

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

VOLUME 111, NUMBER 15

THE ROLL CALL OF THE IROQUOIS
CHIEFS

A STUDY OF A MNEMONIC CANE FROM THE
SIX NATIONS RESERVE

(WITH 12 PLATES)

BY

WILLIAM N. FENTON

Bureau of American Ethnology
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(PUBLICATION 3995)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
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THE ROLL CALL OF THE IROQUOIS CHIEFS

A STUDY OF A MNEMONIC CANE FROM THE SIX NATIONS RESERVE¹

By WILLIAM N. FENTON
*Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution*

(WITH 12 PLATES)

INTRODUCTION

Canes from American Indian tribes are not uncommon in museum collections. Frequently the sticks are carved or ornamented in diverse ways but, unfortunately, in most instances the specimens are accompanied by but meager data concerning their general significance and use apart from their obvious utilitarian purpose. Consequently Indian canes constitute somewhat of a problem to curators of ethnological collections. It may be inferred that decorated canes summoned the best talents of tribal artists who carved in the round or engraved designs reflecting the characteristic style of tribe and region, but lacking collectors' field notes, the symbolic intent of the adornments, if any, cannot be known. Such was the case with Iroquois chiefs' canes and with one, in particular, which is the subject of the present study.

Americanists will recall that in the Southwest a staff, now an American cane, is a symbol of authority for Pueblo governors, as it was in Spain, and that staffs also serve as fetishes (White, 1932, p. 60; Parsons, 1932, pp. 251-252; Bunzel, 1932; Aberle, 1948, p. 25). The widespread use of notched or marked sticks for mere numeration is abundantly documented in the literature (Mallery, 1893, p. 227). Dakota, Hidatsa, and Shoshoni noted the number of days traveled by notching a stick; Iowas visiting Paris in 1843 manifested amazement and wonder at outlandish European custom, counting the number of French women they saw leading dogs on the streets

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and making a list with pencil and paper that specified the number of dogs seen, size, whether leashed, carried, or perambulated (Catlin, 1848, vol. 2, p. 221). Early travelers going from the British colonies to various southern and western tribes remarked the custom of keeping the date of an appointment by using notched sticks, a bundle of sticks, or a knotted string—one unit being discarded each day until the date of the meeting (Brinton, 1885, pp. 59-62; Swanton, 1928, p. 704; 1946, pp. 610-613). Even now the Iroquois send out notched invitation sticks summoning delegates to religious councils. One notch is destroyed each day, until the holder arrives on the appointed day of the council and returns the stripped stick and the short string of attached wampum. From Virginia north to New England, the distribution of the notched-stick memorandum extended westward through the Iroquoian tribes toward the Plains (Flannery, 1939, p. 81).

The literature on American aboriginal chronological records has expanded considerably since the discovery of the *Walam Olum* or "red score" of the Delawares by Rafinesque in 1820 and its publication by D. G. Brinton in 1885. In the *Walam Olum* the Delawares reduced a genesis myth, a migration legend, and a genealogy of chiefs to a series of symbols for remembering the text of a chant. Five sections of the chant were segregated, the characters were burned or carved and then painted red on as many wooden boards, and presumably these were of a convenient size for bundling. Later the record was reduced to writing, but the manuscript as well as the original slabs have disappeared. Similar records from the Plains were painted on skins or drawn in notebooks and came into prominence when Mallery discovered and published the Dakota Winter Counts. James Mooney monographed the Kiowa calendars (1898).

In the Southwest, Russell (1908, pp. 35, 104-105) reported no fewer than five notched-stick calendars among the Pima, and the nearby Maricopa of the Gila River had identical calendar sticks, bearing notches for each year, but "all the sticks of both peoples were derived from a single prototype made after 1833." (Spier, 1933, pp. 138 ff.)

Throughout the eastern forests in the eighteenth century war memorials emblazoned on the peeled trunks of great trees stood on eminences or at important river crossings to recall to whomever might read them the achievements of great war captains. "These drawings in red by the warriors . . ." were sometimes ". . . legible for fifty years after a hero" had died, preserving the memory of his deeds for many years (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 145). A character-

istic notice proclaimed a war party, their number, town, tribe, how many of each tribe, tribal affiliation of the leader, their mission, and how many days they were out; returning, the party marked the number of scalps taken, the number of captives, and their own losses. The characters were highly conventionalized so as to be readily intelligible to neighboring tribes. Heckewelder (1876, p. 130) remarks that all nations can do this, but they do not all have the same marks; "yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chipeways, Mingoes, Shawanoes, and Wyandots on similar objects."

The warriors of the Iroquois Longhouse advertised military supremacy over neighboring tribes in a similar way. Seneca war heraldry was first described and illustrated in 1666 in a Paris Document that was attributed to Father Francois, the Recollet by the author of a later document, dated 1736, which O'Callaghan has ascribed to Joncaire (O'Callaghan, 1849, vol. 1, p. 23). "The Nine Iroquois Tribes. 1666 (Paris Doc., I.)" (pp. 1-8, 9, 10-11) is the best early account of Seneca clan organization; it says:

When they go to war, and wish to inform those of the party who may pass their path, they make a representation of the animal of their tribe, with a hatchet in his dexter paw; sometimes a sabre or club; and if there be a number of tribes together of the same party, each draws the animal of his tribe, and their number, all on a tree from which they remove the bark. The animal of the tribe which heads the expedition is always the foremost.

* * *

On their return, if they have prisoners or scalps, they paint the animal of the tribe to which they belong, rampant (*debout*) with a staff on the shoulder along which are strung the scalps they may have, and in the same number. After the animal are the prisoners they have made, with a *chichicois* (or gourd filled with beans which rattle), in the right hand. If they be women, they represent them with a *Cadenette* or queue and a waistcloth.

If there be several tribes in the war party, each paints the animal of his tribe with the scalps and prisoners it has made, as before, but always after that which is head of the party. [Pp. 4-5.]

* * *

When they have lost any men on the field of battle they paint them with the legs in the air, and without heads and in the same number as they have lost; and to denote the tribe [clan] to which they belonged, they paint the animal of the tribe [clan] of the deceased on its back, the paws in the air, and if it be the chief of the party that is dead, the animal is without the head.

If there be only wounded, they paint a broken gun which however is connected with the stock, or even an arrow, and to denote where they have been wounded, they paint the animal of the tribe [clan] to which the wounded belonged with an arrow piercing the part in which the wound is located; and if it be a gunshot they make the mark of the ball on the body of a different color.

If they have sick and are obliged to carry them, they paint litters (*boyards*) of the same number as the sick, because they carry only one in each litter. [P. 6.]

Whereupon the author proceeds to illustrate the same in two plates, which have been reproduced frequently; and besides the printed explanations, the legend on the second plate is translated to say: "The Portrait of a Savage on a board in their cabin on which they ordinarily paint, how often he has been to war, how many men he has taken and killed."

If such were Seneca war records, they were probably typical of all the Five Nations because Lafitau (1724, vol. 2, p. 164 apud) and Colden (1922, vol. 1, p. xxv) speak with familiarity of the painted records of the Mohawk, the eastern member of the Confederacy. Says Colden:

. . . they always peel a large Piece of the Bark from some great Tree; they commonly chuse an Oak, as most lasting; upon the smooth side of this Wood they, with their red Paint, draw one or more Canoes, going from Home, with the Number of Men in them paddling [sic], which go upon the Expedition; and some Animal, as a Deer or Fox, an Emblem of the Nation against which the Expedition is designed, is painted at the Head of the Canoes; for they always travel in Canoes along the Rivers . . . as far as they can.

After the Expedition is over, they stop at the same Place in their Return . . . they represent on the same, or some Tree near it, the Event of the Enterprize, and now the Canoes are painted with their Heads turned towards the Castle; the Number of the Enemy killed, is represented by Scalps painted black, and the Number of Prisoners by as / many Withs, (in their Painting not unlike Pot-hooks) ² with which they usually pinion their Captives. These Trees are the Annals, or rather Trophies of the Five Nations: *I have seen many of them*; ³ and by them, and their War Songs, they preserve the History of their great Achievements. [Pp. xxv-xxvi.]

War posts bearing the painted achievements of war leaders are reported from the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca cantons during the eighteenth century, and they are recalled quaintly by the place named "Painted Post" at the junction of the Cohocton and Chemung Rivers near Corning, N. Y. (Beauchamp, 1905, pp. 135-138). A Seneca war chief named Hiokatoo (Hagido·wa, great spear point) who is described by Mary Jemison as her second husband, had such a post on which he recorded his military exploits and other matters he thought worthy of note.

In order to commemorate great events, and preserve the chronology of them, the war Chief in each tribe keeps a war post. This post is a peeled stick of timber, 10 or 12 feet high, that is erected in the town. For a campaign they make, or rather the Chief makes, a perpendicular red mark, about three inches long

² Colden here refers to prisoner ties (Willoughby, 1938) which bespeaks a certain familiarity with the Mohawk, not credited to him by later historians. See Hunt, 1940, p. 185.

³ Italics added.

and half an inch wide; on the opposite side of this, for a scalp, they make a red cross, thus, +; on another side, for a prisoner taken alive, they make a red cross in this manner, X, with a head or dot, and by placing such significant hieroglyphics in so conspicuous a situation, they / are enabled to ascertain with great certainty the time and circumstances of past events. [Seaver, 1932, pp. 176-177.]

Pictorial and war records in red paint were quite familiar to Sir William Johnson, who on occasion was not above marching at the head of a procession of chiefs singing on the path to a Condolence Council (Beauchamp, 1907, p. 393); although no mnemonic cane is mentioned in either description, in his celebrated letter of February 28, 1771, to Dr. Arthur Lee, who had requested identification of signatures to a deed of 1726, Johnson, then at the height of his power and operating knowledge on Indian customs, manners, and languages, is at some pains to explain their want of writing. He says:

. . . the Mohocks . . . in things of much Consequence . . . usually delineate a Steel, such as is used to strike Fire out of Flint, which being the Symbol of their Nation, This Steel they call *Canniah*—& themselves *Canniungaes*, . . . [But he is at a loss to derive this from "flint" itself.]

The Tuscaroras I omit as they are a southⁿ people not long introduced into the Alliance making the 6 nat^a.

The Oneidas . . . have in use [as] Symbols, a Tree, by which they w^d Express *Stability*. But their true Symbol is a Stone *Onoya*, and they call themselves *Onoyuts* a particular Inst^o of wch I can give from an Expedit^t I went on to Lake St. Sacrament in 1746, when to shew the Enemy the strength of our Indⁿ Alliances I desired Each Nation to affix their Symbol to a Tree [to alarm] the French: the Oneydas put up a stone wch they painted Red.⁴ [P. 432.]

The Onondagas . . . are somewhat better versed in the Customs of their ancestors, they call themselves people of the Great Mountain. [P. 432.]

The Cayugas . . . have for their Symbol a pipe.

The Senecas are the most numerous & most distant of the six Nat^s have sev^l Towns & Symbols from wch however little can be understood . . . [P. 433.]

* * *

But tho it does not appear that they had the use of Letters yet the traces of Government may still be seen, and there is reason to believe that they made use of Hieroglyphics Tho they Neglect them at present, . . . But theirs are drawn to the utmost of their skill to represent the thing intended, for Instance, when they go to War, they paint some trees with the figures of men, often the exact number of their party, and if they go by Water, they delineate a Canoe, when they make an atchievement, they mark the Handle of their Tomahawks with human figures to signify prisoners, bodies without heads to express scalps. The figures which they affix to/ Deeds, have led some to imagine that they had Characters or an Alphabet. The case is this, every Nation is divided into a Certain number of Tribes [clans], of which some have 3. as the Turtle, Bear

⁴ Although the stone was the Oneida national symbol, in the League a tree trunk denominated that tribe.

& Wolf, to wch others add the Snake [ecl?], Deer, &ca, each of These Tribes [clans] form a little Community within the Nation, and as the Nation has its peculiar Symbol so each Tribe [clan] has the peculiar Badge from whence it is denominated, and a Sachem of each Tribe [clan] being a necessary party to a fair Conveyance such Sachim affixes the mark of the Tribe [clan] thereto, wch is not that of a particular family (unless the whole Tribe [clan] is so deemed) but rather as the publick Seal of a Corporation. [Pp. 436-437.] ⁵

* * *

As to the information wch . . . 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 represent^s a nation, an axe is also sometimes described wch is always an Emblem of War, the Taking it up is a Declaration . . . and the burying it a token of Peace, . . . [O'Callaghan, 1851, vol. 4, pp. 430-437.]

Thus Johnson equated the Chippewa use of red-painted message sticks with Iroquois practice, more commonly expressed in wampum belts, on which the red ceremonial war paint likewise had a sinister significance. It might be reasoned that the more widespread message sticks are an older and more basic idea underlying the Iroquois wampums which attained prominence in colonial treaties. It is clear that the Iroquois understood and on occasion used sticks for more common purposes than they employed wampums, but in either case the mnemonic pictographs were essentially the same.

Our previous reference to the notched message stick among the modern Iroquois is confirmed by Beauchamp (1905, p. 169) who found that Father Bruyas (1862, p. 56) had noted a Mohawk radical (*Gahwengare*) for the custom of issuing invitation sticks to feasts in the seventeenth century. An Onondaga woman of Beauchamp's acquaintance kept a day count by notching a long stick and using a cross for Sunday after the death of a son. When visitors were welcomed at Onondaga in his day a solemn occasion was observed by sending out a runner to meet and record their numbers on a stick which he turned in to the council. The Tuscaroras of Lewiston, N. Y., have a similar manner of recording votes when the matrons report their selection of a chief to the council.

We can sustain what Johnson wrote by modern usage or by appealing to early writers. It was the Huron custom, for example, to

⁵ Possibly Johnson saw the distinction between clan and lineage.

hand an ambassador whom they desired to hear “. . . a little bundle of straws, a foot long, which serve as counters, to supply the place of numbers and to aid the memory of the assistants, distributing in different lots these straws, according to the diversity of things which they recount.” (Jesuit Relation, 1646, in Beauchamp, 1905, p. 170.) DeVries (1857, p. 118) noted a similar use of sticks among the Indians of Manhattan and Long Island, 1643. And Father Louis Hennepin was present at a council held January 1-2, 1679, in the great village of the Senecas, meeting in the cabin of the principal chief Tagarondies for whom the village was named. He writes:

The Next Day the Iroquese answered our Discourse and Presents Article by Article, having laid upon the Ground several little peices of Wood, to put them in mind of what had been said the Day before in the Council; their Speaker, or President, held in his hand one of the Pieces of Wood, and when he had answered one Article of our Proposal, he laid it down with some Presents of black and white Porcelain, which they use to string upon the smallest Sinews of Beasts; and then took up another Piece of Wood; and so of all the rest, till he had fully answer'd our Speech, of which those Pieces of Wood, and our Presents put them in mind. When his Discourse was ended, the oldest man of the Assembly cry'd aloud for three times, *Niaoua* [Niya-wenh']; that is to say, It is well, I thank thee; which was repeated with full voice and in a tuneful manner by all the other Senators. [Thwaites, 1903, vol. 1, pp. 85-86.]

On arrival at the last great treaty which the Six Nations held with the United States at Canandaigua, N. Y., during the autumn of 1794, the Senecas registered the size of their delegation by having each chief deliver “. . . a bundle of sticks, answerable to the number of persons, men, women, and children under his command. . . .” (Savery, 1844, p. 64.)

Other than the frequent mention of sticks, belts, and strings of wampum, none of the early writers on the Iroquois reports mnemonic pictographs for the Condolence Council. The painted war records, however, suggest pictographs painted on bark which were in general use among the Central Algonquians. The Ojibwa pictorialized on birch-bark scrolls the traditional history of the Medicine Society, the order of ritual, and mnemonics for individual songs (Hoffman, 1891). On the Plains the medium became the buffalo robe. But Johnson's reference to “. . . 15 Bloody Sticks sent by the Mississagaes . . .” brings us back to pictographs painted or engraved on sticks of hardwood. Hoffman illustrated one of these so-called “medicine sticks” (p. 289, pl. 21) but thought that their form was copied from objects of European origin. Erminie Voegelin, in discussing certain parallels to Delaware *Walam Olum* (1939, p. 29), found these sticks

only among Chippewa, Kickapoo, and Delaware. To this list we can now add Montagnais, Shawnee, and Cayuga.

In commenting on how Algonquians generally preserved myths, chronicles, memory of events, and speeches by means of marked sticks, Brinton (1885, p. 59) noted that the Jesuits in Canada as early as 1646 used them for teaching prayers to converts and for remembering sermons. The Relation of 1645-46 of the Holy Cross Mission at Tadoussac (Jesuit Relations, vol. 29, pp. 123 ff.), which served three bands of the Montagnais and possibly the Eastern Cree, makes it clear that such were devised by the missionaries after the Indian manner. It reads:

Some carried little sticks, in order to remember their sins; others marked them on the beads of their Rosaries; others wrote them, *after their fashion*, on small pieces of the bark of trees; . . . [Pp. 131-133.]

* * *

The Father, . . . , left them five books or five chapters of a book, *composed after their manner*; these books were . . . five sticks variously fashioned, in which they are to read what the Father . . . inculcated upon them. [P. 139.]

The Relation continues: "The first is a black stick, which is to remind them of horror . . . former superstitions . . ."; a second bore ". . . white . . . marks . . . [for daily] devotions and prayers . . ."; a third was red for Sunday and feasts; the fourth was the book of punishment; and the fifth carried ". . . various marks . . . [reminding them] how to behave in dearth and plenty . . ." (P. 141.)

Such was the basis of the famous "talking books" of the Cree and Chippewa, since these tally sticks were called *massinahigan*,⁶ "a piece of wood marked with fire." Their early use by the Jesuits, nevertheless, may account for the catechistic approach of Indian prophets later on. We are not concerned with how the Chippewa used fire-marked wooden tablets, the details being accessible (Kohl, 1860, p. 143; Schoolcraft, 1845, pp. 27-33; Hoffman, 1891, p. 289), but will repeat certain other accounts for the Delaware, Kickapoo, and Shawnee, which bear a certain relationship to the Cayuga specimen that is before us.

It is alleged in the "Pontiac manuscript" (Parkman, 1851, p. 183) that a prophet appeared among the Delaware then living on the Muskingum in 1762. The prophet, on the authority of Pontiac, the great Ottawa war leader, had received from the Great Spirit "A prayer, embodying the substance of all that he heard. . . . It was

⁶ *malackhickan* (Delaware) (Brinton). For a discussion of Ojibwa-Ottawa pictography and etymology of the word, see Voegelin, 1942.

cut in hieroglyphics upon a wooden stick, after the custom of his people, and he was directed to send copies of it to all the Indian villages." None of the Delaware prophet's prayer sticks has been preserved to our knowledge.

The United States National Museum, however, has an engraved prayer stick that has been ascribed to the Kickapoo prophet, Kanakuk, and Catlin made a portrait of Onshawkie holding a similar stick; both of these have been published by Mooney (1896, pp. 670, 698), and they are discussed by Voegelin. On the use of these sticks which the Kickapoo prophet carved and sold to his followers, 1827-34, there is an eyewitness account by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, which appeared in his scarce "History of Baptist Indian Missions" (New York, 1840), made when the prophet was living on the Illinois River:

Kenekuk, the Prophet, claimed the honor of being the founder of his own sect . . . His adherents were about four hundred souls, about half of whom were Potawatomes. He professed to receive all that he taught immediately from the Great Spirit . . . Congregational worship was performed among them, and the exercises lasted from one to three hours. They heard speeches from the Prophet, and all united in articulating a kind of prayer, expressed in broken sentences often repeated, in a monotonous sing-song tune, equalling in length about two measures of a common psalm tune. All in unison engaged in this; and, in order to preserve harmony in words, each held in his or her hand a small board, about an inch and a half broad and about ten inches long, upon which was engraved arbitrary characters, which they followed up with their finger until the last character . . . These characters were 5 in number. The first represented the heart; the second, the heart, affections, and flesh; the third, the life; the fourth, names; the fifth, kindred.

Considerable detail follows on how the characters were gone over several times (Foreman, 1946, pp. 213-214). Other accounts indicate that Kanakuk's prayer sticks were followed with the index finger from top to bottom.

Another sacred slab attributed to the Shawnee prophet, Tenskawatawa, who flourished somewhat earlier, and whom Catlin painted holding his "medicine fire" in 1831, was collected among the Winnebago about 1922 by Milford G. Chandler and now reposes at the Cranbrook Institute of Science; it has been described (Galloway, 1943). Identical sticks of the Shawnee prophet are in the Milwaukee Public Museum and in the Blackhawk Museum (R. T. Hatt, personal communication).

In general, these engraved and painted sticks that we have been discussing are mnemonic devices to aid in recounting tribal history, or they carry formulae for some sequence of phenomena that must be preserved unaltered: lists of dates, events, names, places, significant

stations in prayers, songs, order of ceremony, mythology, or treaties. There is a considerable literature on Iroquois wampum belts with attendant explanation of mnemonic pictographs that they preserve. But the bark records and the painted posts on which war leaders delineated their achievements have vanished. Only the colonial documents bear the signatures of Iroquois chiefs, which usually take the form of outline drawings of clan eponyms—wolf, bear, turtle, snipe, beaver, eel; sometimes objects—war club, tree, circles connected by a line to signify ground nut (*Apios tuberosa* Moench.), the mark of the Potato, or possibly, the Ball clan. The living descendants of the Five Nations can contribute little to our understanding of ancient pictographs (Hewitt and Fenton, 1945), although the following description of the Condolence cane sheds some light on how the ancient law-givers kept a record of their councils.

THE CANE OF ANDREW SPRAGG

A document out of the leaves of a primitive council record comes down to us in the form of a cane bearing pegs and corresponding pictographs to denominate the founders of the Iroquois League. This is a primitive roster of the chiefs of the Five Nations—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes—such as were the village chiefs whom Deganawi'dah and Hiawatha persuaded to accept the Great Peace. The beginnings of the Confederacy are related in the Deganawi'dah legend which states unequivocally that the roll call of the founders, the proportional number of representatives for each tribe, how the chiefships are related to each other as individual offices in tribal councils, and the relation of tribes to each other in the council of the League must be maintained in the original order as it was decreed by the founders. In all likelihood the number of titles has increased and the order of enumeration has changed during the centuries that have elapsed since the village chiefs of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes formed the League, which they likened to an extended house, *Ganonh'syoni*, before the close of the sixteenth century. Whatever new titles were added to the original roster and however succeeding chanters of the roll call have changed the order of reciting the names, the cane of Andrew Spragg, the famed Cayuga ritual singer, is a true tally of the names of the Five Nations chiefs who, following the American Revolution, as Empire Loyalists, reconstituted the League from its shattered remnants after coming to Canada and settling on the Grand River. At least the cane, as we shall see, agrees substantially with Morgan's

1849 list of titles from the Tonawanda Seneca reservation east of Buffalo, a manuscript roster in the orthography of the Anglican missionaries at Grand River, the Canienga Book of the Condoling Council (Hale, 1883), and various lists of League chiefs collected at Six Nations Reserve by Hewitt, Goldenweiser, and the writer.

THE MAN

Not much is known about Andrew Spragg, or "Sprag," as it is spelled on the cane; "Spragge" on the Agency rolls. He is pictured among a group of chiefs and warriors who visited Toronto, June 1897, on the occasion of a visit by the Governor General. He appears to be middle-aged, he wears his hair long, and has a moustache. He must have been active because in another picture he is postured in War dance. Like several of his colleagues he wears a circlet of turkey feathers, and Spragg alone has a shoulder sash. Quite unmistakably they are having a good time. (Chadwick, 1897, frontispiece and opposite page 80.) He was an informant to several ethnologists before World War I. Frachtenberg (1913) employed "Andrew Sprague, a Cayuga, who in his early youth had been adopted by the Tutelo tribe," as an interpreter, and obtained from him some information on Tutelo history and ritualism. Sapir (1913) credits Sprague with having heard Tutelo spoken during his childhood, in reporting on a small Tutelo vocabulary collected from him in August 1911. But neither F. W. Waugh, A. A. Goldenweiser, nor J. N. B. Hewitt seem to have worked with him.⁷ Visiting Tutelo descendants on the Six Nations Reserve in later years, Speck (1942) found the memory of him quite clear.

But it was Yankee Spring, a Tonawanda Seneca, who first told me about Andrew Spragg. Yankee had served a term of 5 or 6 years as secretary of the council of the Tonawanda band of Senecas, and during his office he pondered: Why was he not a chief, why were others of no apparent ability installed in office? He had been caught in the dilemma of changing customs. The new elective system was theoretically based on achievement and opposed the old system of life chiefs appointed by the matrons of certain clans, so that the band was torn between the new method of election and the old way based on family lines.

Yankee inquired of the old men of Tonawanda, the quandary took him to Onondaga (Syracuse, N. Y.), and ultimately to Canada. On

⁷ Waugh, F. W. (1916), Mss. on Folk-lore, medicines, and material culture; Goldenweiser, A. A., Reports to Anthropological Division, Dep. Mines, Geol. Surv., Ottawa, and Mss.; Hewitt, J. N. B., Ann. Reps. to the Chief, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., and Mss.

his Canadian visit Yankee lived a winter in the home of Andrew Spragg, a member of the Lower Cayuga band on the Six Nations Reserve. During the long winter nights, Andrew, who was by then a famed Cayuga ritualist, coached the Seneca student on matters relating to the League: its beginning, how chiefs were apportioned by tribes, ranking and position of the Five Nations in council, the order of business, and how the founders proceeded to make laws. While instructing his student Spragg made continual reference to a cane, which Yankee remembered and described to me in detail during interviews in 1934. Among other things, Yankee recalled vividly the spacing of the Five Nations on the cane, from Mohawks at its head to Senecas at its tip, segregation of the chiefs by classes, and the use of pegs to denominate individual titles. Yankee asserted, however, that the cane was surmounted by an eagle carved of wood, which symbolized the totemite of the Five Nations, and served as a handle for the singer who carried it when reciting the roll call of chiefs in the ritual of Condolence.

A year elapsed. We spent a day, August 3, 1935, at the Six Nations Reserve searching for the cane. Andrew Spragg was dead, and the Condolence cane which Yankee Spring had seen in his possession, we were told, was in the custody of Chief John Davey (Onondaga), fire-keeper of the Six Nations council. Cayuga Chief Jim Crawford, since deceased, promised to write when the cane could be seen. Neither Yankee Spring nor I ever heard from him. Spragg's son had moved to the city, Chief Davey was not at home, and none of the chiefs whom we interviewed could affirm that he had seen the cane since Spragg had gone the long trail.

Andrew Spragg spent his life with the Lower Cayuga band of the Six Nations of Grand River. We do not know when he was born. According to the records of the Six Nations Indian Office in Brantford, Canada, Andrew Spragge, as his name appears on the roll of the Lower Cayuga band, was aged 38 in 1902 (therefore born 1864); and the same entry is marked "D 1921," but the year 1921 is crossed out (Census Record of Lower Cayuga Tribe, p. 164, from "Old Book," p. 337). Andrew Spragge is credited with a son, "A. Averson Spraggie, B. 1888/D. 1937." The latter is Patterson Spragge, whose son Raymond was born June 23, 1937, presumably to his wife, Louisa Williams. The so-called Old Book (p. 337) contains a contradictory entry, as follows:

1893 Andrew Sprag	26 (B. 1867)
Betsy	17 (His wife, p. 177)
Martha	
Averson	1894.

According to the latter record Andrew Spragg was born in 1867, and there is a discrepancy of 6 years in Averson's birth date.

The Current Census of the Cayuga Tribe (p. 487) bears entry "No. 146 B. 1888/ Spraggie, A. Averson/ D. June 8, 1937/ w. Lavina Williams." These are substantially the same dates as given on his grave slab in the cemetery at Lower Cayuga Longhouse. At the Indian Office A. Averson is believed to be the same person as Patterson.⁸

To cross-check we looked up Andrew's wife Betsy (Old Book, p. 177).

Betsy 29 1903 To self 177
 Martha
 Averson
 Rosa V. Bill
 Lavina Williams

The last, at least, appears above as wife of Averson.

From this we may conclude that Andrew Spragg was born about 1865 and died about 1921. He married a woman named Betsy, somewhat younger than himself, and they had a daughter Martha and a son Averson. The latter, who is also known as Patterson, was born between 1888 and 1894, depending on who kept the book, and he had a son Raymond born in 1927; the father died in 1937. Averson's relation to Rosa V. Bill and Lavina (or Louisa) Williams is not clear, but one was his wife or both were.

Andrew Spragg is remembered by his neighbors. Elliott Moses (Delaware) as a lad of 18 worked out on the same farm with Spragg, whom he remembers as

a typical raw-boned Indian of about six feet. He was said to be the last full-blood on the reserve. One day at table Andrew remarked that he had taken his son out of Mohawk Institute (a boarding school for Six Nations Indians at Brantford) because, as Andrew alleged, the boy was only learning to swear.

Andrew's English became somewhat inverted in the telling, which amused those present and caused Mr. Moses to remember the incident. That Spragg spoke English imperfectly assumes importance because it therefore appears unlikely that he read with sufficient facility to have been influenced by what he had read about Iroquois ceremonials. Yankee Spring had said that Andrew Spragg owned a copy of Morgan's "League."

⁸ I am very much indebted to Hilton M. Hill, for many years Clerk of the Indian Office and Interpreter, to whose friendship I was fortunate to succeed after the late J. N. B. Hewitt, for identifying the vital records on his Iroquois brethren; and Miss Henderson of the Indian Office recalled to mind Spragg's living descendants.

Patterson Spragg, the only son of Andrew, met an untimely end when he was trampled by a horse. He was buried at Lower Cayuga cemetery just west of the Longhouse, where we found a headboard still legible in October 1943: "Patterson Sprague, died June 9th, 50 year old 1937" (pl. 1, fig. 1). The headboards of a nearby group of graves are no longer decipherable, and we did not succeed in locating the grave of Andrew Spragg, although it was thought to be nearby.

A log house that Andrew Spragg occupied for many years still stands at the crossroad known as Sandy's Corners, which is the first intersection in the road leading from Willow Grove on Highway No. 6 across the east boundary line of the reserve toward Ohsweken, the seat of the Six Nations Council (pl. 1, fig. 2).

Councilor George Buck now occupies the house of the late Cayuga chief, Abram Charles, having married Chief Charles' daughter, and they live but a short distance from Sandy's Corners and the house of Andrew Spragg whom they remember. George Buck said:

His house at Sandy's Corners formerly stood near the bush, but later it was moved to its present position near the road.

Andrew was a great one to sing all kinds of songs. There was almost nothing that he could not sing. Unfortunately, no one learned his songs. Once he urged me to come spend the winter with him, saying that he would teach me his songs. I didn't go. But I remember the cane clearly. I saw it often at the house where I now live when my wife's father, Chief Abram Charles, was alive. I never learned the words to Hai Hai atahinó'geh (the eulogy for marching on the road). The song is easy but the words are hard.

Andrew died in 1921 or 1922 in the house of Fanny Bill (wife of Jake Fishcarrier). I know that because that is the house where I was brought up.

It seems that in his later years Andrew Spragg abandoned the house at Sandy's Corners and moved north to the next concession road to reside in the house now occupied by Fanny Bill (Mrs. Jake Fishcarrier), who was his wife's granddaughter; Fanny Bill's is the first house east of Lower Cayuga Longhouse; he was living there when he died. It was presumably during his residence at the latter place, a short step from Peter Atkins' Corners, now called Six Nations', that he relinquished the cane.

Neighbors along the road to Willow Grove where he resided for many years recall that Andrew Spragg was an enterprising character of considerable mechanical ingenuity. According to C. W. Monture,

Andrew was a great one to fix things. He had a steam thresher, in the days before separators with blowers, and it was driven by an upright engine. The whole rig was pulled by a heavy team. With this outfit he went from farm to farm threshing grain. Come fall, he pressed hay with a team. He was the first man here to attempt to devise a power press for his engine before the advent of tractors on the reserve.

Such anecdotes serve to illustrate that the man had an inventive turn of mind and some mechanical aptitude. Nevertheless, we do not think that he made the cane. Before taking up this matter, however, another anecdote relates to his threshing machine, and his prowess as a runner, which was remarkable even among the nation that produced Tom Longboat, famed Canadian marathoner. One rainy spring afternoon in 1945 the conversation in the village store at Ohsweken turned to track and field sports, a perennial interest among the Six Nations. Without my making any suggestion of an interest in the man, one of the villagers, a stalwart farmer who had been rained in from drilling grain, related the following tale about Andrew Spragg:

The Lower Cayugas had a great runner before Tom Longboat's time. He was a fellow named Andrew Spragg who lived down at Sandy's Corner, the first one this side of Willow Grove. He used to run a steam thresher, and one day they were threshing out oats down at Monture's when the separator broke down. The crew thought they were through for the day, but Andrew said to stand by while he ran to Caledonia (not less than 5 miles) for a part. When he reached the implement dealer's in Caledonia he was told that the part was not in stock and that one could not be had this side of Hamilton. Andrew asked them to call the dealer in Hamilton, the part was there, and the dealer was informed that Andrew would come after it afoot. There was no transportation then from Caledonia to the city. To the Massey Harris agent's amazement, in scarcely more than an hour an Indian who said he was Andrew Spragg presented himself at the counter, the broken part in his hand. "How did you get here so fast?" said the agent. "On the road," was all that the Cayuga volunteered. "Why, it's at least 12 miles from Caledonia to the rim of the Mountain!" (the high escarpment behind Hamilton which lies at the level of Lake Ontario). They collected a bet of 10 dollars in the store, to say that he could not run back to Caledonia in an hour. He was to telephone when he reached Caledonia. They had lost a lot of time threshing, Andrew thought, and he would have to pay for the men, as well as the part. Andrew needed that 10 dollars. He passed through the village of Caledonia in less than the allotted time. They were watching for him in Caledonia because Hamilton had telephoned. The Caledonia dealer called the Hamilton agent who agreed to forward the money. Andrew kept on running until he arrived back where they fixed the thresher and went back to work, having lost less than 3 hours.

That's a world's record in any man's country!

It is when one considers that 10 miles per hour is excellent time on the road, and the great Nurmi ran 11.94 miles in an hour.

Because the above seemed wholly incredible, and in hopes of learning how the tale might be elaborated in a second telling, I wrote to Mrs. Sadie Jamieson in whose Ohsweken store the liar's bench flourishes as a going institution. Sadie put the question to several customers, and finally wrote on April 10, 1947, that she had a second version from Jerome Duncan, who had told it to my first informant.

"It sure is a liar's bench problem," she comments, ". . . whoever told that one would get the chairman's seat."

Andrew Sprague was a thresher and when threshing for a certain farmer near Peter Atkin's corner, some small part of the machine was broken. He told his men that he had to go to Hamilton to get it, and since there was no transportation, he said he would run.

So he started out. Going through Caledonia, he stopped at a machine dealer's, called Holsteins, and there he found the part he wanted. He ran all the way back and was back in $\frac{3}{4}$ hour and inside of an hour they were threshing again. He never told the men that he never went to Hamilton at all.

Some man said to him "I'll just bet you \$10.00 that you can't run to Hamilton and back in the same time." So he took him up on it.

They told him they would wait at Atkin's store and he was to phone when he got to Hamilton.

He started out running the second time and only went as far as Caledonia again and got the same part again. Just before he left Caledonia he phoned Atkin's store and made them believe he called from Hamilton. He ran all the way back and made it in $\frac{3}{4}$ hour. Andrew Sprague won the \$10.00.

The distance from Caledonia to Hamilton is 14 miles, and 5 miles from Caledonia to where he was working.

Although it is apparent that Andrew Spragg was a man of no little accomplishment he was never a Cayuga chief. He belonged to the Lower Cayuga Longhouse, where he faithfully attended the religious exercises of the Handsome Lake Religion, and he mastered several of the rituals. His fame as a singer is equally confirmed by leaders of the Onondaga Longhouse. "Andrew was smart (agile) and the Lower Cayugas always had him to sing *Hai Hai* on the road because he knew the words (of the eulogy) and he was a good walker." (S. Gibson.)

This statement was corroborated by Hilton M. Hill (Seneca-Tuscarora) who was for many years Chief Clerk of the Indian Office in Brantford. The Cayuga chiefs depended upon Andrew Spragg's memory, his voice, and his legs to carry the roll call over the road from Lower Cayuga Longhouse to Onondaga, a distance of 2 miles. Some of the Cayuga chiefs were too advanced in years to lead the procession; the late Abram Charles was a noted ritualist, but he was deaf and never sang on the road. "Andrew Spragg was the only one who always used the cane."

The Onondaga chiefs of the Six Nations Reserve regarded Andrew Spragg as an independent fellow. He not only carried a unique cane that came to be associated with the Lower Cayugas (the Onondagas manage to perform the ritual when installing Cayuga chiefs without

reference to such mnemonic aids); but he had his own ideas about the ritual. Spragg had a book.⁹

The last time he came up to our [Onondaga] longhouse to install a chief, he had altered the roll call. There are names for 50 chiefs in the council of the League. There are also 50 pegs on the Condolence cane. Andrew had cut off a peg, the last one on the Onondaga roll, leaving but 49. Andrew claimed, as they have recently claimed at Syracuse [Onondaga Reservation], that the last chief serves double duty, having both the titles *Ho's'ähha-'hwih* and *Sganarwa-'dih*, that the last chief is of opposite sides (moieties) to himself, holding two offices. We claim there are 50 chiefs. (D. Thomas.)¹⁰

Unless Spragg had changed his mind about the number of federal chief titles, he would not have made the cane with 50 pegs in the first place. The fact that he is alleged to have cut off a peg points to an earlier maker. And there is some opinion in the community bearing on earlier holders. Cayuga Chief Alex General could not recollect in 1945 whom in the generation before Andrew Spragg he had heard mentioned by Indian name as having made the cane. Chief General does not think the cane is old. Some years previously at a Condolence Council rehearsal the late Oneida Chief Jacob Isaac of Sour Springs (Upper Cayuga) talked of the cane that Andrew Spragg had and spoke the name of the man who made it before Andrew Spragg got hold of it. My informant had forgotten the name since hearing it.

To Chief General it seems likely that the cane came to Andrew Spragg in a Ten Days' Feast, which the mourners and their brother clans give to the cousin clans who conducted the funeral. "That is the rule."

Many times since the coming of the Cayugas to settle here on the Grand River the Condolence ceremony was nearly lost. Only a few in a generation

⁹ Chief Crawford had told Yankee Spring and the writer in 1935 that Spragg had a copy of Morgan's "League of the Iroquois," a fact confirmed by Yankee Spring and by Milford G. Chandler who collected the cane. We do not know that Spragg was literate.

¹⁰ J. N. B. Hewitt had come to the same opinion as Andrew Spragg. I have not discovered that Hewitt had employed Spragg as an informant. In a conversation held in his office in October 1934, Hewitt stated that originally when the League was established, one recalcitrant Onondaga war chief refused to relinquish the privilege of going on the war path, but in order that he might continue to go to war he took both a federal chief's title and retained a warrior's name. Accordingly, he is represented as having his body divided in twain: in his right hand he holds the war club, and his left side stands for peace; he is at once *ho'skë'ggeh'de'*, "warrior," and *hoyaa'neh*, "law giver." Hewitt has documented this statement in a number of reports (37th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 12, 1923; 41st Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 10, 1928; Introduction to Iroquoian Cosmology—part II, 43d Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 463, 1928).

would know it. Then it revived. That is why they made something like the cane to remind them. Also, the songs may be sung only at stated times, in spring and fall, which are the only times when it may be rehearsed . . .

A MUSEUM SPECIMEN

The mystery attending the fate of the Condolence cane of Andrew Spragg solved itself suddenly and unexpectedly in early 1943, when Dr. Robert T. Hatt, Director of the Cranbrook Institute of Science, asked the writer to describe a unique specimen of a cane or stick in their collections, which Dr. F. G. Speck (University of Pennsylvania) and Dr. Arthur C. Parker (Rochester Museum) independently had identified as a roll-call tally of chiefs in the Iroquois Confederacy. The stick had come to the museum in a collection obtained from Milford G. Chandler, a noted collector of ethnological materials among the Indian tribes of the Great Lakes area.

Mr. Chandler first heard of the cane on a collecting trip to the Grand River in about 1917 or 1918. It was then in the possession of Andrew Spragg who, at that time, refused to sell. About 2 years later, however, after the midwinter ceremony in February, the stick was acquired. With the stick was a manuscript which, according to Spragg, contained a list of chiefs' titles very similar to the list found in Morgan's "League of the Iroquois" (1851). The manuscript contained a sentence about each peg on the cane; it was formerly kept bound to the stick but was subsequently lost.

Sprague assured me that this was the original roll call stick of the League of the Iroquois and had been handed down to him. He said that he was the one at that time to check the roll call. He would press his thumb against the peg representing a particular chief and call his name. There were two pegs cut off level representing men who were not true officers but who were doorkeepers.

* * *

Sprague was a man of medium height, angular and slender in build. He lived in a dilapidated house within walking distance of Six Nations Post Office and near the Cayuga Longhouse. Atkins, at that time Postmaster at Six Nations, acted as guide and interpreter for me.¹¹

In recalling these circumstances Mr. Chandler remembered that he stayed with Peter Atkins, Postmaster at Six Nations Post Office, and that Andrew Spragg lived nearby, next to Lower Cayuga Longhouse, as George Buck and others have confirmed. It was his impression that the cane was used in the council meetings to call the

¹¹ From a statement dictated by Milford G. Chandler regarding the Iroquois Condolence cane now owned by the Cranbrook Institute of Science, dated May 7, 1945. Personal interview, October 1944.

roll of chiefs present, one for each of the pegs opposite which is a representation of some characteristic in the chief's title. He does not seem to have understood its use in the Condolence Council ritual. To enrich the collector's understanding of the ceremonial setting, nevertheless, the old Cayuga singer referred him to a copy of Morgan's "League . . ." with its list of chiefs. Clearly this was the cane that we were seeking.

Observe that Spragg thought the cane coeval with the League, that it had been handed down to him, and it is implied that two pegs cut off reflect some controversy on relative status of doorkeepers to other federal chiefs.

The name "A SPRAG" is rudely carved on the back of the stick near the handle in a somewhat different style from the drawings. The question that this poses is not who had title to the cane. Rather, our interest is to illustrate how an item of Indian personal property, through long association with public ritual, came to be regarded as tribal property, or, conversely, how public property may become personalized. To be sure, certain properties such as wampum belts belonged to the confederate council and they were entrusted to appointed keepers among the chiefs. Such properties "belong to the Nation." They are state properties, not exactly in the public domain. Similarly each longhouse or ceremonial center has entrusted among its membership certain paraphernalia which is used at stated festivals; this is band or tribal property; it too belongs to the Nation. Nevertheless, one cannot readily distinguish between property that the community owns and other similar things which individuals possess, and sometimes own outright. Thus, a longhouse community will harbor a bag of Husk Faces, corn-husk masks for the Midwinter Festival and for family feasts to honor certain agricultural spirits that have curing powers, but also members of that community will personally own such items that they have inherited or that have been made for them in response to dreams, thereby becoming personal guardians; and these they may lend or convey, within certain limitations, as they will.

The Iroquois draw the property line around the person in a way that does not circumscribe as many kinds of property as among us. Rather the individual participates in a wider sphere of property sharing than we can conceive. He participates in tribal property, in band property, that of his maternal family, his fireside household, besides his own personal property. As an individual he owns outright the tools and implements that he employs in his daily life, his weapons, but physical belongings apart from these, such as a boat, he will lend

readily to friends and neighbors; his rights to certain kinds of knowledge including medicinal formulae and prayers associated with talismen or personal guardians are private and inviolate. Membership in a maternal family confers upon the individual copyright privileges during his lifetime to certain songs, a personal name, and possibly a chiefship title which also belongs to the clan, to the tribe, and to the League. Knowledge of a public ritual, however, is neither personal nor family property, although but few individuals acquire such erudition. Likewise the mnemonic aids that an individual employs to remind himself how the ritual proceeds belong to the group as they have a public function; and other members of his band and tribe come to regard these properties as belonging with the group's ritual paraphernalia. But the individual to whom the particular piece of paraphernalia is entrusted and who employs it in the public ceremony may come to feel a proprietary right to it that others do not share or acknowledge. This, I think, is the case of Andrew Spragg and the mnemonic cane that he had carried during innumerable journeys on the road from Lower Cayuga to Onondaga Longhouse while chanting the Eulogy to the Founders of the League. Andrew felt entitled to carve his name on the stick, which his contemporaries possibly and his survivors certainly considered as belonging to the Cayuga Nation.

The immediate reaction of an Upper Cayuga chief, to whom we showed a diagram of the cane, was: "It never should have left the reserve because it was [Cayuga] Nation property." The same chief thought that the cane antedated Andrew Spragg and that it had been entrusted to Spragg by some former keeper to use in the Condolence Council. The late Simeon Gibson,¹² himself heir to a Cayuga chiefship, was less positive that the cane belonged to the tribe. He knew that the Lower Cayugas had had this cane, and that only that band had one. That the Onondagas of the Three Brothers side (Mohawk-Onondaga-Seneca) never used this cane all informants agreed; its use was confined to the Four Brothers (Oneida-Cayuga-Tuscarora-Tutelo). The Three Brothers manage without one. Moreover, Gibson, whose family was of the Lower Cayuga band, discredited the statement of the Upper Cayuga chief by saying:

The Lower Cayugas have been for years the only Cayugas who could sing at the installation of chiefs on the Three Brothers side, for until recently there have been no singers of the ritual at the Sour Springs (Upper) Cayuga Longhouse.

¹² For an account of the man and the writer's field work on the Six Nations Reserve to that date, see "Simeon Gibson: Iroquois Informant, 1889-1943" (Fenton, 1944).

Until my spring field trip of 1945,¹³ only Andrew Spragg had been identified with the cane. No one could say who had made and inscribed the cane, only that it had been among the Lower Cayuga band for a long time. Andrew Spragg was the last singer seen to carry it "on the road" to install chiefs at Onondaga. The hereditary chiefs had been under attack by the Indian Department, and we are reminded that in the Indian Act of 1924 Canada abolished the confederate council on the Grand River. It was during this time of trouble that Spragg was growing old, and since the old way was failing, he let the cane go.

But despite the Indian Act, the system of life chiefs goes on, albeit unofficially, to provide the leadership for the longhouse communities on the Six Nations Reserve. In order that the men to whom the people now look in confidence might benefit from knowing how their predecessors remembered the roll call of the founders of the League the writer carried an enlarged line drawing of both sides of the cane to show to informants. The present ritual holders desired so many copies that the Cranbrook Institute had the original drawings blueprinted. Two of my Iroquois friends have since reproduced the original.

According to John Smoke (Cayuga), an old man of the Lower Cayuga band whom Howard Skye (Cayuga) consults on League matters, and who is known by the Indian name T'awenén'dró', or properly, T'awéñé's, "Word sinking in deep snow, or mud," the cane of Andrew Spragg was made by Gánawado, "Lime floating" (from onawada, "lime"-, and -o, "floating on water"- as in a lime pit). Gánawado had the English name of Styres and was the grandfather of Edward Styres, a Cayuga man of between 30 and 40 years in this generation; the latter's father, Joe Styres, died at about 65 years in 1939 or 1940. Gánawado was father of Joe, who was born about 1880.

From Gánawado, the maker, the cane passed to Billy Wage, an Onondaga who lived among the Cayuga. From Billy Wage it went to A. Spragg. No one knew what became of it after that.

Gánawado was a *Hai Hai* singer and used the cane in the Condolence ceremony.

Billy Wage was also a *Hai Hai* singer. He is the same ". . . Cayuga chief Wage (Hadwennine, 'His words are moving'), the high constable of the Reserve who is commonly known as Sheriff Wage . . ." of whom Hale (1895, p. 51) wrote in his journal of July

¹³ 62d Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 3-4, 1946.

1883 and observed leading the delegation of the younger nations to the woods-edge fire at Onondaga. He had a suitable name for a *Hai Hai* singer who carries the ritual on the road. "While we were conversing, the sound of a measured chant was heard in the distance. All eyes were turned on the neighboring woods, from which was presently seen to issue the portly form of the Cayuga chief Wage . . .," etc.—Howard Skye equated the two from Hale's description.

While this gives us a base line for dating Billy Wage's performance of the role of *Hai Hai* singer, Hale did not mention a cane at this point in the ceremony observed, but when they got inside the Onondaga Longhouse, he noted that the Eulogy singer, the "elderly" Cayuga Chief Jacob Silversmith (Teyotherehkonh, "Doubly Cold") was ". . . bearing in his hand a staff, with which he seemed to time his steady walk." (P. 54.) We are without further details.

Our information states further that the cane did not belong to Andrew Spragg; "it belonged to the Cayugas. Gánawado made it for the Cayugas only. According to John Smoke, when Andrew Spragg got hold of the cane, he claimed it."

Such is the history of the specimen.

MATERIAL DESCRIPTION

Shape and general appearance.—With its bent handle attached, the Condolence cane bears a superficial resemblance to a dress sword (pl. 2). This was how one of my informants described it to me. The handle, at a second glance, might be mistaken for a discarded umbrella handle that, as a substitute for some earlier handle, had been attached from its side to the stick, like the hand guard of a sword, instead of by its axis, like the handle of an umbrella. In all probability, this is the original handle despite Yankee Spring's theory that an eagle perched on the staff. Viewed sideways, the handle conforms to the shape of the bows or crooks on hickory canes by Iroquois craftsmen. In fact, the handle could be reproduced by cutting the crook from the shaft of an Iroquois old man's cane. The handle appears to be made of white hickory.

When the cane was accessioned at the Cranbrook Institute, the handle was at first removed, since it was thought to be a later addition or substitute for some earlier handle. The handle has since been restored. Three informants who saw the profile drawing of the stick without the handle asserted that it was once provided with a handle like a sword guard. All these informants had seen the stick used in the ceremony at Six Nations Reserve but none mentioned that the handle was formerly an eagle head, as Yankee Spring had said.

Material and dimensions.—The stick itself is of sugar maple.¹⁴ It has an over-all length of 890 mm. Its greatest breadth midway is 37 mm.; its greatest thickness 15 mm. Tapering at the ends to an oval and flatter at the midsection, the general appearance of the stick suggests an Iroquois bow stave.

Panels or sections of pegs.—The lateral edges of one side are sectioned off into alternate panels in nice proportion to over-all length, three on the right, and two between them on the left. The panels are cut into the edge of the cane on a slant to form a standing bevel with the edge; the width of each bevel face is 10 mm., and the bevel makes a 45-degree angle with the top and sides. From the top of the cane the beveled panels measure 110, 118, 165, 125, and 110 mm., respectively. The panels have been drilled for seating wooden pegs with flat heads. The number of pegs per panel is apportioned unequally. From the top, the sequence of drill holes for pegs is: 9-9-14-10-8, totaling 50.

Some of the pegs are missing; one is cut off. Peg No. 32, being 14 in the third panel, has been cut off flush with the bevel. This is important, recalling the testimony of David Thomas (Onondaga) that Andrew Spragg insisted there were 13 Onondaga chiefs and had cut off a peg, because deleting the last Onondaga title would dispose of No. 14 in the third tribal panel.¹⁵ The following pegs are lost: 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 29, 31, 44, 46, 47, 48.

Besides being grouped into five alternate panels, the pegs segregate themselves spatially within each panel in the following rhythmic patterns: 3-3-3, 3-3-3, 6(2-2-2)1-2-3-2, 2-3-3-2, 2-2-2-2. (Fig. 1.)

Pictographs.—Each peg, moreover, is illustrated by a pictograph. The pictograph stands opposite the peg so that when the cane is held alternately sideways the representations for each panel stand above the pegs, and the symbols can be read sequentially, first from right to left, then from left to right for the second panel, right to left again in the third, over to left to right in the fourth, until reaching the last panel when the stick is held away from the singer so that the characters may be read from near to far. Note that the first, third, and fifth panels, which are on the same edge, read from right to left, and the second and fourth panels, on the opposite edge, read from left to right. In all cases the sequence is from top to bottom of the stick.

¹⁴ Dr. Hatt submitted the specimen to Prof. Dow V. Baxter, School of Forestry, University of Michigan. Hatt, R. T., personal communication, June 16, 1945.

¹⁵ Another peg was cut off, according to the collector, Mr. Chandler, but, if true, that peg has been lost. (Hatt, R. T., personal communication, April 14, 1945).

	CRANBROOK CAYUGA CANE <i>a</i>	CAYUGA CANE (S.G.) 1940 AND CHARLES NOTEBOOK, 1916 <i>b</i>	J. H. G. 1940 (ADJUSTED) <i>c</i>	NEWHOUSE 1885 <i>d</i>	ONONDAGA REHEARSAL 1945 <i>e</i>
I	1	••	•••	•• 1	••
	2	••	•••	•• 2	I ••
	3	••	•••	•• 3	••
II	4	••	•••	4 ••	••
	5	••	(V) •••	5 ••	•• II
	6	••	•••	6 ••	••
III	7	••	•••	•• 7	••
	8	••	•••	•• 8	••
	9	••	•••	•• 9	•• III
	10	••	••	•• 10	••
	11	••	••	•• 11	••
IV	12	••	••	12 ••	••
	13	••	•••	13 ••	•• IV
	14	••	•••	14 ••	••
	15	••	••	15 ••	••
V	16	••	•••	16 ••	••
	17	••	(II) •••	••	••
	18	••	•••	••	V ••
	19	••	•••	••	••
				SIX SONGS •• •• •• ••	
				15 STRINGS •••••	

FIG. 1.—The mnemonic systems of the Condolence cane, and for laying down corn at rehearsals. *a*, The Cranbrook Cayuga Condolence cane of A. Spragg; *b*, Cayuga cane of S. Gibson, 1940, and the Notebook of A. Charles, 1916; *c*, J. H. Gibson, 1940; *d*, Seth Newhouse, 1885; *e*, Onondaga rehearsal, 1945.

Less than half of the pictographs are representative designs; most of the characters are abstractions. A number of the representations relate to plants: a stalk and branches, branch and leaves, trunk and branch, a corn cob. Number 6 is a bird, 7 is an antler, a wolf appears at 25. Anthropomorphic designs, however, predominate; they are either of whole men, heads accentuating such parts as an eye, a double profile, an ear, profiles face to face, a flat head, a scalped head, etc. Over 25 are pure abstractions, or at least appear so until one learns what is intended. Therefore, pure symbols carry over half the burden, and together with the arrangement of pegs and panels comprise a true mnemonic.

The figures appear to have been drawn with a nail or hard pencil, with the sole exception of the tree opposite peg No. 4, which is definitely incised. Evidently the maker, or some keeper, never carried out an idea of carving all the figures after attempting the first four.

Reverse side.—The reverse side of the stick bears the name A SPRAG (fig. 2), followed by a series of symbols, which appear more clearly; and the cipher-shaped symbols are followed by representations of what may be intended for grass, brush overgrowing supine bodies lying over other matters that are represented by round objects, a dotted circle; and then come a parade of five human heads with horns (perhaps chiefs with antlers of office, evidently following the path to) a longhouse with two smokes, after which stands the erect bust of a man facing left toward what has preceded. The preceding symbols or characters are circles in units of one, three, five, and these are ranged from high (a single circle), middle (three ciphers on the level), to low (five ciphers with an appendage slanting downward to lower left on the last). Above the last are a line of five inverted c's, followed by three hache marks. Next come two parallel sets of linked ciphers and dots which slant from lower left to upper right. The first is surmounted by a dotted circle. The last is a line connecting two circles, passing between five smaller ciphers spaced three to the left and two to the right like the panels on the obverse of the stick. The last connected circle at the upper right of the second set has a pupil like an eye directed left.

Part of the next figure, possibly intended for a human heart or face, projects beneath the surface of a horizontal line into a triangle of three tiny circles; within the area of the figure above the line or surface are an open circle (possibly an eye) and another which appears to be directed along parallel rising broken lines to succeeding units.

The broken lines lead to a horizontal line on top of which are engraved short sets of vertical lines in all probability representing sod. Beneath the sod line is a supine figure lying on round objects, obviously in a grave. The succeeding unit is in character, but here the surface of the earth is overgrown with brush, and this time the body lying in its grave has a round object or cipher beneath its head as a pillow, and five short vertical marks support the body. The remaining figures require no further elaboration.

GENERAL SYMBOLISM

RECOGNITION BY THE IROQUOIS AND BY ANTHROPOLOGISTS

The specimen was submitted to several specialists on the Indians of northeastern North America. These anthropologists in turn supported their opinions by consulting native authorities among the surviving Iroquois. They are of one mind: the specimen is a roll-call stick, a cane to prop up the memory of the song leader who is appointed to chant the Eulogy to the Founders of the Iroquois League during the Condolence Council. The Iroquois know this rite as *Hai Hai*, a specific name for this feature that has become a general euphemism for the whole Condolence Council. Specifically in Onondaga of Six Nations Reserve it is *atahio'ge hai hai ne' gae·na'*, for which the word order is reversed in translation to read, "The song of eulogy for journeying on the path." In modern parlance this becomes "Hai hai for going on the road."

The stick was submitted first to the noted Iroquoianist, Dr. Arthur C. Parker, then Director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, who examined the stick, made some tracings of it, and showed photographs of it to some Seneca chiefs at Tonawanda. Since the incorporation of the Seneca Nation on the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations a century ago, Tonawanda is the last place in western New York where the system of life chiefs is preserved, and here are concentrated the eight titles that the Seneca tribe held in the council of the League. The present incumbents are the descendants of Morgan's informants. The present chiefs to whom Parker showed the photographs were able to interpret some of the names, but it puzzled them why some titles are represented as they are by the pictographs found on the stick.¹⁶ We would expect them to follow the enumeration of chiefs as given by Morgan, and they would be

¹⁶ Arthur C. Parker to Robert T. Hatt, February 3, 1943; Hatt, R. T., personal communication, February 5, 1943.

mainly concerned with the enumeration of their own number. If these were out of sequence by local standards, their wonderment does not amaze me since Iroquois personal names are subject to varying interpretation, and different versions gain acceptance in separated localities and in succeeding periods. The Seneca chiefs of Tonawanda do not exchange condolences with the Cayuga chiefs of Six Nations Reserve in Canada, but rather with the Onondaga chiefs of Syracuse, N. Y. Thus different variants of the ritual of condolence have developed on the American side and in Canada, and to some extent the interpretations of the titles have been localized, and the order of roll call near its end differs as certain pairs of titles are interpolated in New York and Canada.

The specimen was also submitted to Dr. Frank G. Speck, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Pennsylvania, whose wide field experience among eastern Indians includes a study of Cayuga ceremonialism. Speck recognized the cane immediately as a tally of names of Iroquois League chiefs, proportioned by number of representatives for each of the Five Nations, and suggested that the writer undertake its study.

Accordingly, the Cranbrook Institute of Science invited me to describe the specimen. Between wartime assignments, I took the opportunity afforded by the Cranbrook Institute to visit the Six Nations Reserve from September 15 to October 15, 1943, to make inquiries about the cane and to investigate its history and use in the Condolence Council. This search was coupled with the work of translating texts of the rituals that were collected by my predecessor, the late J. N. B. Hewitt, and by Alexander Goldenweiser for the National Museum of Canada. Both of these ethnologists had worked at the Six Nations Reserve with Chief John A. Gibson, father of my interpreter Simeon, and Hewitt had retained Joshua Buck and Chief Abram Charles. To advance the translation of these manuscripts relating to the Iroquois League, the American Council of Learned Societies in 1941 had awarded me a grant-in-aid of research. A renewal made in 1942 had not been used, but the Council made it available for this study in the fall of 1943. Study of the Condolence Council constituted the central problem of field work in the spring and fall of 1945, supported by the Viking Fund of New York City, and the present study is written with that background material in mind (Fenton, 1946; and 62d and 63d Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology).

OPINIONS OF RITUALISTS AT SIX NATIONS

While in the field and between trips during this study I could count on the interest of Chief Alex General of the Upper Cayuga band, present holder of the title *Deska'heh*. On seeing a drawing of the stick, Chief General confirmed the fact that the front is a tally of the 50 chiefs in the League. In this he received the support of Simeon Gibson in 1943 and the latter's brother Chief John Hardy Gibson who was installed in 1945; the Gibson brothers in 1939 and 1940 had mentioned the existence of such a cane. On the Three Brothers side, David Thomas sustained the identification, and although he is an Onondaga warrior, nevertheless he commands the respect of the chiefs in such matters and they rely on him to speak for them and to perform principal roles in the Condolence Council, including Eulogy Singer and Speaker of the Requickening Address (Hewitt (Fenton, ed.), 1944).

What we have designated the "back" of the stick, because it was least obvious in the field, presented more of a problem to informants. When Simeon Gibson looked at it, he was obviously puzzled as to its meaning, save the symbol of the "longhouse with two smokes" which is clear to any Iroquois. He remarked:

It is too bad that all the Cayuga chiefs are now dead, such as Robert Davey and Abram Charles, who were living at the time Andrew Spragg used the cane when singing on the road. It is hard to know [from the characters] just what he meant; he put down just his own idea.

At the time (1943) Simeon doubted that the present singer for the Cayugas, Charlie Van Every, ever saw the cane, but up until the present it has not been possible to question him.

To Chief General, however, it is clear that the back of the stick depicts the beginning of the *Hai Hai* or Eulogy chant, when the condoling chiefs of the Four Brothers side first assemble at Lower Cayuga Longhouse before starting out on the road to Onondaga. When first they gather at Lower Cayuga, the condoling chiefs appoint a man as leading singer to start the Eulogy. Pacing to and fro in the longhouse, the singer carries the Eulogy through its long introduction all the way to the end, as far as it is depicted on the back side of the Condolence cane, before turning the stick to call the name of the first Mohawk title at the moment that he steps out of the longhouse door to lead the procession over the road to Onondaga.

Recalling the forepart of the Eulogy chant, Chief General was able to adjust his version to the circular symbols or ciphers (O, and ooo), by equating each repetition of the recurrent phrase *Hai hai-ih* to a

circle. In other words, it would seem that the symbol O or ooo, the circles or ciphers, are as notes in a musical scale, indicating high, middle, and low tonal position to the singer. This theory did not work out entirely, however, particularly after reaching the two parallel sets of linked circles that slant from lower left to upper right (fig. 2, 2). Although the next several characters present enigmas, the characters depicting a prostrate man illustrate that part of the introduction to the Eulogy which sings of the founding chiefs lying in their graves on the laws that they legislated.

One further note on the question of missing pegs, noted in the description. John Smoke further told Howard Skye, who recognized the cane which he had seen as a child and heard about all his life.

One other thing. Whenever a chief dies a peg is pulled out. There is no peg there when a chief dies. The peg is put back in place whenever they install a new chief.

Howard Skye took me to meet old John Smoke in November of 1945. When we found him at home, the old Cayuga had contracted to help a white neighbor press hay. With this obligation in mind he would not discuss the Condolence cane, although he acknowledged that the blueprints I showed him were of the cane he had discussed with my younger interpreter. Copies have since been supplied to several of the chiefs at Six Nations. But to postpone this report until after another field trip does not seem warranted, although one can always get new information.

With these leads, we shall proceed presently to a specific analysis. But first let us take up related mnemonic devices and the use of canes in Iroquois ceremonialism before discussing the function and composition of this cane in particular.

CANES IN IROQUOIS CEREMONIALISM

Old men and supernaturals.—Among the Iroquois, old men and supernaturals carry canes or staffs. A stick is a mark of distinction that cannot be entirely credited to the Iroquois of Grand River living among carriers of British culture in Canada. Essentially the Iroquois are landmen, and they are continually traveling on the road. As youths and young men they maintain a tradition that Iroquois warriors are renowned runners; their fathers point to Tom Longboat, who they say in his youth trained by running around the concessions of Six Nations Reserve wearing rubber boots and later became Canada's greatest distance runner. Andrew Spragg belonged to this tradition. As middle age approaches men begin to feel knee injuries

that have been sustained during lacrosse matches in their twenties and thirties, and sooner or later they affect a staff when traveling the roads and woodland paths. Simeon Gibson in his fifties always carried a stick, one of several that he picked up from beside the gate, another that he left at the store where he traded, or that he cut along a fence row, or retrieved from the roadside where he had cast it for a passing ride. This is hardly an individual trait.

Rather the staff is deeply rooted in the Iroquois conception of the ideal older man. "Old man" has a connotation of affection and respect. Certain classes of supernaturals are called "Our grandfathers." This is how the people address, in prayers, both classes of maskers, the wooden faces whom the people impersonate by wearing masks of wood and the Husk-faces; both carry wooden staves. The masked members of the False-face Society and the Husk-faces command great respect. In praying to the tutelaries whom they represent, the priest says: "And now your cane receives tobacco, which is a great hickory with its limbs stripped off to the top."

All the actors in the ceremony carry peeled staves of hickory of about their own height. Likewise, the Husk-faces individually carry staffs or shorter canes which they dance around. It is presumed that such impersonations of the grandfathers, these masked shamans, project stereotypes of statuses and roles that obtained in former times.

The implement of a chief.—Likewise a cane is the implement of the chief. Chiefship is the highest status in Iroquois society. In becoming a federal chief, one who is destined to serve as an officer of the League, a man gives up the right to follow the war path and puts behind him the glory of individual achievement; henceforth his life is tied up with the affairs of the council and his business is peace. This honor seldom befalls a man before his middle years, when it is natural that he should lay aside the war club and take up a staff. The symbolism is fortified, moreover, by the fact that each federal chief has a subchief or deputy who acts as his messenger and sometimes his speaker, and this functionary is sometimes referred to as "The Cane" or "The Ear, who sits on the roots of the Tree," the chieftain whose subchief he is (Hewitt, 1920, p. 535). A cane figures as a status symbol of chiefship in that section of the Deganawi'dah legend that treats of condoling and installing federal chiefs in office. Therefore, the so-called Chief's canes that occur in ethnological collections from the Iroquois do not represent necessarily a recent development in woodcarving which followed new tools. The cane idea is old; the specimens are of the recent historic period.

Other Condolence canes.—The carved cane is a new idea which

came in with the jackknife. So John Echo, an Onondaga of Six Nations Reserve, told F. W. Waugh in 1912. Canes were formerly made of a wood called *dusishää'*; shafts were cut, dried a little, and bent. Bent-wood canes became a ready source of cash income in the decades preceding and following 1900. Waugh describes a form for bending round-handled canes which he saw at William Poudry's at Tonawanda Reservation, N. Y., during the same year. After the manner of logs for scraping and working skins, one end rested on the ground, the high end on two or three legs. The high end was flattened around a vertical cylinder which was mortised into the log, and a vertical pin placed next to it made a vise and shaping block for bending canes, lacrosse sticks, and snowshoe frames. The Iroquois bend hickory when it is green, and John Echo averred that steaming was not an old method of wood bending among the Iroquois. Sticks for snowshoes and so on were generally used round, after drying just a little, and then roasted or warmed up beside the fire, which was sufficient for bending (Waugh, 1912, Note Book B (Ms.), p. 27).

In the collections of the National Museum of Canada are four so-called Chief's canes, which Waugh collected at Six Nations Reserve in 1915. Waugh got two of these from Cayuga Chief David Jack, his principal informant on material culture; he purchased the third from George Davis (Onondaga), and the fourth came from his interpreter, John Jamieson, Jr. (Cayuga) who found it along the road. (Pl. 3, left to right.) The first is a plain, curved-headed cane of hickory which belonged to David Jack's grandmother's husband (Cat. No. III.I. 1035); modern canes of this type have the bark stripped from the wood. David Jack gave for cane: *dá'ditra'ä'na'* (Cayuga); *da'ditshä'* (Onondaga).

The second specimen has its handle carved to represent some waterfowl and the shaft is scored in intersecting lateral diamond grids; it belonged to David Jack's grandfather, who was also a chief, and it is said to have passed through the hands of four generations covering possibly a century, which is roughly the span that the Six Nations have occupied the Grand River. (Waugh, 1912, Notebook No. 4, front cover (Ms.), and Accession Records, National Museum of Canada, Cat. No. III.I. 1034.)

The third specimen is ascribed to the ceremony of installing new chiefs and therefore belongs to this discussion. It was a natural, unworked stick with a knot at the head which was carved readily into the effigy of a bear or wolf, and may have suggested its purpose to the maker, although Waugh (1915, Notebook No. 7, back cover (Ms.)) says that neither corresponds to George Davis' clan which

was deer. Attached to the cane is a single string of wampum: "The number of beads is said to have signified the number of chiefs, the white beads indicating the leading chiefs, the blue the Pine Tree chiefs. . . . The cane is said to have been used for many generations for the purpose described" (Collectors Notes, Accession Records, National Museum of Canada, Cat. No. III.I. 1068 a & b). This datum to the contrary, as we shall see, neither the number of beads nor the pattern of their arrangement agrees with the grouping of chiefs by tribes in the Iroquois Confederacy. There are 10 white beads, which is precisely the number of Cayuga federal chiefs, but we are unable to account by this reckoning for the rest (the number of blue beads) as Pine Tree chiefs. Assuming that the 10 white beads stand for leading chiefs of committees in the Council of the League we get nowhere because "Pine Tree" chiefs did not belong to the League Council.

As we read them, the total number of beads is 38: 10 white and 28 blue. Starting at the top of the loop and proceeding counter-clockwise, the arrangement is: 6b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 1b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 4b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 2b, 1w, 3b. Grouping these in pairs, the following rhythmic patterns emerge:

6-(1), 2-(1), 1-(1),
 2-(1), 2-(1), 2-(1),
 4-(1),
 2-(1), 2-(1), 2-(1),
 3-(0).

Whichever way it is read, a similar pattern comes out. But taking it as it stands above, the second and fourth lines of repeated units of 3 could refer to the three committees of each of the Mohawk and Oneida committees of chiefs in the Bear, Wolf, and Turtle clans, of which the bracketed figure, standing for the white bead, would be the leading chief. The rest of the combinations do not work out since the total number of beads does not correspond to the roster of federal chiefs, which is 49 or 50. If the string were intended to symbolize the federal chiefs in either tribal phratry, the number is wrong, since the chiefs of the Three Brothers side (Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca) comprise 31 titles, arranged 3-3-3, 6-1-2-3-2, 2-2-2-2; and the chiefs of the Younger Nations or Four Brothers side (being only Oneida and Cayuga in Five Nations) are 19 titles, arranged 3-3-3, and 2-3-3-2.

The fourth cane (Cat. No. III.I. 1037) is one of those freaks of nature, a spiral produced by climbing bittersweet, that the Iroquois

love to get for a walking stick. Evidently its owner did not prize it highly, since he left it by the road.

Another carved Chief's cane was seen in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (Toronto), it being part of the Chiefswood collection of Miss Evelyn H. C. Johnson (Cat. No. HD 12622). It once belonged to Daniel Springer of Six Nations Reserve, Brantford. It is Janus-faced and measures 31.5 inches. (Pl. 4, *a* and *b*.)

There are two such canes from the Huron or Iroquois of eastern Canada in the ethnological collections of the Provincial Museum of Quebec. No information is available on their provenience, except that they belonged to the Government before the establishment of the Quebec Provincial Archives Office and were transferred to the Archives without accession records, if such existed. One bears the head of a dog or wolf, and the rope motif of the stick appears to represent grass snakes, according to Dr. Antoine Roy, Quebec Provincial Archivist, to whom I am indebted for the photograph and for an intensive search.¹⁷ (Pl. 4, *c* and *d*.)

Four fine examples of carved canes were collected in 1918 by S. A. Barrett in western New York and Ontario for the Milwaukee Public Museum. These specimens were seen and examined briefly during a visit to the museum August 27, 1947, thanks to the courtesy of the curator, Robert Ritzenthaler, and since then both he and Dr. W. C. McKern have supplied data from Barrett's field notes, which did not accompany the specimens or were not evident in the catalog. The two finest specimens of Chief's canes bear animal-effigy handles, bear and wolf. (Pl. 5, *a* and *b*, and pl. 6, fig. 1.) The bear-effigy cane (Cat. No. 54,962/16,425) was found in the Museum without data. The wolf-effigy (Cat. No. 24,598/6158) ingeniously swallows the shaft of the cane which measures 37.5 inches. (Pl. 6, fig. 1, *b*.) Collected in Ontario in 1918, it obviously comes from Six Nations Reserve. A third, obviously quite modern, is crudely done; it also has the wolf effigy; and on it is carved the title S'agogen'he' and the year 1918. (Pl. 5, *d*, and pl. 6, fig. 2, *b*.) The title is that of the twelfth chief on the Onondaga list in the League Council, and means "he saw them" or "he saw the people." The main interest that attaches to the specimen is the proof that individual chiefs had carved canes, and here is one bearing his title, a clan effigy, and the probable date of his installation. Unfortunately, the legend does not appear in the illustration, and the catalog number is not at hand.

Greater interest attaches to the fourth cane in another connection.

¹⁷ Roy, Antoine, personal communication, April 16, May 5, 1947.

While not a Chief's cane, it is in character. On the head of a vine-spiraled stick has been carved a miniature False-face. (Pl. 6, fig. 2, *a*.) The specimen (Cat. No. 24,103/6084) is recorded as collected among the Senecas of Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York by Barrett in 1918, but according to his field notes it was carried by the man who is annually elected to lead the march of the False-faces from one council house to the other at the Midwinter Festival. The latter notes about the cane are in a section marked Onondaga and may refer to the Six Nations Reserve.¹⁸

Parker collected and published (1916, p. 112) a record staff for the Condolence and Installation ceremony of a League chief; it is a round staff with one flattened surface on which are drawn pictographs (illustrated, p. 111), 18 in number, which refer to stations in the Requickening Address, but not to the roll call of chiefs. The specimen is in the New York State Museum (Cat. No. 36907). The pictographs, nevertheless, show affinity to the drawings on the cane of Andrew Spragg, which are in the same style.

In the winter of 1941 Chief Joe Williams of Seneca Longhouse at Six Nations on Grand River, showed me a Chief's cane of a type that resembles the stick of George Davis, already described, in the National Museum of Canada. None of the above specimens, however, is like the specimen under discussion.

The brothers Simeon and Hardy Gibson came the closest to describing a cane that they had seen in use among the Lower Cayuga and which had the precise arrangement of pegs for denominating the chiefs, although it was a simple mnemonic and lacked accompanying pictographs. In fact, Simeon volunteered to reproduce such a cane and he was more accurate in describing it than his brother. We made a drawing at the time of the interview but no such cane ever materialized (fig. 1, *b*). Starting at the top, which he gave a swordlike handle, Simeon said that it would have three groups of three pegs for the three committees of Mohawk chiefs, with the same repeated for the Oneida chiefs, followed by groups six, one, two, three, and two in a line for the Onondaga chiefs, an arrangement of two, three, three, and two for the Cayuga chiefs, and four groups of two for the Senecas. Except that they were spaced in groups or committees, the pegs extended in a continuous line from the top to the end of the roster, near the foot of the cane. Groups of chiefs were separated by a line, and two lines segregated tribal councils.

In another interview Hardy Gibson arranged the tribes in phratries

¹⁸ McKern, W. C., personal communication, October 2, 1947.

and grouped the chiefs in committees across the cane (fig. 1, c). His arrangement called for Mohawk at the top, Seneca and Onondaga near the center; then a double line to separate this moiety of tribes from the Cayuga and Oneida toward the foot. Such arrangement, of course, resembles the seating of the tribal councils at the Six Nations Court House in Ohsweken. (Hewitt, 1944, p. 85; Hewitt and Fenton, 1945, p. 306.) Hardy's arrangement of pegs on the cane entailed three horizontal rows of three dots for the Mohawk, two rows of three and a row of two, or three rows of two—Hardy was uncertain—for the Seneca; he was not sure of the Onondaga arrangement; but the Cayuga he knew was a row of two, two rows of three, and another row of two, and Oneida simply repeats Mohawk. Lacking the cane at rehearsals, they use white corn, Hardy recalled, so the arrangement of pegs on the stick is the pattern for laying down corn at rehearsals for the Condolence Council.

Cane for Moccasin game at chief's wake.—Collateral support for the roll-call stick comes from two other wooden records from the Iroquois of Six Nations Reserve. In June of 1916 J. N. B. Hewitt collected a rather nice example of a cane with a crook for use in the Moccasin game at a chief's wake (37th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 14, 1923) (pl. 7 of this paper). This unusual specimen (U.S.N.M. No. 384288) had not been described at Mr. Hewitt's passing (1937), and his notes on it are scanty indeed, being limited to a single page (B.A.E. Ms. No. 3506). Thirty years is a long time for a people to do without a bit of ritual paraphernalia, so that small likelihood remains that diligent inquiry will discover how the cane functions in the Moccasin game or how its symbolism serves to prompt condolence speakers. Nevertheless, among specimens seen in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in November 1945, Howard Skye identified No. 19,836 as a bundle of stick counters used in the Moccasin game, of which 50 is the number used for a child, the full 100 being for an adult. The counters are of white pine, as is the drum beater which accompanies them. At the wake, clans divide into phratries and sit on opposite benches. Four moccasins are placed on the floor between them, the pile of counters at one side. The singers have the drum, and one of their number hides a bullet or stone in one of the moccasins before him; the seekers have the wooden pointer or cane. The man who has the cane picks one moccasin. If he finds the loaded one on the first try, that ends the singing; but if he fails, the pointer goes to the man next to him and the singers continue. At each miss the singers (hidiers) get one point. When the opposing side finds the object, they receive a

point (?) and the drum. At the last song, along about daybreak, the master of ceremony burns the counters one at a time—each counter represents a spirit, a ghost—and he also burns the drum stick, and he breaks and burns the pointer. He removes the head of the drum. How, then, these specimens survived for museum collections is remarkable.

Possibly the photographs of the stick published here to illustrate Mr. Hewitt's brief notes that follow will promote a favorable opportunity for someone to observe the Moccasin game at Grand River and augment our meager data on the relation of the symbols to the content of speeches.

Brantford, June 30, 1916.

Notes on cane with crook used in Moccasin game:

BACK OF CANE

		Pl. 7, fig. b
1st design	represents "evil, sickness, death"	1
2d design	" " "a man, or person"	2
3d design	" " "a wampum belt"	3
4th design (small saw teeth)	" " "black wampum"	4
5th design	" " "a lodge"	5
6th design (crossing paths)	" " "all are notified"	6
7th design (squares)	" " "hall of meeting"	7
8th design (semicircles)	" " "people"	8

[Cf. third unit on the back of the Spragg Condolence cane.]

RIGHT SIDE OF CANE

All [the cross-hatched and chevron designs are said to] represent wampum belts received by the allied tribes. Note end of design showing wampum belt ending (suggesting diamond designs in the great belts of the covenant in New York State Museum (Parker, 1916; Clarke, 1931, p. 99 and fig. 35)). (Pl. 7, fig. c.)

LEFT SIDE OF CANE

		Pl. 7, fig. d
1st design	represents "evil, death, etc."	1
	[Cf. 1 on back, right. Note symbols of two persons close by.]	
2d design	represents "sun lost (to view) because of death"	2

[Eighth burden of Requickening Address (Hewitt, 1944, p. 74; Hewitt and Fenton, 1945, p. 314). Loss of Sky, the seventh burden, and Loss of Sun, the eighth burden, apparently intersect in this design.]

3d design	represents "the face of the dead"	3
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		Pl. 7, fig. d
4th design	represents "his lodge" (a typical log cabin on Six Nations Reserve)	4
5th design	" " "the world" (paths)	5
	[Cf. 6 and 7 on back of cane, which this and the following reverse and combine.]	
6th design	represents "winding path of the dead"	7 8

For some obscure reason Hewitt and his informant failed to enumerate and interpret two units, of which there are eight, on this side of the cane. Following the house (No. 4) are two square units, the first of which resembles No. 7 on the back, "hall of meeting," with addition of diagonal lines, indicating that death has altered this assembly in some way; and the next or sixth unit, which is quite similar to No. 6 on the back, "all are notified." Then would follow the winding paths of "the world," and the "winding path of the dead," with its dentate margins like the string of black wampum symbolized in the third unit on the back.

The cane measures 38 inches over-all (pl. 7, fig. a), including the crook which has the effigy of a bear, possibly the clan eponym of its maker, at its head. The material is of white hickory (*Carya glabra* (Mill.)).

Vision stick of Seneca prophet.—The second wooden record from the Six Nations Reserve pertains to the revelation of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet; it is a pine stave some $31\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, a maximum width of $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and a maximum thickness of $9/16$ inch. It is soiled with long use, and broken with a longitudinal diagonal break that has been repaired; and it is fitted with an eye at the top of proper dimension to admit the speaker's index finger. Dr. S. A. Barrett collected the specimen in 1918 on the Grand River for the Milwaukee Public Museum (Cat. No. 24601/6158), but from whom we do not know, and efforts to reach Dr. Barrett by letter have failed to elicit further information. While no data accompany the specimen, the incised pictographs are so clear that one may compare the legend with Parker's "Code of Handsome Lake" (1913) and recognize the beginning at *Dyononh'sadegen*, "Burnt-house" (Cornplanter Reservation), when the Four Messengers appeared to the prophet in the month of May, 1799. (Pl. 8.) Rather than attempt a description of this specimen now and an analysis of its pictographs, suffice it to say that the drawings of houses, plants, and the human figures are in the same style as the figures on the roll-call stick of A. Spragg. The Handsome Lake stick, which is in character with the message and prayer sticks of the Shawnee and Kickapoo prophets, deserves a separate paper.

It is now established how the cane features in Iroquois ceremonialism and social life. Sometimes the cane is combined with the mnemonic record stick, but the latter has a separate form more nearly resembling the prayer and record sticks of Central Algonquian prophets and may refer to the same time level. Iroquois pictographs have a consistent style, the figures of humans maintaining a broad-shouldered narrow-hipped consistency found in war memorials of the eighteenth century.

ROLL CALLS OF OTHER FORMS

Roll-call wampum.—One of the most interesting records that has been ascribed to the period of the founding of the League is a roll-call wampum from the Mohawk of Six Nations Reserve that is now in the safekeeping of the National Museum of Canada. In describing the specimen, Diamond Jenness (1933, pp. 25-26) calls it the “. . . covenant or Magna Charta of the League . . ., the record of its foundation and organization, made by the Iroquois women at the command of *Dekanawida* and his associates. . . .” The late Mohawk Chief William Loft related the tradition that

. . . *Dekanawida* appointed fifty sachems from the five nations, . . ., made them join hands in a circle, and ordained that they should be of equal rank and bear individual titles. That they might remember their titles and position in the council house, he then devised this wampum record, which he entrusted to the keeping of an outstanding warrior, . . . who bore the title *Sharenhkhonwaneh*, “Majestic Tree,” . . . first sachem of the wolf clan in the Mohawk nation. The successors to this title . . . remained the official keepers of the record down to . . . Chief Loft himself . . .

Loft told how during the Revolutionary War it was buried by its keeper inside a brass kettle where it remained 8 years, to be dug up at the instance of Joseph Brant who obtained it for the ceremony of rekindling the council fire of the Five Nations on the banks of the Grand River in Canada.

The record contains upward of 1,800 white wampum beads to which Jenness attributes considerable antiquity, since X-rays show that they are drilled from both ends. The record is formed into a large circle by two entwined strings which symbolize “respectively the Great Peace and the Great Law” that were established with the beginnings of the League; and from the entwined circle depend 50 pendant strings to represent the 50 chiefs of the confederacy. “That representing the seventh Onondaga sachem, *Hononwiyendeh*, . . . keeper of all the records of the League, is slightly longer . . .”, serving as a guide in reading the record and in laying it out. Jenness says (p. 26) that the circle was laid down with all the pendants turned in

toward the center and with the long pendant representing the Onondaga wampum keeper to the left of the join in the circle. (The museum photographer in laying out the specimen inadvertently reversed it, or the negative was printed in reverse, to contradict the description in the text, because in the plate (p. 29) the long string appears at the right. The wampum circle is also illustrated in Jenness, "Indians of Canada" (p. 136, 1932), in a different orientation with the long string at the upper left, as his text states.) Beginning at the join and reading counterclockwise (clockwise in the published plate), there are 14 strings for the Onondaga federal chiefs, of which the long string is number 7 reading counterclockwise in the Onondaga group, then returning to the join and reading clockwise, 8 for the Seneca, 9 for the Mohawk, 9 for the Oneida, and finally 10 for the Cayuga. This left the Cayuga at the right of the Onondaga. Jenness' information goes on to state that it was in this order that the council sat.

There the Mohawk, if they were introducing a question, referred it first to the sachems of the Seneca nation, who sat on their right. When the Seneca gave their judgment the Mohawk referred it to the sachems of the Oneida and Cayuga. Lastly, the Mohawk laid it before the sachems of the Onondaga, who could express an independent opinion only if the other nations had disagreed. . . . if the nations failed to reach a unanimous agreement the matter was to be referred to the council of matrons for decision. [P. 26.]

The wampum circle groups the Onondaga chiefs at the right, the Senecas and Mohawks on their left, and the Cayugas and Oneidas on their right; we note first that the chiefs are grouped into two great moieties of 31 and 19 chiefs respectively, the first comprising the Mohawk, Seneca, and Onondaga, the other the Cayuga and Oneida. Second, the arrangement of tribal councils and sequence around the circle, or fire, is not the order of the roll call in the Condolence Council ritual which proceeds the length of the Longhouse of the League, from its east door, the Mohawk, to the western door of the Seneca. Third, if the Onondaga were seated north of the fire as they sat at Ohsweken on Grand River, the wampum circle would place the Seneca and Mohawk on their left, and the Cayuga and Oneida on the right; which was their relative orientation, but it is my impression that in the Ohsweken council house the Mohawk chiefs sat immediately next to the Onondaga with Seneca chiefs at one remove, and likewise the Oneida on the right (west) and Cayuga and chiefs of other nations near the door. Finally, the ring of chiefs around the council fire more nearly symbolizes the order of business around the council fire of the League than it does the seating of chiefs (unless this changed in

later times) or the roll call of the League. This argument, nonetheless, does not deny that one who understood it could employ the mnemonic circle of wampum for enumerating the chiefs of the confederacy.

List of chiefs by Seth Newhouse.—Toward the end of the nineteenth century the Iroquois record keepers had ceased to rely entirely upon wampum strings and other devices for remembering the roll call of chiefs. From a list of chiefs in the missionary orthography that was instituted by the Anglicans and the S. P. C. G. (Society for the Propagation of the Christian Gospel) for writing Mohawk and printing hymnals and prayer books it is clear how the ancient mnemonics were combined and labeled with the new writing. The manuscript, which was among Mr. Hewitt's papers in the Bureau of American Ethnology, was evidently written by some Iroquois scribe, who was familiar with both systems, on a piece of folded letter stationery bearing in the upper left corner of page 1 the circular seal of what appears to be "C. R. Chisholm & Co." around a wood-burning locomotive. Informants on the Six Nations Reserve recognized the name, which is hardly legible, as Chisholm, a firm of Toronto lawyers who had been retained by the Six Nations chiefs; and Hilton M. Hill knew an A. G. Chisholm, barrister, who was solicitor for the Six Nations in the Grand River Navigation Claim and who had died about 1942. A. G. Chisholm, barrister, had offices in London, Ontario, according to Charles Cooke, retired member of the Indian Department, Ottawa. Mr. Hill declared that the document is not in the hand of Josiah Hill, for many years secretary of the Six Nations council, but suggested two other possibilities. Chief William Loft spoke Mohawk, and he was a great penman and natural artist, as witness the memorial in burnt leather which hangs in the council house at Ohsweken; he was the only man who could speak the Mohawk of the League ritual and who could write well, and he died about 1939 or 1940. But it is more than likely that Seth Newhouse was the scribe. Newhouse manuscripts in the archive of the Bureau of American Ethnology are in the same hand, which suggests that this Mohawk chronicler and codifier of custom law printed the list on a borrowed sheet of lawyers' stationery. The identification both supports and is confirmed by the analysis of a recently discovered Iroquois Constitution which is the work of Newhouse (Fenton, 1949, p. 144).

Apart from the list of chiefs, on the margin of the first page appears the mnemonic system for remembering how many titles belong to the five tribes, how the tribal councils are spaced to signify intertribal relations, and what are the classes of chiefs in each tribal council—all nicely labeled by tribe, and enumerated into 16 classes (pl. 9, and

fig. 1, *d*). Why Newhouse stopped at 16, the first Seneca class, remains a mystery, for 19 classes or committees may be distinguished (fig. 1, *a*). The mnemonic is almost the same as the one on the cane, and it is identical to the pattern for laying out kernels of corn at rehearsals. It would seem that Newhouse had started with an old system and then proceeded to his list. The same names appear as headings for the tribal rosters, and the numbered classes of chiefs are transferred from the mnemonic to the list itself where the titles are carefully spelled out (pls. 9 and 10). Newhouse recorded the same mnemonic as well as the titles, also in his great work on the Constitution (Fenton, 1949).

Numbers in parentheses are written in bold ink. They are followed by penciled capitals, U.M. and L.M., in some cases, denoting Upper Mohawk band and Lower Mohawk band, respectively.

In the same hand at the very top of the sheet is written "(U.M. are cousins)"; beneath the first tribal name in parentheses appears: "One totem of another family of the same totem are brothers." (Pl. 9.)

The second page has been altered less than the first. Penciled addition upper right. The notes on the Ball and Eel clans at 23 and 29 are in longhand purple ink. A suffix has been added in pencil to 25, making the name correspond to modern usage; the enumerator who added numbers changed the prefix on 29. (Pl. 10.)

Penciled notes link the 8 Seneca chiefs together in pairs: "1 and 2 are cousins"; 45 and 46 are cousins; 47 and 48; 49 and 50. (Pls. 11 and 12.)

Mnemonic pictographs of Chief Abram Charles.—Based on the same mnemonic but of a different character from the list just described are the mnemonic pictographs of Cayuga chief Abram Charles which Hewitt collected and partly described and which the writer brought out as a footnote to the present study (Hewitt and Fenton, 1945). Chief Charles could not write or read such a list as his contemporary prepared, so he reverted to an older method for illustrating the spatial arrangement of tribes and tribal rosters. He recorded a series of grouped dots in the arrangement that he followed in laying down kernels of corn when instructing Eulogy singers in the roll call of chiefs, and the identical pattern is found in the arrangement of pegs on the Cayuga Condolence cane (fig. 1, *a* and *b*). Moreover, he composed pictographic representations of the titles, which again have a general resemblance to the pictographs on the cane.

Pattern for laying down corn at rehearsals.—There seem to be two

slightly different arrangements for putting down kernels of corn at rehearsals. The first arrangement is a straight-line sequence, staggering the tribal rosters and grouping chiefs of a class closely together. It appears in Charles' notebook (Hewitt and Fenton, 1945, pp. 304-305), in the cane diagram by S. Gibson, and on the Cranbrook cane (fig. 1, *a* and *b*). Possibly this is the method of the Cayugas. The second arrangement retains the straight-line sequence for groups of chiefs that are related as brothers to express phratic alignment, but differs from the first in putting down pairs of kernels laterally to symbolize a cousin or intermoiety relationship that obtains between leading chiefs who share the roles of firekeepers, doorkeepers, and may be noted in the arrangements of the Onondaga, Cayuga, and particularly the Seneca tribal rosters (fig. 1, *c*, *d*, *e*). The second is an Onondaga pattern; it is employed in the manuscript lists of Seth Newhouse; and I observed the mnemonic in operation among the Onondaga at a rehearsal which I attended on the Six Nations Reserve, Canada, on November 18, 1945. The several mnemonics are contrasted in the accompanying illustration (fig. 1). A possible third entirely lateral arrangement was recalled by Chief John Hardy Gibson (Cayuga) in 1940 which has already been described (p. 34); since he had participated with his Seneca father on the Three Brothers side of Condolence Councils, his is probably not a Cayuga arrangement (fig. 1, *c*).

FUNCTION: A REMINDER TO THE EULOGY SINGER

REHEARSALS

The cane served to remind the Eulogy singer during rehearsals and in the actual ceremony of the Condolence Council. When, for example, the Three Brothers (Mohawk-Onondaga-Seneca) receive the short white string of wampum notifying them that one matron of the Four Brothers (Oneida, Cayuga, etc.), whom the Cayuga speaker represents, is ready to install a chief, they confer to set a date for the installation which usually is held 30 days afterward. The date of the Condolence Council may not be set for summer, but it must be held in the fall after the crops are in and the plants are frosted, or it may be held in early spring before the buds are on, but late enough so that the paths are not muddy, for which reason the autumn is far preferable.¹⁹ The chiefs on both sides meet nearly every

¹⁹ The tabu on singing the Condolence ritual rests harder on modern ritualists than it did on their grandfathers. At present the chiefs will not consider the question of a Condolence between spring and fall. It is considered too sacred

other night to rehearse the songs during the weeks preceding the installation.

At rehearsals of the Four Brothers (Oneida, Cayuga, and dependent tribes) the cane was present, but when it was not they used white corn, setting out a kernel for each of the Six Songs and for each of the 50 chiefs denominated in the roll call. The Three Brothers, lacking the cane, merely use corn.

Only the Cayugas had a cane. Spragg was its keeper, and Chief Alex General remembers that the usual way at rehearsals in the lifetime of Chief Abram Charles (mother's brother of my informant Chief John Hardy Gibson who was installed as his successor in 1945) was that they made a kettle of corn soup for a midnight feast. Kernels of corn were employed for teaching neophytes the order of the roll call. Chief Charles used to lay down a kernel of corn for each man (chiefship title), telling the relationship of that status to other chiefs in the same group, the groupings in the tribal council, and the relationships between the tribes of the League. Chief Charles called the name for each kernel of corn as he put it down. All watched. When he got through he would say, "Now, who is going to try it?" Some individual would volunteer and take the cane to aid his memory.

The learning process extended to other members of the household, including daughters. A daughter of Chief Charles, the late Mrs. George Buck, recalled how her sister, then a little girl, could go through the whole Condolence ritual, and that after a rehearsal she would take a cane and pace back and forth inside the house chanting the Eulogy and calling the names of the founders, which she had learned by hearing her father instruct the men. No woman, however, to our knowledge undertook this role at a public ceremony. Nevertheless, we can understand how matrons carry the ceremonial culture and critically audit the ceremonies of the chiefs whom they install.

The Three Brothers side who do not have the cane use the corn. They used to rehearse at the home of my interpreter, Howard Skye, himself a Cayuga as were both his parents, because it was central to the Onondaga neighborhood. Skye is treasurer of the Onondaga Longhouse; his father was deputy chief to Abram Charles. In rehearsing, the Onondaga chiefs and their colleagues used six kernels

to sing or discuss between condolences—"too sacred to play with." In 1883 a Condolence was held at Onondaga Longhouse on Grand River in July, after many postponements (Hale, 1895, p. 48), which is much later in the season than accepted native theory will allow or the present chiefs will admit. And David Boyle attended one in early May of 1905 at the same place (Boyle, 1906, p. 56).

of corn for the Six Songs, and one for each of the 50 chiefs. Of his early education in the ceremony, Howard said:

It is a strange thing, but when I was a small boy, I could name all of the 50 chiefs in the League. An old man came and stayed at our house one winter. He drew a set of pictures like those of Abram Charles [Hewitt and Fenton, 1945] and taught me from them. I learned all of the roll call. When I was about 12, I left the Reserve, my father having died, and I went out among the whites to work, staying until about 1930, when I came home some 15 years ago.

How the Iroquois learn a ceremony was brought home to me when I attended a rehearsal at the Onondaga Longhouse with Howard Skye on the afternoon of November 18, 1945. It was strictly a men's affair, only chiefs and warriors being present, and the atmosphere was informal but restrained. Opposite the single door, two parallel benches had been placed where the chiefs hold council at the men's fire. Onondaga Chief Joseph Logan (Dehadoda'·ho') was in charge. He opened the meeting with the regular prayer of thanksgiving, and announced why they were met. At the far end of the bench nearest him he laid out the 15 strings of Requickenning wampums, from left to right, starting with the first three, then a space and the rest, in order toward the women's fire, so that the fifteenth string lay across the end of the bench and the first about 18 inches away. He merely named the strings as he put them down, and discussed them with his colleague David Thomas who later made the Requickenning Address in the ceremony. During most of the rehearsal "Dawit" concentrated on the strings, apparently going over the "words" in his mind.

The order of ceremony is always reversed in rehearsal, according to Howard Skye, which bothered me as I had thought that Requickenning came last. Secondly, they alternate singers by condolences; David Thomas having sung the previous fall, the role this time fell to Roy Buck, a relatively young man in his thirties. In this way the roles are shifted among individuals and a knowledge of the ceremony is shared and preserved.

Chief Logan having laid out the wampum strings, Roy Buck put down the corn. Starting near the end of the bench by the first wampum string and proceeding in the opposite direction, right to left, he first laid out 6 kernels for the Six Songs. Then toward the midline of the bench, 8 kernels in 4 lateral pairs for the Seneca chiefs; then over the midline and to the left, 10 kernels for the Cayugas, a lateral pair of doorkeepers, a line of 2 groups of 3, and another lateral pair for the firekeepers. One of the latter kernels, I was told, which represented the vacancy to be filled at the installation, should have been placed to one side, but Roy Buck as a learner neglected this

bit of ritual, and Chief Logan who ordinarily lays out the corn at rehearsals overlooked the omission. The other chiefs present, if any one of them noticed the lapse, failed to mention it. The purpose is obviously to remind the Eulogy singer when he reaches the vacant title to insert appropriate phrases of tribute (Fenton, 1946, p. 116). Going back over the midline to the side of the Seneca, kernels were put down for the 14 Onondaga lords, as illustrated (fig. 1, *e*); next came the 9 Oneidas in a line of 3 three's; and likewise the Mohawks, but over the line on the side of the Three Brothers. When he had finished the League was laid out in moieties.²⁰

The ritual of the Six Songs was led by Roy Buck, the last song being reserved to sing after the first part of the following chant, just as in the ceremony. Over the Forest was entrusted to Peter John, a Mohawk of about 60, who had the words written out in a notebook into which I suspect he had copied them from Hale. He stood up, adjusted his spectacles, and paced to and fro with a cane, holding the notebook in one hand. Over the Forest (first part) was followed by the sixth song.

As in the ceremony, each song of the six is raised by a leader who traverses the whole length of the song before it is picked up by the choir of chiefs and repeated. All who desire to learn sit in with the chiefs or behind them. Among them I noted William (Billy) Buck, the accomplished Seneca singer, who had recorded for me in 1941. He was mastering these six songs to add to his already considerable repertoire.

Over the Forest (part 2) followed, and here Peter John made frequent reference to his notes. No one else seems to know this chant. Since he later performed this role in the ceremony, it appears that no one else is learning it.

Not so with the roll call or Eulogy, which also devolved on Roy Buck. From his place near the bench where the corn lay, young Buck stood with a cane and paced the length of the house to the far wall, where he turned abruptly each time and came back slowly chanting. I mention this cane because the Onondagas do not have a special Condolence cane, but nevertheless a stout, bent-wood cane is used. Each time a title is sung out in the roll call, the chiefs of that nation

²⁰ Since I was unable to make notes at the time, no objection was taken to my reproducing the diagram on the flat sides of one lead pencil with the point of another. The chiefs present, if they noticed my industry, seemed to think it quite appropriate for me to reproduce the mnemonic. Notes were written afterward.

cry: *Yo hε*..... ; *hi*..... and the others answer: *yε!*
(The first is high, the second low, rising, and the last abrupt.)

While this was going on, Chief Logan and David Thomas, the principal professors of the rites, sat back and let the younger man perform. Chief Peter Buck, father of the tyro, sat by as his son rehearsed. Chief Buck himself later performed this role inside the longhouse, after his son had carried the Eulogy over the road, on the day of the installation. Chief William Sandy and others of the elder chiefs studiously watched the corn on the singers bench as the young man went through the roll call. As the singer completed the roster of each nation, the chiefs present raised the *yo*.....*hε*..... for each group denominated. The rehearsal thus is a session of education in ritual.

USE CONFINED TO THE LOWER CAYUGA BAND

That a cane was an indispensable symbol of officialdom on both sides of the League should be evident from the way singers of the Condolence rites were trained at Six Nations to pace the length of the house, cane in hand. Hale (1895, pp. 53-54) noted this, while Boyle (1906) failed to mention it; and Boyle is especially disappointing since he accompanied the party of the clear-minded from Lower Cayuga Longhouse to Onondaga Longhouse on an occasion when A. Spragg should have been at his prime. Neither the man nor his cane receive notice.

Although both sides used canes, the specimen in question was confined to the Cayugas. All informants agree. Simeon Gibson asserted that while the Onondagas (Three Brothers) did not use the cane, he supposed that conceivably they could use it because it had the names of the chiefs on it in pictures. David Thomas agreed with my observations that the Onondagas manage to get through the ceremony without such a cane. During the many occasions when Simeon Gibson accompanied his blind father, Chief John Arthur Gibson, and his father's brother, Chief George Gibson (Senecas), to condolence and installation ceremonies, the latter always sang on the road for the Three Brothers, and he never used the cane with pegs and pictographs. "He carried an ordinary bent-wood cane, for *the singer on the road always carries a cane.*"

If a singer on the road always had a cane, and if the specimen in question is the cane which Andrew Spragg carried when singing for the Four Brothers side, we can understand how that particular one came to be associated with the Lower Cayuga band and that phratry

of the League called the Four Brothers side of which the Cayugas take the leading roles among the Six Nations of Grand River. And until recently reproduced from drawings supplied by Cranbrook Institute, no other such decorated specimen was known to informants.

USE IN THE CONDOLENCE COUNCIL

Journeying on the road to the woods' edge.—On the day of the Condolence Council, when the Four Brothers install a new chief on the Three Brothers side, chiefs and warriors of the Four Brothers meet at Lower Cayuga Longhouse at about 11 o'clock and rehearse. The one who was appointed to sing on the road formerly carried the cane while chanting the Eulogy or roll call. Meanwhile, the Three Brothers are cooking at Onondaga and they send down their warriors with a portion of food for the rehearsing chiefs at Lower Cayuga. When ready to set out on the road for Onondaga, the Four Brothers dispatch a messenger, a warrior who is supposed to run the distance. As the runner enters Onondaga Longhouse to deliver the message, the mourning chiefs present stand and listen.

The Eulogy to the Founders of the League, or the roll call, commences at the fire of the clear-minded. This chant has four names: (1) it is called simply *Hai Hai*, a general name for the entire Condolence Council; (2) *Hai Hai at'ahinǫ'ge*, "the chant for going on the road"; (3) *hodihiwisa'ǫ hodihihsyoni·di*, "they founded the League of the Longhouse"; and (4) *uǫdathhnũhsǫ'dedákhkwa'*, "calling at another house," or "what a nation uses for calling at another nation's house." And the singer of this chant carries the cane, mentioning all the chiefs by name who were founders, by classes and nations to which they yet belong. This was the role at which Andrew Spragg distinguished himself.

The introductory part of the Eulogy, of 18 phrases covered by symbols on the back of the cane, is chanted inside the longhouse of the clear-minded, and when the singer reaches the first title of the roll call, he goes out the door to take up the path to the fire of the mourners. On the road the condoling chiefs march to the place of installation in twos, forming a procession behind the singer with the cane. The *Hai Hai* has ancient cultural roots; it is mentioned in the literature on the Huron Feast of the Dead as the cry of the souls marching from the burial platforms to an ossuary in another village; Bruyas (1862, p. 23) noted the root "to take up the path"; its opening stanzas refer to the long-dead founders lying in their graves now overgrown with grass and brush having put the League as a pillow

to their heads; and the procession of condoling chiefs symbolically carries the bones of the dead chief whose place they are about to fill by raising up another. *Hai Hai* was a peace chant too. It is said that in the year 1661 "Atreouati . . . entered Montreal, crying 'Hay Hay,' which is a sign of peace. He was immediately received. They made him presents and good cheer, but as he went out he killed two men who were roofing a house" (Shea, 1880, p. 310). The French knew full well that the Iroquois were not above treachery on occasion.

None of my informants claims to have followed Spragg on the road, so I have no first-hand account of his behavior in this role. Simeon Gibson, who was always on the Three Brothers side with his father, remembered meeting the column of Cayuga condolers at the small fire beside the woods, or Onondaga common, where they greet one another with a speech of welcome, called *At the Woodside*, or at the edge of the brush. This is the place where the mourners shall take the condolers by the arm and lead them to the longhouse where the main part of the ceremony is completed. Simeon remembered that Andrew Spragg was always carrying the cane as leading singer coming over the road. The singer calls out the names of the chiefs on the road, and if he comes to the end of the roll call before arriving at the fire, which is always kindled within sight of the longhouse, he must repeat from the beginning until he gets there. He stops singing at once on arriving at the fire, and the procession following him draws near to the fire and forms a line, opposite the Three Brothers across the fire.

During the ceremonies which ensue at the woods' edge, the leader on the road stands by, others making the speeches, until the march is resumed to the council house (cf. Fenton, 1946, p. 112). In the protocol that is observed beside the little fire, which is kindled at the side of the road at the border between the village common and the line of thorny brush which once marked the wilderness, we have a vestige of an ancient custom that was invariably observed by friend or foe in approaching another town. The messenger going ahead of the party, the cries that were shouted over the forest, and message sticks all notified the receiving chiefs that the visitors would put down their packs at the edge of the clearing and wait until they were received.

After the reception, the condoling singer resumes his song, following two warriors who have been appointed to take the leaders by the arm and lead the party to the principal bench inside the longhouse. On reaching the longhouse he stops singing at the door and goes back to

the beginning of the chant. At this point usually his place is taken by another who has been appointed to sing inside the house.

Inside the longhouse.—"The singer picks up the cane used on the road" to repeat the Eulogy to the Founders from its very beginning to its end, walking up and down inside the longhouse. When he completes the roster, the singer who has carried the ceremony to the other nation's house picks up his cane, which ends his role and the use of the cane in the ceremony. It was the latter use of the cane (already noted, p. 22) in the ceremony of July 17, 1883, at Onondaga Longhouse which Hale (1895, pp. 53-54) observed. Since Hale does not mention that the staff carried was enhanced with pegs and pictographs we shall never know whether it was the present specimen.

SPECIFIC INTERPRETATION

The Eulogy to the Founders of the League, which is the processional hymn of the Condolence Council, holds the key to interpreting the symbols on the cane. Like the two sides of the cane, it is divided into an introductory Eulogy to the dead founders and a long roll call. Having now described and identified the stick, and showed the functional relationship of the pictographs and the mnemonic comprised of pegs to the performance of the Eulogy chant, it remains to analyze the text of the chant itself in order that we may interpret the specific symbolism involved. Although Hewitt had abundant evidence for making such an identification, it was not until I had discussed the specimen at great length with Cayuga Chief Alex General that I was able to make headway with the problem and utilize Hewitt's materials and the manuscripts of Seth Newhouse. Likewise the program of the ritual of which the Eulogy is a part became clear only on observing a Condolence Council in 1945.

BACK: INTRODUCTION TO THE EULOGY

Notes for the Introduction to the Eulogy follow the name A. SPRAG on the back of the stick. By holding a blueprint of the stick before him as he chanted the Eulogy, Deskaheh (Chief General) was able to adjust his Mohawk version to the drawings. Mohawk is the original language of the chant; Onondaga, which is now much used and was frequently dictated by Hewitt's informants, sounds different. We have checked Chief General's version against texts of the late Cayuga Chief Abram Charles (B.A.E. Ms. No. 1281-a) and Hale (1883) and find that, although he may not be letter perfect, his version is in character and fits. Other manuscripts of the version in

use by the Three Brothers side from Seneca Chief John A. Gibson (B.A.E. Ms. No. 890, 1907) (and Gibson to Goldenweiser, 1916—Ms. in my possession) and Onondaga Chief Joshua Buck (B.A.E. Ms. No. 1281-b, 1917 and 1920) were dictated in Onondaga primarily and do not fit the cane as nicely. Similar recordings were made for me by David Thomas in 1945. The order of the introduction in no two of these versions is precisely the same, for the "words" come in different order, tenses vary, and some variation appears in versions given Hewitt by the same informant at later sittings. My suspicion is that no two performers are ever precisely alike. Rather than reproduce here any one of the texts completely, it is the sequence of the pictographs and their possible meaning which concerns us.

Eighteen words or phrases are supposed to preface the roll call. It comes out to about 18 sentences or lines of poetry in the chant before the singer turns over the stick to commence the roll call, stepping out of the door to take up the path when he announces the first founder. Accordingly, having written the translation of several versions on separate sheets and compared them, it became possible to divide the recurrent phrases or elements and assign them to appropriate symbols. More than this, the exercise enabled me to run a blueprint of the back of the cane through the typewriter and write in the margins the appropriate lines beside the pictographs (fig. 2). Some idea of the poetry is found in the version of Chief General (1943).

Hai Hai (repeat four times; eight in all; and after each line below):

1

Now to commence at the beginning,
 Your grandchildren right
 Now take up the path;
 May you excuse them
 If here and there in the ritual
 They shall not perform it in order
 The way that you used to do it
 When all the words were together
 As you established it.

2

Now only abandoned fields overlie
 The places where your bones rest,
 Where buried beneath your heads,
 Where you lie on it as a mat,
 Where you rest on it as a pillow,
 Where you have taken it (into your graves),
 What you established (the League).

3

Scattered places overgrown with brush
 Where your heads rest in your graves,
 Where you have it under your heads,
 What indeed you established (the League).

4

Patches of soft lawn cover the places
 Where you met to legislate,
 When still you employed all the words,
 Ye founders of the Great Peace.

5

You did erect a great tree (elevate a chief),
 You have reinforced the house (the League).

Here the singer turns over the cane, calls upon the founders to listen, and steps out of the longhouse and sets out on the road as he calls the first title *Tekariho'kenh*.

The version of Cayuga Chief Charles, although in Onondaga, corresponds closely. Recall that he and Spragg were neighbors and that Charles also had made a set of mnemonic pictographs. His opening verse is longer, and the second begs the pardon of the founders for errors of sequence. The third adds a metaphor, "There the overspreading trees; all is covered with forest" to preface "abandoned fields . . . overgrown with brush."

The Gibson version, though shorter, opens differently.

1

Hear us then ye proprietors,
 You did complete it,
 The Great Peace,
 Hail Grandsires.

2

Now it has grown old,
 There indeed it is overgrown with brush,
 Where your bones lie buried,
 Are also the words (laws) as laid down, (etc.) . . .

Seth Newhouse in his manuscript of 1885 speaks of the Eulogy as "Pacification" or the Confederating Hymn (Ron-wa-di-nonh-senh-deh-thah), attributing it to Dekanawidah, author of the League (Fenton, 1949, p. 145). He succeeded in dividing it into 30 verses

and inserted the roster of founders obtained from Hale's informant, Old Smoke Johnson (1793?-1887), who used the orthography which Anglican missionaries had devised for Mohawk. Let us see how Newhouse, who wrote in both Indian English and in his native Mohawk, framed his lines.

1

I am glad, I am glad, Now hear ye. I am glad,
I am glad, The Rules of the Great Peace. I am glad,
I am glad, Which have been established by you. I am glad,
I am glad, Now it has become an ancient rule. I am glad.

2

I am glad, Nothing now remains. I am glad,
I am glad, But bushes here and there. I am glad,
I am glad, Your bones are now in the graves. I am glad,
I am glad, Ye who have made the Rules.—I am glad.

3

I am glad, Ye have taken there with you. I am glad,
I am glad, There you have them under you. I am glad,
I am glad, Really there are only deserted fields. I am glad,
I am glad, There your brains are buried. I am glad.

4

I am glad, There ye have them under your heads. I am glad,
I am glad, Ye who have made the Rules. I am glad,
I am glad, You have taken them with you. I am glad,
I am glad, Ye have the rules under you as a mat. I am glad.

5

I am glad, You did establish the rules. I am glad,
I am glad, Of the Great Peace. I am glad,
I am glad, Now indeed, I am glad, Hear ye, I am glad.
I am glad, Ye who were rulers (founders). I am glad,
I am glad, *Teh-ka-rih-ho-ken!* I am glad (etc.).

Now as to the cane (fig. 2). Beneath the name A SPRAG come approximately eight circles, which, I judge, may stand for the repetition of *Hai Hai*, that many times (1, a). I am at a loss to interpret the five tracks beside the circles (1, b), unless, possibly, they stand for the Five Nations which are denominated by the titles of their five leading chiefs—*Tekarihoken*, *Odatchehdeh*, *Adodarhohn*, *Deka'en-yonh*, and *Skanyadariyoh*—in the preface to the version of Joshua Buck. (Cf. pl. 7, b.)

Accepting as a second design unit circles connected by lines and a dot within a circle, Chief General thought that the dot and circle meant the "completed League" as originally established (2, *a*); the path through the villages of the Five Nations, which the condolers follow, is represented by a line from a circle through four dots (2, *b*); and the next figure, a line connecting two circles, but passing between five dots (2, *c*), I have assigned to the phrases which beg the founders to excuse errors of sequence and omission in the ceremony as they anciently performed it when all the words were together.

The next figure obviously refers to heads in graves, where the founders have taken with them what they decreed (3). Certain items appear beneath the surface, and the broken lines toward the sod in the next figure express movement.

The sod line (4, *a*) represents: "Now only abandoned fields overlie the places where your bones rest upon the things which you established" (4, *b*).

So with the next unit: ". . . overgrown with brush (overspreading trees, forests) (5, *a*), where you are lying on the mat of the law (5, *b*), where you have put it under your head as a pillow . . . (5, *c*), what indeed you established (the League)" (6, *a*). On the contrary, Chief General thought this figure (dot and circle) refers to grassy plots where they anciently met to legislate.

Next come a procession of leading chiefs of the Five Nations wearing horns of office going on the path (6, *b*) toward the longhouse with two smokes (7), which goes with the line: "You have reinforced (strengthened) the house (the League)" (via the Condolence Council). It also stands for their destination where the main part of the ceremony is performed, and, finally, where the new chief is to be raised (8). The last figure of the man is also a reminder to insert special praise to the Dead Chief when the singer reaches the vacant title (on the obverse side of the cane). "You did erect a great tree" is the line that applies here, since the chief is likened to a pine tree beneath which the people sit.

FRONT: THE ROLL CALL OF THE FOUNDERS

The Roll Call of the Founders of the League occupies the front of the stick (fig. 3). Here laid out, after the manner of kernels at rehearsal, may be seen at a glance the space relationship of the five tribes, how they are grouped in phratries and divided into moieties. Closer examination reveals the number of chiefs in each tribe, the

composition of committees or classes, and for each peg the title is suggested by a mnemonic pictograph. Clearly the space mnemonic by which the pegs are arranged is fundamental; the pictographs are secondary.

Thus we see the League of 50 chiefs laid out in two halves: on the right, one moiety comprises the phratry of the Mohawk-Onondaga-Seneca, the Three Brothers side, who are known as Sires (Uncles), Elder Brothers; and, on the left, the other moiety of the Offspring (Nephews), Cousins, Younger Brothers comprises but the phratry of the Oneida-Cayuga, which is now known as the Four Brothers side, since the younger brothers of the League on the Grand River had under their wing dependent nations including Tuscarora and Delaware, not to mention Saponi, Tutelo, and Nanticoke. Since none of the latter was involved in the founding of the League, they lack the right of condolence.

The rosters of member tribes are, moreover, grouped according to classes or committees of chiefs in accordance with their number and function as follows:

1. Mohawk 3-3-3.
2. Oneida 3-3-3.
3. Onondaga (2-2-2) 6-1-2-3-2.
4. Cayuga 2-3-3-2.
5. Seneca 2-2-2-2.

Note at once that the tribal phratries are composed of a moiety of 3 nations and another of 2, and that precisely 2 and 3 are the predominate units of grouping chiefs in tribal councils. Note also that the Mohawk and Oneida each had three clans of three maternal families each. The other nations, who group their chiefs in multiples of two and three, favor the moiety system.

The arrangement of the pegs on the cane agrees exactly with the space relation charts which Hewitt had from Chief Abram Charles (Hewitt and Fenton, 1945, pp. 304-305). Chief Charles and A. Spragg were neighbors.

The mnemonic can be made to yield something else which it means to Iroquois ritualists. With the help of Chief Charles, Hewitt made a chart which shows how the chiefs variously grouped relate to each other as siblings and cousins. The cousin relation is not apparent in the arrangement of pegs on the cane, although it shows up when laid out in corn. Further field work will clarify the kinship terms as they crop up in the Eulogy. It is not self-evident how, for example, Onondaga 25 is an "uncle" both ways; and the Cayuga have self-reciprocating terms for 33-34 who are "sons to each other."

A. Sprag

(singer of the
Eulogy and
Roll Call)



A. SPRAG

o



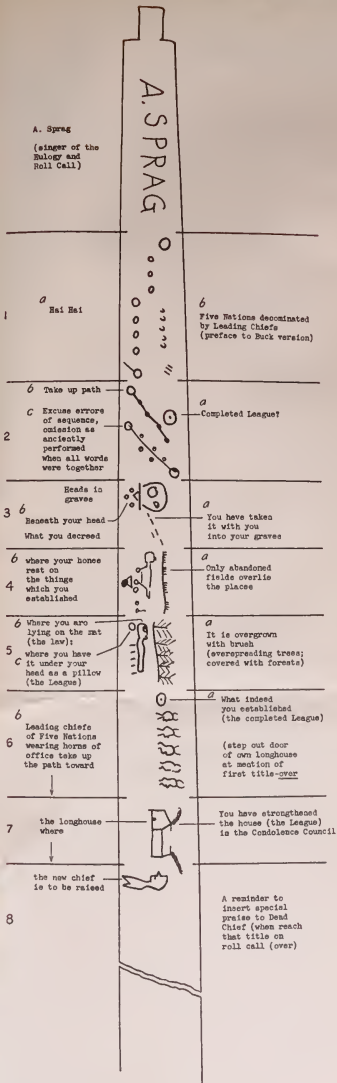


FIG. 2.—Back of the Condolence cane. Introduction to the Eulogy to the Founders of the League.



The chart can be arranged two ways—in order of tribes, as Hewitt had it, or by tribal phratries. In either case, siblings appear vertically; cousins across.

*A.—Relationships and groupings of the federal chiefs by tribes (after Hewitt).
Siblings read vertically; cousins across, within columns.*

I	II	III	IV	V
M	Oe	Oa	C	S
1	10	19-20	33-34	43-44
2 T	11 W	21		
3	12	22	35	45-46
		23	36	
4	13	24	37	47-48
5 W	14 T			
6	15	25	38	49-50
			39	
7	16	26-27	40	
8 B	17 B			
9	18	28	41-42	
		29		
		30		
		31-32		

T—Turtle clan, W—Wolf clan, B—Bear clan.

B.—Relationships and groupings of the federal chiefs into two moieties of tribal phratries as on the cane. Read siblings vertically; cousins across.

Four Brothers (younger)	Three Brothers (elder)
Nephews	Uncles
Offspring	Sires

I M
1
2
3

4
5
6

7
8
9

Four Brothers (younger)
Nephews
Offspring

Three Brothers (elder)
Uncles
Sires

II Oe

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

III Oa

19-20

21

22

23

24

25

26-27

28

29

30

31-32

IV C

33-34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41-42

V S

43-44

45-46

47-48

49-50

In attempting to relate the roll call to the pictographs, earlier lists of chiefs were examined and tabulated and several manuscript versions of the Eulogy were analyzed. Morgan published repeatedly a list of federal chiefships in Seneca, which he had from Ely S. Parker (Morgan, 1851 (1901, vol. 1, p. 60); 1878, p. 130; 1881, p. 30). The list is divided into classes, approximately the same number as in the above tables, which Morgan thought comprised the chiefs of the original confederating towns. Eighteen classes would mean that many towns. There were 12 such towns in the seventeenth century (Fenton, 1940). The cane calls for 19 groupings, and so do all other lists taken from the Grand River Iroquois. So we are faced with the possibility that Morgan's Seneca informant was mistaken, or that a different tradition had grown up since the division of the League tribes after the American Revolution into an American faction at Onondaga, Tonawanda, Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus, and Allegheny Reservations on the American side, and the Six Nations on Grand River, Ontario.

Morgan's list does not agree with the order of pictographs on the cane. Such agreement as first appeared seemed to warrant placing the pictographs from the cane alongside Morgan's list in the same table. Results were disappointing and frustrating. Correspondences were fairly close for the Onondaga roster, precise for the Cayuga roster, and the Seneca roster which Morgan's informant knew best begins and ends like the Grand River lists, but the third to sixth Seneca titles are completely inverted. Lloyd, editor of later editions of Morgan's League (vol. 2, p. 212), notes the discrepancies between Morgan's list and that of Hale (1883), and adds remarks and differences based on the list of Chadwick (1897, p. 86).

Hale had his information from Old Smoke Johnson, and the Chadwick list came from Chief Josiah Hill in the orthography which was then in use for the official list at Ohsweken (Chadwick, p. 97). Both lists are the then official Grand River version. There is a still earlier list dated 1847 from Peter Green, about which we have no supporting information. None of these lists quite fits the cane in the middle of the Seneca roster. Even the list of Seneca Chief John A. Gibson (A. A. Goldenweiser, Ms. 1912, pp. 450-462), which otherwise agrees, inverts 45 and 46 in the Seneca roster. So it is likely that the inversions in the official Grand River lists represent the version used by the Three Brothers, whereas the cane was a Cayuga document.

Our problem here is not to find out who was right and who was wrong, but to find a list which fits the cane exactly. For such a list

I turned to the contemporaries and neighbors of A. Spragg among the Lower Cayugas. As is so often the case, the problem solved itself while attempting to solve two others.

In 1945, while editing a paper of Hewitt's on Iroquois mnemonic pictographs which involved identifying a set of similar pictographs which Cayuga Chief Charles had inscribed in a notebook, I found a list that would fit the cane. Hewitt obtained from Chief Charles in 1917 a complete text in Onondaga for the Eulogy, together with an independent list of chiefs whose clan eponyms are differentiated (B.A.E. Mss. Nos. 1281-a, 3558). Like many of his contemporaries on the Six Nations Reserve, Chief Charles used another dialect than the language of his tribe—in this case Onondaga, although he was a Cayuga. In early 1948 a similar identification was made of a list in Mohawk by Seth Newhouse (Fenton, 1949). By typing both lists on opposite sides of a blueprint of the cane, the titles opposite the pegs in sequence, I reached a precise correspondence for the pictographs in Mohawk of 1885 and in Onondaga of 1917.

Title and pictograph.—The meaning of the pictographs depends on how the titles of the 50 founders are interpreted. This was the problem of the lists and how to get correspondence. The interpretation of the titles is subject to the vagaries that attend the meanings of all Iroquois personal names. Names descend in the maternal family, usually skipping a generation, and such names as have become attached to offices, which also descend with the name in the maternal family, acquire special qualities. Many of these titles are descriptive of activities in which the original holder was found engaged when the League was formed. Others were maternal family and clan names then in use. As such they may be shared by the same clan in another tribe, where perhaps the name is not attached to an office. Dialect and folklore have altered the names. They are also subject to continual reinterpretation by native theorists. The roll call of the 50 founders is supposed to be chanted in Mohawk; but it also enumerates rosters of Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca chiefs whose titles must have originated in the several tribal dialects before the League was formed. Onondaga, Seneca, and Cayuga ritualists render the titles differently. With the titles has descended a body of lore telling what the founders were up to when discovered by Deganawi'dah and Hiawatha. Dialect slowly alters the titles and their meanings, and folklore shifts more rapidly, engendering controversy among tribal ritualists as to just what the titles do mean. Hale quite honestly held that the meanings of many of the names were lost, and that they had in fact become titles. For purposes of describing the Cayuga Con-

dolence cane, it is important first to know how A. Spragg read the pictographs, and next how Chief Charles, the principal whom he represented in singing on the road, interpreted the titles. We are dependent upon Hewitt's notes, and what the writer has learned from contemporary informants.

The Mohawk pictographs.—1. Dekarihokenh (Newhouse, 1885), Dega·iho·'gen' (Charles, 1917), "It separates or divides the matter, of two opinions, offices" (S. Gibson); "Between two statements" (Hale, 1883, pp. 77-78); "Double speech" (Chadwick). The fork, between parallel lines in this pictograph, appears in the Charles lists (Hewitt and Fenton, 1945, p. 307). "Of two opinions" because he opposed the League, but was divided in thought, and was finally appeased by accepting the leading chiefship of the Mohawk (A. General).

2. Ayonhwathah; Hayen'wen'tha', "He who combs" (Morgan); "Seeks the wampum" (Hale); "He sifts with a bark sieve" (Hewitt); "Early riser" (S. Gibson). This culture hero is said to have combed the snakes from the hair of the Onondaga shaman, Thadoda·'ho', straightening his mind. The first approached by Deganawid'ah, first to cooperate, he could not sleep, and rose early and related his experience. They named him "Early riser" or "He who is awake" (General). The pictograph suggests a comb.

3. Sha'dekariwadeh, Sha'dega·ihwa·'de', "Matters of equal height, level words." Five vertical marks, topped by a horizontal, express the idea.

These three Turtle clan chiefs formed the first phratry of founders.

4. Sharenhowaneh, Shaenho·'na', "He the great tree trunk"; "Great tree top" (Hale); "Loftiest tree" (Chadwick). The lofty tree with great branches and bifed roots is depicted.

5. Deyoenhegwenh, Deyon'heh'gwi', "It lives by two life givers" (Hewitt); "Double life" (Hale); "Tenacious of life." This is properly the name of a certain shrub, which has great tenacity of life, according to Chief George Johnson (Hale 1883, p. 155), and possibly this is the plant so carefully illustrated. One of the ferns (*Polystichum acrostichoides* (Michx.) Schott.) has this name. The name is also associated with the cultivated plants, corn particularly.

6. Orenregowah, Oenhe'go·na', "Great white eagle" (Hewitt). Such a bird is depicted. Hale's theory does not apply.

This was the number of the Wolf clan chiefs.

7. Dehennakarineh, Dehenna'ga·i'ne', Tehenna'kariine', "His two horns are moving along, dragging antlers." The pictograph is of an antler, the symbolic horn of office.

8. Rastawenseronthah, Ha'stawen'serońtha', Ha'stawen'sen'tha', "He attaches rattles to it" (Hewitt); "Hanging up rattles" (Morgan); "Puts on the rattles" (Hale); "Holding the rattles" (Chadwick); "Enters with rattle" (S. Gibson). What may be intended for a series of three gourd rattles, one above another, is shown in the pictograph.

9. Shoskoarowaneh, Shosgoharo'waneh, Shosgoha'i'nan, "He the great branch." "Great wood drift" was an interpretation favored by Hale and Hewitt. But the outline of a tree branch appears clearly on all lists of pictographs by Chief Charles, and on the cane.

The latter three founders were of the Bear clan, and complete the roster of Mohawk chiefs.

The Oneida pictographs.—The following chiefs are considered "Offspring" of the first. The reciprocal form "son of each other" (Hale, 1883, p. 156), which would be the case with two intermarrying moieties, appears in some versions, but generally the Oneida are thought to be "Son" and the Mohawk "Father."

10. Odatshedeh, Ho'datche'de', "He bears a quiver" (by a forehead strap), "He carries a fawn skin pouch" (Hewitt); "Bearing a quiver" (Hale). "Carries a quiver" is the usual meaning. The pictograph is a crude representation of the leading Oneida chief who has behind his shoulder what may be interpreted as a quiver with two arrows. Without knowing what was intended the drawing would be of little help. The quiver idea is more prominent in Chief Charles' drawing.

11. Kanongweniyah, Kanon'kwen'yo'don', "Standing ears of corn (corncobs)," "One has set upright several ears of corn" (Hewitt); "Setting up ears of corn in a row" (Hale). Such was the manner of roasting corn (Morgan, 1901, vol. 2, p. 30). The pictograph is an upright ear of corn.

12. Deyohagwendeh, Deyo'ha'gwen'de', "Through the opening" (?). The meaning is uncertain and interpretations vary. Hewitt thought the aperture favored "It has a gullet," or "Difficult swallower," ideas supported by the Charles drawings. "Between the openings (of the forest)," said Simeon Gibson, on the authority of the Deganawi'dah legend which describes this chief as passing without trace through the forest. Morgan supports him. All these versions were discussed in a note by Hale who favored "Open voice." Some sort of aperture is intended by the drawing.

These three were the Wolf clan chiefs, and were the presiding group in the Oneida council.

13. Shononses, Shonon'ses, Shonon'hese', "His house is very long" (Hewitt); "His long house" (Hale). The gable of a house

is prominent in all sets of drawings, sometimes the doorway is shown, and the cane pictograph appears to indicate a type of log house which was formerly constructed on the Grand River with the logs set in vertical position.

14. Dehonareken, Daona'roken''ah, Tehone'oken''ah, De'na·egen''a', "He the small forked root" (Hewitt); "Two branches" (Hale). "Two words (voices) meet" dwenaigen'a (Oa.), dodwennaigen''ah (C.) (S. Gibson).

15. Adyadonneatha, Hadya'tonnen'tha', "He swallows an object (body)" (Hewitt) (Morgan); "He slides himself down" (Hale), or "His body is swaying" (Gibson). A body is prominent in all the drawings and on the cane; Chief Charles favored "swallowing" as the root idea; but the pictograph on the cane stresses a massive body, elbows and knees flexed, faceless, withal like the seventeenth-century war records, illustrated in the Paris Document of 1666 (O'Callaghan, 1849, vol. 1, p. 23).

The second group of Oneida chiefs numbers the last three of the Turtle clan.

16. Adahoneyenh, Dewada·hon'den'yonk, "Two ears hanging," "Pendulous vibrating ears" (as if slit) (S. Gibson). The latter, citing the Deganawi'dah legend, stated that this chief when first seen had enormous ears that had probably been slit for the insertion of feathers, leaves, etc., which on removal left the helix and lobe to hang vibrating. "Moving his ears" is the current interpretation (H. Skye). A large ear is figured.

17. Ronyadashayouh, Ronya'dasha·'yonk (M.), Ganiya'dasha·'yen' (Oa.), "A pouch (of fawn skin) resting" (Hewitt), "Swallows slowly" (S. Gibson), "Easy throat" (Hale). At best obscure, as witness Hale (1883, p. 157). The pouch theory is favored by the drawing on the cane and the Charles drawings.

18. Ronwatshadonhonh, Honwatsaton'honh (M.), Honwatca'don'·hwi' (Oa.), "One has covered him with fog" (Hewitt), "He is covered with mist" (S. Gibson), Hale's "He is buried" is not supported by the drawings, which show a man enshrouded with vapor. The pictograph on the cane shows a face and head having some sort of covering protruding above which does not appear to be mist.

The latter three were the Bear clan chiefs of the Oneida, and as such were cousins to the other six.

This was the roster of the Oneida chiefs.

The Onondaga pictographs.—The next are the "uncles, the name bearers."

19. Adodarhohh, Dehadoda·'ho', Thadoda·'ho', "Ensnarled." Legend gave the Onondaga shaman a head of snakes, which Hayowentha and Deganawi'dah combed free. The pictograph is Medusa-like. This office was formerly in the Bear clan, now Deer.

20. Awennisera, One'sä'hen', Gane'sä'hen', meaning uncertain. Hale's informant favored "Best soil uppermost"; current Onondaga opinion leans to gane'sä·'hen, "On the middle of a field" (Skye). "A tied bundle" (S. Gibson); "In the center of a coil, circle, or stretched hide" (Skye). A circle with a dot in the center was drawn by Chief Charles, but the symbol on the cane suggested a hide (or scalp) stretched on a hoop, with a mark at its center.

The Eulogy text makes this chief "cousin" of 19; Beaver clan claims the office.

21. Dehatkadons, Dehatga'don's, Tha·tga'dons, "He looks both ways (or around), On watch." "Two-sighted" (vigilant) (Chadwick). The pictograph and the name offer a theory for interpreting Janus-faced tobacco pipes from the area (Wardle, 1949). It seems likely that a chief of this name would favor such a pipe, and the theory has ethnological validity, since it is also supported by a Janus-faced cane (pl. 4). Also Beaver clan. Twenty and twenty-one are cousins of nineteen.

22. Yadajiwakenh, Honya'dadji·'wak, Hoya'daji·'wak, "His throat is sour (or black)," or "His sour body" (Skye). "Bitter body" (Morgan), "Bitter throat" (Hale). The pictograph is of no help in deciding the meaning. Small Plover or Snipe clan. This chief and the next two form a phratry.

23. Awekenyat, Awe'gen'hyat, "On the surface of the water." "The end of its journey" (Hale). A water plant grows in strings of vegetation in the creeks at midsummer, its ends trailing on the surface (H. Skye). The figure with knob at top perhaps represents this plant. The office is ascribed to Sharp-shinned Hawk clan ("Ball" by error) (Hewitt).

24. Dehayatgwareh, Dehaya'tgwa·'e', Thayatgwa·'e', "On one side of his leaning body" (?) (Gibson) (Hale), "Both his wings are outspread" (Skye). Hale got both interpretations. The pictograph leans, but more nearly resembles a wing. "Red wings" (Chadwick). Turtle clan.

The first six Onondaga chiefs are "firekeepers," the executive committee of the Confederacy. Hale suggests that they may have been originally of one clan, the Bear, that of their leader.

25. Ononwired(-tonh), Honowie'di', "He conceals, covers it" (Gibson); "He causes it to sink" (H. Skye). Hale supports the

latter. "When they saw him first he was seated by the river casting chips into the water, presumably of beech which would sink to the bottom" (Smoke-Skye). A very important chief constituting a class by himself, he has special responsibilities as keeper of the wampums for the Confederacy. As archivist he was called upon to settle disputes. The Eulogy says of him, "Then he alone was son (offspring of the preceding), He the Great Wolf, on whom their minds depend. . . ." Note that his was the only office in the entire roll call which constituted a class by itself. Naturally the Wolf clan claims the title, and the eponymous animal appears next to the ideograph for the name.

26. Oewenniseroni, Gowennen'shen'donk, Gawenne'sen'donh, "Her voice is hanging," or "Hanging strings" (S. Gibson); "Her voice suspended" (Hale). The meaning is obscure and it has become indeed a title. It is impossible to know what about one-quarter of the titles meant four centuries ago. The inscriber of the cane engraved a stepped character inclined to the right, which also occurs on the Charles drawings. With reference to 25, the Eulogy speaks of this title (26) and (27), "And these were his uncles, the two fireplaces" (clans). Hale (1883, p. 159) says: "The five chiefs who follow probably bore some peculiar political relation to . . . [25]." Deer clan still claims 26 and 27; Eel clan 28-30.

27. Arirhonh, Ha'hi'hon', "He spills, tips it" (Gibson); "Spilled" or "Scattered" (Hale). I am unable to reconcile either interpretation with the foolish-looking character on the cane, unless some idea of mental derangement is intended.

28. Oewayonhnyeanih, Hoyonnyen'ni', "He was made to do it" (H. Skye); "Somebody made it for him" (S. Gibson). The meaning is not clear; Hale found no satisfactory explanation. The ideograph is not self-evident. This office and the next two belong to Eel clan, forming a phratry.

29. (Tho)Sadegwaseh, Shodegwa'sen', or Shodegwa'shon', "He the bruiser," or "He smashes it again" (Gibson); "Bruised repeatedly" (Skye). Cf. 35. "He is bruised" (Hale). The pictograph is a claw hammer of a square-ended type made in the nineteenth century. A ball-headed war club would have been more appropriate and probably would have been illustrated a century earlier. Eel clan.

30. Sakokeaeh, S'hagogen'he', or Shagogen'he', "He saw the people" (Gibson), "He sees her (them) occasionally" (Skye). "He saw them" (Hale). The Iroquois use the third person singular nonmasculine, or "feminine," form to stand for society. "He saw her" is what the illustrator of the cane had in mind, for the pictograph

shows a man facing a woman. This was the number of the Eel clan chiefs.

31. Se'a wi, Ho'sä'ha·'hwi', "He bears aloft a torch" (Gibson); possibly just a title, although the Onondagas sometimes discuss the possibility of Hoda'skwishä'hwi', "He bears a tomahawk in his belt" (H. Skye). Hale (1883, p. 159) agrees. The pictograph is probably intended for a hatchet. Turtle clan had this office in Hale's day. This is the title which determines whether the roll call comprises 49 or 50 founders of the League. The name appears in the first writing of the Abram Charles Eulogy text (p. 16), but at the bottom of the same page occurs, "1923 He says again Ho'sä'hä'hwi' is not a title of a federal chief." Nevertheless, this name is recounted in the roll call, an Onondaga chief has been installed in this title, and in recent times a controversy arose between Onondaga partisans of a full council and Cayuga conservatives or ritual sticklers as to whether this title belonged to a separate individual, or whether, as the Cayugas maintain, the roles of this and the following status were fulfilled by the same person. Andrew Spragg is said to have removed this peg from the cane. Hale seems to have appreciated the situation. The Eulogy text states that in ancient times the two clans had offspring, as if the last two names were additions to the roster. The first was a peace chief, the second a war chief.

32. Skanaawadi, Sganawa·'di', "Across the swamp" (Gibson), "Over the creek" (Hale, Morgan), or "Across the rapid." Both Turtle and Deer clan claim this office. The pictograph favors the interpretation "Across the creek," since the same ideograph is used to represent water as will be found at 43. The text says that this fellow was a great war chief who dispelled the clouds, whose body was riven in twain, being both warrior and councilor; hence the argument that one man occupied both offices. The concept of the split personality is not uncommon in Iroquois culture: the Creator is a good and evil twin, there is a masked spirit with a divided face, 21 was Janus-faced, and 32 is sometimes conceived as a man with tomahawk in one hand and peace belt in the other. One holder of the title went as a peace ambassador to the Huron in 1648 where he committed suicide when his Mohawk allies killed the Huron ambassadors returning from Onondaga (Fenton, 1941, p. 116).

The Cayuga pictographs.—The Eulogy says that the following are "offspring" (of the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca), that they in turn had "laid the brush down" for other tribes—Tuscarora, Tutelo, etc.—who came to them—"several clans combined"—and were adopted. Henceforth their moiety with the Oneida became Four

Brothers. The Cayuga nation was politically the son of the Onondaga nation (Hale, 1883, p. 161).

33. Dekaeayough, Dega'en'yon', Haga'en'yonh, "Wonderer" (S. Gibson); "Man frightened" (Morgan), "Looks both ways" (Hale). "When discovered, he was listening on the ground, and they asked him what he was doing, and he replied, 'I am puzzled, I was listening, and I could hear the weeds growing.'" (H. Skye). This founder seems to have had a touch of natural science curiosity. The ideograph is of no help, unless its author, not knowing English, confused "wonder" and "wander," drawing a meander along a straight line. Bear clan claims the title, which Hale ascribed to Deer. The Eulogy says that this founder and the next were as "sons to each other." The matter of these self-reciprocating kinship terms requires further investigation.

34. Tsinondawerhon, Gedji'nondawe'he', Gadjinon'dawe'he', or Dji'nondawe'ya'. The interpretation of this name is uncertain. "Coming on its knees" (Hale), "Calls a summons" (?) (Gibson), "Manipulating bugs" (Skye). "Old Da'hon, brother of John Smoke (Cayuga), said, 'Gadji'nonda'wehch was the silliest one of the Chiefs. He was fooling with various bugs when they found him.'" (H. Skye). The ideograph is similar to 33. "Ball" or Hawk clan claims it. The two—33 and 34—as "sons to each other" preside as firekeepers over the Cayuga tribal council. As members of clans in opposite moieties, which spatial arrangement is indicated laterally when the relationship pattern is expressed in kernels of corn at rehearsals, they should be "cousins."

35. Kadagwarasonh, Gadagwa'dji', or Gadagwa'se', "Bruised, mashed, or softened" (S. Gibson). Hale also noted the similarity of this name to 29 (Onondaga). The pictograph may represent a ball-headed war club. Bear clan claims this and the following title; 35 through 37 form a phratry.

36. Soyowes, Shoyon'we's (Oa.), Shoyon'wes (C.), "His guts are long" (S. Gibson); "He has a long wampum belt" (Hale, 1883, p. 161). The pictograph favors intestines.

37. Watyaseronneh, Hadya'sen'ne' (Oa.), Harya't'rone', or Haja't'rone' (C.), "He repeats (rehearses) it" (Gibson); "He puts one on another, piles it on" (Hale). The pictograph suggests stacked dishes of elm bark. Turtle clan. This was the number of the phratry, the second Cayuga class.

The next phratry of three chiefs, of the opposite moiety, are called younger brothers. The preceding was known as the Turtle moiety, the next as the Wolf.

38. Deyohronyonkoh, Deyoen'hyon'go' (Oa.), or Thowen'hyon'go', Deyoron'hyon'go' (C.), "Reaches the sky." A line is drawn to the celestial dome. Heron clan now has this title, although Charles and Hale assign it to Wolf.

39. Deyothorehgwen, Deyot'howe'gwi' (Oa.), Deyot'oweh'gwen' (C.), "Doubly cold." Duality is again expressed in a double-lensed ideograph. Wolf clan.

40. Dawenhethon, Diyawen'het'hon' (Oa.), Deyonhwe't'on (C.), "Two things happen" (double event) (Gibson); Thaowethon, "Mossy place" (Hale). The pictograph remains obscure. The title has been transferred from Wolf to Snipe clan, since Hale's day.

Three is the number of colleagues in the third Cayuga group, but the next, 41, belongs to the same phratry. He and his colleague, 42, who controls the second group, are of opposite moieties and therefore "cousins." They two are the "doorkeepers" of the Cayuga council.

41. Wadondaherha, Hadonda'he'ha' (Oa.), Hadonda'he'hä' (C.), "He commences it" (Gibson), "He shoulders a log" (H. Skye), an interpretation which is sustained by the pictograph of a man supporting a round object on one shoulder. "Crowding himself in" (Hale). Snipe clan.

42. Deskae, Desga'he', Desga'he', "He does something" (?); Heskahē, "Resting on it" (Hale). It is not clear what this title means or what the founder did. The present holder of the title, Chief Alex General of the Upper Cayuga band at Sour Springs, holds that the name means "More than eleven." He is of the Bear clan. The pictograph remains obscure.

This ends the Cayuga roster.

From here on the singer looks toward the end of the cane.

The Seneca pictographs.—"And then his father's clansmen," says the Eulogy. The Seneca as brothers of the Mohawk and Onondaga are uncles to the Cayuga, their offspring.

43. Skanyadariyoh, Skanyadai'yo' (Oa.), Ganioda'yo' (S.), "Handsome lake," literally, "It is a very large lake." The pictograph stands for water. Turtle clan.

The Seneca councilors are linked in pairs of opposite moieties. Each member of the four pairs calls his colleague by the reciprocal, cousin.

44. Shadekaronyes, Sha'degaen'hyes (Oa.), Tca'dage'onye's (S.), "Skies of equal length," "Level heavens" (Morgan). The pictograph is two curved lines of corresponding length and arc, representing the celestial dome. This founder was leader of the second great division of the Senecas, and Snipe clan has consistently held the title both in

Canada and in New York. The Senecas have preserved a moiety system from early times.

45. Shakenjohwaneh, Shagen'djo·'wane' (Oa.), S'hagen'djo·na' (Oa.), S'agen'dzo·wa·' (S.), "Great forehead," "He of the large forehead." A full face with large brow is depicted. This is the Hawk clan chief. Hale (1883, pp. 162-163) remarked the confusion which has arisen between Morgan's and his own lists as to the roll call for the second and third classes. We follow Chief Charles because his list fits the cane.

46. Kanokareh, Ga'no·'gai' (Oa.), ga'nogai' (S.). No satisfactory translation. The pictograph suggests the homophonic word ga'nōn (S.), "arrow." Tonawanda Seneca lore gives "chewer, biter, killer" (Y. Spring); Hale (1883, p. 163) "threatened." Turtle clan.

47. Deshanyenah, Nis'hanye'nen't, Nis'hanyenen'nha' (Oa.), Ni'shanye·nen't (S.), "Falling day" (Morgan), "The day fell down" (Hale). "Falling day" to the Tonawanda Senecas. Snipe clan. I see no resemblance to this idea in the pictograph.

48. Shodyenawat, Sadye'nawat, "He grasps it" (S. Gibson), "Withheld" (Hale); Sadjen'nowa's (S.), "Helper" (Spring), "Assistant" (Morgan). The pictograph supports the Grand River version, "grasper," showing a hand, bear paw, or turtle foot having five claws or fingers. Bear clan.

The League was gradually extended, and the last two Seneca chiefs held out for some time. The Eulogy pays them special attention: "So it befell in ancient times that they considered extending the framework (of the League) by adding great dark roof poles, and selecting two guardians of the great dark doorway . . ." (which stood to the west) the following:

49. Kanonkeridawih (M.), Ganon'gei'da·'wi' (Oa.), Ganonhgi'dawih' (S.), "Hair singed off," "It broils." Snipe clan; Hale found Bear, but noted Morgan gave Snipe. The pictograph shows the open doorway, but nothing stands for the title, except possibly a spot to represent fire.

50. Deyohninhohhakarawenh (M.), Deyonin'hoga·'wen' (Oa.), Donihogä·'wen' (S.), "It keeps the doorway open"; literally, "It holds up the door-flap," referring to the ancient bark or skin door hinged at its top in the longhouse of the League (Hewitt). "Open door" is the simple rendering of Morgan, Hale, and H. Skye. Wolf clan. The symbol is a doorway and house gable.

"This is the roll call of the founders of the Great Peace; Hail Grandsires. . . !"

The Eulogy ends on a note of humility, of regret that the present generation is losing the old ways, and is no longer able to perform the ritual in the manner of the founders. Hale thought that this dejection of mind was over the loss of a chief whose successor they were about to install (Hale, 1833, p. 165).

EVIDENCE OF AGE

Ethnological investigation has developed that the age of the specimen does not carry it back to pre-Columbian times. This does not mean, however, that the specimen may not be an important one or that the ideas which it memorializes may not have ancient cultural roots. The first fact that struck us about the Cranbrook Condolence cane, the subject of this study, was the apparent disfigurement at one end and the information that this was ". . . owing to an umbrella handle having once been fitted to the stick by a former owner, A. Spragge, Grand River Reserve" (Chandler and Hatt to Fenton, personal communication). Although Yankee Spring, my Seneca informant, had asserted that the cane was surmounted by an eagle head, Cayuga chiefs who had seen it more often held out for the curved handle which they likened to a sword guard. Recent reconstructions at Grand River have such a handle. Surely if there was any analogy drawn between a sword and the appearance of this record stick in the minds of Iroquois Indians there was something modern about it.

The absence of the Sixth Nation, the Tuscarora, from the record can be interpreted two ways. The Tuscarora became part of the League in the second decade of the eighteenth century, but they remained second-class citizens, never enjoying the rite of *Hai Hai*, and, although represented, never voted in the council of the League. On the basis that they are not listed on the cane, we might say that the cane antedates 1710; but since we know the above, this argument is irrelevant to dating the specimen. It simply does not have to be that old.

Had the cane dated from the beginnings of the League, as some ethnologists at first thought, it would have shown a good deal of handling and it would have acquired some patina. While the relation of patina to age is difficult to establish, it is worth while noting that early nineteenth-century specimens of known date show more or less patina. They look older than the Iroquois cane. On subjective grounds the Iroquois stick may not be older than 1850, but patina remains an unsatisfactory criterion.

The mnemonic which the cane carries is probably older than the pictographs. There were canes with pegs only, and the same mnemonic

FOUR BROTHERS SIDE
OFFSPRING (NEPHEWS)

THREE BROTHERS SIDE
SIRE (UNCLES)

MOHAWK

Davenhethon 40
Wadondaherha 41
Des ka e 42

Diyawen'het'hon?
Hadonda'he'ha?
Desga'he'?

SENECA

Skanyadariyoh
Shadekaronyes
Shakenjohwaneh
Kanokareh
Deshayenah
Shodyenawat
Kanonkerihdawih
Deyohninhobhakarawenh

43 Skanyada'l'iyoh
44 Sha'degaen'hyes
45 Shagen'djo'wane?
46 Ga'no'gai'
47 Nis'hanye'nen't
48 Sadye'nawat
49 Ganon'gei'da'wi?
50 Deyonin'hoga'wen'



FIG. 3.—Front of the Condolence cane. The roll call of the Founders of the League.



FOUR BROTHERS SIDE
OFFSPRING (NEPHEWS)

THREE BROTHERS SIDE
SIRE (UNCLES)

MOHAWK

Sevhouse 1887 M.

Charles 1917 G.

Deharthohash

1 Deah' tho' gaa'

Ayohashah

2 Ayaah' wa' tha'

Shahakar'wah

3 Sha' daga' thwa' da'

Sharehohash

4 Shaeha' ba'

Dyohahagash

5 Dyaoh' ba' gaa'

Oreuregash

6 Oeha' go' aa'

Dehahakar'ash

7 Dehaha' ge' a' aa'

Dehahawerohash

8 De' atawa' aea' tha'

Shahawerohash

9 Shagaha' sha'

ONEIDA

Odashahash 10

10 De' datcha' da'

Eahongrenyah 11

11 Gaaeh' gaa' yo' da'

Dyohahagash 12

12 Dyaoh' ba' gaa' da'

Ehohasee 13

13 Ehooh' aea'

Dehahawerohash 14

14 De' aa' aya' a'

Adyahawerohash 15

15 Aya' a' dawa' tha'

Adahawerohash 16

16 Dehaha' haa' da' yaa'

Eahongrenyah 17

17 Gaaeh' da' aea' yaa'

Eahongrenyah 18

18 Eahong' da' da' yaa'

Adahawerohash

ONONDAGA

19 Dehahawerohash

Ayohasee

20 Aea' a' haa'

Dehahawerohash

21 Dehahawerohash

Tadahawerohash

22 Taha' a' da' ji' wa'

Ayahawerohash

23 Aya' gaa' haa'

Dehahawerohash

24 Dehahawerohash

Eahongrenyah (-toah)

25 Eahong' da' da'

Dehahawerohash

26 Dehahawerohash

Ayahawerohash

27 Aya' haa' haa'

Eahongrenyah

28 Eahong' gaa' da'

(The) Eahongrenyah

29 Eahong' gaa' aea'

Dehahawerohash

30 De' haa' gaa' haa'

De' a' wi

31 De' a' da' haa' wi'

Dehahawerohash

32 Dehahawerohash

CAYUGA

Dehahawerohash 33

33 Dehahawerohash

Tadahawerohash 34

34 Taha' a' da' da' haa'

Dehahawerohash 35

35 Dehahawerohash

Eahongrenyah 36

36 Eahong' gaa'

Dehahawerohash 37

37 Dehahawerohash

Dyohahagash 38

38 Dyaoh' ba' gaa'

Dyohahagash 39

39 Dyaoh' ba' gaa'

Dehahawerohash 40

40 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash 41

41 Dehahawerohash

De' a' e 42

42 De' a' e

Dehahawerohash

SENECA

43 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash

44 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash

45 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash

46 De' aa' gaa'

Dehahawerohash

47 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash

48 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash

49 Dehahawerohash

Dehahawerohash

50 Dehahawerohash

FIG. 3.—Front of the Condensé cane. The roll call of the Founders of the League.



is laid out in kernels of corn. The pictographs, with certain exceptions which resemble early treaty signatures and some war records of the seventeenth century, appear modern and give evidence of having been worked over and embellished in later times. Certain of them represent objects of recent historic introduction, a type of log house built at Grand River formerly (13), the nineteenth-century claw hammer (29). They are in character with the drawings of Chief Abram Charles and could almost have been made under his direction.

Chief Charles was an advocate for the position that there were only 49 chiefs, that the Onondagas had 14 offices held by 13 persons. So was Andrew Spragg. The cane appears to have been equipped with 50 pegs, including 14 for the Onondagas. The last of these has been cut off, which means that the specimen antedates this controversy, for which we may take the year 1923, when it is first mentioned in Hewitt's notes.

Besides the alteration of the pegs, the cane shows the marks of successive owners. The possibility has been indicated that the pictographs were added to and altered or worked over by several persons who must have had the specimen in their possession for some time, probably as keepers. A. Spragg went so far as to inscribe his name, and we know that he was its last custodian. John Smoke knew of three holders—Ganawado who made it, Sheriff Billy Wage, and Spragg. This takes it back to about 1850, with but one weak link in the chain. Hale, who saw Billy Wage in action in the summer of 1883, does not say that he carried a cane, nor does he describe the staff carried by Silversmith who took over the role inside the long-house. Allowing 20 years apiece for each of the holders (and this is generous) we reach the year 1860 as the probable date of its manufacture. This would be in the second or third generation on Grand River.

Other evidence from related specimens shows that it combined several ancient ideas. Counting with kernels of corn in diagrams permeates Iroquois ceremonialism. The use of canes as symbols of age status has also been remarked. And we have shown that similar tallies and pictographs had earlier cultural beginnings. What we have then in the present specimen is a synthesis of several cultural traits which have long historic roots in the past.

CONCLUSION

In this study of the Condolence cane in the Cranbrook Institute we have tried to show its provenience, to date it within reasonable probability, to uncover its cultural roots, to explain its function

within the Condolence Council, and to interpret its symbolism. It is certain that Andrew Spragg was a late holder of the ritual and keeper of the cane, which belonged in a way to all the Cayugas. Made sometime after the middle of the nineteenth century, probably about 1860, its use was confined to the Lower Cayuga band on the Grand River. Alterations in the specimen reflect local opinion on the Six Nations Reserve as to how many federal chiefs founded the League, how they were arranged, and the order of the roll call. Unquestionably it was devised on an ancient mnemonic design in order to preserve the memory of the Eulogy chant and roll call and to support the performance of the Condolence Council for installing new chiefs after settlement on the Grand River. Although it is now a sacred relic, and it has been reproduced once more by the Cayugas, the Cranbrook specimen does not antedate the American Revolution and the dissolution of the League in New York. It cannot be referred, therefore, to the period of the founding of the League.

The investigation has forced us to study the institution of the Condolence Council. It has succeeded in unraveling the meaning of the pictographs and it has demonstrated how they relate to two local versions of the Eulogy chant—Newhouse (1885) and Charles (1917). It poses certain problems of kinship for future field work, since we now have before us the complete organization chart of the government of the Iroquois Confederacy, which was, perhaps, the classic example of the kinship state.

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PLATES



1. GRAVE OF PATTERSON SPRAGUE IN LOWER CAYUGA CEMETERY, SIX NATIONS RESERVE

(R. T. Hatt photograph.)



2. A LOG HOUSE AT SANDY'S CORNERS, SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONCE OCCUPIED BY ANDREW SPRAGG

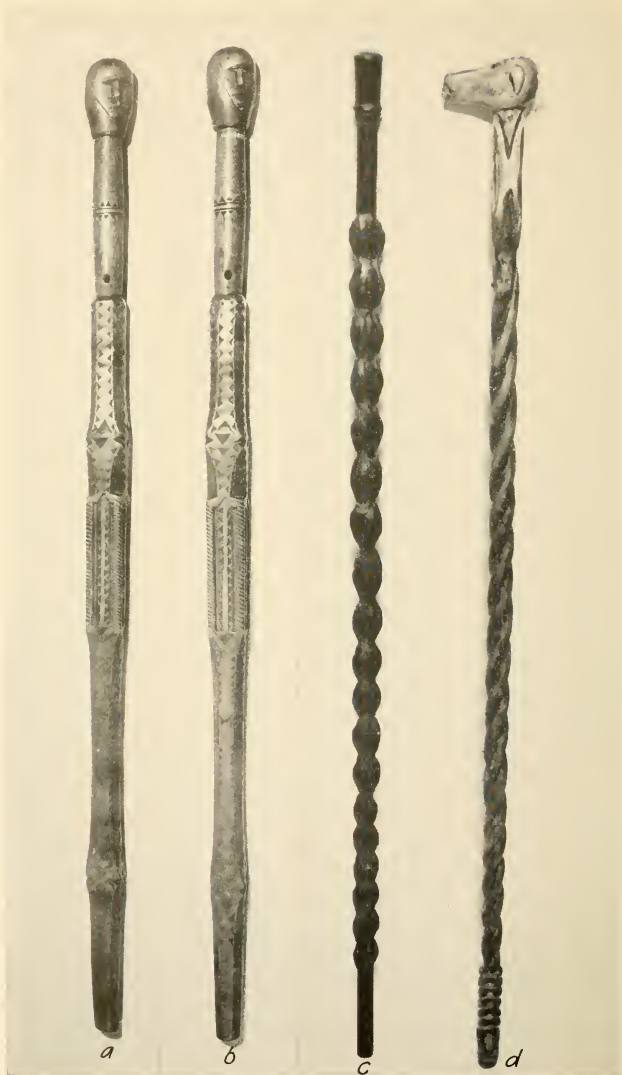


THE ROLL CALL OF THE IROQUOIS CHIEFS
The Cayuga Condolence cane of Andrew Spragg.



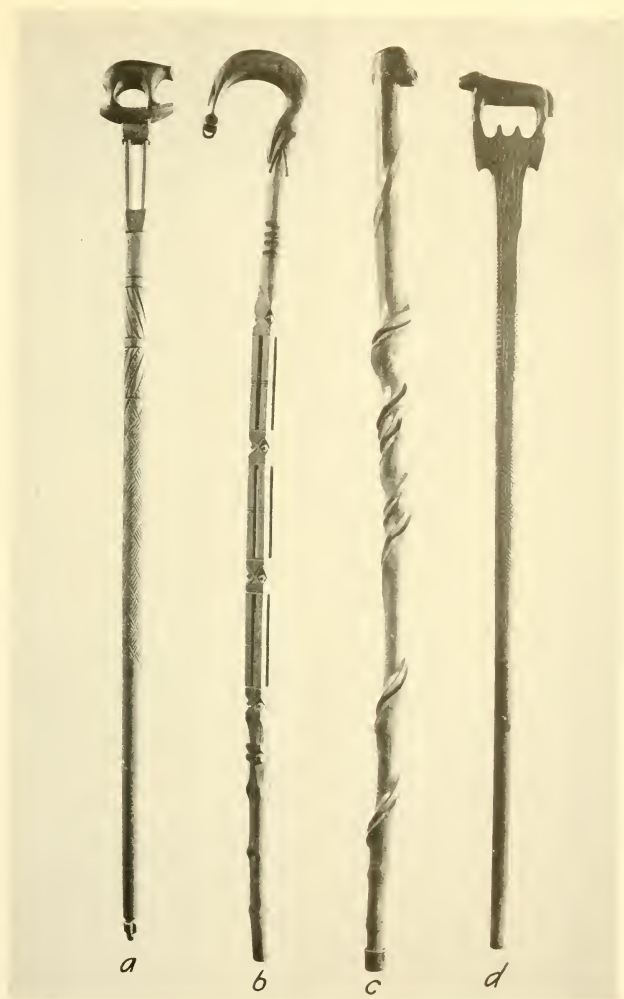
CHIEF'S CANES FROM THE SIX NATIONS RESERVE

(National Museum of Canada photograph.)



CHIEF'S CANES FROM CANADA

a and *b*, Janus-faced cane from Chiefswood collection (Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology); two sides showing face. *c* and *d*, Canes from the Huron or Iroquois of eastern Canada (Quebec Provincial Museum).



CANES WITH CLAN EFFIGIES, AND A FALSE-FACE

a, Bear effigy; *b*, Wolf effigy; *c*, False-face or masker; *d*, the cane of the 12th Onondaga chief S'agogen'he' (No. 30 on the cane). (Milwaukee Public Museum photographs.)



1. DETAIL OF CLAN EFFIGIES ON PLATE 5

a, Bear; *b*, Wolf.

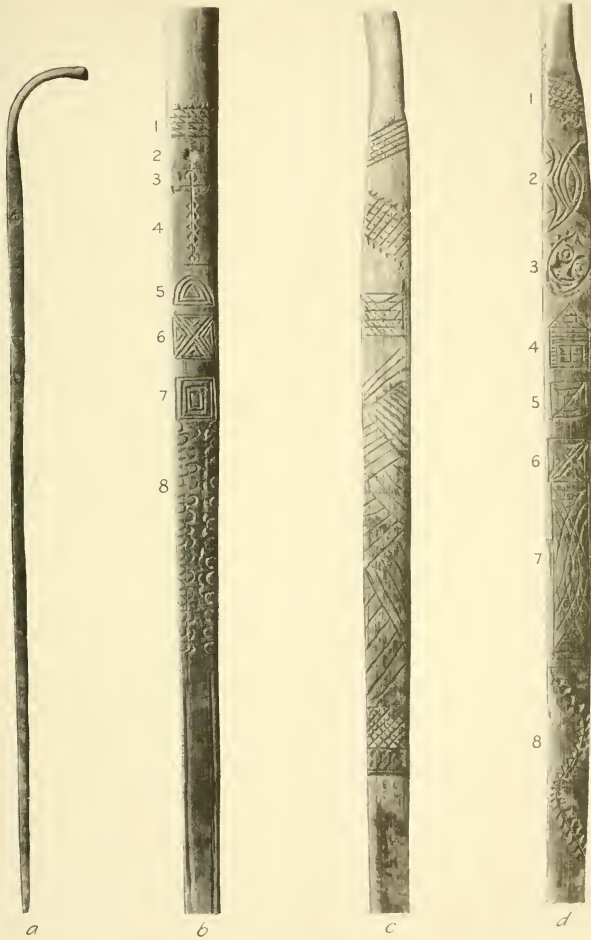
(Milwaukee Public Museum photographs.)



2. DETAIL OF CLAN EFFIGIES ON PLATE 5

a, False-face; *b*, Wolf.

(Milwaukee Public Museum photographs.)



CANE USED AT A CHIEF'S WAKE, SIX NATIONS RESERVE

a, Over-all view of cane (collected by J. N. B. Hewitt, 1916; U.S.N.M. No. 384288, Division of Ethnology); *b*, front view detail: notice of death and the funeral; *c*, right side detail: wampum belts of notification; *d*, left side detail: passage of the soul to the hereafter.



PICTORIAL RECORD STICK OF THE SENECA PROPHET'S REVELATION
(Milwaukee Public Museum photograph.)

16 (ms)

(Ka nyu he ha ku.)

- De ka ri oh henk, 1
- A yon h wa thak, 2
- sha de ka ri na del. 3

Ka nyu he ha ku.
 1
 2
 3

- Sha ren ho na neh, 4
- De yon he gwentk, 5
- O ren se go wali. 6

Sha ren ho na neh.
 4
 5
 6

- De he ni na ka ri neh 7
- ka sta nen se rent hak. 8
- Sho sho a re na neh. 9

O ren se go wali.
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15

2

(O ren yoh de a la.)

- 10 O dats he del,
- 11 Ka non gwen i yah,
- 12 De yo ha gwen del.
- 13 Sho non ses,
- 14 De ho na re hen,
- 15 I dyu don nea tha.

SETH NEWHOUSE'S ROLL OF THE CHIEFS (CA. 1885)

The Mohawk and Oneida rosters with mnemonic.

- 16 ⁶ I da hon deu yenh,
 17 Ko nyu das ha youh.
 18 Ron wats lu don honh.

(³ Onon da ge ba ka.)
⁷ I do dar honh, 19

e I wen ni se ra, 20.

De hat ha dons, 21

Ya da yji wa kenh, 22

• Ball. I we ken yat, 23

De ha yat gwa reh, 24

⁸ Onon wi rih, 25

⁹ Oe wen ni se ron ni, 26

e I riv honh. 27

¹⁰ Oe wa yonh nyca nih, 28

~~Thom~~ de gwa seti, 29. Eel

Su ho ke a h. 30

31 ~~Ha wi, Taitai~~

32 ¹¹ Sha naa wa di.

¹² K'ora youk gon hah ha.)
 K'ha ea youk, 33 ¹³ ~~deu.~~

~~x~~ Tsi non da wer hon. 34 ¹⁴ ~~lare.~~

¹⁵ ha da gwatpu sonk, 35 Bear

So you wes, 36

Tortoise Wu tya se ron neh. 37

¹⁶ De yoh ron yon koh, 38 ¹⁷ ~~Wolff~~

De yot ho reh gwenh, 39 ¹⁸ ~~Wolff~~

~~Snipe~~ Da wen het hon. 40

¹⁹ Wa don da herha, 41 ²⁰ ~~Snipe~~

Des ka e. 42

(²¹ Jo non do wa ka.)

- ¹⁶
 (a) *Sha nya dāri yoh,* 43
 2 *Sha de ka ron yēs,* 44
 4 *Sha ken joh wa neh,* 45
 Tortoise ~~#~~ *ka no ka reh,* 46
 Des *ka ge nah,* 47
Sho dyā na wat, 48
 { *Ka non he rik da wih,* } 49
 (*De yoh nin hoh hu ka'ra wenh.*) 50