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**No. 7. The Feast of the Dead, or Ghost Dance at Six Nations
Reserve, Canada**

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

Furthermore, it is noted that regular audits are essential to identify any discrepancies or errors early on. This proactive approach helps in maintaining the integrity of the financial statements and prevents any potential issues from escalating.

In addition, the document highlights the need for clear communication between all parties involved. Regular meetings and reports should be provided to keep everyone informed of the current status and any changes that may occur. This collaborative effort is key to the success of the organization.

Finally, it is stressed that adherence to all applicable laws and regulations is non-negotiable. Staying up-to-date with the latest legal requirements helps in avoiding any penalties or legal complications.

THE FEAST OF THE DEAD, OR GHOST DANCE, AT SIX NATIONS RESERVE, CANADA¹

By WILLIAM N. FENTON and GERTRUDE P. KURATH

INTRODUCTION

The modern Iroquois still placate their dead with semiannual feasts which in their ritual content and form are lineally descended from the great Feast of the Dead as it was witnessed in ancient Huronia by Champlain, Sagard, and Brébeuf during the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century (Kinietz, 1940, 99-120). To the ethnologist who has observed the modern ceremony and read the descriptions of the great Huron feast the genetic connection is inescapable. Having observed the ceremony among the Seneca of western New York, Fenton took a detailed account of the feast on the morning after from his Cayuga interpreter, Howard Skye. Within a few days, Skye and Fenton visited the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, where, with Kenneth Kidd's aid, Brébeuf's Relation for 1636 describing the Huron Dead Feast was read to Skye. For two of the Huron terms, as reported by Brébeuf, Skye was able to give Onondaga equivalents or analogues: the Huron seldom referred to the solemn Feast of the Dead except by the euphemism "the Kettle," or "the Great Kettle"; ganajaitgo-wah, "big kettle," was Skye's immediate response. "Those called *Aiheonde*, who take care of the graves . . ." suggested *oyáde'*, "pit" or "ossuary," and while this is not the term for the men who now assist the women, who are called *hanehhwa'*, "the skin," they do perform analagous functions. Skye, however, was not the first to make the historic connection.

The late Simeon Gibson derived both the modern Feast of the Dead and the Condolence Council, by which candidates are elevated to chiefship in the places of the dead founders of the League, from the ancient Huron feast (Fenton, 1944). Gibson knew that when the Cayuga removed from Echo Place, which is east of modern Brantford on the Grand River, to the present Six Nations Reserve, a large Feast of the Dead was held all night in the old longhouse to inform the dead whose bones lay in the adjacent cemetery that the band was leaving.

¹ The field work of both authors was supported by grants from the Viking Fund, Inc., of New York City.

The same thing happened when the Onondaga removed from Middleport, north of the river, south to the present site of Onondaga Longhouse near MacKenzie Creek. Similarly, when the chiefs come over the road chanting the Eulogy to the dead chiefs and reciting the Roll Call of the Founders of the League on their way to condole the relatives of the late chief and raise up his successor in office, it is said that they symbolically carry the bones of the dead chief on their backs as if they brought him back from a distant field, removing him for burial to the cemetery behind the new council house.

Preoccupation with the dead permeates other aspects of Iroquois culture. Not only as in the following accounts do the dead manifest themselves to the living, but Iroquois mythology contains some beautiful myths of other-world journeys (Fenton, 1947, p. 394; Thompson, 1929, p. xxii).

Although the Feast of the Dead is a constantly recurring feature in the annual cycle of Iroquois ceremonies, and is celebrated in some form in all conservative Iroquois communities, it is rarely attended by Whites. Fenton was invited to several celebrations of the half-night variety given by Seneca families for the living and the dead, usually in response to someone's dream, or to cure sickness; but he has never witnessed the huge all-night celebration held in the longhouse, although one occurred at Tonawanda during his residence there in the United States Indian Service (1935-37). But there are abundant accounts by informants, and the songs are frequently rehearsed and have been recorded.

But Canada is the place to study the Feast of the Dead. In connection with a study of the Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony, Speck attended the all-night Feast of the Dead at Lower Cayuga Longhouse, and his recent book on the Sour Springs cycle contains a synoptic account (Speck, 1942; 1949, pp. 120-122, 166). The present article is entirely original, for it is based on the authors' own research and observation; it publishes the detailed description by Howard Syke of a 1945 celebration at Onondaga Longhouse, followed by the observation of Gertrude Kurath, who attended the memorial feast at Sour Springs Longhouse on April 24, 1949. To fortify and clarify her observations, Kurath went over the ceremony in detail with Speck's informant, Chief Alexander General (Deskaheh), who contributed stories of ghost beliefs. She alone of all the observers could describe the ceremony choreographically. And she has coupled observations to the transcription and analysis of the music taken from Fenton's records.

THE PRESENT COMMUNAL MEMORIAL FEAST

Time, duration, and purpose.—The Iroquois who follow the Longhouse way believe that although the main soul goes the long trail to

the land of the dead beyond the setting sun, the ghost spirit hangs around the reserves. Ghosts which continue to circulate among the living must receive periodic propitiation in the forms of burnt offerings of tobacco, food, song, and dance, and presents of cloth. The Feast of the Dead, which is primarily the prerogative of women, as we shall see, may have one of several objectives: (1) Communal memorial for all ancestral spirits, held all night regularly at the longhouse; (2) a private healing ceremony to cure ghost sickness and held usually half the night in a private dwelling of the patient and sponsor; (3) a renewal of a former cure held briefly at the Midwinter Festival. The procedure in the ceremony is the same whether held for a community, a family, or an individual, although the latter two are briefer, the last including perhaps but six songs. Ghost rites are generally associated with winter when the growing things sleep. Consequently the great semiannual tribal feasts occur in late fall when the crops are in, and in early spring at the time of rising sap. But the healing rite may occur at any season. The few recorded dates of semiannual Dead Feasts are consistent with native theory: October 29, 1912, at Oneidatown (F. W. Waugh); April 1939 at Sour Springs Cayuga (Speck); November 5, 1945, at Onondaga Longhouse, Six Nations Reserve (H. Skye); Cayuga of Sour Springs, December 26, 1948, and April 24, 1949 (Kurath).

We shall take up the account by Howard Skye of the Onondaga ceremony, followed by Kurath's observations at Sour Springs Cayuga Longhouse.

'OHGI'WE AT ONONDAGA LONGHOUSE, SIX NATIONS RESERVE

NOVEMBER 5, 1945, 10:30 P. M. TO DAWN. HOWARD SKYE TO FENTON.

Name.—The fall semiannual Feast of the Dead of the Nation is called simply 'ohgi'we, or *ɔgɛnɛna''geh gendyohgagwegih eya'dagweni'-yo' 'ohgi'we deyohe'nhdi*, "Fall meeting to feast the dead of the nation all night." It occurs also in the Spring.

Two women leaders.—The women leaders are called *Ona'sis'hɛ' onahgiwe's'q'* (Oa.), "the female cousins dead-feasters," of which there is one in each moiety. They confer, and having decided, go around the houses and tell the other lady officials of a preliminary meeting to consider and set a date. As a rule they hold such meetings in a private house.

The women officials of the Dead Feast (*onahgiwe's'q'*), or Dead Feast Matrons, number about 15, and are elected for life in certain families, of which all are not represented at Onondaga.

Preliminary meetings.—The women officials hold a meeting (*onahgiwe's'q' ɛgontɛnis'a''*) to assess the food supply available in the community for the Feast. The ceremony this year (1945) was

unusual in that ordinarily there are between two and four preliminary meetings before the officials are assured of enough food for the feast. This year they set the date right away because, owing to the good times they had a big supply on hand. The Matrons had gathered these stuffs the Sunday before their meeting. So they set the date whenever they have enough food for the feast.

Men who assist the women.—Both of the Dead Feast Matrons have a male assistant (hone'hq' hane'hwai' (Oa.); haneh'hwa' (Co.)); the two men work together and are called hadinehwa' (Oa.), hadi'nehwa' (C.) (haneh'wa' from gane'hwa', "a pelt or skin"; derivation uncertain). When the Matrons go to gather food they send the male assistants to carry heavy burdens. The men assistants likewise are appointed for life, but the office does not pass in the maternal family. That they carry titles as Dead Feast officials is uncertain, but they are of opposite moieties and of equal rank. On one side Howard Skye of the Wolf Clan (Ca.) has as his cousin Sam Silversmith (Deer Clan (Oa.)), whose official name in the Onondaga Longhouse is gawistano'wah, "big dipper" (?). Several days before the ceremony Sam informed Howard that they were expected to carry out the following assignments: (1) To go out and notify the people on the day of the ceremony, which means going from house to house as heralds (they went out the morning and evening of November 5); (2) to prepare fires at the longhouse, look after the lights (oil lamps), and cook the corn soup;² (3) to keep the fires burning in the longhouse during the ceremony; and (4) to conduct a dance for the women officials, who cross over to the men's side when 'Ohgi'we is finished (first singing at midnight) and tell us that now they will put on (dance) ganadjitge' hq, "Carry-out-the-Kettle."

Notification.—The women officials appoint one or two women to get the singers, who are two women, and they are appointed at the meeting to serve for that ceremony. (Last night they had Mrs. Charlie Jamieson and Mrs. Alex Nanticoke.) One is considered song leader and the other second. The two women singers, having been appointed for that chorale, enlist a drummer, his assistant, and a Speaker.

² Women usually cook for feasts, but on the Six Nations Reserve where the power of the Matrons is evident, I noted that in the Condolence Council the Matrons who were appointed to cook for the Chiefs delegated the hard work to male assistants. Jemima Gibson, a Cayuga Matron, having heard of the supposed Asiatic origin of the Indian from one of the anthropologists visiting the Six Nations, presumably Goldenweiser or Hewitt, made a joke at the expense of her cousin, Howard Skye, my informant, and the male cooks for the Dead Feast, saying that, "Surely they are Chinamen, since Chinamen are the only other men who cook in Canada."

These roles are distinguished by the following titles:

- (1) Woman song leader, *odəno't'a' ɛyehɛhɛ'tt*.
- (2) Second singer, *degeni ɔdɔ'ta'*.
- (3) Drummer, *hana'ja'e-s* (drum beater), or *hadəno't'a'*, song leader, singer.
- (4) Assistant, *ɛhɔwai'nowas* (he props up the words?).
- (5) Speaker, *degahsaga-wɛ* (his mouth is open).

The day before the feast, female song leaders assist with the cooking, helping the first day and resting the day of the ceremony before singing.

MATÉRIEL

Food.—When the food is ready, the two Dead Feast officials usually appoint someone with a team of horses to bring it to the longhouse from the private house nearby where it has been prepared. No special name attaches to this role. The feast consists of the following traditional foods:

- (1) Corn bread, *onɛhao häh'gwa'*; (Oa.) *ganɔsto'hare gana'da* (M.), "corn washed in water"; evidently round corn dumplings.
- (2) Corn soup of hulled corn, parched-corn soup,
- (3) or *gagohsege'yuuɥ* (Oa.) *gahadih* (dried): green corn grated and parched in the sun or oven, from *ogoh'sä'* (Oa.), "corn in the milk."
- (4) *gahägwaɣi'dawih*, "bread that is scorched" (Ghost bread).
- (5) or *dihakɔhsä ohägwa'*, "feast bread": fried cakes.¹

¹ Omitted, 1945.

At this point the two male helpers now prepare the corn soup at the cookhouse or longhouse kitchen (see above).

Ritual equipment.—The two male assistants (*haneh'wa'*, "skin") are supposed to have brought to the longhouse or place of gathering and to have kept there while they were cooking, a drum and a beater, and Indian tobacco, for it is the custom to have everything ready 24 hours beforehand. On the day of the feast, the women procure print goods to distribute as presents. The two head women make bundles of these goods, providing shares for the two female song leaders, the drummer and his assistant, the Speaker, and the *hadi'nehwa'*, "two skins" (male helpers). Whoever else assists in the cooking, usually women, receives each a share, as well as the man who takes the food to the longhouse with his team.

THE CEREMONY

When the people start to gather at the longhouse (it was early last night; we gathered at 8 and started at 10:30), the two female officials who are cousins (*ona'sis'hɛ'*) confer and decide who shall go across from the women's side and notify the Speaker (Chief Logan). At the time that she tells the Speaker to commence, they sometimes in-

stall new *gohgi'weh* (Women Dead Feast officials), but not in November 1945. But if there is a candidate, this is the time that the Matron informs the Speaker. Also they install new *hane'hwa'* at that time (but none in 1945). She tells him, "We are going to perform as in the past *onahgiwesho'gǣhǣ'* (for the Dead Feast officials who are deceased)." She means that the living officials are going to perform as the deceased officials were wont to perform the ceremony. "All of the officials have agreed to have the feast in good faith." The ceremony must be performed in concord or else the dead will not enjoy it. (The Speaker supplies the rest in a set speech.)

Opening address.—First comes the customary thanksgiving address, *ganohé'yok*, followed by the *ga'nigohā' dogǣs'ti'*, the true message, "What is really on his mind."

Today we all heard the *hane'hwa'* (as we were notified) that there would be a feast tonight of [gives names middle of p. 147]. [Here the "true message" begins. Speaker relates what the *gohgi'weh* told him. It is a long speech lasting about 25 minutes.]

All of the officials are in good spirits and all are attending this feast.

What happens depends on the wishes of the female officials.

[Preaches urging all to continue in good faith whenever they hold a feast.]

[Speaks of the dead:] If the female officials disagree, the dead will not enjoy the feast. [Nothing is said of the land of the dead or the fate of souls who meet violent deaths. (Cf. Fenton on Suicide, 1941.) *Gainhiya'geh*, "heaven," is the land of the dead.]

Tobacco invocation.—The Speaker performs this role at the women's fire. The invocation lasts about an hour at the ceremony because of a tendency to repeat and embellish. My informant thought that if reduced to essentials it could be done in 15 minutes. (Robert Smoke's invocation made on the occasion of recording the songs in the spring of 1945 was a special plea to the deceased officials and souls of the Nation not to consider the recording a lapse from grace.)

You all partake of tobacco, all of you departed Dead Feast officials, for this is how you were wont to go through the ritual. And so likewise these present women Dead Feast Officers think that they would like to perform the ceremony as closely as possible to the way you used to do it. And moreover the women have made a nice job of this, working with one accord. And they will give to you that on which our life depends [food]. This vital thing have the women done in gathering from everyone [they have solicited everybody] presents right here which belong to all of you [dead]. Therefore, don't any of you require more than the amount that the women Dead Feast officials could realize. Therefore, this will make everyone who is still living happy [in the realization of having fulfilled]. This is what we understand. That you [dead people] are so constituted that nothing obstructs your vision [keeps you from seeing] those who survive [are living] going to and fro [here on the earth]. And so, therefore, this very sacred tobacco is what we customarily use in order that it will be well with [the living] in the future.

And so this is all of the words traversed [all he remembers].

[All he remembers of the Onondaga text of the prayer; more follows.]

This expression is always used at the end, no matter how good a speaker the priest may be, in case he left out something, then he is free. Speakers should memorize the texts the same as singers. "Dawit" Thomas or Chief Joe Logan are the regular Speakers.

Locus of ceremony on women's side.—The ceremony is performed in the women's end of the longhouse as is appropriate in a women's ritual (fig. 11). (The dead Matrons are comprised within the woman's

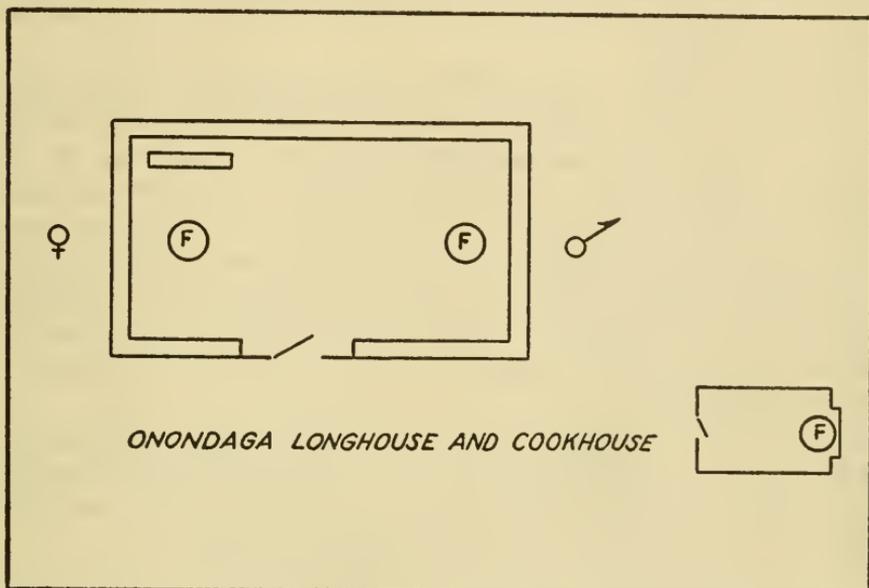


FIGURE 11.—Plan of Onondaga Longhouse and cookhouse.

realm and the continuum of society runs from them to the living Matrons, the onahiwe's 'q', through their daughters to the last child.) The woman song leader crosses to the men's end of the longhouse and informs the drummer that they are now ready to start singing. She speaks to the drummer, to his helper, and to the Speaker, who are all seated on the men's side. Thereupon the two male singers and the Speaker cross to the women's side, where a bench is prepared for them, behind the women's fire opposite the main door of Onondaga Longhouse. Apparently the Speaker had gone to the women's fire to make the Tobacco Invocation and had returned to his own side. Chief Peter Buck kids Chief Joe Logan for crossing to the women's stove, claiming that he can't hear from the Chiefs' bench whether words are left out.

Songs.—Without seeing the ceremony, a discussion of the program of songs is omitted here, since these things are discussed later by Kurath (pp. 153 ff.).

Guanajitgē'hwih, "Carry-out-the-Kettle."—When 'Ohgi'we is over, the Matron goes over to the men's side and asks one of her male helpers

to get a man to sing for Carry-out-the-Kettle. (Such singers are not lined up or appointed in anyway beforehand. That would break the rules.) Peter Buck and Charlie Jamieson sang the main ritual; Roy Buck, the son, and Gordy Peters sang for the latter. A feature of this whole ceremony is a special, large 'Ohgi'we drum; Charlie Jamieson always brings his. The drum is the "kettle" that is carried out. Both have the same generic term.

The Speaker announces "the women Dead Feast officials have said that now we shall have 'Carry-out-the-Kettle' and that we should all take part and dance."

The dance.—The two singers, being the drummer and his assistant, stand face to face with the two head women Dead Feast officials between them around the drum, which is a social dance drum, not the large Ghost Dance drum. The opposing pairs of men and women hold the drum. After four introductory songs they commence to dance. (Kurath, who saw the dance, has described it below. She denies that the dance she observed proceeded in a clockwise direction, as Howard Skye stated to Fenton, and as Fenton had been told by other informants.) The action takes place in the middle of the house; there is no singers' bench.

Announcement of feast.—A woman official tells the Speaker to announce the feast. The Speaker always repeats what the woman officer said, "They will now serve the feast." (Presumably this is a longer statement, but my interpreter gave only the substance.)

Feast etiquette.—About 2 a. m., the Matrons enlist some of their relatives (their brothers; never their husbands, who are not considered relations) to distribute baskets of food. The circuit is sometimes clockwise because they claim that is the way to serve the Feast for the Dead. Errors, however, often occur. A man goes counterclockwise, and others follow. A Matron should instruct them to proceed clockwise. One is not supposed to say, "Thank you"; never at a Feast for the Dead should one return thanks. But eat as much as you can; one is required to eat some of it. Nevertheless, persons attending sometimes leave the corn soup received in the distribution until morning.

Social dances (Gainasy'ah).—The Matron in charge crosses and tells her male helper, "Now we will have social dances," and it is up to him to enlist a speaker or announcer, get the singers, and round up dancers. It is customary for a speaker to announce the period of social dancing. He mentions the name of the dance but not the names of the singers or dance leaders, as is done at stated festivals of the year.

There follows a list of social dances performed regularly, with one omission noted for 1945:

- (1) Owęsganye' gainagayoka'', Women's Shuffle Dance with ancient songs.
- (2) ga'datshe'da', Standing Quiver, or Warrior's Dance.
- (3) deyodanę'tshaos, Linking Arms.
- (4) ojiq'da' owę'na', Fish Song (Dance).
- (5) djoęga'ge'ha', Racoon Dance.
- (6) da'nęsta'ge'ha', "Buffalo" or "Naked" Dance. (Known to be a dance borrowed from some other tribe called da'nęsta', now equated with wasa'se' [Sioux War Dance] ("Shaking-a-Bush"—Kurath). Could this be On'dast (Conestoga)?)
- (7) qdadeniyo'kwa, Fishing Dance. Men chose women partners halfway.
- (8)¹ gatshe'dędadq', shaking a jug.
- (9) otei'nha'hq, garters.

qda'sā't'a', Distribution

¹ Omitted, 1945.

Drumming for the distribution.—By the time the social dances are finished it is 4:30 a. m., when the Matron again crosses to the speaker to say: ędyetcinq'dji'yais qda'sā't'a', "He will drum for you ladies for the distribution." Now the 'Ohgi'we drummer, his assistant, and the Speaker return to the bench placed near the women's fire. The two head women singers stand facing the drummer and his assistant (the singers). On an adjacent bench the two head women 'Ohgi'we officials administer the distribution. They have one of the woman officials designated to carry bundles with instructions how to distribute the goods (fig. 12).

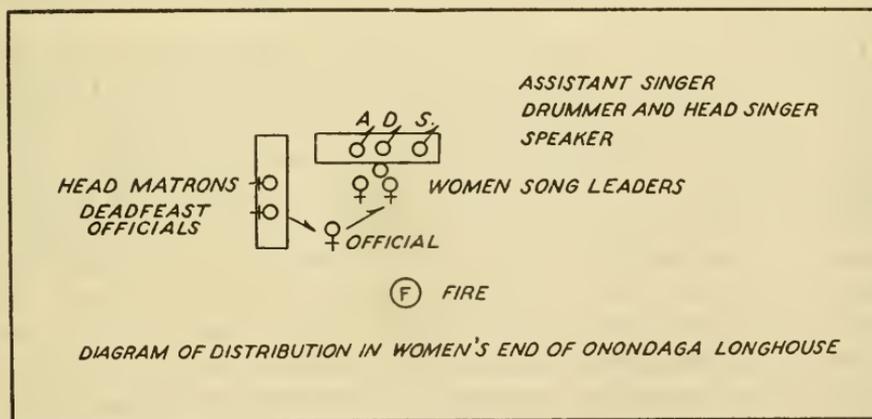


FIGURE 12.—Position of officials at distribution of goods in ceremony of 'Ohgi'we at Onondaga Longhouse.

There must be one person designated to distribute goods to each of the four principal singers, male and female. Each of the two women song leaders stands holding a bundle. The head singer or drummer

and the assistant singer receive shares at the same time, followed by the Speaker, the two male helpers of the two Dead Feast Matrons, the man who brought the food to the longhouse, and finally the cook assistants.

Participants who received shares

- (1) Two women song leaders.
- (2) Head male singer or drummer and his assistant; the drum itself receives a handkerchief in the distribution.
- (3) Speaker.
- (4) Male helpers of two Dead Feast Matrons.
- (5) Man who brought food to longhouse.
- (6) Cook assistants.
- [(7) All dancers. (Kurath.)]

The first two are bracketed in same group of songs. Another special song comprises numbers 3-6, and the singer utters a special word on the end of the song when they make the distribution: *q̄dagné'-nahgwa'*, "distribute clothes or goods [pelts?]." (Are these not skins for the Dead as in the Huron Dead Feast?)

The songs of distribution were not recorded in the spring of 1945.

A short period of social dances follows, usually one or two dances.

Skainaga' disq', "*Halfway of the songs.*"—Here the singers in the far end of the longhouse, the women's side, proceed to repeat half of the Dead Feast songs, but meanwhile social dances may continue at the opposite or men's end of the building, as if to emphasize that this ceremony is a women's affair anyway and the menfolk might as well have a good time while the women are discharging their responsibility to the dead.

Q̄donę̄tso' dahkwa', "*raising arms aloft.*"—The officials (notes say Matrons) distribute cakes to elevate outside the longhouse. Circulate once. When the drummer and singer stand, then all who have cakes form a column and go around once (notes say contraclockwise?) inside the house and go out. Outside, the Speaker announces that everyone should take care not to be rough in taking the cakes from the upheld arms of the procession. (The rest who were inside the building will have to come out to take the elevated cakes from the procession.) He cautions the snatchers because they believe that if someone falls down it will bring hard luck, possibly death. (Notes don't say to whom.) Both sexes make up the procession. Those whom I designate "snatchers" are called *h̄q̄nonę̄tcoda'gwa'*, "they take it off their arms"; the procession, *h̄q̄donę̄'tcota'*, "their arms are elevated."

(Anciently in removal of villages, the Iroquois held an all-night 'Ohgi'we and in the morning they went to the cemetery and threw the drum into the cemetery and abandoned it.)

Now they go around the longhouse contraclockwise.

Name of the song, *q̄donę̄tco' dahkwa'*, "for elevating arms."

One of the male helpers, standing where they started the circuit, takes the drum, removes the head, and burns the drumstick. This happens about daybreak.

Return inside Longhouse.—Having passed the climax of the ceremony, the crowd returns inside the longhouse to hear the Speaker wind up the ceremony until the spring celebration of the Dead Feast. In the customary way of returning thanks to the participants, the Speaker thanks on behalf of the community the various officials, starting with the two female Moiety Dead Feast officials, their two male helpers, the women Dead Feast officials, the two female song leaders, the drummer and his assistant who held up the songs, etc., through the several roles and statuses connected with the ritual. This is a long speech and conforms to the customary pattern for such acknowledgments which terminate feasts and longhouse celebrations.

Time.—Traditionally, the public Feasts of the Dead are midnight observances; they should start late at night, around 10 or 11 o'clock and continue till dawn, which is still true of the Onondaga, but public drunkenness has forced the Sour Springs Cayuga to start in the afternoon. The observed ceremony commenced at 3 p. m. and continued till about 10 p. m. (Cf. Speck, 1949, 121-122.)

'OHGI'WE AT SOUR SPRINGS CAYUGA LONGHOUSE
SUNDAY, APRIL 24, 1949, 3-10 P. M. G. P. KURATH

As on this occasion the Wolf Clan arranged the feast, the Speaker, Joe Williams, was also the clan chief, and the Chief Matron, Susan Johnson, was of Lower Cayuga Longhouse. The leading singers, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Jamieson, came from Onondaga Longhouse. They were assisted by Cayuga men, Avery Bill and Willie John, and on the women's side by Lydia Winnie, Onondaga. Preliminaries and epilogue correspond to the Onondaga version, but the major events, though much the same, proceed in a different order. The songs must have been identical, from the same Onondaga singers.³

THE CEREMONY

'Ohgi'we follows a well-defined pattern of song groupings which is determined by the drumbeat, the melodic character, and the dance step. The drum by its large size and deep resonance is unique in Iroquois ritual. It introduces each song with a few beats and breaks off clean with the end of the song. The pitch forms throughout the cycle a pronounced harmonic background to the melody (fig. 14). (For the scales of the songs shown on figs. 13-20, see fig. 10, p. 161.)

³ In Iroquois ceremonials, each song leader has his special version. Charlie Jamieson's rendering is far from identical with Joe Williams' version as recorded by Dr. Marius Barbeau in August 1950.

Introduction.—Ten chants by the men. No dancing.

Drum.—(a) Songs 1-5, after a preliminary triple beat, are accompanied by a fast duple beat (fig. 13), first synchronized, then lagging, then in syncopation with the melody. (b) Songs 6-10 change to a measured syncopated beat (fig. 14).

Mus. J = 72-39

A he ha wi yo ha wi yo ho-o # 1.

hi ho- hε-hε-hε-

ho ho ho yo ho ha ha ha

FIGURE 13.—'Ohgi'we first introductory chant for men.

J = 96 Voice

A he hawi yo hawi yo ho # 6.

he wa ji ne he we hi na wi yo-

ε- hε na wi yo he yo na we-he- he-

FIGURE 14.—'Ohgi'we sixth introductory chant for men.

Melody.—Songs 6-10 reproduce songs 1-5 with some variations. Archaic five-tone scales descend to the groundtone—la, sol, mi, re, do, or 65321, with a major third. The highest note is at the outset distorted into an eerie effect by the flattening of the voice. On repetition this is stabilized to the true pitch (1B and 6).

Body of Dance.—Forty-two songs by men and women, musically grouped in pairs or identical fives, and into larger related units. Thus 11-12, 13, 14-15 group together, and again 48-52.

Drum.—The same syncopated beat continues steadily, as in the introduction.

Melody.—Figure 15 serves as a formal paradigm for all of the dance songs, in the pattern of duplication, of male statement and

female reiteration. Song 11 descends in a scale of 54217, with the same intervals as songs 1 and 6, but with the groundtone on the second from the lowest note. Song 50 covers an octave in intervals of 865421 (figs. 15, 16, 21). These two songs show some of the simpler, typical rhythmic motifs of even notes and syncopations.

Dance.—The two leading Matrons begin circling the room counterclockwise, followed during the first few songs by half a dozen society members; then, on the Speaker's behest, by a swelling line of women. During the male leader's statement of theme *A* they saunter, eyes downcast, with their arms hanging relaxed, or (as the leaders), with their hands folded. On the second statement of *A* they commence the 'Ohgi'we shuffle, facing obliquely toward the center. They slide the right foot forward along the floor, then flex their knees slightly; drag the left foot up to the right, then flex knees. The short steps coincide with the drumbeat, and the knee flexions with the melodic syncopation, the slide acting as a grace note. This subtle rhythmic combination is shown on figure 15.⁴

FIGURE 15.—'Ohgi'we first dance song for men and women.

The recurrence of song patterns, the steady monotone boom of the drum, and the swish of feet in unison begin to weave a hypnotic spell, when a change of drum accent arouses the dancers to livelier improvisations.

Body of Dance.—"Halfway of the Songs," by men and women. Eleven songs are grouped, 53-58 in pairs, 59-63 as one unit.

Drum.—A sense of assurance arises from the synchronization of the simple even beat with the melodic accent (fig. 17).

⁴For explanation of the dance notation, see Kurath (1950). Some improvements have been introduced into the present paper, as also simplified symbols for the gestures.

FIGURE 16.—'Ohgi'we song number 50, for men and women.

Melody.—These songs are much longer, with a part *C*, several duplications of *B* and *C*, and an extra complete rendering by the women. The characteristic example, song 53 (fig. 17), at first reinforces the stable percussion by a series of even eighth notes, but in part *C* it shifts to a syncopated figure, in alternation with the even notes, and it ends suspended on three nebulous notes. Its tonality shifts between two foci on the third and first of a scale of 53217.

Dance.—The solemn shuffle accompanies the first theme and the entire women's rendition; but during most of the men's singing, the dancers' faces brighten and the motions grow livelier, with improvised, staccato two-steps, stamps, crisp turning jumps, and pert gestures, such as the raising of the hands to shoulder level (*B*) or the wafting of the elbows from chest to shoulder level, forearms straight across the chest (*C*). Figure 17 shows a complete diagram of the song and progression and of the steps and gestures.

Conclusion.—Five songs, four by the ensemble, one by men alone.

Drum.—(a) In songs 64–67 a tremolo heralds both the men's and the women's entrance (fig. 18) and turns into a duple beat, as in the somewhat faster introductory songs 1–5, thus tying up with the opening. (b) At the end of song 67, a tremolo connects directly with the last song, continues through the chant (*A*), and bursts into a duple beat of doubled speed to a clean-cut final stroke (*B*, fig. 19).

Melody—(a) The four paired songs introduce lively rhythmic motifs. The eighteenth notes anticipate the climactic communal dance, Carry-out-the-Kettle (fig. 20). Songs 66–67 introduce a semitone between 5 and 4 in the scale of 65431. (b) The chant and final cry of the last song waver on the fifth, the semitone below, and the third; the dance part reiterates two notes on the interval of a major third, in a scale of 5(4)31.

Dance.—(a) A fast forward shuffle coincides with the drumbeat. (b) A fast Women's Shuffle Dance terminates the cycle. Facing center, the dancers glide sideward by twisting first their heels, then their toes toward the right. They flex their knees with each twist and

Figure 17 consists of several musical and dance-related elements. At the top is a single staff of music. Below it is a large U-shaped dance pattern. The top horizontal bar of the U contains a series of rhythmic symbols. In the center of the U is a rectangular box containing four vertical strokes. The two vertical sides of the U are formed by musical staves with notes and stems. A dashed line curves along the bottom of the U. To the right of the U is another vertical staff of music. Below the U-shaped pattern is a horizontal staff with notes and stems, followed by a vertical staff with notes and stems. At the bottom left, there is a staff labeled 'A' and another staff labeled 'B'.

FIGURE 17.—'Ohgi'we at Sour Springs Cayuga Longhouse, dance pattern to song number 53.

Figure 18 shows two staves of music. The top staff is labeled 'A' and has a tempo marking '♩ = 63'. The bottom staff is labeled 'B' and has a tempo marking '♩ = 66'. The lyrics are: 'yo ho neḡ di hi we yo wee yo ho neḡ'. Below the lyrics is a sequence of letters: 'A B A' B A B A' B'. The letters are arranged in a pattern that corresponds to the musical phrases.

FIGURE 18.—'Ohgi'we third concluding song, number 66, for men and women.

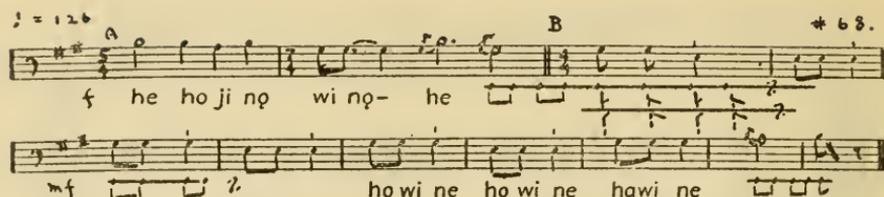


FIGURE 19.—'Ohgi'we final song, number 68, for men, with women's shuffle step.

swing their forearms alternately up and down obliquely across the chest. They halt promptly on the final beat, then break formation.

Distribution of cloth.—The distribution of gifts of cloth proceeds, after a brief intermission, as at Onondaga Longhouse. The two female Dead Feast officials, who stand facing the male singers, receive donations from the participants at the hands of the Chief Matron. The presents range from a handkerchief to a share (3 yards) of print material. The ladies wave the cloth back and forth in time as they sing and the men accompany them. Two at a time, both Head Matrons present the shares to all participants; symbolically, to the spirits of the dead.

Carry-out-the-Kettle.—Carry-out-the-Kettle refers to the drum which they take out at the finish. In the center of the room the two female Dead Feast officials hold the drum while the male song leader drums and sings with assistants. They slowly rotate against the sun with a side shuffle to the right (fig. 20). Other women start circling sideward in a concentric outer arc, arm in arm. Soon men mingle with them. The music and steps are animated. The songs have the same duple beat and the same major tonality as the first 'Ohgi'we songs, and in form and rhythmic design they resemble its latter tunes. With the drumbeat all dancers jump on both feet, then hop on the right while kicking the left foot forward, next repeating this jump-hop-kick on the other foot (fig. 20 A). Good dancers will turn right or left, hopping several times on one foot and "toeing" with the other (touching the toe on the ground) (fig. 20 B). Finally a thick spiral winds itself around the drum.

Whereas dignity if not mournfulness pervades the 'Ohgi'we, Carry-out-the-Kettle expresses festive gaiety. On this occasion an unscheduled incident heightened the hilarity. A well-inebriated youth indulged in clumsy antics and displayed affection for the ladies. In vain did the male Faith-keepers protest, and what might have been interpreted as ceremonial clowning was ended finally by the inconspicuous

The figure contains several musical components:

- Top Staff:** A single-line melody in treble clef, starting with a treble clef 'C' and ending with a fermata 'A'.
- Left Staff:** A vertical staff with a treble clef, containing a sequence of notes and rests.
- Right Staff:** A vertical staff with a treble clef, containing a sequence of notes and rests.
- Center Diagram:** A circular diagram with a dashed outer boundary and a solid inner boundary. Inside, there are several small circles and arrows indicating a clockwise path, representing a dance pattern.
- Bottom Staff:** A single-line melody in bass clef, starting with a bass clef 'A' and ending with a fermata 'A'.
- Bottom Section:** A series of rhythmic notations on a staff, including a double bar line with '88 =', and various symbols like 'T', 'L', and '8' with arrows indicating direction.

FIGURE 20.—Carry-out-the-Kettle, dance pattern and last song, number 10.

intervention of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Such interruptions on a larger scale constitute the reason why the night ceremonies at Sour Springs Cayuga Longhouse have been shifted to afternoon.

Feast.—Ceremonial and profane foods in plenty are served clockwise by the male assistants as at Onondaga Longhouse, with the same deference toward participating spirits of the dead.

Social Dances.—Social Dances concluded the Cayuga festival. Although free to all, even the Social Dances are invested with a ceremonial flavor. There was one dance which did not occur at Onondaga, the Osage Stomp, which Willie John brought home from Oklahoma and which differs from the Standing Quiver Dance in that it winds everyone into a human spiral in the center of the room. The Social Dances are enumerated in the comparative outline below.

COMPARATIVE OUTLINE OF THE TWO LONGHOUSE VERSIONS OF THE 'OHGI'WE

<i>Onondaga Longhouse</i>	<i>Sour Springs Cayuga Longhouse</i>
10 : 30 p. m. Opening address. Tobacco invocation.	3 p. m. Opening address. Tobacco Invocation.
A. 'Ohgi'we.	A. 'Ohgi'we.
B. Carry-out-the-Kettle.	B. Distribution of cloth.
C. Feast.	C. Carry-out-the-Kettle.
D. Social Dances.	D. Feast.
1. Women's Shuffle Dance.	E. Social Dances.
2. Standing Quiver Stomp.	1. Women's Shuffle Dance.
3. Linking-arms.	2. Standing Quiver Stomp.
4. Fish Dance.	3. Women's Shuffle Dance.
5. Coon Dance.	4. Linking-arms or Bean Dance.
6. Naked Dance.	5. Fish Dance.
7. Fishing Dance.	6. Osage Stomp.
8. Shaking-the-Jug.	10 p. m. Concluding prayer.
9. Garters Dance.	
E. Distribution of cloth.	
F. Halfway of songs.	
G. Dawn procession. Concluding prayer.	

The omission of the Dawn Procession at Sour Springs is probably due to the hour of the celebration. The variance in the selection of the Social Dances conforms with the flexibility of these events. The other variations in program may similarly follow the discretion of the ceremonial leaders. Or variations may point to differences in patterns of sequence between longhouses or to a difference merely between the fall and spring feast. Here is a problem for later investigation.

Contrasting Qualities.—Majestically, through the hours, this ancient ceremony builds up a structure which is at once symmetrical and cumulative. It combines unusual characteristics with others which are typically Iroquoian. Its mood combines solidity and tenuousness, solemnity and buoyancy—by various subtle means:

- (1) The steady, relentless drumbeat syncopates the song and shifts relationship with the melodic accents.
- (2) The melodic motifs alternate accented even notes with syncopations and suspensions.
- (3) The final notes of each section are sustained with marked pulsation of the voice.
- (4) The serene tonality at times is relieved by exotic notes, semitones, slurs, and mordents.
- (5) The monotone, earthen swish of the dancing feet toward the end breaks into volatile jumps, gestures, and foot twists.

BELIEFS CONCERNING THE DEAD FEAST

It is believed that the dead are present in the longhouse during the ceremony to receive the various forms of sacrifice and to participate in the song and dance. At Onondaga the living elevate the bread for

the dead. The living persons who take the bread off the outstretched arms of the living act as surrogates for the dead. The reality of these convictions is illustrated in the following stories.

Belief that the dead are present.—Manifestations are not lacking of the belief that the dead are in the longhouse during 'Ohgi'we.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

FIGURE 21.—Song scales (left), and rhythmic motifs (right) for 'Ohgi'we and Carry-out-the-Kettle.

STORY OF A LADY WHO LIVED ON VTH CONCESSION ROAD

On the day of the Feast, hanġ'hwai came to notify her. She went on with her cooking for the longhouse, making cakes, etc. She was so occupied with the preparations that at nightfall she didn't have her dress ready. She continued sewing into the night, which made her departure for the longhouse quite late. At midnight she was still at it sewing when she heard someone knock at the door. She went to answer the door. A lady entered. She said, "I am on my way to the feast. I thought I would stop and accompany you, to the longhouse when you are ready."

When the lady of the house was ready, they both went together to the longhouse. 'Ohgi'we was already going when they arrived. This lady who hadn't finished her dress took part in 'Ohgi'we; she sang and danced with the others and her visitor followed her, taking similar parts. All night long they took part together, whenever the social dances went on the second danced with the first, as in Fish Dance; they were partners.

The audience noticed that the lady who came late was dancing as if she were with a partner. They could see her alone, no one else.

The last time the lady who came late because she stayed home to fix a dress saw her partner was when they went outside with the procession to hold aloft bread. The latter said, "I will now leave."

That is all.

Belief that if someone falls bad luck will befall.—It is bad luck if someone falls in the 'Ohgi'we Dawn Procession. (Cf. p. 152.)

At the November 1945 meeting George Buck slipped and fell. Nellie Harris, one of the Dead Feast officials, was elevating the cake. Both George Buck and my informant, Howard Skye, who is also helper to the Matron of his moiety, reached for the same piece. George is a heavy man on a slight frame; Howard is rugged and athletic. George went down. Howard heard a crack. George had broken his lower leg.

Some years ago, Freddie Thomas fell, and he died 3 years afterward.

It is an old saying that whosoever falls will not live very long.

The Onondaga Medicine Society gave George Buck the sacred Little Water Medicine. Patterson Davis (Oa.) administered it. My informant is an officer. At the time of this notation, George Buck was in seclusion (4 days). Canadian Indian Department physicians, Dr. Davis and Dr. McClenahan, were not called in to set the bone for several days. By that time the limb was quite swollen and blue. The lower left fibula was broken. They set it with some difficulty and at some pain to the patient. I recall that we discussed the case, but I do not find a notation. On the last night of my visit to Six Nations I called on George Buck, who had recorded for me on two previous occasions, to cheer him up and leave an album of music to which he was a heavy contributor. He seemed delighted. He attributed the recovery to "the Great good medicine." The pain was terrific—then it abated. The doctors would have been unable to help, he said, until after the 4-day confinement.

A strange adventure happened around 1800, so John Echo (Oa.) told F. W. Waugh (1915, No. 5, ms. p. 40).

STORY OF THE YOUNG MAN WHO WENT OUT EVERY NIGHT

About 100 years ago, at the time Onondaga Longhouse was at Middle Port and [others were living] at Cayuga (or Indiana, as it was called), one young fellow went out every night. His mother said, "stay at home or you'll get into trouble." The young fellow said, "There'll be no trouble about. Sure I'll beat

him." The mother warned him to look out and told him that sometimes he would meet some kind of animals not fit for people to see.

The young fellow also used young girls very badly. (He was good looking.) He would change about from one to the other. The girls liked him.

He found out there was going to be a dance at the Cayuga Longhouse and thought it would be a good chance to go. His mother advised him to stay at home for fear of trouble, as it was a long way.

He put on new moccasins so he could run better. Just this side of Caledonia he saw someone coming toward him, a girl apparently. He thought, "Here's a good chance to get hold of her." He grabbed hold of her and spoke to her, but she never answered. He coaxed her to come along with him to the longhouse for company. He wanted to see what her face was like, but the head was covered all but a little hole and she kept her head turned away when he was looking. At last they came where the light was good, and he saw that there were only holes for eyes and that the face was all bone (no flesh). He said to her, "I guess, you are one of these dead people." All she said was, "Sh!" He let her go, turned about and went home. He had turned quite crazy after this. He ran all the way. When he got home he opened the door and fell down inside. That was the last he remembered. His mother spoke to him but he could not answer. He was all night like that. They tried all kinds of medicine, but no good. The oldest of the family (of his folks) said, "I'll bet he met some dead people." So the mother said, "I think we had better put up some sort of feast (*godiihã'kõ'*) to give the dead people something to eat." So they gathered the people together. The old mother put tobacco in the fire and begged that the dead people should get what they want. This was the only way they saved him.

Manifestations of the spirits.—Other stories of ghost beliefs were told by Chief Alexander General of Sour Springs Longhouse, to Kurath:

The spirits of the dead are believed to be present to receive the offerings at the feast, though invisible to all but a few especially empowered individuals. They are potentially malevolent, unless placated. They travel through the air as a whirlwind, like disease and epidemics, which are also windborne. A man walking along the road at night may feel the impact. If it catches him, it causes a neurotic derangement, loss of sleep and appetite, and calls for an 'Ohgi'we cure. Once in awhile a devout Indian may see a white form or witchfire (*will-o-the-wisp*) in the trees and meadows: these are spirits. These sometimes resume their human form, appearing to only one person. Tommy General, a relative, was walking along the road one night to a Feast for the dead and noticed two people whom he did not recognize. When they arrived at the longhouse he approached to speak to them and they vanished.

FUNCTIONAL INTERRELATIONS

Beliefs associated with the 'Ohgi'we ritual have not arrived at the stage of superstitions, but are part of an active faith which has miraculously survived the encroachment of the white man's customs. The ritualism is still sufficiently clear-cut to suggest further ceremonial implications no longer consciously operative.

(1) Duality of symbolism is inherent not only in the reciprocity of male and female functionaries, but in the doubling of practically

all offices; in the two-part division into 'Ohgi'we and Carry-out-the-Kettle dances and further subdivision of the 'Ohgi'we into double introduction, body, and conclusion; in the pairing binary form and repetition of the songs, and duple drumbeats.

(2) The roles of women as conductors and chief participants. Women feature more prominently in the Dead Feast than in agricultural festivals, which are managed by Chief Matrons and which include at least one performance of the Women's Dance.

(3) The dance steps tie up with other aspects of Iroquois ceremonialism. The 'Ohgi'we dragging step is a slower version of the shuffle step of the Bear Dance, the Stomp Dance style. The Women's Dance step, which winds up the 'Ohgi'we, extends into food festivals and touches the great Thanksgiving or Drum Dance, and it relates to the round dance which climaxes the False-face curing rite. The jump-kick in Carry-out-the-Kettle resembles the step which terminates the Bear and Buffalo Dances and is also employed in a grotesque version by the False-faces. This last resemblance became particularly marked in the clowning of the drunk intruder.

The Dead Feast is clearly more than a mourning ceremony. One might infer this from the lack of mournfulness: In fact, the dignified gayety which pervades the gathering highlights the social nature of such community rituals which also include the dead. The majestic 'Ohgi'we songs and dance take on a livelier tempo toward the end. Carry-out-the-Kettle has flexible rhythms and friendly tonality, and vigorous jumps, coinciding with each of the quick duple drumbeats.

As in the case of the medicine rites, the finale evidently celebrates the achievement of an end: The spirits are placated by friendly commemoration, or the ritual is performed to effect a cure. There may be another, now subconscious objective, an appeal to chthonic powers on the part of the ancestral spirits. The women who are the mothers and the agriculturists of the race are in a position to evoke fertility from the soil where all creatures lie buried, by means of the food-spirit dances. It is significant, however, that female Dead Feast officials conduct the ceremony not in the growing season but in the off season, frequently in the dead of winter, when the growing things and the food-spirits are happily asleep, and the performance of the ceremony is frequently remarked to produce bitter cold.

At present only the curative aspect remains with the intent to cheer the departed. Thus the community unites in a pleasant evening of song, dance, and feasting, including the living and visible and also the great invisible assembly of the nation since time immemorial.

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EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED IN FIGURES

Ground plan	Steps	Music
 Direction	 Right foot shuffle right	 Drum
 Woman face forward	 Right foot forward with shuffle	 Tone flat
 Woman face left obliquely	 Right knee flex forward	 Tone sharp
 Woman leader	 Right knee kick forward	 Pulsation
 Man face center	 Right toe touch forward	 Tremolo
 Male leader	 Right toe touch side	 Down glide
 Chief matron	 Right foot hop right	 Up glide
 Path	 Left foot hop right	 Breaking of voice
 Drum (fig. 10)	 Left foot hop	 Repeat