SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE HURON AND WYANDOT

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SUPERNATURAL attributes and power, in the ancient beliefs of the Huron and Wyandot, were ascribed to their mytho-
logical beings and to many varieties of charms and amulets.

A brief description of two classes of deities and spirits being the object of this paper, we have here to pass over charms and amulets, as they were inanimate objects endowed with “power,” and not necessarily connected with or derived from deities or spirits.

The mythical beings of the Huron and Wyandot pantheon may conveniently be classified into three groups, namely: (i) The primeval deities and the races of giants and dwarfs of their cosmogonic myths about the origin of the world; (ii) the less homogeneous group of sky gods (Hamendiju, the Sun and the Moon, the Thunderers), also belonging to the religions of many foreign tribes, and accounted for in various ways by the Iroquois and Huron; (iii) and the multiplicity of good and bad monsters—the uki—said to dwell everywhere and mingle with the Indian folks for their benefit or detriment. We shall restrict the present study to the primeval cosmogonic deities and the sky gods.

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The primeval beings of the world, explicitly described in aboriginal cosmogonic myths, belong to the following categories: The

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1 Published with the authorization of the Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.
2 The charms and amulets, termed aaskwandi, were inanimate objects of queer appearance or origin, treasured on account of their reputed magical efficiency. Their fictitious value, according to Bressani, had its psychological origin in the “superstitious regard” of these peoples “for everything which savoured a little of the uncommon” (Jesuit Relations, Thwaites ed., vol. xxxix, pp. 26–27).
3 A version of the cosmogony has been recorded among the ancient Hurons (1632–5) by Father Brébeuf (Jes. Rel., Thwaites ed., vols. viii, pp. 117–119, and x, pp. 125–139). Brother Sagard, about 1615, had also noted down a few fragments of the same
superhuman people living in the Sky-world, before the creation of "the Island" (North America); the anthropomorphic animals of the inferior water-regions by whom "the Island" was made on the Big Turtle's back; the deities that fashioned "the Island" for the coming of the Indian peoples; and, last of all, the races of giants and dwarfs.

The pristine Sky-world, the ultimate origin of which remains unexplained, was the very picture of North America with its native inhabitants. Human-like people, to whom life and death were still unknown, were leading a peaceful existence in their villages, distributed all about the solid sky-land. At the head of their society were chiefs, seers, and shamans; and they depended mainly upon their fruit trees and the yield of their Indian corn patches for their subsistence. One day, a chief's daughter fell through a hole in the ground into the abysses of the inferior world, an immense sheet of water with no land anywhere. The reasons given as to why the Woman fell from the sky, being at variance, assume a slight importance. Some Oklahoma Wyandot were of opinion¹ that a shaman had brought about the accident by advising that they should dig into the roots of a tree where a medicine could be found that could cure the young woman of a mysterious disease. The up-rooted tree, in fact, fell through the ground into the lower world with the woman entangled in its branches. According to another opinion,² a young woman used every day to gather a basketful of corn for her brothers. Having grown tired of her task, she destroyed the corn patch; and, as a punishment for having thus ruined

¹ Related in Connelley's version, and also in that of Mr B. N. O. Walker, taken down by myself.
² Catherine Johnson, Wyandotte Reservation, Oklahoma; recorded by myself in 1912.
their subsistence, her brothers cast her into the Underworld, through an opening. Father Brébeuf has left us two other explanations that he noted among the ancient Huron; the woman was said, in the first, to have cut down the tree "from which those who abode" in the sky "obtained their food," and, out of grief, to have thrown herself after the tree into the abyss. It appears, in the second version, that the woman fell into a hole while chasing a bear, and dropped into the lower regions. It was also suggested by some other informants\(^1\) that, by mischance, the woman had been pushed by her husband into a rift in the sky, and had thus fallen from above.

In the dark regions of the Underworld there was no land anywhere. At first, the only inhabitants of that vast sea were human-like water-fowls and quadrupeds that lived in the water. Some water-fowls\(^2\) rescued the falling Sky-woman and held her above the waters, while a council of the animals assembled and decided that a land should be made on the Big Turtle's back for the Woman to live upon. Otter, Muskrat, Beaver, and all the best Divers perished in their futile attempts to secure some of the earth clinging to the roots of the sky-tree lying at the bottom of the sea. The obscure and ridiculed Toad was the one that finally succeeded and brought back a mouthful of earth, with which "the Island" (North America) was made. It is believed by some that the Little Turtle\(^3\) made "the Island" by rubbing and spreading the earth around the edge of the Big Turtle's shell until it had become a large island. The Woman, according to others,\(^4\) sprinkled the grains of earth at arm's length on the Turtle's back and soon found that land was growing about her.

But there was no light on "the Island." The animals decided in a council to send the Little Turtle\(^5\) on a cloud, into the sky, so

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\(^2\) Geese or swans, according to two Wyandot informants, and loons or seagulls according to others.

\(^3\) In W. E. Connelley's Wyandot Folk-lore, pp. 68–69, and Mr B. N. O. Walker's versions (recorded by myself in 1911, at Wyandotte, Oklahoma).


\(^5\) The "Prairie Turtle" or "Terrapin," it is likely.
that she could make some luminaries there. So it was done; and the Little Turtle fashioned the sun out of flashes of lightning and, having made him a living being, she gave him the moon to wife. As they were meant to travel from east to west along a path in the sky, they found their way back to their starting-point, in the eastern sea, through a vast passage that the Mud Turtle had dug for them, under the earth. In the course of ages they had many children, the Stars "that run about the sky." The Sun and Moon quarreled one day, and the Sun so badly abused the Moon that without the Little Turtle she would have forever wasted away. The phases of the Moon are explained as periodical relapses into the original state of prostration that followed her disgrace; and the annual decline of the Sun seems to be a punishment inflicted by the Little Turtle upon him for his rash deed. The Little Turtle, therefore, has always been known as the "Keeper of the Sky."

Some time after the making of "the Island" and the luminaries, a number of land animals and birds—the Deer, the Wolf, the Bear, the Hawk, and others—are mentioned as taking part in the animals' councils. Nobody now can tell where they were from. It is also believed that, after memorable adventures, during the early ages, they were led by the Deer into the sky, where they still have their abode.

When the Woman fallen from the sky began to wander about the Island she found an old woman, who became her guardian,

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1 The creation of the Sun, Moon, Stars, and underground Passage is explained only in two Wyandot versions of the cosmogony—those recorded by Mr Connelley and by myself.

2 The subterranean passage is said to have been made by the Mud Turtle, in Connelley's account (Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 31), and by the Little Turtle in that of Mr Walker.

3 This can only be inferred from Mr Walker's version when compared with some Iroquois explanations of the same phenomenon.

4 The many illogical points to be found in these cosmogonic myths are generally due to the fact that the versions obtained were mere fragments. When some informants were pressed for more rational explanations by Father Brébeuf, they replied that they did not know any more than they had learned from their forefathers.

5 This is in conformity with the old-time custom of these Indians of secluding grown-up girls for a certain period, during which they were daily visited by an old woman, termed "grandmother."

6 The Iroquois myths generally have it otherwise, that is, the woman fallen from
and whom she called her "grandmother." Soon twins that had been mysteriously begotten in the sky came to the Sky-woman. One of the twins, out of mere spite, killed his mother, as he came into this world, by tearing his way through her arm-pit. After her burial, cereals sprang from the various parts of her body, for the future use of the Indians: "from her head grew the pumpkin-vine; from her breasts, maize; from her limbs, the beans and other useful esculents." Of the twins one was good and the other evil. The first was called Tijuskâ'a, "the Good One," and the other, Taweskare, "Flint." The good one is also called Tse'sta, among the Oklahoma Wyandot. The old woman raised them just as if they had been human children. While Tse'sta's good nature was constantly developing, Taweskare's evil disposition was becoming more emphatic, until the time came for them to fulfill their mission on "the Island," that is, to prepare it for the coming of man. It appears, in certain traditions, that the Twins, in order possibly to avoid conflict, divided the land between themselves. Tse'sta secured the eastern and Taweskare the western lands, wherein they were both to utilize their creative powers. According to another opinion it was understood that they were to work in turns over the same territories. After a time, however, the Bad One went out west to vent his wrath unhampered. All are agreed that each of the Twins had an opportunity to inspect his brother's creations and reduce to a certain extent their good or bad qualities. Thus the Good One made the surface of the earth smooth or with slight

above gave birth to a daughter, who died at the birth of her own children, the Twins. Sagard's version, recorded among the ancient Huron, implicitly refers to a similar tradition (Hist. du Canada, pp. 451-2).

1 Schoolcraft, Onéota, pp. 207-211; H. Hale in Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, pp. 181-183; and Mr Walker's version.

2 H. Hale (Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. i, pp. 181-183). Schoolcraft's version: The woman's body was laid upon a scaffold, and "from the droppings of her decay, where they fell on the ground, sprang up corn, tobacco, and such other vegetable productions as the Indians have" (Onéota, pp. 207-211).

3 This is the phonetic equivalent in modern Wyandot of the same name Jouskeha or Juskeha, as recorded by the early missionaries.


5 That of Mr Walker.
undulations, with park-like woods, rivers with a two-fold current running in opposite directions, so that the Indians might travel without paddling. He lavishly created berry patches loaded with berries, trees with large and juicy fruits, the maple, the sap of which was like syrup, Indian corn with a hundred ears on each stalk, and bean-pods growing on trees and long as the arm.¹ The Bad One following his brother, sadly damaged all these things. He tore up from every river its returning current, remarking, "Let them at least have to work one way up stream."² He covered the surface of the earth with flints, bowlders, and rocks, pulling up huge mountains here and there, and obstructing the land by means of marshes and thick forests strewn with vines, thorns, and brambles. He also spoiled the fruit trees by scattering them far apart and making the fruits and berries small, stony, and sour. The Good One had brought forth gentle game animals for the people, and large fishes without scales; but his wretched brother covered the fish with hard scales, and imprisoned the animals in a cave, frightening them and making them wild. Besides, he made fierce animals that were to be the enemies of mankind, and monsters of all kinds with which the earth has ever after been infested. He made an immense Frog³ that drank all the fresh water of the earth. The only thing that the Good Twin could do was to reduce the extent of such evils. He released the animals from the cavern, and drew the water forth by cutting the frog open, or simply making an incision under her armpit, after having overcome her.⁴ On account of lack of space here, we have to pass over the memorable deeds of the twins, who spent long ages at their work of fashioning the earth for the coming of man. In the end the Good Twin brought the Indian man forth; some say that he created him outright, while others⁵ think that he

¹ These last details, found in Connelley (Wyandot Folk-lore, pp. 74 and following) are at variance with the traditions that Schoolcraft and Hale noted down among the Anderdon (Ontario) Wyandot, to the effect that the cereals and tobacco sprang from the various parts of the woman's body after her burial.
⁵ Connelley, Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 80.
simply brought the Huron and Wyandot peoples down from the Sky-world. He instructed them in all kinds of useful pursuits, showed them the art of hunting, and gave them good advice for their religious and civil welfare.\(^1\) Taweskare, for his part, called forth all kinds of human beings, generally bad and unfriendly to Tse'sta's peoples.

The everlasting opposition between the Good and Bad Twins finally developed into actual strife.\(^2\) It is said\(^3\) that Taweskare made the flinty giants to wage war against his brother, and that Tse'sta, on his side, made the dwarfs to stand on his behalf. After a lengthy contest, in which both artifice and strength were used, the Good One outwitted his brother and slew him with sharp deer-horns.\(^4\) During the following era, Tse'sta left his people in the great cavern with the ghost of the Woman fallen from the sky at their head; and he went all over the earth, restoring as well as he could the ruin caused by his war against his brother, and making the world ready for the Indians.\(^5\) In a modern addition of the myth, he is said to have come across the God of the white man near the mountains. A dispute arose between them about the possession of these domains. Tse'sta, however, defeated the invader in a magical contest and frightened him away.\(^6\) When he returned from his wanderings, he found the old woman, his grandmother, "in ill humour, as she always was," for she "hated him and loved his brother, whom he had killed. He, therefore, . . . cast her up, and she flew against the moon, upon whose face traces of her are still to be seen."\(^7\) The earth being now ready, Tse'sta went to the

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4. In the Schoolcraft version it is said that the Twins decided that one had to get rid of the other in some way, but without direct violence. The Good One finally won a race over his brother and caused him to fall on sharp buck-horns, after which he despatched him (Oneöta, op. cit.).

5. Connelley, Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 81 et seq.


7. Schoolcraft, Oneöta, op. cit.
great cavern or Underworld, and spoke to the Woman, their leader. She replied to him, "My son, lead them forth in the Order of Precedence and Encampment. . . ." And he led the tribes to the cave's entrance, where they had their first view of this world. The voice of Hino, the Thunder, shook the air; but they were told not to be afraid, for lightning was never to strike a Huron. And, scattering in various directions, they established their villages about the land.

Let us now consider for a moment the Huron and Wyandot beliefs regarding the fate of these cosmogonic deities. The sky is said to be still inhabited by the people from whom the fallen Woman proceeded; and the human-like animals of the pristine Water-world are described as having ascended, after the Deer, and with the assistance of the Rainbow, into the celestial regions of the Little Turtle, where they are still supposed to be. The Big Turtle, however, remained under "the Island," and she is still there holding it upon her back; so that whenever there is an earthquake, some of the old Wyandot may still be heard saying, "Well! the Big Turtle has been shifting her position. She must have moved a paw!" It is interesting to note, besides, that the Big and Little Turtles, and perhaps also the Mud Turtle—who appears to have made the subterranean passage for the Sun and the Moon—being the totems of three Huron and Wyandot clans, are supposed to have extended their protection to their human protégés almost to the present day. The Deer, the first of the animals to climb into the Little Turtle's sky-land, is also the totem of the Deer clan, the head clan of one of the phratries.

The fate of the higher divinities, Tijuská'a (or Tse'sta), Taweskare, their mother and "grandmother," and of the dwarfs and giants, is somewhat more obscure, owing to various traditions that

1 Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-lore*, p. 82.
2 Walker's version.
4 Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-lore*, p. 45. Mr Walker's version.
5 Apparently the "prairie turtle" or "terrapin."
are slightly at variance. After Taweskare had been slain by Tse'sta, his ghost reappeared at night, and after he was refused admission by his brother, he was heard saying: "I go to the northwest and you will never see me more, and all who follow me will be in the same state. They will never come back. Death will forever keep them." Taweskare is stated in another tradition\(^2\) to have gone to the far west and to have said "that thenceforth all the races of man would go to the west, like him." "And," added the informant, Clarke, "it is the belief of all the pagan Indians that, after death, their spirits will go to the far west and dwell there."

The Woman fallen from the sky, mother of the Twins, is the first one who was known to die in this world. It is not easy to distinguish her personality from that of the old woman, her "grandmother," who took care of her and the Twins, in "the Island." In some traditions her spirit is said to have appeared to Tse'sta and revived him when he was about to be defeated in his contest with Taweskare.\(^3\) She is found, later, at the head of the sleeping Wyandot, in the Underground world; and when her son, Tse'sta, announced that the earth was ready for the Indians, her parting words were, "My son, . . . they shall come to me on their journey to the Land of the Little People"\(^4\) (that is, the land of the dead). Her domains, therefore, are the regions whither the human souls repair after death, and with the care of which she is intrusted.\(^5\)

Some time after the coming of man into this land, Tijuská'a (or Tse'sta) and his "grandmother" established their abode in a remote country somewhere,\(^6\) most say in the far east,\(^7\) and some in the middle (of the sky).\(^8\) Traditions have been recorded among the ancient Huron to the effect that a man named Attiouindaon and, later, four adventurous young men had visited the home of these

\[^3\] H. Hale, ibid.
\[^4\] Connelley, op. cit., p. 82.
\[^6\] Sagard, op. cit., pp. 451–452.
\[^8\] Brébeuf, Jes. Rel., vol. VIII, p. 119.
divinities near the eastern sea. In fact, it was the current belief that these beings are "human and corporeal"; that they live in bark houses like the Indians, sow and reap corn and other things, sleep, eat, and are subject to all the necessities of human life. It seems that Tijuská’a was until recently considered as the living providence of the Huron and Wyandot; for it was he "who gives them the wheat [Indian corn] to eat; it is he who makes it grow and brings it to maturity. If they see their fields verdant in the spring, if they reap good and abundant harvests, and if their cabins are crammed with ears of corn, they owe it to Jouskeha." He was considered, indeed, as a benefactor who takes care of the Indians and all that pertains to their livelihood. He has even been called by some one "the God of Forest or Nature." He was far, however, from being granted unlimited and absolute power over things; and Sagard states that the Huron readily admitted that the Christian God seemed to have greater powers than Juskeha, who, in his remote country, was not exempt from the vicissitudes of human life. He was also said gradually to grow old, but without losing any of his vigor, and from time to time to transform himself into a young man of about thirty years of age, thus not being subject to the fatality of death.

The personalities of the "grandmother" and the Woman who died at the birth of the Twins, have long been somewhat confused. The spirit of the deceased woman seems to be in charge of the souls in the Underworld, while the grandmother is stated in most traditions to be living the in east, with her grandson Tijuská’a. It is stated, however, that the grandmother is wicked, because she often spoils the good things done by her grandson, and that she is the one who causes men to die. Although they play an important part in the affairs of man, these divinities have never received any very marked form of worship, notwithstanding the fact that the Huron, accord-

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1 Sagard, op. cit.
5 P. D. Clarke, an educated Wyandot of Anderdon, Ontario.
ing to Brébeuf, esteemed themselves greatly obliged to Tijuská’a, and that he was supposed to be present with his grandmother at the feasts and dances that took place in their villages.¹

Tijuská’a has sometimes been said by the natives and by ethnologists² to be the sun, and the Woman the moon. It may be due to the fact that, among the Iroquoian peoples, as well as among many foreign tribes, the sun and the moon have long been considered as high divinities connected with nature and the seasons, and have been worshiped as benefactors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Huron and Wyandot should occasionally have assimilated them with their national deities, to whom their mythology ascribed similar functions.³

The dwarfs and giants are described in one cosmogonic version⁴ as having been created by Tse’sta and Taweskare on the occasion of their feud. It seems likely, however, that the connection of the giants and dwarfs with the cosmogony was but slight and not generally acknowledged, their origin being probably ascribable to other sources. In fact, similar beings are known in several American mythologies at large.

According to an Oklahoma Wyandot informant,⁵ the dwarfs were of two varieties: the Tikē’ā and the Kahiṅ’ā. The Tikē’ā, or Little People,⁶ are said, in one version of the cosmogony, to have assisted Tse’sta in his war against his brother and the giants, and then to have gone to the world of souls in the west. They are believed to have extended their protection to the Wyandot on several occasions; for instance, when they helped them in chasing away the Stone giants and destroyed the Witch Buffaloes that were the calamity of some Kentucky springs.⁷

⁴ Connelley, Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 91.
⁵ Mrs Catherine Johnson; information collected by myself.
⁶ Connelley in Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. xii, p. 124, and Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 81, 82, 86; and information collected by myself among the Lorette Huron and Oklahoma Wyandot, the informants being F. Gros louis (Lorette), Mrs I. Walker, Mrs C. Johnson, Mary Kelley, and others (Oklahoma).
⁷ Connelley, Wyandot Folk-lore, pp. 91, 92.
The dwarfs were extremely small and old beings, and their bodies resembled those of human creatures. They are stated by some to have now become invisible.\(^1\) Although powerful and witch-like, they are good-natured and are not known to have ever done any harm to the Huron or Wyandot. Their ways of living are those of human beings. They are dressed with clothes made of hide and woven hair, carry their children on tiny cradle-boards, and especially enjoy singing and dancing.

The Kahiņo’a have ducks’ feet, and arms without joints in the elbow. They are benevolent; and, in one instance recorded, a dwarf woman is said to have appeared to a hunter, in a hollow tree, and to have given him a charm for good luck in hunting. That she was very old is shown in a discussion that she had with the hunter:\(^2\) "You are extremely small!" said he, "You must be very young!" But she retorted, "No! I am really much older than you." He could not believe her, as she was so very small. Then they talked about things of the past, things that had happened long ago. She told him all about events long since forgotten, which he had never heard of. She truly believed herself much older than he. But he would not admit it. "Do you remember the time," asked she, "when this earth was drowned?" And he inquired where the people went while the earth was covered with water. She explained that they had climbed up into the cliffs.

These little beings are said to have left marks and traces of all kinds on rocks, and are believed sometimes still to be heard singing and dancing in caverns or under the ground. Footprints may still be seen on rocks at Lorette (Quebec), which the Huron ascribe to dwarfs. And a number of Oklahoma informants speak of several localities either near Kansas City, or near Wyandotte, Oklahoma, where they have recently heard the dwarfs singing and dancing, and the beating of their water-drums, or have seen on rocks marks of their feet, arms, hands, and bows and arrows.

The giants, or Strendu, the averred enemies of the Wyandot,\(^1\)

\(^1\) Mrs C. Johnson and Catherine Armstrong (Oklahoma Wyandot); information collected by myself.

\(^2\) From a Wyandot text of Mrs C. Johnson (Oklahoma Wyandot), recorded by myself, in 1912.
were dreaded on account of their extraordinary size and powers. Some\(^1\) describe them as being half-a-tree tall and large in proportion. Their bodies were covered all over with flinty scales, which made them almost invulnerable. When the Wyandot, perchance, surprised one asleep, they would kill him with linn-wood pillows, or shoot their arrows in the monster’s arm-pit. The Indians are reported, one day, to have discovered a giant woman sleeping along the shore of a lake; they had detected her, in fact, by the ripples on the surface of the water caused by her breathing. When a large party of warriors slew her by means of linn-wood pillows, the shore of the lake was strewn with the large flint scales that covered her body.\(^2\) In another story a giant woman is reported as having walked on the bottom of a river instead of swimming. Upon reaching the shore, she spat on an axe forgotten there by an Indian, thus unconsciously making it magical, in such a way that it could pulverize large bowlders at one blow.\(^3\) These monsters were cannibals, and in the old time it sometimes happened that the terrified Indians would take their flight to the woods on having detected the presence of a giant in their neighborhood. The fingers of their human victims were the charms that the Strendu used to detect the presence of other Indians, as is shown by the following extract from a legend:\(^4\)

“...The Strendu knew that some people were to be found there, as she could smell them. She therefore placed a human finger on the palm of her hand, and whispered, ‘Where are the people?’ and at once, the finger stood straight up, pointing to the tree in which a man had hidden. The giant, however, did not believe the finger, and said, ‘I have never known of any people living up in the sky. ... ’ So she threw the finger away, thinking that it had been spoiled and was no longer good for anything.” The fate of these giants is a mystery to the modern Wyandot. They are still living somewhere, so it is believed. An old informant\(^5\) thought that they must be in the east, “where the Indians originated,” for “nobody knows what they have now become.”

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1 Connelley, Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 91.
2 Informant, B. N. O. Walker.
3 Informants, Catherine and Allen Johnson.
4 Informants, Catherine and Allen Johnson.
5 Catherine Armstrong, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.
The sky gods, Hamendiju, Sun and Moon, and the Thunderers, occupy a prominent place in the pantheon of all the Iroquoian tribes, and, indeed, with the exception of Hamendiju, they appear in some form or other in the mythology of a large number of American peoples.

Hamendiju (in Wyandot), or Hawenniyu (in Iroquois), is the chief deity of the modern Huron and Iroquois. His name may be translated literally “His-voice-is big or powerful,” and it may be interpreted “He is a great chief.” There seems to be little doubt that this is a name coined by the natives for the God of the white man; although some of the present-day informants readily accept that “the Great Spirit,” Hamendiju, is one of their aboriginal deities. In fact, the name of Hamendiju or Hawenniyu is, so far as we are aware, unknown in the narrations of earliest missionaries and explorers. When they mention the highest or most popular Huron or Iroquois divinity, their terms refer, in most cases quite evidently, to the Good One, as described in the cosmogonic myths, or to the Sun and to Areskwi. Father Brébeuf, for instance, relates that the Huron “had recourse to the Sky in almost all their necessities”; “for they imagine in the Heavens an Oki, that is to say a demon or power which rules the seasons of the year.” When the Sky is angry with them, as it often happens, “the flesh of a dead man is the victim” which they immolate in order to appease the Sky. Another missionary states that a great magician, consulted on the subject of the coming harvest, had answered “that it was necessary that everyone should go every day to his field, throw some tobacco on the fire, and burn it in the honour of the Demon whom he consulted, calling aloud this form of prayer, ‘Listen, O Sky! Taste my tobacco; have pity on us’ . . .” It is quite clear that the so-called Oki or Demon thus spoken of was no

1 Miss Mary McKee (Anderdon, Ont.); Star Young (Wyandotte, Okla.).
2 Areskwi is apparently an ancient name for the same cosmogonic god among some Iroquois tribes. Cartier noted, perhaps erroneously, that Cudwagny was the name of the supreme being of the natives found at Hochelaga (supposedly the Mohawk.)
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other than the Good Twin of the cosmogonic myths to whom are ascribed the regulation of the seasons and the growth and ripening of the cereals and fruits of the earth.

In the modern Wyandot beliefs, Hamendiju is the "Almighty" or "Great Spirit" dwelling in the sky and controlling the whole world. "He is the Great Man above," explained an old informant; "He has all the powers, and he rules over many spirits who obey his commands." His chief assistant is Hinq, the Thunderer. In recognition of his benevolent nature and of his daily favors to mankind he is prayed to and worshiped, in the course of periodical and special rituals, performed in public, and accompanied with the burning of Indian tobacco as incense, and certain motions of the hand toward the sky. Among the thanksgiving rituals in his honor, the Green Corn feast, taking place in August, has long occupied an important place. Several private and semi-private rituals are addressed to him on several occasions, namely, before starting for the hunt or when gathering medicinal plants. It is interesting to note that while Hamendiju is often directly prayed to, in the modern formulas used when plucking up medicinal or magical plants, various terms of relationship are also used to address him, such as "Cutá’a" (term including male and female ancestors, and generally translated "grandfather" or "grandmother" by the natives), and Sömą’ístę, "our father."

The chief deity of the modern Iroquois is also known under the name of Hawenniyu or Rawenniyu, and he is, in several places, described as the Good Twin who, with his brother, created the world. The Handsome Lake doctrine—which has swayed most of the unchristianized Iroquois, during the last century—accepts Hawenniyu as the "Almighty" and also lays much emphasis on

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1 Smith Nichols, Catherine Johnson (Wyandotte, Okla.); Mary McKee (Anderdon, Ont.), and others.
2 Star Young (Wyandotte, Okla.).
4 Catherine Johnson and Mary Kelley; Smith Nichols and Allen Johnson; Star Young; and Mary McKee.
the existence of an Evil Spirit, along the lines suggested by Christian theology. Both in their public and private rituals they address Hawenniyu, thanking him for his favors and praying to him for their continuance.¹

Among the foremost deities of the ancient Iroquoian religion were the Sun and the Moon. To the Wyandot they were human-like beings, gifted with extraordinary powers, as we have seen above. The Little Turtle, appointed by the council of the pristine animals, had made the Sun out of lightning and had given him the Moon to wife. They were both meant to shed light in turn upon the “Island” and in the Underworld. The Stars were said to be their children; and, among the favorite constellations were the Pleiades, supposed to be their “six little girls, the daughters of a single birth.”²

The Sun—although still remembered among the Lorette Huron³ as the chief of the old-time spirits—does not seem to have been granted so high a rank in the Wyandot rituals as in those of the Iroquois. Besides the alleged confusion of the Sun with the Good Twin, and the Moon with his grandmother, there is nothing to show that among the ancient Huron the Sun and the Moon enjoyed any marked form of worship.

The Iroquois lore about the Sun and the Moon is far richer and more confused. Several traditions have come down to us regarding their mythical origin and function. Teharonyawagon, the Good One of the Twins, is said⁴ to have made the Sun while he was preparing the island for mankind, and later to have rescued him from the thievish hands of his evil brother who had captured him. The old woman appears, in another version,⁵ to have “cut off the head of her daughter and affixed it to the top of a tall tree, where it became the Sun, and, in like manner,” to have “affixed the body which became the Moon.” “At a later period,” it is further al-

¹ Mr F. W. Waugh has collected for the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada many formulas used in gathering medicinal plants, in which Hawenniyu is directly addressed and prayed to.
³ Informant, Rev. P. Vincent (Lorette, Q.).
⁵ Hewitt, ibid.
ledged, "these two luminaries were placed in the Sky." In a sun myth\(^1\) it is related that the Good One made the Sun out of the face of his deceased mother. There is still the following explanation given as to the origin of the sun: In the sky-world, a chief ordered, one day, that the "light-giving celandine tree" should be uprooted; an opening to the sky thus resulted, and it is claimed that the Sun, after the fall of the Woman from the sky, has since been shining through it.\(^2\) In a fragment of the Iroquois cosmogony,\(^3\) the Sun is seemingly acknowledged, moreover, as the father of the Good and Bad Twins; and the grandmother, speaking to the Good-minded said,\(^4\) "Now you must go and seek your father. When you see him you must ask him to give you power." Pointing to the east, she said, "He lives in that direction. You must keep on until you reach the limits of the island; and when, upon the waters, you come to a high mountain rising out of the sea, you shall climb to its summit, and you will see a wonderful being sitting on the highest peak. You must say, 'I am your son!'" And the context, according to Mr A. C. Parker, shows the Sun to be the "wonderful being." The Sun is often represented as the witness of all human deeds, and as a war god, to whom the warriors return thanks for their victories.\(^5\) Father Bressani, made prisoner by the Iroquois in one of their encounters with the Huron, has recorded that the Iroquois, after their victory, "rendered thanks to the Sun, . . . which they believe to preside in wars."\(^6\) Certain adventurous young men are elsewhere reported\(^7\) to have traveled far westward and followed the Sun into the other world, as he passed under the western sky's rim. In the other world, they met "a person of great size,"\(^8\) that is, Hawenniyu. Then the brothers saw a messenger running toward them "with a

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2 Hewitt, loc. cit., p. 245.
3 A. C. Parker, loc. cit., being an extract of Esquire Johnson's version, recorded in manuscript by Mrs A. Wright, in 1876.
4 Mr Parker's text is followed here almost verbatim.
5 Parker, ibid., p. 478, and others.
7 In Mr A. C. Parker, loc. cit.; informant E. Cornplanter; and in manuscript version recorded by Mr F. W. Waugh (informant Chief J. Gibson, Grand River, Ontario).
8 In F. W. Waugh's version.
brilliant ball of light upon his wide chest.” And Hawenniyu explained, “He is the Sun, my messenger. Every day he brings me news (from the earth). Nothing from east to west escapes his eye.”

There was evidently no orthodoxy among the Iroquoian peoples regarding the nature of the sun and the moon. Their high mythological importance, however, is clearly revealed in the traditions and also in the Iroquois sun and moon rituals. The divergences of opinion on their origin and function are, no doubt, partly due to the fact—already pointed out by Mr Parker⁵—that the Iroquois adopted, in the course of their wars, the remnants of several conquered tribes and assimilated their traditions. But it should not be forgotten that the sun is one of the foremost characters in the religion of many American tribes at large, especially in the West and Southwest. As it is more than likely, moreover, that the Iroquoian peoples formerly migrated from middle North America, and perhaps from the Southwest, their sun worship may turn out to be an ancient legacy which their modern thinkers have attempted, independently and without perfect agreement, to explain in their etiological myths.

The Sun dance—generally called “War Dance” by the Oklahoma Iroquois, although not quite appropriately⁶—is one of the fundamental Iroquois feasts. And the “Blackberry feast” is a ritual in honor of the Moon, held at the first full moon of July, and performed at night.

The Sun ritual, still performed on several Iroquois reservations, is fairly well known to ethnologists.⁴ It was explained⁵ to the writer, after having witnessed a Sun feast among the Oklahoma Seneca and Cayuga,⁶ that the “dance” was intended as a returning of thanks to the Sun, whom they worship and call Setwà’ist’a,

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1 Almost verbatim from A. C. Parker’s “Sun Myths,” loc. cit.
2 Parker, ibid., p. 478.
3 James Logan, the Cayuga head-chief of the Oklahoma Seneca and Cayuga (whom I utilized as informant), was emphatic in his assertion that the so-called “war dance,” performed in September, 1911, was really a “Sun dance.”
5 By the Cayuga head-chief, James Logan, and his wife.
6 In September, 1911.
“our brother.” "We speak to the Sun as if he were a spirit, and," added the informant, "the spirit is in the Sun in some way. Therefore we thank him for having given the Sun the power to protect us, and to cause all the plants to grow." The sacred Sun emblem and other paraphernalia are used by the dancers, who proceed from the east to their dancing grounds, and make their exit westward when the dance is finished. In the course of the same feast, the Sun, the Moon, the Thunderer, the Manitou, and the Earth are prayed to and requested to continue their favors, and to grant everybody life and good luck until the next Sun feast. In former times this ritual used to take place twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn.¹

The Moon feast, also called "Blackberry dance" by the Oklahoma Iroquois, is held at night on the first full moon of July, when the blackberries are ripe. It is meant as a form of worship and a thanksgiving ritual to the moon, whom the informants called Eti'sut, "our grandmother," for her favors in shedding light at night, causing the dew and bringing the plants and cereals to maturity. It was also claimed by the same informants that this was mainly a woman's dance, on account of the moon being a woman and the grandmother of all the children born in this world.²

One of the most popular gods of the Iroquoian pantheon is Heno, the Thunderer. His personality, in fact, is well defined and his attributes appear to be almost uniformly the same throughout the various Iroquois and Wyandot myths.

His mythical origin seems to be more ancient than that of any of the other great deities above described. It is accounted for in a Wyandot myth, which may be summarized as follows:³ Heno was one of seven brothers seemingly living in the sky-land,⁴ long ago.

¹ This information was obtained from James Logan and his wife, or noted down directly by the writer.
² One of these feasts was witnessed by the writer at Seneca reservation, Oklahoma, in July, 1912, and later studied with the informants James Logan and wife.
³ Informant B. N. O. Walker, Wyandotte, Oklahoma. Recorded by myself in 1911.
⁴ That they lived in the sky-land is simply inferred from the fact that Heno is stated, in all the cosmogonic traditions, to have accompanied the Woman into the water regions, when she fell from the sky.
So exuberant with life and boisterous was he that his brothers were much worried about him, and even dreaded the idea of exciting his anger, lest he might indulge in rash and terrible deeds and destroy them all. He was so strong that, without even noticing it, he would smash things to pieces. One day, having decided to get rid of him, they brought him along into a remote island where they pretended to hunt deer. When Henq had taken his stand in a dense forest whither he expected his brothers to chase the game, they ran back to their canoes and left him there, all by himself. He soon realized their deceit, but accepted his fate without a grudge, as he was always jovial and good-natured. His voice, however, resounded like peals of thunder, as he called his brothers. Forgetting his grief, he promised them, in the end, that he would never do any harm to them and their people; but that, from time to time he would raise his voice and remind them of his presence on the island. In fact, he is believed to have stayed there to this day, roaming about a part of the year, and sleeping in the winter time. When a peal of thunder is heard in the winter, some Wyandot may still be heard saying, “Henq is turning over; something must have disturbed his nap!”

In the Wyandot and Iroquois cosmogonic myths Henq appears as the god of thunder and lightning. In the Wyandot myths it appears that when the Woman fell from the sky into the lower water-world, a mighty peal of thunder, the first ever heard in these regions, startled the aquatic animals. The Woman was then seen “clad in a bright flame of lightning.” She was accompanied in her fall by Henq, the God of Thunder.1 When, later, the council of the animals had decided that luminaries should be made to light the earth, Little Turtle climbed into the sky with the help of Henq and made the sun and moon out of lightning.2 On several other occasions, in the course of the mythic ages, Henq and Little Turtle are found closely associated; for instance, in the epic war against the giants, Little Turtle said, “I can make a great fire from the lightning.” So the warriors and Little Turtle crept all around the giants’

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1 W. E. Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-lore*, pp. 44, 77; and in Walker’s version.
2 Connelley, ibid., pp. 44–46, also in *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, xii, pp. 118–119; and Walker.
The Turtle brought forth the thunder; and lightning leaped into a great wall all about the giants, crushing them to the earth.\(^1\) And the Pleiades maidens, having one day deserted the sky for the earth, were brought back to their former abode by Little Turtle riding on a cloud, accompanied by Henq.\(^2\) Before the animals had passed from the Island into the sky, it came to the Deer that he should be concerned with the celestial affairs. He therefore requested the Rainbow to convey him into the sky by means of his broad pathway of colors;\(^3\) but it is said that the Rainbow would not do it without consulting the Thunder about the matter.\(^4\) It was related that Henq assisted the deceased Sky-woman, when she was in charge of the Wyandot, as they were sleeping in the Underworld, just before their dispersion on the island.\(^5\) Tse'sta, having called his people forth from the Underworld, showed them to the opening of the great cavern. While they were for the first time glancing over this world, a peal of thunder shook the air and frightened them all.\(^6\) They were told, however, not to fear, for Henq would never cast his thunderbolts on a Wyandot. And it is still a firm belief among them that, being the privileged people of Henq, they may never be struck by lightning.\(^7\)

Henq's manifold personality and function are described in a number of myths and legends of the Wyandot and Iroquois. Although primarily the Thunder god, whose powers are destructive, he is everywhere known as the real providence of the Iroquoian people. In his care are intrusted the clouds, with which he waters the earth; and he is believed, in fact, to cast his thunderbolts only at the enemies of the people—the monsters, witches, and evil-doers. For the fulfilment of his many functions, he is assisted by many subordinates, generally said to be his sons. Both as Thunder deity and rain-maker or God of vegetation he is worshiped and con-

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1. This incident is quoted almost verbatim from Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-lore*, p. 86.
5. Connelley, *ibid.*, p. 82.
sidered as good-natured and benevolent; and the vocative "grandfather" is the term by which he is generally addressed in prayers.1

His physical appearance, according to some Iroquois authorities,2 is that of a human being, dressed as a warrior, and wearing upon his head a magical feather by which he is made invulnerable. Upon his back he carries a basket full of fragments of flint rock, to be flung at monsters and witches. In the less abundant Wyandot evidence we find Henq and his assistants "dressed in cloud-like garments, with wings on the shoulders," and floating in the clouds.3 True enemy of the monsters—the ukis—and their human confederates, the witches and sorcerers, Henq destroys them whenever he happens to detect their presence.4 That is why the ukis are said seldom to venture out of their caverns or their hiding places in the ground. Many incidents illustrating Henq's fury against monsters are found in literature, namely: Long ago the annual recurrence of a terrible pestilence, caused by a huge serpent dwelling under the ground, was the scourge of an Iroquois village situated at the place where Buffalo now is. Henq, out of compassion for the people, finally decided to slay the serpent. While the monster was in a creek near the village, "Henq discharged upon [him] a terrific thunderbolt which inflicted a mortal wound. . . . Before he succeeded in reaching the lake, the repeated attacks of the Thunderer took effect, and the monster was slain. . . . The huge body of the serpent floated down the stream, and lodged upon the verge of the [Niagara] cataract, stretching nearly across the river. . . . The raging waters thus damned up by the body broke through the rocks behind. . . . In this manner . . . was formed the Horseshoe Fall" of the Niagara.5

5 Extracts quoted from Morgan's version, loc. cit., pp. 150-151; also recorded by Mrs E. A. Smith, loc. cit., pp. 54-55; Mrs Converse, loc. cit., pp. 39-42, and Minnie Myrtle, The Iroquois, or The Bright Side of Indian Character, p. 133; and referred to by Connelley, Wyandot Folk-lore, p. 44, as also found among the Wyandot.
In a legend recorded among the Wyandot of Detroit, it is related that the Thunderer one day appeared to a young hunter, advising him that his old protector, for the benefit of whom he was hunting, was really a monster disguised as a man. Henq added that his own mission was, with the help of his assistants, to "keep the earth and everything upon it in good order for the benefit of the human race"; and, "if there were serpents and other noxious creatures," he was commissioned "to destroy them." So the young Indian lured his protector out of his subterranean dwelling. The old fellow, who did not like to go out, "bade the youth examine the sky carefully, and see if there were the smallest speck of cloud in any quarter." While the cave man was still in the woods, the thunder rumbled at a distance, and a cloud appeared. The old man ran away; but as the thunder sounded nearer, he became an enormous Porcupine. "But the Thunderer followed him with burst upon burst and, finally, a bolt struck the huge animal, which fell lifeless in its den." Then Henq told the young man that the great deity, Hamendiju, had given them authority to watch over the people and see that no harm came to them.

The Thunder revealed himself as the guide and protector of the Wyandot in some of their wars. Sayentsuwat, a famous war chief of ancient times, is said to have heard the steps of the Thunderer coming toward him at night while he was leading a war party against the Cherokee. Henq spoke to him, and said, "Are you not wondering about the manner of attracting your enemies out of their rock caverns?" Sayentsuwat replied, "Yes!" and the god said, "You must be near their caverns and ready for the attack when the sun goes down." So it happened, and, at sunset, clouds arose in the sky and loud blasts resounded. The Thunderer, in fact, drove all the Cherokee out of their cave dwellings; and, as they were running toward a hill, he destroyed them all. Thus Sayentsuwat had won the battle with the help of his "grandfather," Henq.

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 292.
4 War adventure recorded in text by myself in 1912; informant Catherine Johnson, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.
The Thunder is also a god of vegetation, to whom the Iroquoian Indians considered themselves indebted for rain.\footnote{Morgan, loc. cit., p. 149; Smith, loc. cit., pp. 54–55, 72–73; Hewitt, loc. cit., pp. 249–250; Converse, loc. cit., pp. 39, 42.} A young Wyandot was formerly believed to have learned from the Thunder god himself the secret art of rain-making, which he communicated to several persons. These human rain-makers, bound to strict secrecy, were popularly known to produce rain whenever it was needed. Not very long ago, one of the Detroit Wyandot claimed that he had once become partly possessed of this secret.\footnote{H. Hale, loc. cit., IV, p. 293.}

Henq has many assistants, generally stated to be his sons, who help him in the fulfilment of his many functions. Three young men, according to Wyandot myths, appeared with him, on at least two different occasions, to Indians who needed his protection against monsters.\footnote{H. Hale, loc. cit., p. 292; Catherine Johnson and Smith Nichols, Oklahoma Wyandot informants, 1911–1912.} An informant further remarked\footnote{Chief Joseph While to H. Hale, loc. cit., pp. 292–293.} that only three Thunder deities were required on one of these occasions, but that there are many of them; and that when the thunder is heard rolling in many parts of the sky it is because several of them are at work. On the other hand, some Iroquois traditions are to the effect that Henq has only two assistants, one of whom is half human and half divine.\footnote{Morgan, loc. cit., p. 150; Converse, loc. cit., pp. 39–42.}

One of the Thunderers, named Tsijutq'q, was long ago born from a Wyandot woman and one of Henq's subordinates. This Wyandot myth,\footnote{Recorded in text by myself, in Oklahoma; informants, Catherine and Allen Johnson.} briefly stated is as follows:

A beautiful Wyandot young woman was in the habit of scorning her suitors. One day she became the bride of a handsome young man, who brought her into his remote country. He was, in fact, but a metamorphosed monster Snake; and, to her great awe and disappointment, she soon realized it. As he went out hunting the young woman took flight in a northerly direction. Her husband chased her and caused the water gradually to rise all about the
fugitive woman, so that she might not escape. But as she perceived several men standing at a distance, she heard their chief shouting to her, "This way! Come and stand behind me! I shall defend you against him!" And he spoke to his men, saying, "Shoot right there!" So it was done, and the big Snake was destroyed. When the smoke dispersed, the young woman was taken along by her protectors, Henq and his three sons, into their country; and she became the wife of one of the younger Thunderers. As she was constantly longing, however, to visit her mother, the chief Thunderer consented to show her "the way down to her mother's home." She brought her son along with her, but she pledged herself to take the utmost care of him and never to allow him to quarrel with his human friends, for fear that he might draw his bow at other boys and thus kill them outright. The child grew fast, and in his fourth year he could play with the other boys. It happened that once he drew his bow at his friends who had annoyed him. A peal of thunder resounded, and his father at once appeared to the Wyandot woman, saying, "I have now taken him along with me, and whenever it rains while the sun is shining, the people shall think and say that Tsjuto'q, the Wyandot, is making the rain. And it was the common saying, among the old people, that Tsjuto'q, the son of the Thunder and the Wyandot woman, was responsible for the sun shower.  

The Thunderers were formerly worshiped and prayed to by all the Iroquoian peoples. Among the Iroquois proper, the worship of Henq is both public and private. In the Onondaga annual Planting, Strawberry, Green Bean, Green Corn, and Thanksgiving feasts, one day used to be dedicated to Henq.  

In the Green Corn ritual of the Oklahoma Cayuga and Seneca, "Grandfather Thunder" is still prayed to and requested not to injure any of his people with lightning or hail, and not to pour too heavy rains.  

Among the Seneca, "a special ceremony, called Wesaze, is held every

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1 Informant, Allen Johnson, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.
3 As well, presumably, as in those of other tribes.
4 Chief James Logan, Seneca reservation, Oklahoma; information collected by myself, in 1912.
spring in honor of the Thunderer." The dance is called when the thunder is first heard in the spring; and, after the first dance a thanksgiving speech is recited, followed by a war dance.¹ A ceremony was occasionally held by the Iroquois in a dry season, with the intent of bringing rain. When the rumbling of thunder was heard from a distance, heralds at once notified the people that the sons of Henq were in their neighborhood, that each family should first make a private offering of tobacco to these deities, and then gather in the council-house for a public offering of tobacco and a Rain dance.² It is still remembered among the Wyandot of Anderdon, Ontario,³ that during an electric storm some of the old people would place upon a stump a pipeful of Indian tobacco ready for smoking, and utter the formula, "Grandfather, many thanks to you!" This ritual, termed "treating Grandfather with a pipeful of tobacco," was considered as a sure preventive against danger from lightning.

¹ Converse and Parker, Bull. New York State Museum, No. 125, pp. 39-42.
² Mrs E. A. Smith, loc. cit., pp. 52, 72, 73.
³ Miss Mary McKee; information collected by myself, in 1911.