 rows deep, that the two figures clasping hands signified a treaty, that one of these wears a hat and must be a European, and that its long continuance in the family leaves no doubt of its genuineness. The last is the only strong point. It is a fine but moderate sized belt of less than 3000 beads, shown in fig. 173, and many larger and wider ones are on record in unimportant councils. A treaty is signified, but the supposed hat appears as an undoubted Indian's head on another belt, where similar figures are seen joining hands. Aside from its history there would be no hesitation in placing it in the middle of the 18th century, to which both figures and sloping lines belong. Besides its preservation two other points in its favor may be mentioned. One of these is the relative proportion of purple and white beads, though the Onondaga-United States covenant belt is of the same character in this and other things. The other is that Conrad Weiser described a similar belt in 1748, as already stated, which he was then told belonged to the end of the preceding century. Evidently the Penn belt had never been shown him. However these facts may affect its history incidentally, there can be little doubt it is the oldest wampum belt but one now in America, and it may well be prized as such.

Fig. 171 shows an earlier belt now in the county clerk's office in Kingston (N. Y.) of which a small picture appears in the *History of Kingston*, by Marius Schoonmaker, p. 40. It was given by the Esopus chiefs at a treaty in 1664, and is laid up with the record. There are three gaps in it, and it has no pattern, being made entirely of white beads. It is six rows deep and about 130 beads long.

The style of belts of which the Penn and the Onondaga covenant belt are among remaining examples became somewhat frequent about the middle of the 18th century. The supply of wampum and the use of belts seem to have lessened for a time, but revived won-

derfully under Sir William Johnson. He used both strings and belts with a lavish hand, multiplied emblems and ceremonies, and gave precision to many that were indefinite before. Union, chain, covenant, road, invitation, peace, war, scalp and other belts frequently appear. Belts became as abundant as they were a hundred years before, but often with new names. This pleased the Iroquois greatly, and they often thanked him for reviving their ancient ceremonies. There can be no question that these enlarged under his wise direction.

In his interesting letter to Arthur Lee in 1771, Johnson gives a few particulars regarding belts, of which he had handled and explained hundreds. He said:

As to the information wch you observe I formerly Transmitted to the Gov^r of N. York concerning the belt & 15 Bloody Sticks sent by the Mississagaes, The like is very Comon and the Ind^s use Sticks as well to Express the alliance of Castles as the number of Individuals in a party, These Sticks are generally ab^t 6 Inches in length & very slender & painted Red if the Subject is War but without any peculiarity as to Shape. Their belts are mostly black Wampum, painted red when they denote War, they describe Castles sometimes upon them as square figures of White Wampum, & in Alliances Human figures holding a Chain of friendship, each figure represents a nation, an axe is also sometimes described wch is always an Emblem of War, The Taking it up is a Declaration [of war] and the burying it a token of Peace.

There are other valuable observations on emblems used in other ways, as well as on language and customs in this letter, which will be found in the fourth volume of the *Documentary history of the state of New York*.

In 1756 the Six Nations produced "a prodigious large belt" given them in 1748 when Johnson entered on the management of their affairs. This had an emblem of the Six Nations joined hand in hand with the English. In 1756 the Six Nations presented a large covenant belt which was expressive of the sentiments of the Five Nations. This phrase was used because the Tuscaroras had not the same dignity as the rest. A speech accompanied the exhibition of this belt, which was not delivered to Johnson but was to be sent "to the Senecas, that from thence it may be conveyed

to the remotest nations as an emblem of the happiness we enjoy by our union, at the same time kindly inviting them to come in and join our Covenant Chain." A description of the belt was added. "This Belt was the largest ever given. Upon it was wrought the sun by way of the emblem of Light, and some figures representing the Six Nations. It was intended to signify that they now saw objects in their proper Light, and that they were fully convinced of the truth of every thing proposed."—*O'Callaghan. Colonial hist. 7:66.* At a council at Fort Johnson the following year this belt appeared again. "The Senecas spread a prodigious large Belt upon the floor of 30 rows broad of Wampum, with a figure of the sun in the middle and the Six Nations at one end. They told Sir William this belt they had made use of to invite some nations of Indians to remove nearer to them and join their Confederacy. That they had sent to all the scattered Indians of the Six Nations to return and live in their own country. That they had sent messages to their several Allies to dispatch Deputies to a Grand Council they proposed speedily to be held at Onondaga, to take their general welfare under serious consideration. That a great quantity of Belts were already arrived at Onondaga," and they thought the council would assemble in July.—*O'Callaghan. Colonial hist. 7:265*

After Sir William Johnson's death in 1774 this belt was produced by the Six Nations at Guy Park. The Onondaga speaker said: "This is the great Belt of union delivered to us before the late war, for the purpose of peace and friendship with the English. . . This great Belt has always lain at our Council fire, but we shall now deposit it with the Senecas, who are the western door of our confederacy, and whom we thereby charge and injoin to look towards us and to follow strictly the resolutions they have now confirmed with us, and to unite strongly therein.—Delivered an extraordinary Belt, near 5 feet long and consisting of 30 Rows of white wampum in breadth, with a figure of Black wampum in it." As will be seen the leading idea of this belt of union was to bring the Indians themselves into greater harmony.

At a council at Johnstown in the autumn of 1774, the Onondaga

speaker, *Teyawarunte*, produced "the great old *covenant Chain*" of 21 rows, saying: "Brother. This is the Covenant Chain delivered to the whole Six Nations by our late Superintendant in presence of Commissioners from nine Governments, which we have kept clean from rust, and held fast in our hands." This was the conference of seven colonies at Albany in 1754, when Lieut.-Gov. De Lancey delivered this belt to the Six Nations on their behalf, Johnson being present. The chain belt was then explained in the following manner by De Lancey: "This represents the King our common Father—this line represents his arms extended, embracing all us the English and all the Six Nations—These represents the Colonies which are here present and those who desire to be thought present—These represents the Six Nations, and there is a space left to draw in the other Indians—And there in the middle is the line represented which draws us all in under the King our common Father." Virginia and Carolina desired to be considered present. At a council at Fort Johnson in 1756 the speaker held this up, saying: "HERE is the Covenant Chain Belt given to us by eight different governments in the year 1754. We shall on our side keep our eyes upon it and take care that no rust shall injure it, and it shall never be broken on our side." An earlier chain belt was given by Gov. Clinton in 1746, along with war belts and belts of friendship. In the conference of 1755 the chain belt was called the union belt. Johnson gave another and different chain belt at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. It was briefly described as "Belt of the Cov^t Chain 15 Rows with human figures at each end." A conference with the Six Nations and some of their allies in 1759 made another great belt necessary. After suitable words, Johnson "gave over the Cov^t Chain Belt, which was a very large black belt, with the figures on it representing 10 Nations of Ind^s & the English."

John Long in his *Travels* alludes to another of the great Indian agent's belts. "The wampum belts given to Sir William Johnson of immortal Indian memory, were in several rows, black on each side and white in the middle. The white being placed in the center was to express peace, and that the path between them was open and free. In the center of the belt was a figure of a diamond made of white wampum, which the Indians call the council fire."

Similar belts were much used in Pennsylvania at this time. In the *Memorials of the Moravian church* it is said that on the occasion of a treaty at Philadelphia in 1757, about 12,000 new wampum beads were brought there, "upon which the Indian women were employed to make a belt of a fathom long and 16 beads wide, in the center of which was to be the figure of a man, meaning the governor of Pennsylvania, and five figures to his right and five to his left, meaning the 10 nations mentioned by *Teedyuscung*." That chief sent several belts to the Indians the next year. A large one had five strings or lines across it of white wampum. A white belt had black strings across and was otherwise set with black beads. Another of white wampum had black beads set across. These seem the earliest of these transverse lines, unless the antiquity of the Penn belt is allowed. This figure soon became common. At a council in Easton (Pa.) in 1761, there were many belts with stripes, bars and diamonds, and the width of each belt is given. Some stripes and bars were sloping. At a council in Philadelphia in 1758, a Seneca chief gave "a Belt, on one side of which are three figures of Men in Black Wampum, representing the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos, living on the Ohio. On the other Side Four figures representing the United Councils of the Six Nations in their own Country." At Easton, that year, Gov. Denny gave a large belt with a man at each end, and a string of black showing the road from Ohio to Philadelphia. In 1760 a belt of nine rows and two feet long, showed a road passing through 12 towns. Diamonds did not always represent villages or nations. In 1762 a belt of seven rows had two diamonds to show the councilors and warriors united in council. At Lancaster, that year, the Six Nations gave "a Belt of nine Rows, representing the figures of two Men in the middle, with a Heart between them, & Six Diamonds on each side; one of the men represents the Indians, the other the English."—*Penn. Minutes*, 8:747

A few belts of this kind came from Canada. At a council in 1756, the Onondaga speaker described some French belts received in his town, speaking in his proper place. "Then the said speaker moved his seat and placed himself among the Oneida Chiefs and

produced a White Belt wherein a Chain of Friendship was wrought, the Belt was about a Fathom in length, and a Man worked upon it at each end, signifying the Governor of Canada and the Five Nations, holding each other by the hand in token of Friendship, which Belt the commander of the Party, which destroyed Mr Bull's Fort and party at the great carrying place, gave to an Oneida Indian who was hunting, some distance from said Fort just before it was destroyed."—*O'Callaghan. Colonial hist. 7:137.* The next year the French sent a very long black war belt of 6000 beads to the Six Nations, with an axe worked in the middle. Such belts were frequent, and a similar one with two hatchets was sent by the French at a later day. Among the belts given at a council at Montreal in 1754, one represented "the two villages of the Oneidas, Cayugas and *Kaskarorens*." Two paths on it terminated at a friendly place.

Among later belts may be mentioned one shown by the Shawnees to the Iroquois in 1771, representing them and the Illinois, with 10 confederated tribes between. Besides the great one, other chain belts appear. In 1773 the Six Nations presented a covenant chain belt to Johnson of 11 rows and 12 squares. He returned a black one of 13 rows with white squares. After his death the Oneidas showed a large white belt with black diamonds, which he had given them. Belts of this description have been preserved.

A few post-colonial belts may be mentioned. At a council at the Onondaga village near Buffalo in 1793, a western belt presented was of white wampum "made in a circular form, representing their place of meeting as in the center, and crossed by four stripes of black wampum, representing all their confederates, east, west, north and south." At the same time "the Wyandots spoke with a very large belt with three pictures on it—the Americans at one end, the Six Nations in the middle, and themselves at the other end." While waiting near Detroit for a share in the council at Miami rapids the same year, the United States commissioners gave the Wyandots a white belt with 13 stripes of black wampum.

The rupture between England and the colonies brought out some belts at conferences with the Iroquois. The Oneidas came to Col. Johnson for advice on political troubles and showed a black belt of

nine rows. On this were white letters and figures, W: I. and 1756. The Six Nations afterward met the colonial commissioners at German Flats. This was preliminary to a more important council at Albany in August 1775. As a symbol of the troubled times a broken belt was one of those presented by the commissioners. A new union belt was given by them. It represented the 12 united colonies, and was followed on their part by "the large belt of intelligence and declaration." Then followed the path belt, and the pipe of peace with six small strings. The Indians there referred to an old covenant belt of 20 rows between the Oneidas and Peter Schuyler, and another given by the Senecas. These old belts were again brought out at Albany.

In these many accounts of belts of this kind the development of emblems and the probable date of each may be seen. Many were arbitrary, and the exact meaning could only be known by tradition, which often proves a misleading guide with existing belts. Others had their meaning explained when given, to the great relief of those who received them. While a line may mean a road, a square or diamond a castle or nation, clasped hands alliances and hatchets war, it does not always clearly appear what road, nation, alliance or war is intended. The interpretation depends on the occasion, and the true meaning may be forgotten. In Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, pt 5, p. 290-91, is a conversation between Capt. de Lamothe Cadillac and the Huron chief Quarante-Sols. It was at a council at Fort Pontchartrain, June 3, 1703.

Quarante-Sols. I came on my way to tell you what I propose to do at Montreal. Here is a collar which has been sent to us by the Iroquois, and which the Ottawas have brought us; we do not know what it signifies.

M. de Lamothe. How have you received this collar without knowing the purpose for which it was sent you?

Quarante-Sols. It has already been long since we received it. I was not there, and our old men have forgotten what it said.

M. de Lamothe. Your old men are not regarded as children to have such a short memory.

Quarante-Sols. We do not accept this collar; but we are going to take it to Sonnontouan to find out what it means, because it is a serious matter not to respond to a collar; it is the custom among

us. The Ottawas can tell you what it is, because our people have forgotten it.

M. de Lamothe. The Ottawas will reply that, having received it, you should remember it, but since this collar is dumb and has lost its speech, I am obliged to be silent myself.

Pontiac's great wampum belt is said to have been 6 feet long and 4 inches wide, and would thus have contained 9000 beads. It was covered with emblems of the 47 tribes and villages in alliance with him.

In the *History of the Ojebway Indians*, by the Rev. Peter Jones, p. 121, is an interesting description of a modern belt.

Firstly, the council fire at the Sault Ste Marie has no emblem, because there the council was held. Secondly, the council fire at Manitoulin has the emblem of a beautiful white fish; this signifies purity, or a clean, white heart—that all our hearts ought to be white toward each other. Thirdly, the emblem of a beaver, placed on an island on Penetanguishew bay, denotes wisdom—that all the acts of our fathers were done in wisdom. Fourthly, the emblem of a white deer, placed at Lake Simcoe, signified superiority; the dish and ladles at the same place indicated abundance of game and food. Fifthly, the eagle perched on a tall pinetree at the Credit denotes watching, and swiftness in carrying messages. The eagle was to watch all the council fires between the Six Nations and the Ojebways, and being farsighted, he might, in the event of anything happening, communicate the tidings to the distant tribes. Sixthly, the sun was hung up in the center of the belt to show that their acts were done in the face of the sun, by whom they swore that they would forever after observe the treaties made between the two parties.

This highly artificial character may be contrasted with the simplicity of early belts.

In a meeting between Johnson and some Cherokees in 1758, it is said: "The Cherokee spoke to the Belt of Wampum, addressing himself to Sir Wm., and the Belt of Wamp spoke it out in his own language." The Cherokees "gave a white belt, with one black row of wampum in it signifying the road, & 3 figures of men signifying Sir Wm. Johnson, & the Kophy & Tsyody nations."—*O'Callaghan. Colonial hist.* 2:766. In this case the Belt of Wampum who speaks is the Seneca chief known by this name, and also as Old Belt.

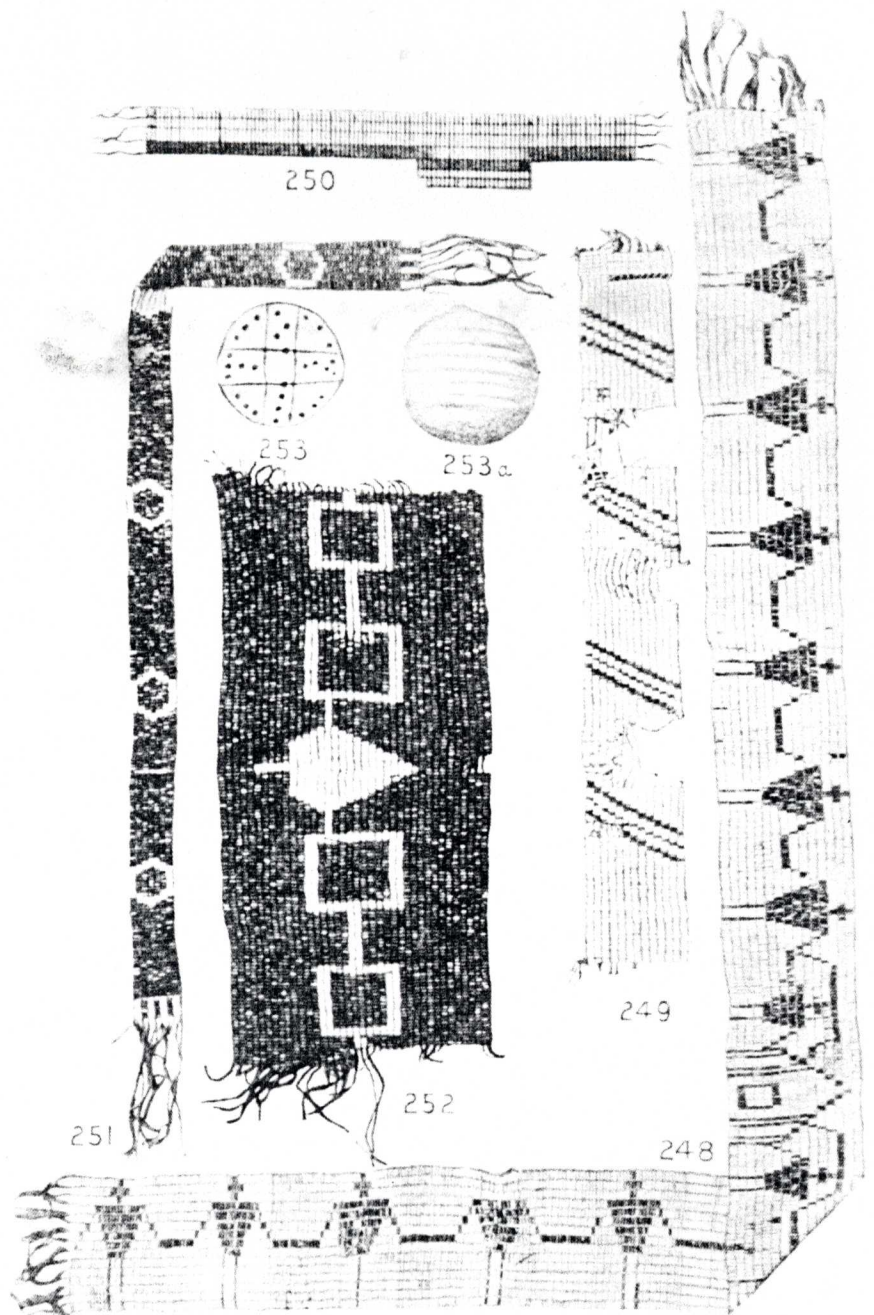
In David Boyle's *Fourth annual report of the Canadian institute*,

self, had but a brief opportunity to convey his knowledge, if he did this at all. They then came into the hands of the Websters as a matter of convenience, and they had no training for the office. Thomas Webster certainly gave meanings to suit himself or his visitors, not knowing their history.

Fig. 248 is 15 rows or 5 inches wide, is nearly 6 feet long and has purple figures on a white foundation. There are $8\frac{1}{2}$ beads to the inch of length, and it is on twine thongs. All agree that this is a covenant belt with the 13 original United States, but the interpretation of parts varies. Donaldson says it is a "memorial of the first treaty made by Washington on behalf of the 13 original states and the president of the Six Nations at the national capitol." Others have seen in the central house the capitol building at Washington, and in the two men within this representatives of the contracting parties. The writer's opinion has been that the central part of the house contains the Iroquois council fire, with an Indian on either side clasping hands in alliance or friendship with the states outside. This may be one of the belts which Clark thought connected with the formation of the league.

Fig. 237 is the belt which Clark thought was a French missionary belt, and which has long had that reputation. Mr Shea and others have felt very sure that it is a belt given to the Onondagas by Chaumonot in 1655, but this has a very slender foundation. There is no hint that he presented any emblematic belt, and no probability that any French belt would have been kept through the succeeding wars. The Jesuits allude to none so held. The groundwork of purple wampum is almost conclusive against its antiquity. On the other hand a similar belt is on record over a century later. In 1775 the Moravian Indians sent a belt to the grand council of the Delawares, which was 3 feet long, having a white cross at one end and a band through the middle. (*De Schweinitz*, p. 426) As the Moravians and their Indians had frequent business at Onondaga, this belt is more likely to have been Moravian than French, if its character is allowed. The cross, however, was a frequent symbol of Canada, considered as a country. The sole reason for the missionary theory is found in the cross terminating the white line which reaches the

Plate 22



yet fully disappeared. In a council held in the fort in Quebec in 1645, the hanging of wampum was described. "In the middle was a little space where the Iroquois had placed two poles, and stretched a cord from one to the other. Attached to this were the words they bore, i. e. the presents. There were 17 porcelain collars, partly on his body, partly in a little sack." The orator took a collar in his hand and spoke, and then promenaded and sang. Le Moyne adopted the promenade when he made his 19 presents at Onondaga in 1654. "At each of my presents they made from the bottom of the chest a powerful ejaculation as a testimony of their joy. I was the full space of two hours making all my harangue in the tone of a captain, promenading after their custom like an actor on the stage." A council was held with a New England nation at Quebec in 1652, in the Jesuits' hall. "They began by the exhibition of the presents, which they stretched on a cord which extended through all the hall. Those were only very large collars of porcelain, bracelets, earrings, and calumets or petunoirs."

This hanging up of presents is noticed by English writers. At a conference with Lieut.-Gov. Evans of Pennsylvania, in 1707, "a Nanticoke Indian took into his hands a Belt of Wampum from a Line, whereon there was hanging nineteen others, and several strings of Beads."—*Penn. Minutes*, 2:387. When John Bartram was at Onondaga in 1743, Conrad Weiser delivered three broad belts and five strings of wampum. "There was a pole laid across from one chamber to another, over the passage, on which the belts and strings were hung that all the council might see them."—*Bartram*, p. 60. Weiser also mentioned this. "All the wampum was hung over a stick laid across the house, about six feet from the ground." There are other obscure references to this. In 1699 Gov. Bellomont's propositions with "seven hands of wampum were hung up in the proposition house." Two years before Count Frontenac gave two belts to the Foxes on account of the killing of two of their chiefs by the Iroquois. These were "to hang in the cabin of the dead, and to remain there until this vengeance be consummated." The Iroquois naturally were pleased with attention to such forms, and expressed their gratitude to Sir William Johnson

in 1768 for observing one of their ancient customs. He had given them a string of wampum in a pouch.

One Iroquois custom was mentioned at a council in Montreal in 1756. "The Cayuga orator terminated the session by calling, in a loud voice, each nation according to its rank, and, when he named it, the chief thereof uttered the cry of thanks, which was repeated in cadence by all the Indians." This appears elsewhere, but not the rest. In regard to the belts presented by the Five Nations, "each of them furnished in turn and contributed equally to that expense, and as the Indians are very particular in exhibiting the share they possess in these presents, at the end of each speech, the orator is careful, when handling the belt, to cry out the name of the canton, or nation, which has furnished it."—O'Callaghan. *Colonial hist.* 10:563

Father Milet notes this feature in his interesting account of making ready for a council, which is contained in the second chapter of the *Relation* for 1673-74. He wrote from Oneida (N. Y.) and said:

In order to maintain peace among themselves and make amends for faults committed by individuals, the Iroquois nations have instituted certain embassies which they reciprocally send one to another. In these they exhibit their finest porcelain collars, with the utmost magnificence in their power; and their captains endeavor to display their eloquence, both in relating their fables, their genealogies and their stories; and in suitably exhorting the ancients and warriors, according to the exigencies of present affairs. In each family there are a certain number of men and women of note, who represent, as it were, the nobles of the land. These are called *Agoiandères*, and they provide the porcelain and the collars. When it is intended to send an embassy to other nations, the families first meet, each in private, and collect all the porcelain that they have to give; then each family displays to the others what the richest among them have supplied. Then the oldest or most eloquent of the family makes an harangue—either standing erect, or oftener walking about. At times he speaks in a lugubrious tone, drawling out his words; at others in a sharp tone, fitted to move them; sometimes in a joyful voice, intermingled with songs, which the other ancients repeat in harmony. At the conclusion he shows all these collars as so many deceased persons, formerly of note, who come back to life to urge all those who are present to preserve the country for which they formerly gave their life and shed their blood. All is ended by a feast, and by the offering of many presents, which they make one to another. The ancients of the other families thank him who has spoken, and on the following day they do the same

thing to him, each in their turn. After each family has thus displayed its collars and made its harangue, they all assemble on a day determined, and hanging up the collars in order, each on its own side, they tell one another who are those who have given these collars. "Such a one," they say, "has given this one, or so many thousand beads; another has given these two, these three; another these four collars." Finally they place all these collars together, and put them in the hands of the ancients, who remain their masters. The council is then held to consider how many shall be carried to each nation, to whom they ought to go in embassy, and what affairs should be treated. Some days before the departure of the ambassadors they send a present of porcelain to ask that they would prepare a mat for them to sit and lie upon, and to make known the day of their departure or arrival.

As soon as the news reaches a village, the old men assemble; on their part the young men go to the chase, and everyone contributes the best that he has to regale the ambassadors.

When they have arrived about a musket shot from the palisade, they light a fire in token of peace, in the place where the ancients of the village go to attend them; and after having smoked some time, and received the savage compliments which they make to one another, they lead them to the cabin which is assigned them. They march very gravely and in single file. One of the most notable marches at the head, and he pronounces a grand suite of words which they have received by tradition, and which they repeat after him. The ambassador who is to speak marches last, singing a rather agreeable air, and continues his song until in his cabin, where he also makes five or six turns, singing. Then he sits down the last of all. Then they renew the testimonials of friendship and make presents to dispel fatigue, to wipe away tears, to remove scales from the eyes that they may more easily see each other; finally, to open the throat in order to give a free passage to the voice. These presents are followed by food, which they serve to the ambassadors by way of refreshment. Then they ask them news of their nation, and they reply by recitals which sometimes last all night. The following day they rest, and the third day they make their harangue, show their collars and the subject of their embassy. They answer them the following day, after a public dance which is made around the collars. The whole is terminated by a feast and by the thanks which they mutually make.

The opening ceremonies probably always included the things above mentioned, but otherwise varied much. A single string or belt might include several messages, or be devoted to one. By belts it was usual to dispel the clouds and make the sun appear, to take briers out of the paths, to cleanse blood, to restore the mind,

to bury the hatchet, to kindle the fire and to sweep the hearth. In later times a belt commonly uprooted a tree long enough to bury all troubles under it. With simple addresses all this preliminary wampum was delivered, in order that the council might open fully prepared for harmony of action. These variations are a pleasant subject of study by themselves, and in them will be recognized the truth of Johnson's words in 1771, that the Indians "from their having been next to our settlements for several years, & relying solely on oral Tradition for the support of their Ancient usages, have lost great part of them, and have blended some with Customs amongst ourselves, so as to render it Extremely difficult, if not impossible to Trace their Customs to their origin, or to discover their Explication."

Reference has been made to the exclamations with which wampum was accepted in councils, and many examples might be cited, but one will suffice in which all is described. In the *Collections of the Massachusetts historical society*, 1st ser. v. 7, is *William Marshe's journal*, kept while at a council at Lancaster (Pa.) in 1744. On page 185 he says:

Edmund Jenings, esq. as first commissioner for Maryland, made a speech to the Six Nations, which was interpreted to them by Mr Weiser. Whilst Mr Jenings delivered his speech, he gave the interpreter a string and two belts of wampum, which were by him presented to the sachem *Cannassateego*; and the Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation; by this we were sure the speech was well approved by the Indians. This cry is usually made on presenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus: The grand chief and speaker amongst them pronounces the word *jo-hah!* with a loud voice, singly; then all the others join in this sound, *woh!* dwelling some little time while upon it, and keeping exact time with each other, and immediately, with a sharp noise and force, utter this sound, *wough!* This is performed in great order, and with the utmost ceremony and decorum, and with the Indians is like our English huzza!

The sound may still be recognized in Iroquois meetings in New York.

David Zeisberger noted that "the custom of adoption into a family by force prevailed among various tribes. In case of the death of a son or daughter, the parents, with a black belt, hired a captain

to procure a substitute. Collecting his band, this captain went out as for war, and took a prisoner. If he was a white man his head was shaved and painted; in every case the belt was wrapped around his neck, and he was carried off to the bereaved family, which received him with all affection."—*De Schweinitz*, p. 620-21

In Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*, 1:17, will be found several extracts from Sir William Johnson's diary, relating to a kindred custom. May 22, 1757, he sympathized with a Canajoharie chief, who had lost his mother, and "expected he would remove his concern by going to war, and bringing either a prisoner or a scalp to put in her room, or stead, as is usual among Indians. Upon this Sir William gave him a very fine belt to enforce his request."

A chief brought him four French scalps, May 18, 1758, and said: This scalp (the one with a black belt tied to it painted) I desire may be delivered to my wife's uncle, old *Hickus* of Canajoharie, to replace her mother, who was his sister. This scalp (meaning another upon the same stick, with a bunch of black wampum tied to it) I send to the aforesaid man to replace *Eusenias*, who was *Taraghyorie's* wife. This scalp (meaning a scalp by itself on a stick, with a bunch of black wampum) my cousin, Captain Jacob, gives to replace old King Hendrick of Canajoharie. This scalp (meaning the small one tied round with a bunch of wampum) my said cousin gives to replace *Hickus's* son, who was killed at the battle of the lake under your command.

Small wampum was one decoration of the white dog at the New Year's feast, and sins were confessed on strings of this at that time,

Glass beads

Glass beads were introduced at an early day but had not the same esteem as wampum. They had a moderate use in a public way. In 1633 Le Jeune presented a string of these to three chiefs of different nations in Canada, and glass tubes were among the Huron purchases of that year. In 1635 Brébeuf catechised the Huron children and gave a little glass tube or bead to those who did the best. Bruyas did the same at Oneida in 1670. "Whoever knows how to repeat on Sunday all that is said during the week, has a string of bugle or two little glass beads, or two brass rings." This was a common practice, and the tubes may be several inches long.

When Le Moyne spoke at Onondaga in 1654, two parts of his first word were "100 little tubes or cylinders of red glass, which are the diamonds of the country," and a great collar of porcelain. The 15th present was of these glass tubes. In this he makes these beads equal in value to wampum, but they were rarely used on public occasions. Frontenac, however, gave the Iroquois some packages of glass beads in 1682. They were his fifth word for some Onondaga women. The English also presented the Onondagas with 30 strings of white glass beads in 1687, and 75 similar strings were used in a preceding conference. One Canadian belt, fig. 178, is of glass beads, but this is exceptional, though others might be named. Wampum had an official character belonging to nothing else.

Condolence

The ceremony of condolence, now including the raising of a new chief, is one of the most interesting of surviving Iroquois customs. A similar ceremony was found among most Canadian tribes, involving the idea of a resurrection of the dead chief in the person of the new. In some nations the change was complete. The new chief abandoned his old name and took that of the deceased, assuming his family relations and duties. His old clothes were removed and new garments were given him. Among the Iroquois the change was less complete. The principal chiefs had official names, and the new chief took that of the dead without necessarily losing his personal name, a practice much like our own. At an early day the condolence for a dead Iroquois chief did not usually include the raising of the new one, which made a separate affair. Almost all councils were opened with a general condolence, but there were special ones for this purpose alone. The earliest one of which we have any particular account among the New York Iroquois is that given by Pierron, after the battle between the Mohawks and Mahikans in 1669. It has been mistaken for something like the Huron feast of the dead, of which we have no historic trace in New York. Unfortunately the missionary made needless trouble about what he saw, and withdrew without seeing all. The story will be found in the *Relation* of 1670. Enough will be quoted to show its connec-